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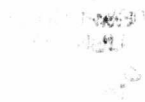
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**COPING WITH RACISM:
JAPANESE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES
OF RACIST ENCOUNTERS IN BRITAIN**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to identify and describe the Japanese student's experiences of university in Britain through an interview process, looking at their experiences of racial discrimination, racial awareness and their responses, coping strategies that evolve during their years of study for the Japanese students. The overall questions are: what experiences and understandings of race and racism do Japanese students encounter in Britain, and how do they cope with these experiences? Further questions include: How may this experience in Britain differ according to 'gender', 'pre-departure expectation'? There are several issues that researcher must address in order to elaborate these questions. There is very little sociological literature on Japanese students who come to study in Britain or other Western societies. Japanese students in Britain are not typical immigrants, since they come for a few years to study. Nor are they 'native' ethnic minorities who have historically experienced colonialism and racial subordination.

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INTRODUCTION

Natsume Soseki (1930) stated that his two years in London were the most unpleasant in his life. Soseki was one of the most popular writers of the century in Japan. As a student sponsored by the Japanese government, he arrived in London to pursue his studies of English language and literature. He later described his time in England in the following terms: “ I led a most miserable life amongst the English, furthermore I felt like a dog thrown into the company of wolves.” This possibly contributed to his later condition of neurosis, affecting him for the rest of his life. The Japanese have historically highly valued study abroad (*ryugaku*) for its modernising stimulus. Since the seventh century many elite scholars and officials (*ryugakusei*) have studied in China, and Europe (Mori 1994). Soseki was one of them.

This research explores and identifies the Japanese student’s experience of university life in Britain through an interview process, looking at their experiences of racial discrimination, racial awareness, and coping strategies that evolved during their years of study.

The overall questions are: what experiences of race and racism do Japanese students encounter in Britain, and how do they cope with these experiences? In order to understand these main questions I have addressed the following subsidiary questions:

How may this experience in Britain differ according to gender (Tajfel & Dawson, 1965); and

pre-departure expectations (Moghaddam and Taylor and Wright 1993; Waters, 1999)?

Kuo (1995) studied the coping strategies with racial discrimination by Asian Americans;

Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Koreans. Kuo suggests that American born Asians reported more discriminatory experiences than foreign born Asians. In other words, nativity is related to reporting discrimination. He explains that racial contact and economic competition were important factors which supported higher rates of native born Asians' reporting discriminations. Native born Asians also have more situational knowledge of racism than foreign born people (Essed, 1991; Mellor et al., 2002). Kuo's study suggests that foreign born Asian respondents, such as foreign students or business sojourners, report less discrimination.

Mellor et al. (2002) argue that the South-East Asian students in their study revealed that they had not developed a knowledge and awareness of racism, therefore they were less likely to attribute negative events to racism. This study compared White Australian native born students, and South-East Asian students who originated from Vietnam, East Timor, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Cambodia, Malaysia and Singapore. They reported that half of the South-East Asian students identified themselves as Chinese, and one quarter as Vietnamese.

The White Australian respondents in the study were all Psychology students and they volunteered to participate in the study. Therefore, those students might have a better knowledge of racial inequality in Australia than other students (Essed, 1991), and a greater propensity to spot racial discrimination against Asian people easily from the scenarios. However, in their study, all scenarios were the situation that Asian people were targets of ambiguous racial discrimination. Therefore, native-born Caucasian students might feel less hesitant to identify with the discrimination against Asian people due to a recent trend of toward racism becoming socially unacceptable.

On the other hand, for foreign-born Asian students who have no general knowledge of

racism being in an unfamiliar culture might feel more ambiguous about their racial status, therefore they may be more reluctant to see the racism against Asians. Although Mellor et al.'s study did not suggest this, South East Asian students may wish to refuse the socially disadvantageous racial status.

Mellor et al.'s studies (2002) show the South-East and East Asian students' lack of knowledge of racism. However, the studies are all in a hypothetical setting, (using scenarios) and do not illustrate how actually those South East Asian students perceive and cope with real life racism. It treated their perception of racism rather statically.

According to Essed, racism is a process that is routinely created and reinforced through everyday practices (1991). Derived from W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Double consciousness' is an idea that Blacks in the United States became familiar with through dominant group interpretations of reality, therefore they have developed a knowledge of racist. Does this concept of 'double consciousness' apply to foreign born, temporary sojourners like Japanese students in Britain? First, they must acquire a situational knowledge of racism (Essed, 1991; Mellor et al.; 2002), which helps them to judge whether a situation is acceptable or unacceptable.

There is no study of this process of acquiring knowledge of racism by any Asian students in Britain. Especially in Britain, there is no literature of perceiving and coping racism by East Asians. Moreover, among East Asians, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese, their background countries are quite distinct especially in last century. Therefore, their understanding of White dominant group interpretation of racism may vary, especially Japan, as the only non-white member of the G7 nations, yet also the only country on which atomic bombs were dropped during the Second World War. How Japanese students perceive and experience racism in Britain it is not straight forward, and it is an over

simplification to include them in a general grouping of East Asian countries' students.

In Chapter 1, I argue that this research on Japanese students experiencing racism in Britain fills a number of gaps in the study of racism and of coping strategies, covers the area more broadly and on an interdisciplinary basis (from sociological studies to social psychology and cross cultural psychology). Although a growing number of studies on racism and prejudice have been publicized and noted, not only academia but also by the general public through the media in Britain, we know still very little about how people who were racially discriminated against perceived it and coped with it.

Chapter 2, in order to understand Japanese students' pre-departure expectation I illustrate the various racial formations in Japan, the background of the Japanese students, and their general knowledge of racism. It is crucial to understand how their own racism helps (or interferes with) them to perceive any racism toward them in a foreign land.

In chapter 3, I discuss the methodology I adopted in pursuing this research. Because the nature of the problem is delicate, therefore, my research relationship with the students was crucial. According to Ruggiero and Taylor's studies (1995; 1997), discriminated minority groups of people often do not perceive racial discrimination. They tend to minimise or deny the fact of discrimination in order to protect their racial images. They do not wish to admit that they are members of disadvantaged minority groups. The interviewer should be aware of this issue.

I argue in Chapter 4, that one can apply a refined six-step model to help in the understanding of Japanese students' perception of their racial encounters in Britain and their ambiguous nature, made more complicated by their social status, their own racism, and some strong stereotypes of Japanese people held by British public.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the ways in which Japanese students cope with racism as well as the ambiguity and uncertainty using a model of emotion focused and problem focused coping strategies (Kuo,1995) and the notion of attributional ambiguity (Crocker and Quinn, 1997) .

In chapter 6, I will discuss how Japanese students reflect on their experiences of racism in Britain and the position of racial and cultural minority people in Japan.

Chapter 1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Introduction

In 2000, New York's police officers shot Amadou Diallo because they thought his wallet was a gun. Here, in the United Kingdom, the recent BBC documentary about racism among police trainees (Guardian, 23 October 2003) showed how little had changed since the Stephen Lawrence tragedy¹. These are two high profile examples of what many (the Macpherson inquiry) regard as an underlying and institutionalised racism in the U.S. and UK (Banton, 1995). Although some might argue that race itself has no genetic or biological basis, racism itself is a reality (Shibutani and Kwan 1963; Mason 1995; Barker, 1981).

The 1994-PSI Survey (Modood et al .1997) shows that 40 per cent of Asians in Britain felt that they had been discriminated against because of their ethnicity. They face racial and religious discrimination (Anwar, 1998; Sivanandan, 1982). In addition, they do not necessarily report incidents to the police. Little has changed: under-reporting of racial harassment is widespread (The Guardian, November 22, 2000). According to Anwar (1998), two-thirds of White people and more than half of Asian people expressed that Britain was a very racist society and they both became aware of this situation. Young Asian people, especially demand equal treatment regardless of their colour, culture and religion. The 9/11 incident, followed by two wars against Afghanistan and Iraq, has inextricably linked Islam and terrorism in the Western mind to produce a form of

¹ The service marked the 10th anniversary since a racist gang stabbed Stephen, aged 18, at a south-east London bus stop. The killers still walk free after a bungled police investigation, labelled "institutionally racist" by a public inquiry. (Vikram Dodd, The Guardian, April 23, 2003)

'Islamaphobia' in Christian White countries, and as a result, Asian people have increasingly become the target of racist abuse (The Guardian, 23 October 2003).

Since the post-war period, in the United States and West European countries, there has been an increase in the globalisation of the economy, the number of refugees from war-torn countries and political restricted societies; Poland and, East Germany taking the lead, followed by Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, Latvia, Greece, Lithuania, Cuba and Vietnam (Zhou, 1998; 1996). The United States and Western European countries have also become attractive as providers of higher education for people from areas that are less developed or unstable.

Zhou (1998:6) cited, 'in the fiscal year of 1995, 38% (13,757) of the immigrants from China were admitted under employment-based preferences, almost all of them had received higher education or training in the United States.... Between 1981 to 1995, annual admissions of temporary workers/trainees and foreign students on non-immigrant visas have increased over time and have remained substantially large in the 1990s'.

Japan, as well as other East Asian countries, has been affected by globalisation. According to the Japanese Foreign Ministry (1995), 255,683 Japanese live in the United States, 54,415 in Britain. In Britain, students, researchers, and teachers make up 30.6% of this number. Nevertheless, it said that the real figure should be 20 to 30 % more than this, because of the self declaring system. (1995, Research on Japanese living abroad by Japanese Foreign Ministry.)

During the 1990's, a growing number of Japanese students came to study in the United Kingdom; in 1998, there were over 2 million Japanese students studying English and other subjects (source from Japanese Embassy in London). Japan, although retaining its

traditional culture deep inside (Nakane, 1970), has become more westernised, and, it may be much easier now for visiting Japanese to adapt to a western lifestyle on a structural level. However, what is their experience of being a racial minority in Britain? Furthermore, how do they respond to the dominant White group?

In the United States, there have recently been some studies of Japanese students by Japanese researchers (Tukada, 1996; Mori, 1994; Yasusuke, 1993; Miyanaga, 1991) but their focus and interest is more to do with re-entry adjustment back in Japan. Some Japanese and non-Japanese researchers. In Britain, a few studies have been conducted on Japanese students. However, most of them are also in the discipline of education, linguistic (Mizuno, 1991). Moreover, there is scarcely any research in the sociological discipline. There is no sociological literature on Japanese students' racial experience in Britain.

How do Japanese students think they are treated in Britain? How do they perceive interpersonal racism or institutional (structural) racism, and how do Japanese students respond to and cope with their discriminatory stress? Do they respond with anger, awkwardness, self-confidence, or alternatively do they experience a loss of self-esteem? And if some perceive racism and others do not, why does this happen? They may sometimes feel that their social status is ambiguous, that they are treated as an underclass by the native population, or they might feel like 'a guest' in Britain, accepting, in the manner of an old Turkish saying;- 'Guests accept whatever is given to them not what they wish to get'. Every year, every month there are people from the International Office in British universities repeatedly going abroad, especially to Asia and South American countries to recruit new foreign students (Overseas Student Recruitment). For example, The British Council supports the 'British University Fair' to introduce British universities to Japanese young people every year. This is very much like British

institutions coming to new commonwealth countries to advertise work in Britain, yet local people near the university or university staff, even home students and lecturers do not seem aware of the fact that the university itself actively advertises and welcomes foreign students outside of UK.

However, Japanese students in Britain are not typical immigrants, since they come for only a few years to study. Nor are they 'native' ethnic minorities who have historically experienced colonialism and racial subordination. I will thus review a number of different, but related bodies of literature. This chapter provides a brief review of the literature on race and 'racism' in the West countries; various ideas of race and different types of 'racism'. I go on to discuss how minority group people perceive and evaluate racist incidents in the West. I especially draw attention to Essed (1991)'s 'six-step model' which helps participants to interpret racist encounters. Then I go on illustrate several coping strategies with racism and finally, I refer to two different orientations:- Hein's (1994) migrant and minority orientations in Western societies.

1.2.Race and 'racism'

The terms race and ethnicity have recently become familiar in every day conversation (Fenton, 1999). Since the 1950s, development in West European countries, which had many migrant workers arriving from South Europe and the ex-colonies (to fill shortages in the labour market), experienced a growth in cultural and ethnic diversity. According to Solomos and Back (1996), there were two major concerns in theorising race and racism in Britain as well as other European societies at that time. 'First, the patterns of immigration and incorporation in the labour market of black and other ethnic communities. Second, the role of colonial history in determining popular conceptions of colour, race and

ethnicity in European societies'(Ibid. 5).

Bradley (1992) cited Cashmore and Troyna (1983)'s definition of race and ethnicity: race is defined as a stigmatised identity forced by the other group, though ethnicity may be also a self-defined cultural identity, which is more like Waters' description of 'ethnic option'. Tuan (1992) also found this as a useful definition explaining Asian ethnicity (e.g. Chinese or Japanese) in the United States. These are quite common views of 'race' and 'ethnicity'; one is imposed by and other is self-defined. However, race is strongly linked with the visibility of 'colour' (Bradley, 1992). How do Japanese students experience and react to this 'colour difference' in Britain, and do they form a 'stigmatised identity as a result of their racist encounters?

1.2.1. Race

As I pointed out before, race is not just the typologists' or geneticists' technical term; as 'an inherited disposition' (Banton, 1988:43). James Jones (1972) cited Van den Berghe's (1967) definition of race. '...Any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races' (see Jones, 1972:11). Until very recently however, the racial idea, which defined some racial or ethnic groups as superior and others as inferior, was used (Solomos & Back 1996; Benedict, 1945). For example, by Nazism in Germany. However, as Mason claims 'old style biological racism has increasingly been replaced by a "new racism"'(see Mason, 1995:10). I must note the inferiority complex which Japanese people are said to possess toward western people, because it may influence their perception of racism and force them to feel members of a disadvantaged minority in

Britain.

According to Stuart Hall, race and ethnicity ‘conveys both this constructed quality—something made by history and culture and therefore variable and changing—and, in its emphasis on self-consciousness, the participation of groups themselves in the construction, reproduction, and transformation of their own identities’(Stuart Hall in Cornell & Hartmann, 1998: 26).

Furthermore, Shibutani and Kwan describe ‘race’ from an interactionistic perspective, ‘human beings interact not so much in terms of what they actually are but in terms of the conceptions that they form of themselves and of one another.... The differences that are believed to exist are what are important’ (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965: 39). This point of view, as Miles argued, like ‘nations’, ‘races’ are imagined, an invention by humans (Miles, 1989; Anderson, 1983). They have no biological foundation and they are imagined as communities in the sense of a shared feeling of fellowship and own histories. ‘Moreover, they are also imagined as limited in the sense that a boundary is perceived, beyond which lie other “races”’(Miles, 1989: 87). Do Japanese students’ identities change through experiences of racist encounters and their interpretation of social status in Britain?

1.2.2.What is ‘racism’?

Racism has been described in various ways. Some racial inequalities are very hidden and implicit, and others are not so hidden. From a social Darwinist’s biological racism to institutional racism, cultural racism, the concept of racism has been a very slippery concept to grasp. It also directly or indirectly reflects historical events, the economy and the politics at any particular time. Especially in the post-war period, many attempts have been made to conceptualise racism on both sides of the Atlantic, leading to them being

criticised as Atlantocentric ideas (Modood, Beishon and Virdee, 1994). Some explore and explain racism as a social inequality such as class or gender difference, and the outcome of racial inequality certainly can be seen as similar to class-based discrimination (Anthias and Yuval-Davies 1983). Japanese students might experience these different inequalities, but how do they react to them?

Castle and Kosack point out, 'race prejudice served the interests of capitalist exploitation, and still continues to do so today'(1973: 454), moreover, Chater (1966) argues that the capitalists sold, bought, and used coloured people as if they were goods or animals. To them, 'they were creatures with an inferior animal-like capacity for culture'(Chater in Castle and Kosack, 1973: 454). Under the name of civilisation, Christianity, and now globalisation, the colonial or capitalistic power impose identities on other cultures in order to exploit them. Miles tried to articulate racism in an ideological way: 'the two most important ideologies with which racism articulates are sexism and nationalism. All depend on a process of signification and can be used to determine inclusionary and exclusionary processes'.

According to Michael Banton, after the late 60s, 'racism' changed and extended its meaning, categorising certain people's attitude and later was used more to describe a moral judgement. In addition, it became known as racial prejudice instead of simply racism, and connoted racial discrimination, prejudice, inequality and any expression of inter-group hostility or ethnocentrism instead of the propagation of ideas about biological race (Banton, 1988: 40-41; Mason, 1995). This is closely related to the notion of 'symbolic racism' (Sears, 1998). Sears describes it as follows: '...focusing on contemporary resentments of blacks' for example, "blacks are getting too much sympathy and attention from elites", or "they become more and more demanding" and etc. Japanese students may not feel this as strongly as non-White minorities in Britain; native

born African Carribeans and Indian people, but do they perceive it at all ? How do they make sense of these non-White Britons in comparison with their social status and treatment by Whites? Some Japanese students may adopt the White Britons' attitude toward non-White minorities.

Individual racism is similar to race prejudice and puts much emphasis on 'a belief in the superiority of one's own race over another, and the behavioural enactment that maintain those superior and inferior positions' (Jones 1973: 5). Although Jones was specifically referring to White racism in America in 1970s, the same is true generally. One could be made to believe that one is inferior when compared to another ethnic group. This can also be included in the definition of institutional racism. Jones distinguishes between race prejudice and racism with the idea of 'power' (Mac an Ghaill, 1999 ; Essed, 1991). Racism is the transformation of race prejudice or ethnocentrism by the exercise of power against the group defined as inferior, with the active or tacit support of the whole culture (1973, Jones). Jones argues that both race prejudice and ethnocentrism are attitudes that contribute to the practice of racism. According to Sivanandan, 'Racism is not its own justification. It is necessary only for the purpose of exploitation: you discriminate in order to exploit or, which is the same thing, you exploit by discriminating' (1982:113). This point of view is very useful when considering 'institutional racism'. That in-built and underlying assumptions of superiority, coming both from the nature of interpersonal relations and institutional structures, are key factors in determining the inequality of relationships, between Blacks and Whites (Mac an Ghaill, 1999; Essed, 1991). Do Japanese students perceive prejudice they may feel as a differential power relationship, and as a result, feel inadequacy or loss of self-esteem?

Recently, a number of studies have been conducted concerning institutional racism in Britain as well as other Western countries (Solomos and Back, 1996; Mason, 1995).

Robert Miles cites Blauner's definition: 'the processes that maintain domination - control of whites over non-whites - are built into the major social institutions ... Thus there is little need for prejudice as a motivating force. Because this is true, the distinction between racism as an objective phenomenon, located in the actual existence of domination and hierarchy, and racism's subjective concomitants of prejudice and other motivations and feelings is a basic one' (Miles, 1973:51-52). Miles further explains the concept of racism: 'The concept of racism is used therefore to refer to a range of phenomena (beliefs as well as intended and unintended action and processes) but with a specific emphasis upon their consequences for the domination of one group over another' (Miles, 1973:52). Later in his book, Miles discusses British immigration acts during late 1920s and 1970s. The racist discourse had become less obvious but concealed and diverse in order to restrict the entry of 'coloured' Commonwealth citizens.

'The concept of institutional racism therefore refers to circumstances where racism is embodied in exclusionary practices or in formally non-radicalised discourses. However, in both cases, it is necessary to demonstrate the determinate influence of racism. As I have already argued, exclusionary practices that determined wholly or in part by racism' (See Miles, 1989:87). According to Mason's discussion on institutional racism, 'it aimed to draw attention to the systematic, structural character of racism which had its roots in the organisation of societies like Britain and the United States. In practice, the term is used in a variety of ways, some of which stress intentionally and some of which see manifestations of institutional racism in any pattern of disadvantage which affects people who are not white' (see Mason, 1995:9). It can be observed in the manner in which American and western societies receive non white immigrants: ethnocentrism, Anglo-conformity, etc.

Banton argues the term is used in various ways to cover any disadvantage non-whites

suffer. As with the Macpherson inquiry, to which I drew attention at the beginning of this chapter, institutional racism has been debated very intensely, partly because the public in western society has become more sceptical about the value of institutions per se, for example, churches, schools, government and family. People find it harder to trust them blindly. Whereas, Black power, the Human Rights Act encourage dominant groups to see the 'taken for granted' inequalities over certain ethnic minority groups in the society.

Tompson (1988) claims the negativity towards Blacks exists even among senior police officers; 'there are 15,000 West Indian in this locality, and I can tell you that 15,000 West Indians are very difficult to police. They create all sorts of problems. Drugs is one, prostitution, brothels and vice are others' (Superintendent John Ellis, responsible for the Leeds Chapeltown district, in Tompson, 1988: 21).

PSI's Fourth Survey of Ethnic Minorities provides an example of institutional racism, showing that ethnic minority groups had little confidence in the police protecting them from racial harassment. Not surprisingly some of them were actually racially attacked or reported property damaged by a police officer (Modood, 1997). Satnam Virdee cited Fryer's claim on the existence of racial violence and harassment in Britain since at least the end of the First World War (See Virdee, 1997: 287). Virdee (1997) claims the Survey of Ethnic Minorities shows that more than a quarter of a million people were subjected to some form of racial harassment in a 12-month period. Moreover, different ethnic minority groups were subjected to various forms of racial harassment (1997:288). Therefore, there is a great diversity of experiences among ethnic minorities (Beishon, Modood and Virdee, 1998). Nevertheless, if you are educated in a 'racist' society, your identity itself might be formed or influenced by the racism: by family, neighbourhood and peer group. Japanese students might notice this institutional racism, and I will discuss how they may perceive its rather covert nature in the later section on 'coping with racism'.

Sociologists and social psychologists have conducted several studies on institutional racism. For example, viewing institutional discrimination within the criminal justice system and observing self-handicapping behaviour (Sidanius, Levin & Pratto, 1998). Institutional racism is easy to observe in any major institution (e.g. economic, educational) by design or by its' effect, by intention or by ignorance. Nonetheless, as Philip Cohen puts it, 'racism does not become unconscious because it is institutionalised. Rather it is institutionalised because it operates unconsciously "behind the backs" of the subjects, which it positions within these impersonal structures of power' (1988, 12).

Jones argues that 'ethnocentrism becomes cultural racism when attitudes escalate into behaviours. When ethnocentric judgements become prescriptions for action, and those same ethnocentric judgements serve to justify those actions, cultural racism is the appropriate label' (Jones, 1973:154). He also argues that 'the intersection of culture and racial differences where superiority on both factors is assumed' (Jones, 1973:7). According to him, cultural racism contains both individual and institutional racism. Jones claims that cultural racism is fundamental to all forms of racism in the United States.

In Britain too, cultural racism has been discussed more recently (Barker, 1981; Solomos and Back, 1995). Paul Gilroy argues that, 'Race differences are displayed in culture which is reproduced in educational institutions and, above all, in family life' (1987:49). Furthermore his idea of this racism has been described in the notion of 'multiculturalism' 'The politics of multiculturalism is a matter not of somehow simultaneously understanding and tolerating "foreign cultures" but of facing an imperial history that has brought people from around the globe into intense and sometimes terrible contact. In this sense the history of Europe is profoundly multicultural' (Gilroy in Back, 1996:8). Stuart Hall emphasises, 'how one imagines a reality that exists "outside" the means by which

things are represented: a conception grounded in a mimetic theory of representation (1996:443). Hall emphasizes racism and representation: 'racism, of course, operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalise the difference between belongingness and otherness' (Hall, 1996:445). Hall further suggests the discourse of the symbolic Otherness, and which has been projected on some groups: for instance, Jewish, Black people for reasons of fear, envy and, importantly paternalism in order facilitate exploitation, expressed in the manner: *they are so primitive we will look after them and must educate them properly*. Japanese students may perceive this attitude and they may reject it..

Different ethnic groups represent various images to the dominant group, which might suggest different racial outcomes. The PSI's Fourth Survey of Ethnic Minorities showed a diversity of racial experiences among the various ethnic groups. For example, African Caribbeans were more often physically attacked than Whites or South Asians (Modood, 1997).

Furthermore, there is an unexpected racism which Waters terms interpersonal racism. According to her descriptions of interpersonal racism, most her respondents reported their deep shock with the racial situation they encountered. Waters explains the nature of interpersonal racism in the following terms, 'old-fashioned' racism and 'subtle' racism (Waters,1999 ; Back, 1996; Pettigrew & Meerens, 1995; Mason, 1995; Solomos, 1991; Gaerther & Dovidio, 1986). This distinction is very similar to the terms 'old racism' and 'new racism' (Barker, 1981; Mason, 1995).

As Waters (1999) describes, the former, being blatant, open racism is more like what working class immigrants seemed to receive, whereas in the latter, subtle racial

encounters are experienced by the middle class racial minority group (also see Dovidio and Gaertner, 1991, 1998; Crocker & Quinn, 1998; Pettigrew, 1989; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). She continues by emphasising how this ‘old-fashioned’ racism overwhelmingly dominates these immigrants every day life. ‘Old fashioned racism consists of blatant acts of discrimination and prejudice such as being physically attacked or threatened, being insulted on the street, being denied housing or employment specifically for racial reasons, and being hassled or scared by the police’. Subtle racism includes the daily hassles, indignities, and “bad vibes” that non-White people experience constantly in interactions with Whites. According to Water, subtle racism may include being followed in stores because assistants believe you might shoplift, Whites moving to the other side of the street and clutching their handbags when you walk by, taxis refusing to stop to pick you up, shop assistants who refuse to put money in your hand because they do not want to touch your black skin, security guards asking for your ID when they let co-workers walk by unchallenged’(1999:80).

Waters continues describing subtle racism as ‘acts of omission as well as commission—never being invited to co-workers’ homes, having wonderfully friendly relations with people on the phone and yet very cold relations when you meet them in person, professors in graduate school acting surprised when your work is excellent’ (1999:80-81). Here she continues to highlights the barely perceptible, the barely noticeable aspects of subtle racism, whereby victims may feel something is ‘not quite right’, but that perhaps in initial experiences, they cannot quite identify clearly what they are experiencing. This is very similar to aversive racism, which Dovidio and Gaertner describe as follows: ‘aversive racism represents a subtle, often unintentional, form of bias that characterises many white Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are nonprejudiced’(1998:5). So it might not be expressed as open hostility but they may exhibit some degree of discomfort or fear.

What do Japanese students experience when they study in Britain? How do they make sense of the racial prejudice they encountered during their academic years, especially if they hadn't expected such treatment before their departure for Britain? Moreover, how do they perceive and interpret covert form of racist encounters?

1.3. Coping with racism

1.3.1. Awareness of racism

In her study of female Black Dutch and African American women, Philomena Essed (1991) elaborates the notion of 'everyday racism'. She argues, 'everyday racism is the integration of racism into everyday situations through practices (cognitive and behavioural) that activate underlying power relation.' According to her, both cognitive components of racism i.e. prejudice, and behavioural components, i.e. discrimination, become normal expected practices for the dominant group (Essed, 1991; Blandit, 1986). Such practices then become a part of the system in everyday life. She continues, 'in everyday life, the cognitive and behavioural aspects of racism are mixed and operate synchronically as part of the same process' (1991:50). According to Essed, 'cognition of racism is not only unique personal representations about the stock of racism episodes experienced within one's lifetime: representation as are continually tested, adapted, and also structured by information from the social context and may, therefore, be regarded as belonging to the social domain' (1991:72).

Essed argues that the nature of the knowledge is dynamic; constantly adapts, adjust, and modifies new information (Essed, 1991; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Mellor et al., 2001).

According to her, individuals possess the general knowledge of racism means having insights into: '(a) the ability to explain individual experiences in terms of group experiences, (b) acknowledgement of the historical experience of the group, (c) explanation of (historical and contemporary)group experience, and (d) acknowledgement of continuity in the relation between the personal experience and the group experience, and (e) personal responsibility in the process of change' (1991:76). Essed argues that it is crucial to have a general knowledge of racism in order to recognise incidents of racism. Participants also need to possess a good understanding of the rules and social norms in everyday situations (situational knowledge), in order to interpret a situation as acceptable or not (Mellor et al., 2001; Essed, 1991).

This study aims to apply Essed's (1991) general and situational knowledge of racism to investigate the interpretation of racial encounters by Japanese students in Britain; despite her sample being Black Dutch and African American women. Adopting her six step model (which I will explain in more detail in chapter 4), which she created from social cognition theory and the concept of situational and general knowledge of racism. According to Mellor et al. who adopt this model in their study on Asian and White students in Australia (2001), 'a six step model of the process followed by individuals in interpreting and evaluating specific events that may or may not have racist implications or consequences' (475). As individuals follow the flow diagram of the six step model, they can be assessed for their level of situational and general knowledge of racism . for example, 'step 1 – 5 indicate only the uses of situational knowledge and limited general knowledge of racism' (ibid, 482).

In their findings from their study of Caucasian and Asian students' awareness of racist situations (Mellor et al., 2001), suggest Asian students do not possess a general knowledge of racism in racially ambiguous situations. Also Asian respondents had a

tendency to be influenced by their cultural norms; such as respecting their elders and teachers, rather than using situational knowledge. They adopt Essed's model of the assessment of racist events. Forty Asian students and 40 Caucasian students were shown filmed scenarios which contained rather ambiguous social situations. Against their hypothesis, the Asian students didn't recognize racism as often as Caucasian students. They suggested that this was because of the Asian students' cultural values, for example, respect toward authority figures such as teachers. In that respect, Asian students seemed to apply cultural value to suppress the idea of a member of the group being discriminated against. It is interesting to consider Japanese students in Britain in that situation. How do their cultural values affect their ability to cope with the racism they encounter in Britain?

The cumulative nature and growing awareness or knowledge of racism has also been discussed by Feagin (1991) and Byng (1998). Feagin (1991) and Feagin and Sikes (1994), in their study, suggest that racial discrimination is cumulative in its impact. Feagin carried out 37 in-depth interviews with black middle-class respondents in several US cities. The respondents were asked to describe discrimination they experienced in education, employment, and housing. His findings suggest that 'the cumulative character of an individual's experiences with discrimination and 'the group's accumulated historical experiences as perceived by the individual'(1991:115).

As with some Asian students in Mellor et al.'s study, what happens to those who do not perceive racist encounters? How does this relate to how they see themselves? Could we say that their racially internalised identity is related to the Interactionists' "looking glass self" hypothesis: 'people develop a sense of themselves from how they are regarded by other people. Thus, self-worth is dependent on the regard of specific others in one's life and on how other people in general regard one' (Crocker & Quinn 1998:170). So the targets of racial discrimination know that many other people have negative ideas about

them, and ‘they will incorporate these negative views into their self-concepts and consequently have lowered self-esteem’ (ibid.).

Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) suggest that ‘when discrimination was certain, participants attributed their failure to discrimination. When discrimination was ambiguous, however, participants minimised discrimination and attributed their failure to themselves’(1995:926). They also suggest that the people from a group targeted with racism may minimise their perceptions of discrimination in order to protect their self-esteem and to retain a sense of self-control (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Ruggiero and Taylor explain that ‘by claiming that they are victims of discrimination, these same participants must face the negative implications of being socially rejected on the basis of their category memberships.’ They continue to explain, ‘by minimising discrimination as a reason for failure, participants admit to poor performance in exchange for social acceptance’(1997:375).

The term “attributional ambiguity” is discussed by Jennifer Crocker & Diane Quinn in their study on ‘racism and self-esteem’ (1998). They conducted a survey about disadvantage, discrimination, and psychological well being in a sample of 96 European American, 91 African American and 96 Asian American College students in American public university. Included in the survey were measures of (a) perceived personal disadvantage across six domains (quality of education, employment including salaries and wages, recreation, political power and influence, housing, and quality of medical care), and (b) perceived discrimination—the perceived frequency and extent to which the students had personally experienced racial discrimination’ (Crocker and Quinn, 1998:179-180).

With this survey, Crocker and Quinn examine their hypothesis that the more individuals

believe they are discriminated against, the higher their self-esteem will be (Crocker and Major, 1989; Byng, 1998; Collins, 1991; Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Their findings showed that African American students had higher self-esteem than European Americans and Asian American students. Asian American's self-esteem was lower than that of both African Americans and European Americans (Crocker and Quinn, 1998). Because their study was carried out using a self-report system cultural differences may have interfered with their results. In Asian American cultures, people are encouraged to be modest about themselves, so self reporting will reflect this, in contrast perhaps to European American or African American students whose culture encourages positive self images (Crocker and Quinn, 1998). 'The targets of racial discrimination do not always, or even usually, have low self-esteem, which could be explained by the notion of the attributional ambiguity', which they defined as: 'Underlying the attributional ambiguity notion is the idea that the consequences of being disadvantaged, discriminated against, and the target of prejudice depends on the meaning of those experiences to the individual. One aspect of these meanings concerns one's understanding of the causes of one's disadvantaged status, or negative events in one's life.'

This idea is consistent with a great deal of research and theory on emotions indicating that emotional reactions to events are influenced by one's interpretations of those events. Negative events, in particular, may have negative consequences for mood and self-esteem if they are explained as due to internal causes, such as one's own shortcomings, but will not have such negative consequences when they are attributed to external causes, such as other people, or circumstances' (Crocker and Quinn, 1998:172). The cause of negative outcomes is not always clear for people who are members of minority groups that are sometimes the target of prejudice and discrimination. It might be caused through 'lack of merit, inferior qualifications, poor performance, or other shortcomings' (ibid.172) or it may well be due to prejudice and discrimination against their ethnic or racial identity.

Crocker and Major (1989) have called this uncertainty regarding what aspect causes this “attributional ambiguity”.

According to Crocker and Quinn, ‘this uncertainty, or attributional ambiguity, may protect the self-esteem of stigmatised individuals, because it provides an external attribution for negative events’ (1998:172; Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Crocker and Quinn continue by emphasising how other factors might affect that individual’s self-esteem. ‘At the heart of our argument is the idea that people differ in the degree to which their self-esteem depends on reflected appraisals. Those individuals whose self-esteem is contingent on approval or regard from others should be more vulnerable to low self-esteem if they are a member of a devalued group than individuals whose self-esteem is not contingent on approval or regard from others’ (1998:182) e.g. where it derives from their homeland cultures. If they were historically exposed to the racial discrimination by another culture, then they could be more assertive to their self-concept or identity in terms of racial discrimination than others who rarely have an idea of racial discrimination in their own countries. For example, in Britain, West Indian people or African people and Japanese or Chinese people.

1.3.2. Coping strategies

Now let us turn to the participants’ sense of ethnic identity, which was originally formed in their homeland culture and is based on their value system. When ethnic minority people first encounter racism from the dominant group, they are more likely to apply their own experiences and attitudes toward racism from their past experience. Furthermore, it is highly important to address what sort of value system an individual employs in observing and experiencing social conflict such as racism in their own culture.

There are two fundamental models for analysing social thought :- consensus and conflict models of society. Horton's (1966) definition of each model is; 'consensus models imply an anomie theory of societal discontent and adjustment definition of social deviation. The conflict model implies an alienation theory of discontent and a growth definition of deviation.' Durkheim, Merton, Mannheim and the political right in America can be seen as proponents of consensus theory. Hobbs, Marx, Mills, Martin Luther King and the political left, on the other hand, can be seen as conflict theorists. Anglo-conformity could be seen as an example of consensus theory of the host culture, the 'immigration-host' model. This outlines how the temporary disturbances caused by the entry of migrants would be healed by their adjustment and assimilation into the indigenous culture and value system. Here the host culture enjoys an consensus (order) image of society (Richardson & Lambert, 1985). Some Japanese students who may not want to see themselves as a member of disadvantaged minority group may adopt this model.

On the other hand, conflict theorists argue that the immigrant-host model is restricted by 'consensus' view of society. For them (conflict theorists), 'Britain is a sharply divided, class-stratified society in which different interest groups contest a struggle for power. The disadvantaged position of coloured migrants is explained by their historical role as cheap labour, and their continued exploitation is guaranteed by the racism which capitalism generates to serve its own interests' (Richardson & Lambert, 1985:35). These consensus and conflict models might share some similarity in Van den Berghe's two types of race relations (1967); 'paternalistic' and 'competitive' types respectively.

Although these models of society represent the internalisation of its value system it could be also useful to elaborate individuals' perception of racism derived from their indigenous culture. Because different value systems play a crucial part of minority individual or group's coping strategies, without this viewpoint, it is impossible to answer

some questions such as ‘why do those racially discriminated people not get together and share their experience with other minorities?’

By applying the following two situational models, we may make sense of the racial minorities’ attitude towards racial conflict situations and coping strategies: 1) ‘conflict coping model’; if you recognise a problem, seek external causes and deal with them. On the other hand, 2) ‘consensus (order) coping model’; you seek the cause internally and lessen the shock or own emotional damage in order to fit in the society. Thus, if people are more used to using the conflict model, then they more likely to react to racial discrimination with problem-focused coping strategies (Kuo, 1995) which includes more confrontational strategies (Waters, 1999; Collins, 1991; Byng, 1998) and the notion of ‘attributional ambiguity’ (Crocker & Major, 1989; Ruggiero and Taylor, 1995; Crocker and Quinn, 1998; Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Whereas people who are familiar with the consensus model might try emotion-focused coping strategies (Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Folkman and Lazarus, 1980).

However, most of the “coping” literature is psychological research rather than sociological studies, which emphasize ‘stress and coping’. For example, Holmer and Rahe (1967) developed ‘the social –readjustment rating scale’ indicating the stress caused by major life events. There were 394 samples in the United States (composed by various age groups, different marital status, different gender groups, different class orientation, religious orientation, different race groups, etc.), and they assessed which life events were more stressful than others. Their self readjustment rating scale is to measure each stress level they can compare different groups. This scale has been adopted and developed by other psychologists (Kanner et al., 1981; Goldberg & Comstock, 1980). Thus, as stress management, coping is ‘a normal behavioural reaction to social stressors, including discrimination’(Kuo, 1995:112). However, the focus of the studies were ‘stress level’

rather than ‘coping’.

According to Lazarus & Folkman (1984)’s definition, ‘coping is the process of external and internal demands that are perceived as exceeding a person’s resources’, they also identify two modes of coping strategy:- ‘emotion focused coping strategy’ and ‘problem focused coping strategy’. The former refers to ‘attempts to reduce psychological distress, such as looking on the bright side or turning one’s mind away from problems’. The latter refers to ‘acts taken to remove or mitigate the source of stress, such as negotiating a compromise, seeking a raise, or changing jobs’(Fleishman, 1984:230). Billings and Moos (1981) suggest a similar typology: ‘active-behavioural’, ‘active-cognitive’, ‘avoidance strategies’. For example, ‘active behavioural coping’ is similar to ‘problem- focused coping strategy’, ‘avoidance coping strategy’ is to ‘emotion- focused coping strategy’. Fleishman (1984) suggests that ‘ active-cognitive coping strategy’ is a mixture of both emotion focused and problem focused coping strategies, because it includes ‘both trying to look on the positive side and considering several alternatives for handling the situation’(Fleishman, 1984:230). However, several scholars suggest that coping is ‘situation-specific’(Billings and Moos, 1981; Fleishman, 1984; Kuo, 1995), therefore, someone might respond to one situation using one coping strategy yet to another situation with another coping strategy.

The coping literature also suggests the strong relationship between choice of coping strategy and effect on the copers’ self-esteem. For example, ‘self- esteem is more consistent with a problem focused approach than with avoidance strategy’(Fleishman, 1984). An emotion- focused coping strategy increased distress, while a problem-focused coping strategy reduced distress (Billings and Moos, 1981). Moreover, Pearlin and Schooler (1978) formed that coping behaviours were differently efficacious. While the above literature does not deal specifically with racial discriminatory stress, it may help to

analyse how Japanese students in the U.K deal with their situation. Now let us turn to some of the “coping” literature on racism.

‘Emotion- focused’ and ‘problem- focused’ coping strategies have been incorporated and explored in Wen Kuo’s study on Asian Americans (Kuo,1995; Fleishman, 1984). He investigates four Asian American groups (Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos and Koreans)’s coping strategies when they experience racial problems in their lives. Kuo explains emotion-focused coping strategies as: (1) ‘Tell yourself it is not really important’; (2) ‘Just try to ignore what is going on’; (3) ‘remind yourself that things could be worse’; (4) ‘Look around at other minorities to see how much better off you are than they are’; (5) ‘Decide there is really nothing you can do to change things’. Whereas, problem-focused coping strategies are: (1) ‘Ask advice from friends’; (2) ‘Ask advice from relatives’; (3) ‘Take it to a civil rights organisation’; (4) ‘Talk to ethnic organisation leaders’ (1995:116). Kuo also uses the notions of passive coping (emotion-focused) and active coping (problem-focused) respectively .

When foreign people come to Britain, they realise that their different ethnicity is noticed and highlighted by the host society. Their experience of racism affects them in many different ways. One such way is when people’s “difference” is so exaggerated and highlighted in the host community, that they feel traumatised. Such experiences dominate and condition the thought patterns and daily lives of the victims. Furthermore, they become very much aware of their different racial identity and internalise the racial stigma of being ethnically different. For example, if they have suffered ‘name calling’, they try to ignore and minimise their emotional damage by saying to themselves, ‘Well, maybe because I am Japanese.’ or ‘Maybe because I am Jewish’ or ‘German’, etc. They use their foreignness to cope with unpleasant and sometimes uncertain experiences of racial discrimination but its outcome may lead to their self-esteem being lowered.

Furthermore, as Kuo points out, 'the cost of direct confrontation with racism can be formidable' (Kuo, 1995:113). Thus if they have already adopted emotion-focused coping strategies, they are unlikely to seek advice from anyone, which serves to isolate the experiences of discrimination of members of minority groups. Even if they decided to share unpleasant experiences with friends or other members of the same minority group, because of the ambiguity of certain interactions and uncertainty about their perception of what actually happened, as well as their own social status, some friends may tend to ignore or try to minimise the other's traumatic experiences, or become emotionally protective saying, for instance, 'Are you sure they meant it?' or 'Do you really think it was racial discrimination?' This reaction from others also encourages individuals' emotion- focused coping strategies, reinforcing this type of reaction as they encounter more unpleasant racial incidents in every day life. Fleishman's study on 'patterns in people's use of certain behaviours to cope with stressful life circumstances' suggests that emotion- focused coping (defensive, repressive coping style) relates to self-esteem negatively, whilst problem-focused coping (advice- seeking, confrontation) relates to self-esteem positively (1984).

Moreover, at the same time, foreigners who experience interpersonal racism may try to avoid uncomfortable incidents by socialising only with particular groups of people (e.g. other foreigners), avoiding going out at a certain times of the day, or to certain parts of a town or city. They are determined to prevent the incident happening again. This is very similar to the behaviour of bullied children. It is as if the fear of being a target of racial discrimination has taken over their life, and as a result, they may experience lower self-esteem. Such situations of subtle racism can be explained with attributional ambiguity, and is dependent on each individual case. Some racism can be addressed with emotion-focused coping, but in other cases applying a problem-focused coping strategy

may be more appropriate.

Kuo suggests several valuable points such as, if Asian-American have experienced racial discrimination in seeking housing, on a job, or in other situations, racial jokes, or racial slurs, they tend to use emotion- focused coping strategies to deal with racial discrimination. Interestingly, he found that female Asian Americans tend to rely more on problem- focused strategies, while male Asian Americans more often use emotion-focused strategies. We do not know if such gender differences hold for other groups as well. In coping with the more subtle forms of racism, even white minorities:- Irish, Jewish, South African peoples might adopt emotion-focused strategies, and it is very interesting to see how much it is applicable to East Asian people in Britain.

However, this Asian American case does not fit with Japanese people's experiences. For example, in finding accommodation or jobs, Japanese students are more welcome with British people, and even other minority landlords and owners, which may be attributable to our strong homeland economy and positive stereotypes such as 'polite, reliable and hardworking'. I think this is not so much a positive image but a 'submissive' one; British people think it could be more manageable and less problematic to have a Japanese student as a tenant or employee rather than even a British one. When I lived in London in 1996, I was asked to let some houses and one building, which contains 12 flats exclusively to Japanese people by Iraqi Jewish landlords. Generally, our international reputation is relatively good, for example, there are hardly any countries where a Japanese citizen needs a visa to visit. Japanese foreign students are not second generation migrants in the UK.

Feagin (1991) suggests middle-class American Black coping strategies for discrimination, which include careful assessment of negative events, avoidance, resigned acceptance,

verbal or physical confrontation. He particularly empathises how much American Black people carefully evaluate the events which might have racist implications despite some whites' observation, like 'middle class blacks are paranoid about whites' discrimination and they could rush to assume racism. Although Japanese students in Britain are different from middle class American Blacks, they may adopt similar coping strategies in regard to discrimination.

Byng (1998), Feagin and Sikes (1994), Feagin (1991), and Collins (1991) also stress the importance of sharing the experiences of racist events with their family and friends in a 'discrimination free space'. Byng and Collins also suggest that 'the oppressed are empowered' (Byng, 1998:483). We might observe these coping strategies in Japanese students' experiences when they encounter discrimination in Britain. However, how they see themselves (their mental orientation) is crucial in understanding their perception and choice of coping strategies when dealing with racist encounters in Britain.

Tuan (1998) claims that there is a different reaction to the model minority stereotype between native-born and foreign-born Asian American students. The former feel more doubtful that they will ever be fully accepted socially (minority orientation). The latter have more belief in the stereotyped image and tends to ignore any sign of discrimination as the act of ignorant individuals, defending themselves that way (migrant orientation). According to this, Japanese students in current study are all foreign born, therefore, they are likely to apply 'denial' or 'minimisation' for coping with discriminations (migrant orientation). Now we can look at other racial minority groups' experience in terms of different orientations.

1.4. Differences between the way in which immigrants and minorities may understand ‘racism’.

John Ogbu argues that the experience of being a minority group in the United States is dependent on whether they are ‘voluntary or involuntary minorities’ (1990:145). A group is a ‘voluntary’ minority when people decide to migrate and expect to have certain benefits from living in America whether socially, politically and economically. Whereas in the case of involuntary minorities, people are forced to move, whether this is through slavery, conquest, or colonisation. In the former case, hope and tolerance help to buffer them against discrimination. On the other hand, for the involuntary minority, the future is seen in grim and bitter terms, with a high degree of resentment to the host society. However, at the same time, they are trapped by ‘the common white belief that they were biologically, culturally, and intellectually inferior to Whites’ (1990:150). Japanese students can be classified a voluntary minority, therefore they may tend more towards tolerance of negative events than become resentful towards White British people.

Ogbu’s analysis is similar to Hein (1994)’s comparison of ‘migrant’ and ‘minority’ orientations. He suggests that minority groups respond to racism differently according to their orientations, which are classified as ‘migrant’ and ‘minority’. Where the migrant orientation focuses on the experience of immigration and being ‘foreign’, the minority orientation emphasises the tense relationship with U.S. society, which may leads to a more confrontational strategy. With the migrant orientation, people expect certain prejudices and racial discrimination, but their main concern is with improving their socio-economic status. They perceive racism as unintentional and temporary, improved by education and better information, if the host society were to understand them correctly, there would be no misunderstanding. The idea of involuntary minority and voluntary

migrant orientations is very helpful in understanding second generation and first immigrant parents generation, and their differently formed identities. However, Japanese students in this study are neither migrant nor minority settlers, they stay in Britain solely to attain their university degrees and then return to their country.

Waters (1999) describes both West Indians' and Black Americans' coping strategies: 'West Indians have often dealt with the stigmatised nature of the Black race in United States society through a strategy of "exit" rather than "voice". Since Black Americans generally perceive little possibility of escaping the category 'Black', they tend to develop a collective strategy to give voice to their lack of equality'. However, West Indians, 'especially in the first generation and especially when they first arrive, believe that by evoking their foreign status, working hard, and avoiding radicalism and by challenging true racism with loud cries of protest, they can exit from the stigmatised Black category' ('exit' strategy). Waters considers West Indians in the United States to be voluntary immigrants in spite of their history of slavery; 'West Indians display certain psychological and cultural reactions to American society that are closer to other voluntary immigrants than to African-Americans who were absorbed into the United States involuntarily' (Waters, 1999:88). These strategies, 'exit' and 'voice'; correlate with Ogbu's voluntary and involuntary migrant categories respectfully. Essed (1991) also mentioned in her study on Surinamese Dutch women, that they were voluntary migrants, whilst African American women were involuntary, and these differences affected their way of perceiving racist encounters.

However, in Britain, West Indian people do not seem to use the 'exit' strategy. According to Modood (1997), immigrant minorities such as Asian and West Indian communities took on different socialisation processes. Asians concentrated more on attaining capital accumulation and social mobility, whereas, the West Indians concentrated on establishing

a Black identity in Britain. The diversity was strongly influenced by the way they had been treated by White British. It is particularly interesting to compare West Indian's racial identity in the United States to that in Britain. Waters points out that West Indians use 'British ties and foreign status as way to combat discrimination' (Waters, 1999:76).

1.4.1. Some notes on immigrants and their experiences in the West

After World War II, more than 450,000 foreigners entered Britain (Husband, 1982; Anwar 1998). The British government recruited 90,000 European Voluntary Workers (EVWs), who were mostly refugees; they included Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, and Italians, who entered Britain and who apparently experienced hostility from British labour (Castle & Kosack, 1973; Rees, 1982). They worked in Britain under a short-term (usually twelve months) work permit scheme. However, as Rees points out most of EVW left Britain for other countries: for example, the United States or Commonwealth countries (1982). More recent migration has suffered most from unequal treatment and discrimination in recent history.

During the 1950s, a number of West Indians and Asians from the new Commonwealth countries came to Britain as 'replacement labour' in areas such as London Transport and the NHS. (Solomos, 1993 ; Anwar, 1998 ; Modood, 1994 ; Rees, 1982 ; Ballard & Ballard, 1977 ; Castles and Kosack, 1973). Under the British Nationality Act of 1948, the citizens of the British Commonwealth countries, 'Caribbean and Guyana, then from India and Pakistan, and finally with smaller but quite substantial flows from some African countries, Malaysia and Hong Kong' (see Rees, 1982:83), freely entered Britain. They were allowed to bring their families whereas the work permit holders, for example EVW, were not. Moreover, after the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, both the voucher system, by which the migrants in Britain could obtain vouchers for their kin and friends in their

homeland, and immigration registration for migrants to bring their dependents to Britain, reinforced their kin-ship network (Anwar, 1979).

Elsewhere in Western Europe, many migrant workers came from South European countries, for example, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and former colonies. In The Netherlands, the government started to welcome 'guestworkers' from Turkey and Morocco in the 1960s (Leeman and Saharso, 1997). These early migrants, mostly men, were not expected to settle down at that time., but with chain migration, later, more women arrived, and they started work in paid jobs. According to reports of western Europe's migrant workers (1976), Turkish workers in West Germany reported that women were more reluctant to return home than their husbands, because in their home country they can no longer keep paid jobs and a sense of independence, which they experienced in Germany. 'Guestworkers' and 'chain migration' were important elements in the mass migration (Sivanandan, 1982; Anwar, 1979; Castles & Kosack, 1973). Some institutional arrangements helped the process of migration, for example, many workers of the British textile and other industries were recruited in India and Pakistan (Anwar, 1979). Jamaican immigrants came to Britain through chain migration (Foner 1977). The man in the family came to Britain first, later his wife or girlfriend would follow, then after they had saved enough money they would send remittances to their children, who maybe were living with their grandparents in Jamaica, for them to come to Britain.

The term 'Guestworker' remained in some countries in Europe until very recently and there have been some instances of citizenship being granted:- in 1999 in Germany, the government showed some generosity in giving full citizenship to second or third generation German born Turkish people. By comparison, for the Japanese, citizenship is based upon the idea of "Japanese blood", and there is still difficulty in treating non-Japanese (by heritage) people as citizens. Many second and third generation

Koreans and Chinese in Japan still can not fully claim their own citizenship and they have no right to vote, for example. However, this situation has recently been strongly challenged by the presence of third generation Japanese, mass returnees from Brazil and Peru who have the right to claim Japanese citizenship due to blood ties. Their culture, however, such as food, value systems, and lifestyle, is distinctive from other Japanese.

In Britain foreign workers and second and third generation migrants might obtain citizenship and residency more easily than like Japan, but even with the right to vote, which may itself not be fully exercised, it remains that they are under represented in positions of power and politics. In addition, as Ken Pryce points out, the education which the second and third generations of Jamaicans receive is very 'White oriented'. 'The school anglicises him, installing in his psyche a preference for all the "white" values of the dominant society, yet that society continually defines him as inferior, seems detained and remain an outsider by the very same values that he has been taught to revere' (Pryce, 1979:137). He continues by emphasising their confused identity, 'What purpose does it serve continuing to identify with the culture and world view of the very same people who exploit and oppress me?' (Ibid.) They might respond to rejection with rejection, or might reject themselves as reinforcing the internalised negative image of themselves. After cumulative experiences of discrimination, Japanese students might find it difficult to appreciate the 'White' values and norms of British society, which they may then reject.

Although the migration of non-white workers has been officially welcomed, West Indian people, for example, continue to be seen as descendants of slaves and possess a 'degraded self-image which white society imposes on them' (Rex & Tomlinson, 1979:237). So even in the 1970s, they were forced to see themselves as underclass citizens. Furthermore, until very recently, there has been much anti-Semitism, anti-Irish, anti-Catholic and

anti-foreign hostility; racial riots have consistently taken place in British history. People in power often use ethnocentric sentiments; Enoch Powell's famous rivers of blood speech on 20 April 1968 (Bradley, 1992, Barker 1982; Dummett, M. & A. 1982; Miles, 1989; Castles & Kosack, 1973). Bradley states that 'Enoch Powell raised the spectre of Black immigrants 'swamping' the country, draining economic resources from the indigenous population and diluting British culture, a theme which became central to the discourse of racism.' Then he continued 'immigration only took place because the immigrants' home countries had at an earlier date been 'swamped' by thousands of white settlers who took political control, reconstructed the native economies and imposed aspects of British culture in countries where children still study Shakespeare and Dickens in schools and play cricket and football outside them' (See Bradley, 1992:42). Alfred Sherman expressed his sentiment by saying it is kind enough to send immigrants back to their own homeland, as they have their countries to build, and, in the context of institutional racism, Miles states 'Enoch Powell MP in a series of speeches, carefully radicalised the people of Asian and Caribbean origin in Britain and alleged a range of negative consequences for "our own people" arising from their presence in Britain (Miles, 1989:86).

Similar ideas could be found twenty years later. Solomos (1989) points out that Thatcher's famous Bruges speech (in September 1988) warned against the dangers of diluting Britain's national identity 'under the rubric of wider European identity'. In addition, she argued how important it was to protect the unique quality of Britishness, even if Britain were to become a part of Europe (1989).

Many of these workers, who had brought distinctive ethnic identities and cultural practices from their home land suffered from racial hostility or discrimination as groups and as individuals, and found themselves excluded from many of the opportunities of the

host 'White' society (Solomos, 1989). According to the 1966-7 survey, 'slightly over half of the white respondents thought there should be different conditions of entry for white as opposed to coloured immigrants and this tendency was particularly marked among working- class people'. Because 'coloured immigrants strained the social services, brought in disease, were dirty, or competed for jobs' (Castle & Kosack, 1973:431). Rex and Tomlinson describe the shock of West Indian immigrants to the unexpected discrimination: 'they come from Jamaica to England, despite its terrible climate, simply because there are jobs here, they are not merely willing to become assimilated, but people who regard themselves as a part of Britain.' Whereas, Asians, according to Rex and Tomlinson, accept 'the inevitability of his having to live in the Diaspora' because there is no better alternative available to him in his homeland and, as he has low expectations. England seems to have much to offer him in terms of a job, a home and money' (1979:94). In general there appears to be a difference in expectation between West Indians and Asians. Banton claims that West Indian immigrants in Britain 'expected to be accepted as British subjects and would establish ties in the new country making it difficult for them to return'(1972:158), but 'the first generation of Asians are more clearly migrant workers...much of the behaviour of the Asian minorities is explicable only in terms of their homeland values' (Ibid.).

There are other factors that migrant workers use when deciding to settle down in a host society. As Ballard & Ballard (1977) noted about South Asian migrants workers: 'the importance of return as a real goal has gradually faded because of mixed feeling about their children's educational opportunities and their qualities'(1977:41). They accept their children's Anglicisation for the benefits their migration has brought them. Once their children are being educated in Britain there is very little sense in disturbing them by returning home, and also they have 'already made political and economical networks and contacts'(ibid.). Despite experiences of racial discrimination and hostility, many

non-white migrant workers decided to stay in Britain permanently.

However, it is not only non-white people who become targets of racial discrimination in Britain. Irish and Jewish people have also suffered from racial hostility in Britain at many times over a period of centuries. Between 1945 and 1951 between 70,000 and 100,000 Irish people entered Britain without any intervention (Miles, 1992). Although the Irish Republic was no longer a part of the Commonwealth in 1947, as the British Nationality Act showed, they were free to enter, settle, work, and vote in Britain (Anwar 1998; Solomos and Back, 1996; Castles and Kosack, 1973). Solomos (1989) discusses a long history of anti-Irish stereotypes and images in British culture, in terms of their Catholicism as well as an image of the Irish Celts. Reeves (1983) argues that, 'Images of the racial or cultural inferiority of the Irish were based not only on particular ideological constructions of the Irish, but on a self-definition of Englishness or Anglo-Saxon culture in terms of particular racial and cultural attributes. In later years such images of the uniqueness and purity of Englishness were to prove to be equally important in the political debates about Black migration and settlement (Reeves, in Solomos, 1989).' He refers to Irish Celts and their Catholicism as a reason for their hostile treatment. Even now, they sometimes experience both institutional and interpersonal racism. .

Jewish immigrants entering Britain during the First World War were seen as people who spoke 'no English, were poor, but also they were not peasants or illiterates' and culturally rich. Furthermore they were used to migrating from one country to another' (Gartner in Rees, 1982:77). Most of them settled down in small areas of London rather densely. (Rees points out that other immigrant groups tend to follow this pattern). In the 1930s Jewish refugees continued to enter Britain, they had been prosecuted by the Nazis, but continued to suffer discrimination in Britain, mainly from middle -class professional people (Krausez, 1972:26).

Krausez explains that both colour and non-colour prejudice are caused by the indigenous population's ethnocentrism and the 'need to exploit or blame the ethnic minorities appears particularly at times of economic crisis or periods of radical change in the industrial and social life of a society' (1972:124). Anti-Irish sentiment and anti-Semitism in Britain continue to persist today.

Temporary Sojourners

There are also people who enter Britain from other countries who are not migrant workers. These temporary sojourners have to be discussed because most Japanese, as well as other overseas students in Britain, are likely to fall in to this category as they intend to return to their homeland eventually (Watson, 1977). Therefore, their minority status and experience is very different from those of Japanese American or Japanese Brazilian immigrants and their children.

As Rose Lee points out, 'a sojourner is a person whose mental orientation is towards the home country' (Lee in Watson, 1977: 6). However, it is not always possible to distinguish the sojourners from the settlers. Watson suggests that their common dream of returning to their homeland might be very different from their children's and would affect them (1977).

Furthermore, in the globalised society in which we live, business people and their families, diplomats, students and visiting scholars, always look for better opportunities in their homeland as well as abroad. Thus, sojourners and migrant workers are mainly "voluntary minorities". As Ogbu (1990) argues, they are more likely to accept their minority status, and have a higher expectation of the dominant group than is the reality. Therefore, as Waters (1994) pointed out, they might be very shocked or disappointed

when they encounter blatant racial discrimination in an interpersonal way, whereas the second generation who are used to this treatment from the dominant group might assert themselves better than their migrant parents – but also may be more resentful to the society. As increasing numbers of foreigners have arrived in global capitalist societies during the past several decades, studies of cultural adjustment have been conducted in various disciplines - sociology and social anthropology, cross-cultural psychology and social psychology. In cross-cultural psychology, there has been much research carried out on the psychological adaptation of sojourners, immigrants and refugees (Liebkind, 1996; Chataway & Berry, 1989) e.g., sojourners' acculturate attitude and process of adaptation in multicultural countries such as the United States, Western European countries, and in some comparatively homogeneous societies, like Northern or Eastern European countries and Japan (Zheng and Berry, 1991; Hsiao-Ying, 1995).

Cross-cultural psychology suggests four acculturation strategies for coping with a new culture psychologically: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. Karmela Liebkind explains these acculturation attitudes - 'Marginalisation/ alienation occurs if one rejects one's own culture but does not adopt the majority culture. Assimilation means rejection of one's own culture and adoption of the majority culture. Separation occurs when individuals emphasise their own culture and withdraw from contact with the dominant culture' (1996: 163), and integration occurs if one adopts the dominant culture whilst not rejecting one's own. These frameworks are applied in the observation of adjustment and maladjustment of stress levels: for example, depression, anxiety, etc. Acculturation studies carried out by Liebkind (1996) suggests that the prejudice and discrimination of the host population would be stressors for the "acculturating" people. These findings are useful in terms of observing the strategies for coping with the shock of encountering new cultures, not specifically coping with racism, that individuals may experience.

Assimilation Theory

Milton Gordon (1955) suggests various stages to an immigrant's assimilation process in American society. He discusses how immigrants who possess a distinct culture, religious practices and value system, would gradually assimilate into their host society. However his models, "Anglo-Conformity", "the melting-pot", and "cultural pluralism" are heavily based on the situation of white European immigrants. Gordon explains his models as follows: 'in preliminary fashion, we may say that the "Anglo-conformity" theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group; the "melting pot" idea envisaged a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous, American type; and "cultural pluralism" postulated the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society' (1955:85). He then cites the Americanisation movement during World War I: '...essentially it was a consciously articulated movement to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and make him over into an American along Anglo-Saxon lines...all this to be accomplished with great rapidity' (Gordon, 1955:99). This rather fanatical 'pressure-cooking assimilation' model gripped the nation, especially during Wartime hysteria. Despite the great depression of the 1930's and World War II, this attitude of 'Anglo-conformity' towards ethnic minority groups remained or even became institutionalised. During World War II, nationalist sentiment was particularly strongly expressed in the act of containing Japanese Americans in concentration camps, even including second and third generation of Japanese Americans.

Despite Gordon's attempts at recognizing ethnic diversities; expressed as a "multiple

melting pot”, or “cultural Pluralism”, he still argues that different ethnic groups should melt and be poured into the middle- class white Protestant Anglo-Saxon mould. This might encourage racial stratification of the society according to degrees of assimilation of each ethnic group, which evokes hierarchies between those racial minority groups. Such an event would strengthen existing class structures and may reinforce institutional racism. Warner and Srole (1945) also discussed the degree of assimilation in their study of ethnic minority groups in “Yankee City” in the 1930s. Their term ‘time table of assimilation’ explained how certain ethnic minorities could assimilate themselves into Anglo American life at a quicker rate than other groups. Thus ‘the greater the racial and cultural differences between the host and immigrant groups, the greater will be the subordination, the greater the strength of the ethnic social systems, and the longer the period necessary for the assimilation’ (Kurokawa, 1970:3, see also Waters, 1994; Tuan, 1992).

However, theories about minority groups’ assimilation into US society were heavily based on the experiences of White European immigrants and their second generation in the United States (Waters, 1994). After the reform of the immigration laws through the Immigration Act (1965) there was a large-scale influx of ‘unmeltable people’ (so-called contemporary immigration) consisting of non-whites, such as Asians and Latin Americans (Portes & Rumbaut, 1994; Song, 1999; Zhou, 1998). Especially after the 1980s, the number of immigrants from European countries has declined to 10%. As Portes and Rumbaut have so aptly stated ‘never before has the United States received immigrants from so many countries, from such different social and economic backgrounds, and for so many reasons’ (see Portes & Rumbaut, 1994:8).

Furthermore, as well as this unexpected increase in cultural diversity, immigrants do not enter a society expecting to adapt themselves to a monolithic American culture, but to a more pluralistic one (Waters, 1994). Mary Waters also argues that recent immigrants to

the USA are unlikely to fit the stereotypical image of being unskilled and uneducated. In some instances, the immigrant's expectation actually correlates with the human capital they bring, for instance, some arrive with professional qualifications, and they obtain commensurate employment.

Omi & Winant claim that 'many blacks (and later, many Latinos, Indians, and Asian Americans as well) reject ethnic identity in favour of a more radical racial identity which demanded group rights and recognition.'(1986:18). Both the Black Power movement in the United States and the anti-colonial movements in Britain influenced anti-racist beliefs and outlooks (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). 'Assimilation theory' is no longer applicable in terms of non-white minority groups in the United States or Britain. 'Assimilation theory' itself has implicit racist connotations which reinforce and perpetuate institutional as well as interpersonal racism.

Now let us look at second-generation people who have citizenship and yet experience differential treatment. They are not immigrants but minorities, and how is this second generation different from their immigrant parents in their sense of ethnic identity and their responses to racism?

1.4.2. Some research on the second generation

According to the Guardian newspaper, there will be more non-whites than whites in the UK by 2100. Whites will be a minority in London by 2010 (Wells, Guardian 8,9,2000). Bradley argued that, 'in 1951, there were some 200,000 New Commonwealth (NC) born immigrants in Britain. By 1981 numbers had increased to over one and a quarter million born overseas, along with over a million children born in Britain into NC families' (see Bradley 1992:42).

However, do these figures affect the non-White minorities' chance to voice their racial experience in the society? Does it influence their socio-political status? Alternatively, will they just become minority-dominated societies as produced by the Indian caste system or South Africa's Apartheid? What will the second generation make of their racial experiences in white dominant society?

One way of observing the experiences of the second generation is firstly, the '*between two cultures*' (Watson, 1977) approach: the second generation tries to see the relationship between first generation migrant parents and second generation children as a generation gap, for example, initially the new generation fights against the old but eventually, some of the second generation may identify with their homeland culture and value system like their parents, after having had an experience of racism in the host society, and consequently, they might then fight against the dominant culture's value system. Secondly, the second generation tends to have minority orientation instead of migrant orientation (Hein, 1994). The first generation is more or less motivated by the goal of improving their socio-economic status and their standard of living, whereas the second generation internalises dominant group social values as well as homeland culture, and as a result, they expect equal opportunities (Croall, 1998). Therefore, either they could cope with their problem assertively or by feeling bitterness or resentment, feeling excluded from the dominant group. Thirdly, because of their racially discriminated experiences, they might feel marginalised, and thus identify with a non-white status. In particular, experience of racial discrimination by the police can reinforce a feeling of remoteness from the mainstream culture.

Ballard and Ballard (1977) stress the importance of studying the nature of the Sikh second generation, who are the British born or British educated children of immigrant parents.

Firstly, how successful is this young generation, who have been exposed to socialisation in two different cultures, at home and at school, at managing to resolve cultural conflict. Secondly, are they in any way or in what form sustaining their original Punjabi ethnicity (1977). Ballard and Ballard suggest that many such Asians go through a period of adolescence, which can be seen in any industrialised societies, an Oedipus complex type rebellion against their parents' values which sometimes develops into serious conflict between parents and children. For example, at home it is encouraged that the loyalty to the family should always come first, that children should respect the authority of their elders and put obligations to others before personal self-interest, but in contrast, at school, children are encouraged to be independent, taking decisions as individuals.

Moreover, Asian parents expect their children to achieve academic success and according to the children's gender they are treated very differently, for example, normally girls are more strictly controlled, possibly not even expected to go into further education like boys, because of their parents' fear of their daughters running away with other boys. However, in their late teen or twenties, they come back to the Punjabi cultural norm, although in a more modified version than that of their parents'. Many social anthropologists and sociologists since Watson have applied this generation gap framework 'Between two cultures' (Anwar, 1979; Khan, 1982; Song, 1999) -- though some like Parker (1995) and Gardner (1995) are quite critical of this perspective.

Second generation Asians who were brought up and educated in Britain are well aware that they need to support their own group socially and politically, using their education. This society based orientation (minority orientation) is common in the second generation (Ballard, 1979). As Ballard and Ballard (1977) point out, in the 1970s, the second generation Sikh people experienced more racial hostility than the first immigrant parent generation. This is because the older generation people were in their own ethnic communities and most social interaction took place there, with not much time for their

white neighbours (migrant orientation). Other South Asian first generation migrants also followed this pattern. According to Verity Saifulla Khan, they 'tend to have minimal access to the British system.'(Khan, 1982:210). Furthermore, those Sikh parents were worried about bringing up children in Britain in what they saw as an increasingly racially hostile society (Ballard and Ballard 1977).

For example, 'they experience some hostility from the moment they first enter school and know that they are always likely to be the target of abuse... however much they try to conform, they can never really be British because of the colour of their skins. This knowledge of their non-acceptance is a strong and effective counter to complete Anglicisation and it is leading them to make some overt expression of a separate ethnicity' (Ballard and Ballard 1977: 41). After leaving school, this inequality continues or even gets worse; 'young blacks find it difficult to get the type of jobs they want and they are often victimised by the police. Because most have more education and higher aspirations than their parents do, they tend to be more resentful of the low-status jobs they are usually forced to accept'(Foner, 1977:145). Different orientation from their parents' make them feel more resentful toward underclass treatment.

Ballard and Ballard (1977) suggest that although South Asian young people do not quite feel that they are British still they are capable of presenting themselves as British. They mention that despite the second generation's multiple presentation of self; they often switch themselves to be a different person depending on which company they are in – Asian or Anglo-Saxon. Ballard (1994) mentions 'code-switching'.

Moreover, the parents of the Asian or Muslim second generation, are sometimes particularly authoritarian and have difficulty in understanding their children's problems; they cannot fully be accepted as a member of this homogeneous white English society

and it creates their stress (Khan, 1982). Foner (1977) too, points out that the bitterness and frustration by being racially rejected and discriminated in Britain are more severe for the second generation of West Indians than their parents experienced.

Other groups may identify with their original caste or religious sect (Indigenous or their own background- based racism; Hindus or Islam or between white Africans and black Africans, Islam and non Islam. This complexity is not only found between different groups, but also within one group or even one individual - different identities are competing and converting (1994).

At the same time the dominant culture encourages or even imposes on the minority groups the consensus model to cope with racial pressure: '...by fostering the myth of homogeneous English culture, and using mono-cultural and mono-lingual norms to assess social skills and educational 'achievement' the dominant definition ignores the change and diversity that (is now found) in part(s) of all contemporary Western urban societies. By ignoring the dynamic and composite nature of ethnic identities and the two forms of socialisation experienced by minority members, the dominant culture forces the minority identity, culture and language into illegitimate, personal, private and community spheres of life' (Khan, 1982:212). However, this phenomena is not unique in Anglo-conformity oriented societies. In any society, during any period of history, this consensus model can be observed, and those who attain power tend to encourage this model among the rest.

According to Alexander, the identity of being 'black' is almost a reaction to not being 'white', because of their experience of cultural exclusion in their own society, the idea of solidarity and the community is very important (1996:2). Moreover, Foner (1979) suggests that because most of them never lived in Jamaica, they have no opportunity to

compare their situation with what it was like there. Especially, British-born Jamaicans, who feel themselves as neither Jamaican nor English. Their identification is more based on their blackness than on the land in which they were born or where their parents came from.

On the other hand, being Chinese second generation in Britain also entails their stigmatised racial experiences; for example, being teased because of their accent, and name-calling, affects the form of their own identity (Parkers, 1995). The experience of being different from others may itself help form their own racial identity. As well as the South Asian second generation, they might be seen as exotic people. Not being known by mainstream culture.

Although they share the same racial background to start with, second generation minority groups or individuals form their racial identity from a number of bases. Some form their racial identity from the experiences of having suffered from racism or racial discrimination (as Parker argues - young Chinese people feel themselves more Chinese or more British depending on their racial experience and its degree), others may strongly depend on their homeland and its culture (even they never had experience of visiting it or have no plans to do).

Some minority children tend to deal with the conflict between the priorities they have been taught by their first generation parents and those they have absorbed from the society dominant group with whom they associate subordinately, therefore they might find it awkward to be assertive. For example, Song (1999) points out that even if Chinese British born or educated children felt exploited by their parents in terms of helping out in their take-away shop, it can be difficult to negotiate with their parents, who are very much tied in to their businesses. They feel sorry for their parents. It also might be because of

their cultural values, for example, young Chinese people try to fit in with White people's expectation and experience ambivalence between their own needs and other people's (Parker, 1995). This cultural value may well apply Japanese students, projecting onto the dominant group of people, respecting authority figures.

In the United States, Zhou (1998) claims that adaptation of second generation and ethnic identity varies depending on each ethnic group and where they settled originally. The second generation is unlikely to feel that they are foreigners and have less ties to their 'old world'. Each major American city; such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Miami and Chicago, contain many ethnic cultures. Immigrants' children adapt not to the idea of 'American society' equating to Anglo-conformity, but being 'multidimensional depending on what peer group or alternative culture' is available in their social environment (Zhou, 1998: 15). Furthermore, she points out 'the effect of race/ethnicity is intertwined with class'. Therefore, their experience of adaptation will vary according to where they live: middle-class communities with other white neighbourhoods, or inner-city ghettos. According to their social environment, they might experience differences type of racism, inequality and exclusion, the severity of which will be influenced by their socio-economic background.

1.5. Conclusion

There has been much attention on the issue of race and 'racism', which have great social and political significance in the western societies, yet very few studies have focused on the perception of racism, or how minorities cope with discrimination. Especially contemporary forms of racism became more subtle and institutionalised, it is more important that participants' experiences of those racist events understood correctly. I

introduced psychology studies on stress coping, then coping literatures on racism, however, there is no coping literature on racism in Britain, especially concerning the experiences of East Asians. I also draw attention to different mental orientations; such as voluntary and involuntary migrant orientation (Ogbu,1990), and migrant and minority orientations (Hein, 1994), which deeply relates the participants' ways of perceiving and coping with discrimination.

Most of the above literature on race and 'racism', racial awareness, coping strategies with racist incidents, and migrants, and minorities' experiences, is inadequate to explain the position of Japanese students as a minority group in Britain. Their experiences and voices have not been heard, and stay invisible and isolated. The position of Japanese students and their experiences in the British social landscape is not at all clear. They are neither immigrants nor 'native' minorities. Therefore, their mental orientation, as well as their treatment, is distinct. Thus an empirical study of their experiences in Britain is crucial.

Chapter 2 JAPAN'S MINORITIES

'In Japan there are no minority problems, so our strata of education is higher than Americans who suffer from minority problems such as Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Hispanics' (Former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, 1986).

2.1. Introduction

This faux pas against American and Japanese minorities (Creighton, 1996; Sugimoto, 1997; the Asahi Shinbun, 1986) stirred discriminated minority groups in Japan. Minority groups including the Ainu, Zainichi Koreans (long term or permanent Korean residents in Japan), Burakumin and Okinawans, complained and protested about the above statement. Consequently, it might have strengthened their group solidarity. However, from interviews I have conducted in Japan, several people in the majority group admitted that, even if they noticed people in one of the minority groups who appeared to be oppressed, they were concerned that it might be stigmatising for them if they got involved.

Conformity in Japan tends to encourage people to avoid the risk of being ignored or excluded from the majority group (e.g. school, neighbourhood watch, work etc). Therefore, even if one may wish to enjoy self-exploration, as might have been the case abroad, the structure of Japanese society inhibits him/her so that s/he cannot express what s/he really thinks or feels.

According to Tsukada (1996), there is a tendency for people in Japan to avoid conflict. For example, "say sorry even when you don't mean it," may be considered a Japanese maxim, possibly to maintain a peaceful attitude to each other and to other members of the

world. Unfortunately, this may have caused some Japanese to experience difficulties in expressing their personal views and feelings, because of their position in society. Such inter-group relations in Japan, emphasise a system of equal values and group solidarity. On the other hand, inter-group or intra-group relations are very much based on endless competition. These ideas have been instilled in the education system and are well exercised in the work place.

“The survival of the fittest” may still be influential in contemporary Japan. The idea of “inferior others” affects not only long suffering outsiders, such as the Burakumin, Korean residents, the Ainu and Okinawans, but also disadvantaged people, including the Hibakusha (survivors of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War), Konketsuji (mixed blood child), Kikokushijo (young returnees from abroad), Asian illegal migrants and the recent influx of Nikkeijin (South American Japanese) (Sugimoto, 1997; De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996).

Despite the national image of Japan as a homogeneous country (Creighton, 1996), Lie (2001) points out that Japanese society has transformed itself from one era to another, in that they have increasingly produced various minority groups and Japan itself has become a multiethnic country. Japan’s minorities have been estimated as comprising 4.5 to 6 per cent of its population. (Hicks, 1997; Sugimoto, 1997; Bunmei, 1996) Some are technically Japanese (who possess a Japanese passport), and some are not fully accepted as Japanese nationals. Furthermore, concepts of Japaneseness depend on several questions. Such questions may be asked as “Who is Japanese? And who is not quite Japanese? And who decides who is Japanese?” (Sugimoto, 1997). Moreover, ‘What is it to be considered as ‘other’ in Japan?’

In this chapter, I am first going to explore Japan’s cultural identity in its recent history.

Secondly, I will address who are to be classified as 'others' in Japan. This will include discussion of the non- Japanese (White and Black foreigners, Asians) and those considered Japanese in a legal, or a residential sense (the Burakumin, the Ainu, Zainichi-Koreans and many more). Thirdly, I will ask, 'how do the majority Japanese people treat these 'others'? How do mainstream Japanese formulate attitudes towards particular groups of people, and discriminate against them? In the overall scheme, I will relate this to how mainstream Japanese perceptions of minorities in Japan may influence Japanese students understandings of 'race' and minority status, and their attitudes and identities as 'outsiders' in Britain.

Sugimoto suggests seven aspects of Japaneseness, 'nationality, ethnic lineage, language competence, place of birth, current residence, subjective identity, and level of cultural literacy' (Sugimoto, 1997:171). He asserts that multiple kinds of Japaneseness exist 'in combining the presence or absence of their attributes' of being Japanese (ibid.).

We may refer to the example of children who are of 'mixed natinality', who are children of Japanese and Taiwanese or Korean parents. These children are called 'Konketsuji' (which literally means a mixed blood child). This term applies in the wider context, for example, to the offspring of any racially different parents in Japan, such as the child of Japanese and other Asian or non-Asian foreigners. According to Tanba, 33,748 Konketsuji were born in 1997. In a big city, such as Tokyo or Osaka, one out of thirteen or fourteen children is Konketsuji (Tanba, 2000). These children might face racial discrimination at school, by name-calling and even physical abuse etc. Among these Konketsuji, those of mixed black and Japanese parentage often encounter open disdain by mainstream Japanese (Wagatsuma in DeVos and Wagatsuma, 1996). However, generally, the majority of Japanese treat Konketsuji according to their foreign parent's status in Japan, or sometimes his/her homeland economy or political power.

Are Konketsuji Japanese? This is not an easy question to answer, for example, there is “de facto marriage Konketsuji” in existence (sometimes called Kongaishi which refers to a mixed race child born out of wedlock). They can be discriminated against more severely. Especially if a Kongaishi’s mother is non-Japanese, even if the Japanese father admits paternity, such a child will not be afforded Japanese status. Therefore, for example, if the mother overstayed her visa time-limit, the child would become the subject of deportation as well. Japanese fathers should acknowledge these Kongaishi when s/he is in the womb (so-called ‘Taiji ninchi’) as it is too late after the birth, and this acknowledgement (Taiji ninchi) is essential for Kongaishi to be recognised as a Japanese national (Shimazu, 2000). Although Japan became both a paternal and maternal blood tied country much like Germany and France after 1985, (before that Japan was paternalistic), still Kongaishi’s rights are not protected enough in Japan (Bunmei, 1996).

There are people who are discriminated against by the mainstream population, despite the fact that they are neither ethnically, nor racially distinct from the majority Japanese. For example, disadvantaged people such as the Burakumin and Zainichi Koreans face unfair treatment by the majority Japanese, so suffer from a similar social stigma to those with ‘Hansen’s disease’(leprosy) or who are HIV positive. These disease sufferers have been treated as “Kowai (frightening), Utsuru (transmittable), Kakuri (isolationary)” and their rights have been largely unaddressed in Japan until very recently (1998-1999)(Tsumura, 2000). Hibakusha, (survivors of the atomic bombs dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan during the Second World War), are also surprisingly discriminated against by the majority Japanese. Hibakusha were originally discriminated against in a dual sense: both at the Japanese State level and at the interpersonal level. Twenty years ago, the state

yielded, and admitted its responsibility to compensate them². Some of the minority groups are seen as “contaminated others”, with whom the majority Japanese are reluctant to mix, especially in employment or marriage situations. It is the fear of “bad blood” which symbolically pollutes all family, or company they interact with. These “contaminated” groups include the Burakumin, Zainichi Koreans, Hibakusha and the disadvantaged etc. The bullied at school in Japan are sometimes treated in a similar way by class mates, as if s/he has transmittable disease, they physically tend to avoid the victim (Kohama, 1999). Some Japanese students might feel being bullied when they are discriminated in Britain, or if they have some experiences of being bullied they may perceive racist incidents as a form of bullying.

Others are treated more as “primitive” minorities. Historically, these include Ainu, and the Okinawans. Currently Nikkeijin and other Asian people are also treated in this way (Creighton, 1997). This notion of “primitive others” has endured through Japan’s industrialisation, colonial territorial expansion, and now economic globalisation. Some majority Japanese people perceive them to be culturally and economically inferior. Similarly Zainichi Koreans, and Burakumin, grow up with a Japanese self-image and as of being a member of the imaginary homogeneous Japanese society though they experience discrimination by mainstream Japanese. These minorities’ children might come to identify themselves socially as ‘not quite Japanese’ or ‘impure’ Japanese (Chong, 1996). Postcolonial imagery has centred upon the supposed impurity of minorities seen as “contaminated others”. People who were seen as contaminated or polluted, or having foreign origin, or being stigmatised, or considered to be inferior have been excluded from

2 The second generation of Hibakusha, especially, “Picka Baby” (from the atomic bombs’ nickname, “Picka Don”), who were in the mothers’ womb when the bomb was dropped, were born with cancer or leukaemia. One of the Picka Babies was committed suicide after her discovery of her own pregnancy. She was terrified to have a baby who might have the same destiny as her, living with the discrimination and a fatal illness. Now there are third- and forth-generation Hibakusha, still having to hide the fact, because it might cause problems for their relatives’ recruitment and marriage. They often become easy targets of biased rumour (Yamazaki and Fleming, 1996).

mainstream Japanese culture (Ogasawara, 1997). Japanese society has failed to ensure equal rights and opportunities for these people.

Some majority Japanese might feel that “these minority people are Japanese now, but they are not quite Japanese or impure Japanese, we must be careful when we mix with them!” Furthermore, the Ryukyuans (Okinawans) are, for example, perceived as not quite Japanese, (physically or culturally), but at the same time not quite Ryukyuan either. A sense of changed Ryukyuan identity resulted after Japanese annexation. Similarly with Zainichi Koreans, who were born in Japan, their Korean language and culture are discounted in Japan, but they are not fully accepted either as full Koreans in Korea. Zainichi Koreans, Okinawans and the Ainu have all become impure in a dual sense.

2.2. Pre-and post-war Japan

During the last three decades, Japan’s presence abroad has received considerable attention. Their Gross National Product (GNP) is second in the world. Japanese products are simply everywhere. In Britain, for example, people drive Toyota or Nissan cars, and ride Honda or Kawasaki motorbikes. Their audio and TV sets, cameras and videos are made by Sony or Panasonic. They sing in a Karaoke bar and enjoy Playstation consoles at home. Children ask for Gameboys and Pokemon trading cards for their Christmas and birthday presents. In the 1980’s, the popular stereotype of the Japanese tourist group (armed with cameras and camcorders) was formed, because the Japanese yen was stronger and they could (and did) go everywhere in the world.

After their traumatic defeat in the Second World War in 1945, Japan has transformed itself into one of the strongest industrialised countries in the world. This miraculous economic and industrial recovery has been achieved within a surprisingly short period.

Running through this rather hectic Westernisation period since they opened their country to the outside world, there has been a reshaping of the Japanese cultural identity.

In 1853, Commodore Perry arrived in Japan with his black ship. He brought a letter from the American president, Franklin Pierce, pressing Japan to open its country. This became the end of the 'two and a half hundred year's isolation led by the feudal Tokugawa period' (Eguchi, 1998). It was not an easy decision for the Japanese to change their policy from "expulsion of the Western barbarians" to "welcome and learn from them". Perry's big powerful battle ship was enhanced by its sinister black colour to threaten and intimidate the Japanese. Now Japan had to face the 'cruel choice', which many so called under developed countries, had to take. Japan set out to absorb industrial technology from the West whilst simultaneously maintaining their own cultural heritage (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:2). Japanese developed two coping strategies to modernise themselves³.

New young leaders from the *kaikoku-ha* (see notes) were keen on making Japan as powerful as the Western nations so that they would never be exploited and colonised. Those former samurai leaders were determined to protect Japan's cultural and economical autonomy. Their slogan was '*fukoku kyouhei*', which means 'rich and powerful armed country'. The new Meiji government encouraged in-group solidarity and consensus, in order to encourage the populace to adopt 'everyday Westernisation'. Thus, the modern idea of studying in the West countries has been encouraged by the Westernisation.

In the late 19th century, many groups of young Japanese intellectuals emerged. They

³ One was to open up the country, which was supported by the group of people (samurai) called *kaikoku-ha* which can literally be translated as "the open country wing". On the other hand, there was an opponent group called *joi-ha*, which means the expulsionist wing which insisted on keeping Japan's cultural autonomy. Both parties felt a great fear of being invaded and colonised by Western countries. This fear was enhanced by the awareness of other Asian countries being colonised. However, *Kaikoku-ha* strongly insisted on recognising the materialistically advanced Western civilisation and learning from it. After a bloody battle between the two wings, Japanese finally decided to open its country.

published journals and newspapers, such as *Nihon* (Japan), *Kokusui-syugi* (national essence), emphasising 'the preservation of the Japan's cultural autonomy' and on recovering 'their own national pride' (De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996: 270). Especially after the two wars, which Japan won against China and Russia in 1894 and 1904, the Japanese considered that they should receive equal status and treatment from Western countries. (Japan had agreed to an unequal treaty with the USA, the Netherlands, Russia, France and Britain in 1858 which governed their extraterritorial rights.) Two other victories spurred the Japanese on to be more militant. In 1910, Japan officially colonised Korea. Many Koreans lost their own land and immigrated to Japan's mainland. Korean children were coerced into learning Japanese at school in Korea as well as in Japan. The Japanese exercised similar practices with the Ainu (the native population in Hokkaido). According to Michael Weiner, '(The) popular discourse of primitive "Others" was also sustained by the imagery of the Japanese civilising mission...the indigenous populations of Hokkaido, Taiwan and Korea classified as stagnant, degenerate and incapable of appreciating the resources they possessed'(1997:11).

During the whole period of the Japanese Empire, Burakumin and the Ainu were subjected to systematic exploitation in Japan. Okinawa (known as Rukyu before 1879) (Takenaka, 2001), Taiwan in 1895, and Korea in 1910, were annexed by Japan during continued territorial expansion. Taira explains that when 'new imperial subjects migrated to Japan proper, they were incorporated at the bottom of the Japanese social stratification equivalent in status to the Burakumin' (Taira, 1996:143).

This was also an extremely military period: from 1894-1945 it is estimated that more than forty per cent of GNP was spent on arms in Japan. The Japanese government stressed Japan's homogeneous cultural –racial identity. 'Japanese soul and spirit is very important and all Japanese are children of the emperor'; such propaganda was taught at school. This

notion of the nation as a family was a central feature of the cultlike wartime hysteria, which existed both within and outside mainland Japan (Matsui, 1995).

After the disastrous Second World War, Japan was subjected to the Allied Occupation for eight years. Furthermore, Okinawa Prefecture was handed to the U.S. military for the next twenty-five years. Koreans and Taiwanese, who were originally brought to Japan as forced labour during the war, lost their Japanese nationalities. Some managed to go back to their own war torn lands. Others, however, failed to do so and were labelled as aliens: including their Japanese -born children. Japanese officials refused to give Korean and Taiwanese expatriates a choice of retaining their former citizenships or becoming Japanese.

After 1945, there was a series of reforms, such as The Constitution of Japan and the Land Reforms Act. For example, the emperor became purely symbolic in status according to the new Constitution. The same applied for the samurai caste and new commoners (Burakumin) lost their appearance from the family register (Koseki). Japan rapidly recovered by “modernising”, much like the Meiji Restoration when Japan became more open to the world a century before. However, this drive for modernisation (unlike the Meiji Restoration) was not reinforced by fear but more based upon the determination not to be defeated again. It could be observed that Japan was much like a traumatised individual who tends to keep himself or herself busy, in order to forget past traumas. In terms of economy, the Japanese rebuilt everything they had lost and more. In order to see their country as economically prosperous, well-educated and democratic, (during 1970’s and 80’s) it was popular to describe the Japanese by Japanese journalists and commentators as the ‘100 million all middle class nation’. The perception was of a peaceful and democratic society. This new image of Japan replaced the old image of lost national pride in the collective Japanese consciousness.

Now Japan is not politically and economically isolated from the international community. In this globalised world, Japan is no longer a self-sufficient agriculture country. However, there was an incident at a bathhouse in Hokkaido; a white Japanese national was refused entry to the public bathhouse after it had put up a notice saying ‘no foreigners’, because the local population did not like his different physical and bathing mannerisms. However such prejudice and discrimination against “foreigners” and stigmatised minorities which is still prevalent in modern day Japan is gradually being replaced by an increasing multi-ethnic sensibility. Thus Japanese people both at home and abroad, are increasingly faced with the question of what it means to be Japanese (Lie, 2001).

2.3. Minority populations in Japan

After Japan opened up in the late 1800’s, it experienced many changes. The changes included expansion of her land, militarism, colonialism and a change in national identity to one which included simultaneously possessing an inferiority complex towards Western civilisation and yet, its eager disciple. The notion of a ‘homogeneous nation–state’ became more exaggerated during fifteen years of war. However in the last two centuries, Japan has seen the emergence of several minorities (Weiner, 1997), yet those minority people were not so visible like African Caribbeans or Asian (Indian and subcontinent) migrants in Britain after the Second World War. They were more or less South/East Asians, and this invisibleness of minorities may affect their idea of ‘others’.

The Japanese have a dichotomised idea about foreigners; (called “gaijin” mainly to indicate Caucasians or kokujin Blacks, those who are visibly different colour). Therefore

East Asian neighbours become ‘not quite gaijin’ or ‘impure’ gaijin, and according to this status, they might be treated differently (Creighton, 1997), even though such Asians historically are not totally foreign to Japan. For example, they may have a shared culture, language and/or religion with Japan. This closeness was accentuated during the fifteen-year war in the mid 20 century when the idea of a ‘Daitouaken’ (Great East Asia) was promoted, with Japan as a senior brother protecting its little brothers, the other Asian peoples from the England and America. Such other Asians are considered to be too close to Japan both geographically and emotionally to be proper ‘foreigners’. Therefore, they might technically be foreigners but ‘not quite foreigners’.

The discourse of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) can be noted in other sources concerning Japaneseness (Lie, 2001; Sugimoto, 1997). Millie Creighton explains Japaneseness and foreignness within terms of ‘*uchi* (inside)’ and ‘*soto* (outside)’. ‘Uchi defines the boundary of an inside group or space; that is, a primary locus of membership and belongingness (1997:212).’ Creighton continues by asserting that ‘although the word gaijin (foreigners, outside person) can be applied to any non-Japanese person it is most commonly only used for white foreigners, who are conceptualised as “pure gaijin” or “true gaijin”... the Otherness of foreigners, however, has multiple loci. Definitions of these *soto* Others, or ‘outside Others, is often differentiated along sociological categories of race, conforming to the white, yellow, black continuum’ (Ibid.).

Furthermore, there are people who could be described as “*uchi*-Other”(inside other), such as the Burakumin, the Ainu, the Okinawan, Zainichi Koreans and Nikkeijin etc. Some of them are legally Japanese but still face various forms of discrimination (Creighton, 1997; De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996). There are those considered non-Japanese, *soto*-Others (or outsiders), yet they still fail to fully fit into the category of the traditional term ‘gaijin’.

Two relevant examples we may cite include that Asian migrant workers, and Asian brides.

Although the terms ‘not quite Japanese’, ‘not quite foreigners’ and ‘true foreigners’ are not the only classifications used to describe the Japanese psyche towards ‘others’, they are however, useful as concepts to understand how the Japanese perceive themselves as well as ‘others’. Especially this can be seen in some of the answers being made during my student interviews when they describe non-white British people as *not real English*. According to this ‘uchi-soto (insider-outsider) and true foreigner-not quite foreigner’ spectrum, British Blacks or British Asians may seem to be ‘not quite English’ for Japanese people’s eyes. Therefore, these concepts are very important to understand Japanese’ ideas of prejudice, discrimination and general and situational knowledge of racism (Essed, 1991; Mellor et al.,2001) in Japan. Especially Mellor et al.’s findings suggest that native born white Australian students are more aware of situational and general knowledge of racism in Australia. Several Japanese students I asked about how much they were aware of racism in Japan said they were aware that non-white foreigners were treated rather negatively by majority Japanese people. However, most of them were not particularly aware of ‘inside others’; ‘not quite Japanese’(e.g. Burakumin, Zainichi Koreans, Ainu and Okinawans).

In next section, firstly, I am going to discuss the minorities which are viewed as “not quite Japanese” (inside others); such as the Burakumin, Zainichi Koreans, the Ainu, the Okinawans, Nikkeijin and other returnees. Secondly, I will address the case of the so-called “not true foreigners”, which mainly concerns Asian migrant workers in Japan. Thirdly, I will explore “true foreigners” or ‘gaijin’ and ‘kokujin’ (Whites and Blacks, respectively), in Japan.

2.2.1. Not quite Japanese

Burakumin

The Burakumin are Japan's largest minority at over 1.2 million people. Physically however they are the least visible minority (Shiomi and Komatsu, 1996). Despite their relative invisibility, they suffer considerable discrimination by mainstream Japanese. Historically, the Burakumin have been the victims of derogatory descriptions such as 'Eta (much filth, or highly contaminated)' (Sugimoto, 1997) and 'Hinin (non human)'. Such titles were modified during the Meiji era. The origin of the contaminated or polluted people lies within medieval Japanese feudal culture (Price, 1996; Shiomi and Komatsu, 1996), and the outcaste status once established had great staying power (Price, 1996). For example, on the family register (Koseki), Burakumin were still not fully emancipated from these discriminated titles. For example they were labelled as being 'ex-Eta' or 'new commoners', until the new Constitution was promulgated. The status of the samurai was also recorded in the Koseki prior to 1945 and for those born prior to 1945 the Koseki still shows the discrimination. However, one can still trace back this old Koseki and find out whose ancestor was from outcaste. So one can argue that the old feudalistic legacy has remained even after constitutional reform in 1945. Until a decade ago when people applied for new jobs, they were obligated to bring their Koseki or it's a copy of it to show their potential future employers. This resulted in a lower Buraku employment rate, as compared to a higher non-Buraku (mainstream) employment rate. The status of being from Buraku areas definitely affects Buraku job opportunities.

Four hundred years ago, Japan had a four-tier class system under her emperor. The samurai (warrior administrators) formed 7 per cent of the whole population and they were allowed to possess a few privileges including bearing a sword and having a surname. In practice they governed most of the rest of the population, the second rank - the peasants

and the third rank - the artisans and townfolk. However, although the merchants formed the fourth lowest class, the samurai sometimes had to go to the merchants to borrow money, especially after the rapid growth of the money economy. Indeed, after the banking system had been developed during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) merchants enjoyed considerable economic power over the other classes. Thus the four tier class system only partially reflected the actual power structure within Japan (Shiomi and Komatsu, 1996; De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996).

Unfortunately, some people were placed below this four-class system. These under-cast people were called Hinin (non- human) and Eta (extreme filth, or highly contaminated) and were despised citizens. The Hinin were comprised of 'a heterogeneous group...of beggars, prostitutes, itinerant entertainers, mediums, divers, religious wanderers, and fugitives from justice who had fallen out of the four-tier class system (De Vos and Wetherall, 1974: 6). Nevertheless, their status was not inherited. Therefore, they could settle down as an ordinary citizen in a normal community after undergoing a special purification ceremony (Shiomi and Komatsu, 1996; De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996; De Vos and Wetherall, 1974). On the other hand, Eta was the true hereditary outcast and unlike Hinin, could not change their social status. Originally Eta were people who participated in polluting occupations, concerning blood and death, much like the Hindu (Harijan) outcast. The Buddhist code of not killing animals in the early eighth century reinforced disgust towards the Eta (Price, 1996).

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), the government promulgated the 'Emancipation Edict' (1871), declaring the abolition of this outcast group. They became 'new commoners'. Thus, of the 33,132,000 nationals in 1872 the samurai were reduced to 5.54 per cent, the aristocrats to 0.01 per cent leaving 93.57 per cent as common citizens. The

latter includes these new commoners, the ex-Hinin and the ex-Eta. Later, they were to be called Burakumin (which means people from special communities) and they became less and less visible to the majority population.

Today, a former status of samurai does not interfere with attaining education and jobs, but the Burakumin status on the other hand, continues to survive, even after 400 years. Thus, a Burakumin may experience difficulty in obtaining work because of his/her original outcast status. Now about 2,000,000 former outcast minorities suffer discrimination in mainstream Japan (De Vos and Wetherall, 1974).

After all the social and cultural changes in Japan, are the Burakumin still in existence? If so, do they continue to experience discrimination by other Japanese who had (more or less) adapted to Western ideas and culture such as dieting and clothing etc? Are they still seen as polluted people at the beginning of the Twenty-first century?

From my experience, until the age of 18 I had never known that the Burakumin existed. I learnt of the Meiji Emancipation at school and thought that more or less after the post-war democracy period, they were blended into mainstream population. However, after moving to the Kansai area (most Burakumin live there) for my university education, I noticed the existence of the 'Buraku Liberation League'. A quote from their website points out the plight of the Burakumin people, 'After the war, Buraku liberation movements were reunited in 1946 under the name of the National Committee for Buraku Liberation, which later evolved into the Buraku Liberation League (BLL). The Committee started to demand responsible local authorities to improve living environments of Buraku areas which were extremely poor as a result of the negligence of the government services' (BLL, 2001).

After BLL activity and special improvement program, Burakumin still suffered from discrimination especially in two areas in their lives; marriage and employment as well as discriminatory remarks...made by non-Buraku people, including public officials (BLL, 2001, Neary, 1997).

Employment discrimination is less obvious, due to applicants no longer needing to bring their Koseki or its copy. However, as the following incident shows discrimination against Burakumin still exists. In 1998, two investigation companies were charged with selling clandestine documents, which listed the locations etc. on Buraku communities to their client enterprises in Osaka. Aibi-sha and Rikku-sha were related companies. Aibi-sha was originally a business consultant company, which was established in 1979. Rikku-sha was its research department (the Osaka Shinbun, 1998). It was estimated that over 14,000 companies used the services of Aibi-sha. They requested information regarding their applicants' background (inquiring person's birth and parentage) for recruitment purpose. For example, personality, and family's values, areas lived in, former employer and Burakumin or mafia-related acts were separately marked. Investigators of Rikku-sha even went to the person's birthplace and interviewed his or her neighbours for information regarding the applicants' background and status. In 1997 and 1998, lists of Buraku communities were spread through the Internet on vicious Burakumin hate sites. These sites contain biased words and perpetuate prejudicial stereotypes towards the Burakumin. Over 30 corporations as well as individuals have accessed these lists to check for employment and marriage details in order not to mix with Burakumin. It shows how many majority Japanese wish to avoid involvement with the Burakumin. Ian Neary cites Somucho's survey (1995) and it claims that 'although today's Buraku teenagers experience higher education, only 10.6 per cent of Burakumin graduates were reported to

be employed in enterprises of over 300 employees, well below the national average of 23.3 per cent' (1997:71).

On the other hand, some journalists and scholars argue that 'Burakumin's problems are over' (Ishimoto, Hatanaka, 1995; Kohama, 1999). Several reasons are pointed out, 'Burakumin no longer live in ghettos'. With governmental support, for example, 'general welfare programmes', some argue that they seem even better off than mainstream Japanese. Moreover, now 'fake Burakumin' (called *Ese Dowa*) appear to pose a threat to the mainstream. For example, if one's car scratches the fake Burakumin's car, victims would pretend to be a Burakumin and demand 50,000 yen (£300) to be quiet threatening that the Buraku Liberation League would otherwise publically denounce them as discriminators of the Burakumin (the Buraku Liberation League {BLL} denounces discriminators to educate others in the 'human rights of Burakumin'). Now 'the general public is more afraid of the Burakumin than the Burakumin are in fear of the majority' (DeVos and Wagatsuma, 1996:283).

Nevertheless, according to some high school teachers I have interviewed⁴, the BLL claim Buraku teenagers fail the entrance examination for high school due to their underprivileged background. Although there is an agreement between schools and student applicants, for the latter not being required to disclose their address, these types of discrimination still might be in existence. Therefore, the public might feel like avoiding Buraku communities and the Burakumin, not because of their diet, occupation or lack of hygiene, but due to fear them, and seeing them as troublesome. Burakumin were discriminated against for a long time (at least four hundred years), so the majority

⁴ I have arranged to meet Kazufumi Koike and Takahiro Okamura in Kyoto. They both work for state high schools which in there are Burakumin and Zainichi Koreans. I conducted interview for an hour and a half each. Koike's interview was tape-recorded.

Japanese may fear that ‘they should be very different from us, because of a long isolated history.’ An old Confucian saying states that, “A wise man should not go near trouble.” It well describes the majority Japanese avoidance of discrimination issues in general.

Another reason some people might feel that the Burakumin’s problems are no longer an issue, is the increasing number of Burakumin marriages with non-Burakumin. The Somucho’s survey shows that for those under 39 years old, 64 per cent of Burakumin married non-Burakumin (Somucho, 1993). Moreover, Burakumin sometimes hide their original address and go out of their communities, therefore, this percentage could be even higher.

However, Kei Matsuda warns that Burakumin married to non-Burakumin live relatively far away from Buraku areas. So he argues that it might be too optimistic to say that Buraku discrimination is really disappearing (Matsuda, 2000). Besides, it is estimated that more than 1,000 Buraku communities remain nation-wide. These areas have never been included in government surveys and are almost literally seen as untouchable areas as were the Eta and the Hinin at the beginning of the period of the Tokugawa era (1600’s) (Kumisaka in Kobayashi, 1995). Shigeyuki Kumisaka explains that a boss exists in each Buraku community. Some of them still live in ghetto-like places and the boss prevents other Burakumin from complaining to the local government. These particular isolated Burakumin fear leaving their community even more than staying because of the fear of even more discrimination once they are outside their communities. This is typical Burakumin’s defence mechanism. Kumisaka further explains that it is a form of “neta ko okosuna” which means ‘do not wake a child who is fast asleep’ (similar to the English saying ‘let sleeping dogs lie’). It has been a motto of the Burakumin, who wish to be increasingly invisible to the public and not wanting to experience any discrimination

levelled against them (Shiomi and Komatsu, 1996). Therefore, the Burakumin might feel ambivalent about education programmes concerning human rights at school, where Burakumin history and experienced problems are taught to children who live near the Buraku areas. Some Burakumin are still hesitant about this sort of openness and as are majority Japanese who wish to avoid any trouble. Children of Burakumin who particularly hide their origin may be exposed unwillingly. In addition, some teachers are not so sure about actually introducing these terms to their students who are totally unaware of the Burakumin's existence. Students might start looking at their classmates and treating them in a discriminatory way, which sometimes grows into serious bullying.

The Burakumin's dilemma remains, despite the BLL's encouragement that Burakumin should maintain their identity by facing their outcaste origins through a positive act of self-acceptance (De Vos and Wetherall, 1976). Burakumin who wish to disguise their outcaste origin were described as "passing " by De Vos and Wetherall in 1976. However, this needs more explanation in relation to the family register (Koseki). Every Japanese national is required to be registered on the Koseki, which includes a personal or family record held at a local office. The Koseki shows one's previous residences as well as current one. If the Burakumin wish to deny their origin, they have to change their address and transfer their Koseki too. However, De Vos and Wetherall describe, that even if one transfers his or her Koseki it is difficult to erase the original record. This is due to the fact that previous information is only erased after 80 years of its being transferred. However, in practice, many "exit Koseki" remain for more than 80 years.

Thus, the Burakumin who try to hide their origin have to fear disclosure at any time. Although these Burakumin are in some sense accepting that prejudice and discrimination against the Burakumin exists, they might feel that it is unfair and hope to be accepted

fully as a human being. These Burakumin also may cut off their family ties and childhood friendships. Furthermore, they may feel very guilty about hiding their origin, because it is not fair to other Burakumin and might see themselves as selfish for deserting Buraku relatives, friends and communities.

De Vos and Wetherall argue that 'this dilemma tends to deepen their hatred towards those of the majority Japanese who have not experienced an outcast background. The generalised hostility that many Burakumin feel towards the majority corrosively eats away at their capacity to enjoy life (1972:14). They might experience a strong temptation to declare their outcast origin to majority Japanese people who are not aware that they are down-trodden (Kobayashi, 1995). In fact, some Japanese respondents in the current study denied that they were still discriminated against.

Korean residents

The Korean population increased dramatically from something over 40,000 (after Japanese colonisation in 1910) to 2,400,000 by the end of the Second World War. Koreans were made Japanese nationals, but they were never free from discrimination. However, after the Peace Treaty, Japan no longer had sovereignty over Korea and Taiwan therefore and the Japanese resident Koreans and Taiwanese, and therefore they lost Japanese nationality. They became resident aliens. Japanese officials did not give any choice in the matter to these former colonial subjects who were forced to enter Japan in the first place.⁵ Zainichi Koreans (Northern and Southern Korean residents living in Japan) continually suffer from discrimination without any rights as Japanese nationals. They pay tax but have no right to vote, for example. Koreans did not get any war compensation because they were not regarded as Japanese.

⁵ It means residents of Japan.

The present official governmental Japanese attitude is that if Zainichi Koreans apply for naturalisation, they would no longer be treated like resident aliens. For example, ‘many are ineligible for governmental and corporative jobs’ (Lie, 2001). Both Japanese officials and the South Korean government expect Koreans in Japan to be naturalised and assimilated. Hicks cites the formal registration of naturalisation. According to the process of naturalisation, a Zainichi Korean must fulfil several requirements;

- (1) has lived in Japan for three or more years consecutively;
- (2) are twenty years of age or more and a person of full capacity under the law of his or her native country;
- (3) is of good character;
- (4) has property or the ability to lead an adequate independent life;
- (5) has no nationality or would lose his or her former nationality upon taking Japanese nationality (Hicks, 1997)

Korean residents can apply for naturalisation at the age of twenty. Now more Zainichi Koreans have decided to naturalise because of the advantages. According to Hicks, There are 160,000 naturalised Koreans out of the 700,000 to 800,000 total populations of Zainichi Koreans (Sugimoto, 1997; Hicks, 1997; Bunmei, 1996). However, some Koreans claim that “we had to choose names which only sounded Japanese otherwise Immigration Officers dismissively advised that we would not be seen as a good Japanese citizen”(Kobayashi in Asahi Shinbun, March.2001). The officers can use “is not of good character” to turn down the application of naturalisation.

Koreans in Japan have been treated much as the Burakumin. Both share similar stereotypes and suffer the same forms of discrimination, which is systematically institutionalised (De Vos and Wetherall (1974). Both are excluded from normal job

markets, furthermore because of their foreign citizenship, if it was found that they got jobs because of successful “passing”, they might be expelled or dismissed. Koreans in Japan tend to live in the same areas as Burakumin. ‘It has been estimated almost 40 per cent of all illegal Korean immigrants live in the Osaka area’ (Sellek and Weiner, 1992:223).

Now, it seems the treatment of Zainichi Koreans has improved due to their protests. In 1990, Zainichi Koreans’ permanent residency (up to the third generation) was accepted. In 1998, the finger printing for Zainichi Koreans was abolished. Zainichi Koreans have to change their name to register, but they must use Chinese characters (Kanji) and Japanese alphabet (Hiragana and Katakana). The Chinese character must be the one that is designated for daily use in Japan and others (Kanji), which are often used for Japanese names, but even this restriction has become loose. Recently more Korean names in Kanji have been accepted. Furthermore, according to some public notaries, voting rights of Zainichi Koreans for local elections might be soon accepted too. Zainichi Koreans are also invisible to the majority Japanese’ eyes, as with the Burakumin. After the third and fourth generation, the number of Zainichi Koreans who marry Japanese spouses has increased. Since the late 1970’s, the percentage of mixed marriage between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese increased from 50 per cent to 80 per cent of total number of Zainichi Koreans marriages (Yan, 1996; Ryang, 1997). However, this inter-marriage still may face opposition from both families, although this opposition is no longer strong enough to stop the marriages.

Nevertheless, these administrative and social changes might not be enough to sweep aside discrimination from the long tradition of unfair treatment by mainstream Japanese. As with the notion of “impure” Japanese such as the Burakumin, the main reason for discrimination might change and become unspecified. For example, ideas of

“contaminated people”, of being “polluted”, primitive and unclean are some of the older stereotypes. The Burakumin and Zainichi Korean’s relation to Yakuza (the Japanese Mafia) and prostitution are newer stereotypes. Some of the older stereotypes however, still prevail today, but are not necessarily applied in the usual Burakumin and Zainichi Korean context. For example, being uneducated and seen as poor and aggressive, are three older Burakumin and Zainichi Korean stereotypes, that have been applied to the newer situation of other Asian minorities (Kohama, 1999). Zainichi Koreans may also become the objects for the projection of negative images by mainstream Japanese culture. It seems that most societies, particularly historically homogeneous societies, produce minority ‘scapegoats’ on which to offload negative attitudes.

There are Zainichi Chinese people who also exist, but somehow their social status is higher when compared to Zainichi Koreans. This difference in status may be due to their smaller population (around 100,000, which includes students not only settlers), and/or Japan’s political relation to their homelands (Nakayama, 2000). John Lie points out that the vast amount of Chinese population left Japan after the Second World War was over. According to Nagano, it ‘left only 30,000 by 1949’ (Nagano quoted in Lie, 2001). Some Japanese respondents said they had Zainichi Korean friends, and tried to understand their position in Japan, and these students seemed to have general and situational knowledge of racism in Japan.

Ainu

The Ainu population is estimated to be 23,830 in Hokkaido (northern island in Japan) and a few in other parts of Japan (Ogasawara, 1997). However, the Ainu were originally spread throughout Japan thousands years ago. They are, one might say, ‘Native Japanese’, like Native Americans, Australian Aborigines, Inuit and many more others in their respective countries. The Ainu were aggressively pushed to the northern island of Hokkaido (Sugimoto, 1997), which was controlled by the Japanese during the Tokugawa

period (1600-1867). However, 'official and popular history views the creation of Hokkaido as an exercise in 'development' (kaitaku), not colonialism' (Siddle, 1997:17).

Such colonisation has many parallels to colonisations in the West (Weiner, 1997). First the Ainu were seen as barbarians and then became a primitive race that needed 'special education and protection' so that the Japanese sent a lot of migrants to Hokkaido to stop the Ainu hunting and also taught them farming. The Ainu were viewed as wandering savages with no capability of using the land properly. Assimilation, aimed at the Ainu's eventual extinction was reinforced and carried out by special educational programs called 'native education'. On the other hand, the Ainu land, rich in resources (for example abundant deer and salmon) were also very attractive to Japanese. 'The Ainu were gradually constructed as a primitive and racially immature "Other" in a discourse which justified and rendered the colonial project inevitable' (Weiner, 1996:10). The Ainu are quite distinct from other Japanese in many ways. For example, their appearance is quite different; they have more body hair and occasionally have blue eyes. Anthropologists view them as Caucasoid or protocaucasoid. Japanese treated the Ainu in very much same way as the Native Americans are treated in North America are treated. For example, many Japanese visit villages of the Ainu during the summer holiday. Their reservations are tourist attractions as are those of the Native Americans.

The "civilising mission" to primitive nations can be seen in many countries' histories. To 'civilise' primitive others is possibly merely an excuse for one's greed and the assertion of cultural superiority. This type of minority group might be discriminated against differently and distinctively from the contaminated minority; such as Burakumin. Although they are both viewed as inferior beings by the majority, the former is more patronised and 'protected' in order to exploit. Whereas, amongst the latter, a psychological scapegoat exists.

The Ainu first appeared in Japanese history in 712 as 'Ezo', and were depicted as 'insubordinate barbarians' (Hirayama, 1996). After the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) the Ainu began to be systematically exploited through the Matsumae-han (a small fiefdom under the Tokugawa regime), which is similar to the systematic exploitation by the Satsuma-han (another small fiefdom in the most southern islands of Japan) of the Ryukyuans (Okinawans). Both the Matsumae-han and the Satsuma-han succeeded in monopolising the trade with the Ainu and Ryukyuans. The Ainu were exploited firstly for the products of their labour, then their labour itself was directly exploited through strict control by the Tokugawa bakufu (Siddle, 1997). Moreover, after the Meiji Restoration (1868), the Ainu became colonised subjects of the Japanese states. The Ainu situation was similar to the Ryukyuans (Okinawans), in that both had to suffer from mass immigration from mainland Japan. Furthermore both were subjected to a colonial administration that resulted in unequal treatment between the colonised and coloniser.

The Ainu distinctly experienced academic exploitation and discrimination. Japanese and foreign anthropologists have conducted research on the Ainu. Such 'research' however, resulted in the dehumanisation of the Ainu people. Hiroto Hirayama (1996) cites a number of journals and articles written up to as recently as 1962, that showed the Ainu to be treated as mere cultural guinea pigs. For example, anthropologists took excessive amounts of the Ainu's blood without any concern for the risks posed to their health. Anthropologists also dug up graves in order to obtain the Ainu ancestor's skeletons. Even in the streets, anthropologists approached the Ainu and lifted their shirts or looked at their backs and chests in order to view their thicker body hair, and had their photographs taken with a number plates hanging around their necks like criminals (Ogasawara, 1997).

In 1972, the Ainu Kaiho Domei (the Ainu liberation league), similar to the Buraku Kaiho

Domei, 'adopted forceful tactics of confrontation and denunciation, particularly against academics' (Siddle, 1997:31). They criticised the unethical manner in which research was conducted on the Ainu. (Hirayama, 1996). Richard Siddle states that 'on 25 August 1972, in the company of Wajin (Japanese) Activists, Yuki (a member of the Ainu Kaiho Domei) stormed the podium of the joint conference of the Anthropological and Ethnological Societies of Japan at Sapporo Medical University, where he read a list of criticisms to the assembled scholars' (Siddle, 1997:32). The Ainu Kaiho Domei's protest was against not only academics but also media companies, such as TV productions and newspaper companies. The Ainu liberation league criticised the Japanese media for perpetuating and creating derogatory Ainu stereotypes. The Ainu also insisted on the revision of outdated legislation. The 1899 Law on the Protection of Former Indigenous of Hokkaido was one particular example (Siddle, 1997; Hirayama, 1996; Morris-Suzuki, 1998). Such a law prevented the Ainu from owning eighty five percent of the land in their native Hokkaido. Furthermore, the Prime Minister Nakasone's remark on the absence of 'racial minorities' in Japan forced Ainu activists to join 'Japanese Civil Rights groups in the human rights activities of the United Nations' (Siddle, 1997:43). In 1992, the Ainu participated as Japan's indigenous People, in the opening ceremonies of the United Nations International Year of the World's indigenous People. Then in 1996, finally the Ainu were accepted as the indigenous people of Japan. However, most respondents were not aware of their history of oppression. The Okinawans, are another example of those treated by Japanese imperialism as primitive others, and one respondent of the study was from Okinawa.

Okinawans

The Okinawans are said to be the second (after the Burakumin) largest minority group, comprising over a million individuals, whose language, diet and clothing were similar to but distinct from that of the mainstream Japanese. They are stereotypically viewed as small, hairy and very musical. Physically the Okinawans have some affinity with the Ainu or Malays or Taiwanese, they are more hirsute and smaller (Hicks, 1997). Some

categorise both the Ainu and Okinawans' as ancestors from a shared Prehistoric age (Taira, 1996). Challenges to derogatory Okinawan stereotypes have presented themselves. For example, recently (from the late 1980's onwards) increasingly there are more pop-stars from Okinawa. These pop stars enjoy much acclaim and support from their fans in mainland Japan. This in turn may help to change the negative images, held by majority Japanese and the Okinawans' themselves.

The Okinawa Prefecture consists of four islands; Amami, Okinawa, Miyako and Yaeyama with, according to Koji Taira, 'a population of about 1.3 million in their homebase (Amami Island and Okinawa). An estimated 300,000 Okinawans can be found in other parts of Japan, similar number scattered elsewhere—mostly in Hawaii and the Americas' (Taira, 1997:142).

The Ryukyu Kingdom was established in 1429 and survived until the Satsuma invasion in 1609. The Satsuma was a powerful Han (a small fiefdom) in the Tokugawa era (1600-1868) in Japan. After the Meiji Restoration, Okinawa was absorbed into imperial Japan, in the same way as was Hokkaido with its Ainu population. The Ainu seemed stubborn and their protest against Japan's assimilation policy was intense, whereas the Okinawans were criticised by Soichi Oya for their "dog like loyalty"(Oya in Ota, 1996). A former Okinawa governor Ota encouraged the Okinawans to practice national assimilation, to give up the Okinawans' tradition and copy the mainlanders. For example, according to the Okinawans' newspaper "Ryukyu Shinpo", the editor suggested the way to sneeze should be like a mainland Japanese (Ota, 1996; Morris-Suzuki, 1998).

From the Sino-Japanese War (of 1894-95) to the Russo-Japanese War (of 1904-05), Okinawans tried to show how loyal they were to the mainland Japanese and their emperor. Okinawans might have felt like Nikkei Americans (Japanese Americans) in the USA

during the Second World War who desperately tried to prove that they were Americans. In other words, whilst Nikkei Americans sought to illustrate their American loyalties, Okinawans similarly sought to display their loyalty to Japan. Okinawa's newspapers reinforced this by listing the number of Okinawan casualties, commenting that 'Now we are truly Japanese!' On the other hand, in mainland Japan, several shops had a sign saying "no foreigners, no Koreans, no Okinawans." Ota analyses the racism of the mainstream Japanese against the Okinawans causing the local newspapers to emphasise Okinawans' national subordination. Okinawans were very sensitive to how people of the mainland of Japan saw them. Okinawans forced themselves to be assimilated to Japanese. Ota pointed out that this submissiveness and subordinate attitude towards mainlanders was still deeply rooted in Okinawans' mind.

Nevertheless, Okinawans' blind loyalty was more and more shaken by disappointment during the holocaust of the Battle of Okinawa and 27 years under the U.S. military government; and now, continual "base crimes" by U.S. servicemen (as well as by the Japanese - Self-Defence Force members attacked an Okinawan girl in 2001)⁶.

In 1945, the United States won the Battle of Okinawa and Okinawa became a prized victory, despite the heavy price Okinawans paid for being fully accepted as Japanese citizens, Okinawans were torn from the Japanese mainland again. Taira argues that 'the Showa emperor was well aware of the ambiguous nature of Okinawa's relationship to Japan, and in September 1947, Hirohito sent a message to General MacArthur which argued in favour of the long-term US occupation of Okinawa' (Taira, 1997:158), as well, Japanese government 'was prepared to relinquish territorial claim to the Ryukyus

⁶ During the battle of Okinawa (1945), it contributed the death of students and women (28,000) and under 14 years old children (1,340,000). On the other hand, only 65,000 Japanese soldiers, who originally came to Okinawa supposedly to protect the Okinawans died. Ota lists several episodes such as the Japanese soldier pushing Okinawan children out their shelters in order to get themselves in. (Ota, 1996). This war well proved that military's existence is to protect themselves not civilians.

permanently in exchange for an early peace treaty' (Hicks, 1997:4). Thus under US military government, Okinawa was occupied by the United States until 1972 and Okinawans had to suffered unequal treatment again.

Now, thirty years since Okinawa rejoined the mainland, the Okinawans still continually suffer from racial attacks and discrimination both from Japanese and from the American servicemen (Ota, 1996)⁷. Okinawa still provides 75 per cent of the land used by US military through the Mutual Security Treaty, which is supposed to protect the Japanese. Thus Japan, in a way, pays for their own peace at the Okinawans' expense. Despite their unique language and culture, the Okinawans have shared a similar fate to that of the Ainu and Zainichi Koreans. The similarities have included the fact that they were all treated as second class citizens. The Okinawan Japanese respondent admitted that she always compared mainland Japan with Okinawa, and she expressed inferiority complex towards mainstream Japanese who lives in mainland of Japan. For example, she described Okinawan men as weaker and less confident compared to mainland Japanese men and so on. How does this inferiority complex toward Japanese affect her perception of racist incidents against other Japanese in Britain and her coping strategy?

Nikkeijin and other returnees

Just after midnight, there are more people coming down to the bar. They gradually start dancing after 1:00 o'clock. They all look South American, with dark skin, dark eyes, dark hair and they dance in a distinctively Latin style. Their Spanish and Portuguese languages mixed with their own music and coconut based cocktails make for a distinct atmosphere.

⁷ 'On 4 September 1995, a 12-year-old Okinawan girl was abducted, beaten, and raped by three US servicemen. The suspects were quickly apprehended, place under house arrest on their base, and subsequently handed over to the local authorities for trial. All were found guilty, and on 7 March 1996, two of the defendants were sentenced to seven years and third to six and half years imprisonment with hard labour' (Taira, 1997:170). Since a U.S. navy submarine hit Japanese fisherman's boat (2001), the U.S. military seemed to be slightly more strict in regard to their 'base crimes'. Nevertheless, there are always fun-seeking crimes by U.S.servicemen and their family become out of proportion.

If you look carefully, you would notice that the Spanish speaking people (mainly Peruvian Japanese) dance Salsa as couples, whereas the Brazilian Japanese dance the Samba in a group. They take turns, sharing the same dance floor.

This is a typical Sunday morning for Nikkeijin in Toyohashi. Some of them stay in the bar to sleep to catch the first train back home. They work from Monday to Saturday, 9 to 10 hours a day as Japanese unskilled workers in a factory. Saturday and Sunday nights, they can live as South American Japanese.

⁸The Nikkeijin are South Americans of Japanese descent, their spouses and children. Nikkeijin mainly originate from Brazil and Peru. It has been estimated that over 190,000 Nikkeijin live in Japan (Selleck, 1997). They have become Japan's newest minority.

Most of the Nikkeijin are second or third generation children of Japanese migrant workers, in South America. These workers were initially encouraged to go to South American countries by the Japanese government during 1970s-1980s (Takenaka, 1999). According to Selleck, 'Most of these emigrants were employed as contract labourers on sugar and coffee plantations and saw themselves as "target earners", hoping to stay in their chosen country for only a short time' (1997:187). However, after the Japanese defeat in the Second World War, many established a good reputation and were successful in farming. The myth of returning disappeared. In the 1980s however, most South American countries suffered from serious inflation and job losses. Political instability was also a prominent feature in this turbulent decade. On the other hand, in 1990, the Immigration Control Law in Japan was revised so that those of Japanese heritage were allowed to enter the country as migrant workers. This caused the influx of second-and third-generation Nikkeijin and their spouses (Takenaka, 1999). However it is worth noting that the long

⁸ Nikkeijin are often 3rd generation Japanese.

suffering Zainichi Koreans (Korean Japanese), who were third–and even fourth–generation Koreans already living in Japan were not affected by the revised law, and alien registration problems, such as forcing them to finger print etc remained. Zainichi Koreans strongly protested against their unfair treatment and alien status. Three reasons for the revised law all stemmed from Japan’s recent recession. Employers needed cheaper labour to undertake the three D’s: dangerous, difficult and dirty jobs (Japanese nationals tended to avoid these types of work). The construction and the service industries did not need highly educated workers whereas mainstream Japanese were usually well educated; for example, 21 per cent are graduates and 15 per cent undergraduates (Shizuoka Shinbun in Sellek, 1996:192). Medium and small sized companies were not able to afford to employ mainstream Japanese, especially during a recession.

However, Japanese government policy did not allow foreign unskilled workers to enter the country. As unskilled workers, the Japanese government preferred to let Nikkeijin enter Japan, rather than other Asian labourers. One explanation for this is Japan’s stress on citizenship through blood ties. According to Sellek, ‘Japan grants citizenship according to the principle of *jus sanguinis*, the “law of blood” or parental nationality. This contrasts to the option of granting citizenship based on *jus soli* “the law of soil”, whereby citizenship is the right of everyone born within the state’s borders’ (1997: 203).

Nikkeijin from Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia, formed only 6,872 of Japan’s population 1988. By 1993, this had increased to 196,491: more than a twenty-eight-fold increase (Ministry of Justice, 1994). Nevertheless, it does not mean that Nikkeijin are accepted as mainstream Japanese. They can only apply for three year working visas and after that they must renew them. What’s more, Nikkeijin sometimes face verbal discrimination, and ‘every day racism’ (Essed, 1991) such as not being invited to the office party, no bonuses, and less choices for the company lunch.

A survey investigating the life and work situations of Nikkeijin was conducted in 1992 (Komai, 1992). The survey sample was comprised of second-and third-generation workers (total sample was 1,026). 51.4 per cent expressed that they came to Japan to make money, then go home, whereas 3.8 per cent wished to stay in Japan permanently. Nikkeijin's work places are mainly factories (79.7 per cent). Furthermore, 87.8 per cent of them are treated as unskilled workers, although most of them are quite well educated in their home countries. For example, 41.8 per cent were university graduates, 21.3 per cent were college graduates and 29.2 per cent high school leavers.

It is important to remember that this survey did not include people who refused to participate in the study. Although written in Portuguese and Spanish, some Nikkeijin might have been less enthusiastic about answering the questionnaire in these respective languages. Concerning discrimination against the Nikkeijin, 69 per cent of the sample did not feel they had received discriminatory treatment. However, more than 30 per cent of Nikkeijin answered that they were suffering discrimination in their work places. For example, their work was more dangerous with fewer fringe benefits, compared to their mainstream co-workers. Some Nikkeijin claimed that they experienced discrimination because of their different habits and customs, which jarred with the mainstream habits (Komai, 1992).

There are interesting questions in the survey. For example, they were asked how far Nikkeijin feel that they are Japanese or Latin American. Other questions centred on Nikkeijin identities before and after they came to Japan. Forty-two point seven per cent of Brazilian Nikkeijin, Peruvian and Argentinean, 67.4 per cent and 62.8 per cent respectively, felt themselves as Nikkeijin in their own countries, instead of feeling Brazilian, Peruvian, and Argentinean. Paraguay and Bolivian Nikkeijin felt themselves to

be Japanese, both before and after coming to Japan (Takenaka, 1999). On the other hand, Peruvian and Brazilian Nikkeijin identified themselves as less Japanese. In these latter examples, the Nikkeijin communities were larger and had been established for a longer time period, than the Paraguayan and Bolivian Nikkeijin. Therefore, community size as well as length of stay played two major influences in strengthening concepts of Nikkeijin identity (Komai, 2001).

These Peruvians and Brazilians might be already marginalised in their homeland countries, as descendants of Japanese ancestors. Therefore, they might have established their Nikkeijin identity before they went to Japan (Takenaka, 1999). This distinct identity of the Nikkeijin, which had formed in South American countries, might help them to establish their new communities in Japan, but also they may feel reluctant or uneasy to adapt Japanese culture and/or the Japanese language.

As it was mentioned before, most Nikkeijin wish to go back to their own countries (74.3 per cent), although 17.2 per cent of people felt this depended on security and the economic situation in their home countries and 38.4 per cent felt this depended on how much money they saved in Japan. In the question about 'mainstream Japanese', 4.1 per cent of the Nikkeijin described mainstream Japanese as practising 'cold, closed, discriminating against the Nikkeijin' (Takenaka, 1999). Three point five per cent claimed that 'Japanese seem to have no strong identity' and 'They (Japanese) are generally not interested in other Japanese people, such as their life, personality etc.' This impression by Nikkeijin might well capture their isolation in Japanese society (Takenaka, 1999). However, some comments about mainstream Japanese population made by Nikkeijin might have similarity to Japanese students' experiences with native white Britons in Britain.

Now there are Japanese children who return from abroad who also become targets of discrimination by the majority Japanese. These so-called 'Kikokushijo' are returnee children, who were educated and grew up abroad and then returned to the Japanese education system (Tsukada, 1996). These children went abroad with their parents, who worked as business people for Japanese corporations' abroad. Japanese economic globalisation (most notably the late 1970's and 1980's) encouraged many Japanese workers to work abroad for a temporary period (a few years) only. It may still be that many Kikoshijo suffer from "a re-entry shock"(Miyana 1991; Mori 1994; Tsukada 1996; Sakakibara 1984) once they have returned to Japan, especially if they have been abroad for many years. "They are sometimes seen as people who lacked Japanese identity and the ability to readjust to Japanese society (Mori 1994)."Especially those who have a foreign undergraduate degree (rather than one gained in Japan) may fail to secure the opportunity of good posts in leading Japanese institutions, and might become outsiders of the Japanese social system (Miyana, 1991). I interviewed a boy who admitted his fears about confiding to other students or co-workers that he studied and lived abroad. It appears as if he was trying to bury his experience entirely.

Koujiro Imazu points out the attitude of the mainstream Japanese towards the Kikokushijo as 'gaikoku hagashi', which means, "stripping foreignness off". They are expected to re-adapt and re-assimilate into the Japanese way of life and its value system (Imazu, 1996). The Kikokushijo's unique experiences and acquired foreign language skills are seen as a foreign element, which had better be hidden, otherwise they might be a target for bullying at school. Nevertheless, more serious problems which the Kikokushijo and his or her family might face are the difficulty in finding schools which will accept them. According to the 'Asahi Shinbun' newspaper (April 2001), when a mother of Kikokushijo inquired about state schools in Nagoya, several of them refused and said, "We are too busy to have Kikokushijo." "Get the result of the trial exams of Kawaijuku

(private cram school) and come back later.” The local board of Education was not helpful at all⁹.

Some Kikokushijo might decide to get out of the Japanese social system semi-permanently after they suffer from the social oppression of trying to re-assimilate into the Japanese value system. Sugimoto points out that “‘refugees from Japan’ or ‘life style emigrants’”, who have expatriated themselves from the corporate world, the education system, or the community structure of Japanese society...the new breed of emigrants attempt to establish themselves abroad to escape what they regard as Japan’s rigid social system’ (Sugimoto, 1997:190). These so-called “social refugees from Japanese society” are quite distinct from other political and economic refugees in that they could return easily to their home country. They may find Japan’s inter group solidarity is comforting but too limited, on the other hand, fierce intra group competition within an education system, a corporate world, and the community structure, is too stressful. They freely choose a country or society in which to stay but not necessary to settle down permanently. They might encompass two or three countries cross-culturally, although some might feel in danger of becoming rootless or suffering an identity crisis. Japanese students in Britain might be such potential social refugees.

Now let us turn to foreigners in Japan, who are not white foreigners (gaijin), but also not blacks (kokujin). They are called “gaikokujin”, which means people from outside countries. “Gai” refers to ‘outside’, “koku” means country and “jin” means people, but “gai” has a different nuance to some people in Japan. For example the sound of gai

⁹ In 2000, these people who suffered from unhelpful states and schools in Nagoya, organised the grassroots group called “ALOE”(Association of the women who have an experience in living abroad). They published a CD-ROM, which includes information on the local schools that accept Kikokushijo, and the students’ experience of being bullied as Kikokushijo in Nagoya. The members actually went to the schools to interview the headmasters (Abe in Asahi Shinbun, April, 2001).

suggests to some Japanese people “harmful, injurious, damaging, or noxious” written in a different Chinese character (Bunmei, 1996). For example, the widely reported remarks Shintaro Ishihara (Mayor of Tokyo) used (consciously or unconsciously). He was quoted as saying, “Recently there has been an increase in nasty crimes committed by those illegally entered ‘Third Nation’ people and foreigners” (April 2000). In this comment he is picking notions of ‘gai’ in referring to people of the “Third Nation” (Korean, Taiwanese) and foreigners. According to the Japanese government, this statement is allowable due to “freedom of expression” guaranteed by the Constitution, although the Mayor of Tokyo did make a public apology for this outburst in the press. It is worth noting that Japan has still not signed the UN convention on human rights (Kobayashi in Asahi Newspaper, March 2001).

2.3.2. Not true foreigners

Illegal Asian migrant workers

“Refugees? In Japan? Well, maximum nine people a year, I would say.” N carried on. He is a public notary in Nagoya. “To be identified (or certified) as a refugee is extremely difficult in Japan, well, next to impossible. First, one needs to prove that his/her life there was really in danger. Second, s/he needs numerous documents from his/her country, such as the registration paper, birth certificate etc. Third, most immigration officers or Japanese people in general, do not know much about other countries’ present political and religious situation. In addition, Japan has not experienced wars for more than a half century. It makes it difficult for the majority Japanese to empathise with such a threatening situation in the world.”

The Japanese government uses lame excuses such as ‘lack of land’ for not accepting

Vietnamese refugees (the so-called “Boat People”), who come by sea. They are seized and sometimes treated as criminals, and imprisoned or deported to other countries. By comparison with other countries, such as the United States (1,166,188), Canada (223,637), Switzerland (19,986) and the Netherlands (15,115), Japan’s 6,424 was an extremely small number (World Refugee Survey, 1988 in Nakano, 1993:73).

In 2000, the Immigration Control Law was revised, which brought much tighter control of the people who overstayed their welcome in Japan. People possessing expired visas are seen as criminals in Japan. According to the revised Immigration Control Law, if they were exposed, their employers must pay fines and they would be deported and not be allowed to re-enter Japan for the next five years. Prior to 2000, the ban was for one, not five years. It might be said that this is a very strict law. For example, even if those to be deported have a family, a Japanese spouse and children, it will be equally applied. Many deportees voluntarily repatriated themselves before the revised law was actually endorsed in February 2000. However, the number of potential deportees as well as illegal foreign workers has nevertheless increased since the 1980’s. It is estimated that 268,421 deportees and illegal foreign workers (40,535) who were exposed or self-declared for voluntarily repatriation, lived in Japan in 1998 (The report of the Immigration Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, 1999; Japanese Almanac, 2000). Countries of origin were Korea (62,577), which formed 23.1 per cent of total overstayers, followed by Philippines (40,420), China (34,800), and Thailand (30,065). Seventy-six point one per cent of total originally entered with short stay visas (Ministry of Justice, 1999).

The type of work, which these Asian illegal workers are engaged in, is basically divided by their sex. For example, male workers often find employment in small factories, particularly in the construction industry (Hicks, 1997). As in Western European countries, migrant workers in Japan undertake dirty and dangerous work with low pay. However,

with their status as illegal workers, they are much more vulnerable to exploitation than Nikkeijin co-workers. For example, Nikkeijin's working conditions, payment and overtime work situation are worse than indigenous unskilled workers, but Iranian illegal workers are paid less than half of Nikkeijin's wages. An illegal foreign worker in Japan is literally at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. Female workers, mostly in their late teens to twenties, as Hatsuse points out, are 'a specific characteristic of the Japanese case' (1992:235). A large number of young female workers, especially from the Philippines and Thailand find employment in the service sector (Hatsuse, 1992;Kazama, 1996). They are mainly prostitutes, cleaners, dishwashers and waitresses (Kazama, 1996;Hicks, 1997)

Needless to say, a huge wage gap exists between the sending countries and Japan. According to the statistics of Economy Planning Agency (1997), Japan's GNP is 41,951(Unit: US\$100million) whereas South Korea is 4,425, China is 9,177 (incidentally, Britain is 12,825and the United States is 78,240). Japanese wages are from five fold to twelve fold of the sending countries' wages (Ministry of Justice, 1998). Moreover, Japanese stereotypes determine differences in foreign workers wages. If their country has a negative stereotypical image in Japan, it might affect the foreign worker's wages. Iranian workers in Japan, for example, are often seen as criminals or potential criminals. As perceived criminals, Japanese employers will be reluctant to employ Iranians in average earning employment (Tanaka, 1993). Some Japanese students expressed reluctant feeling towards Iranian workers in Japan, who came after the first Gulf war.

These non-work permit holders are easy targets for brutal exploitation. They lack legal status, which stops them from protesting against discriminatory employment and social rights, such as housing, health services, religious practices, etc. They might also be constantly under the threat of deportation. While the majority Japanese enjoy escaping

from unpleasant menial work, these almost invisible (because they usually live in isolated communities from other Japanese) foreigners do the dangerous and dirty work. Furthermore, these workers are socially non-existent because of their illegal status and so are not afforded the right to express any dissatisfaction experienced in their work conditions (they are voiceless), or any extra fringe benefits. Mainstream Japanese may exploit these workers without being conscious of it. This systematic exploitation forces these illegal foreign workers to become much like Burakumin: invisible and yet discriminated against. Their communities and problems are totally marginalised from mainstream Japanese, who may have nothing but fear and a superior feeling towards these “weird” outsiders who are always a possible for a target of direct and indirect exploitation.

Asian women

In the 1980's, several news items about Asian brides appeared in the papers and in people's conversation in Japan. The rate of mixed marriages had rapidly increased (between Japanese husbands and Asian wives, such as Koreans, Thai, and Philipinos), for example, between 1965 and 1985, it increased more than sevenfold (Imazu, 1993). The Japanese local government and private brokers originally encouraged this type of marriage, where areas suffered from depopulation of young women. Depopulation occurred mainly in the countryside where farmers needed women to do housework, look after the elderly in the family, and produce the next generation of children in the village (Ishida and Shimao, 1995). However, nowadays, this bride ordering system has spread, not just throughout country farms, but everywhere in Japan. Chinese brides are especially widely on demand. According to the Tokyo Shinbun, there are 33 Internet sites of “marriage with Chinese women”. The Japanese men, who register on these sites, pay the intermediary 1,600,000 to 4,500,000yen (about £8,900 to £25,000), which includes the services of arranging blind dates, a wedding ceremony and a reception etc. These couples

brought together through agents sometimes marry in China. Nevertheless, some Chinese brides did not know that they were purchased by their husbands, and this may be a cause for future arguments (Gaikokujinryu, 2001). These Asian brides are expected to adapt to the Japanese village life as soon as possible. Furthermore, such brides might be treated as a substitution of the Japanese national. When they have children, their mixed raced offspring (Konketsuji); become members of a minority as discussed above.

As well as Asian brides, there are many Asian women who enter Japan as artists or as entertainers, such as singers and dancers. However, most of them are, as Sellek points out, actually working as hostesses and prostitutes, and are concentrated in the sex-industry' (Sellek, 1997). These women are derogatorily called "Japayuki-san"(Kazama, 1996), and they sometimes come as students. Although the numbers of prostitutes and strippers has decreased, the numbers of hostesses and dancers have been steadily increasing (The Immigration Control Office in Ministry of Justice, 1999)¹⁰.

The Asian migrant workers who relate to the sex industry and Asian brides are not particularly unique to Japanese society. They can be seen in many European countries, for example, with mail order brides, maids, and the trafficking of girls. However, the scale of this industry in Japan is quite big, such as "10 billion yen (more than £500 million) business a year"(Kazama, 1996:169). This shows Japan's economy is still strong in

¹⁰ These women not only live in the city, but also anywhere near the tourist resorts. Louise Brown claims that. "Women who are trafficked to Japan and those who are held in sexual slavery are not concentrated in the main red light areas...but most are scattered literally throughout the Japanese islands in what are known as "snacks""(Brown, 2000:108). These girls' are recruited in various ways. For example, some Thai women came to Japan, knowing their work included prostitution, whereas others were unaware, believing their work would be as waitresses or cleaners. Brown points out the strong connection between prostitution and Yakuza (the Japanese Mafia, themselves a long living minority in Japan). Out of one hundred Filipino women trafficked to Japan, she found that forty-six were aware of the involvement of the Yakuza in the process, but the real rate of Yakuza involvement is even probably higher' (Brown, 2000). According to Brown, most Thai prostitutes got on quite well with the Yakuza. Some even expressed that they prefer the Yakuza to Thai men. On the other hand, some have more complaints such as, 'I went to Japan to work in a club and was promised 230,000yen[£1,350]. I went on a three-month tourist visa and worked as a hostess [i.e.prostitute]. The work was hard but was better than being in Thailand. Then when I had finished the three months I was taken to Narita [Tokyo's international airport] and the man from the Yakuza only gave me 60,000yen[£350]'(2000:162). As Brown comments these Thai women, enter Japan mostly with three-month tourist visas or a three-month entertainer's visa. It sounded very Yakuza ("Yakuza" also means "not quite right" in Japanese).

relation to its Asian neighbours, coupled with the majority Japanese' comparatively lower awareness of 'women's rights'. According to Sorifu's survey on sexuality (1985), 64.6 per cent of the total sample disagreed with the existence of prostitution. The main reason for this disagreement however, was that it was bad for the social environment, had an ill effect on youths, and was seen as corrupting to the sexual public order. In other words, the rights of Japanese or non-Japanese women were irrelevant when compared to other concerns (Kazama, 1996). Becoming a part of Asian women in a Whites' country like Britain, especially Japanese female students may face some stereotypical images which projected by native White Britons.

2.3.3. True foreigners

Whites

In 1991, an Italian businessman, Roberto, arrived in Japan from Rome, Italy. He had married a Japanese woman and had decided to stay in her country. He became a Japanese national and adopted a Japanese name. He teaches Italian and English languages privately and at a local school in Toyohashi (suburb town in Japan). In addition, he had a unique job; he became a "Christian Priest" twice a month. "A couple years ago, I heard that there was an audition for a priest position at a wedding ceremonial company." Weddings are a huge business in Japan. Since the 1980's, weddings have become increasingly westernised. Many Buddhist born young couples wish to have a church wedding. Thus even traditional Japanese sushi restaurants enthusiastically produce "a package wedding", which is like a package tour. For example, wedding ceremony in the chapel, reception, and gifts for their guests and honeymoon are all in one package and usually costs three million-yen. For the ceremony, the owners of the restaurant employ fake (instant) priests. The wedding ceremony is a "mood business" in Japan, so the image is more important than the "reality".

According to Millie Creighton, the mood business needs White gaijin, and here are the comments of a section chief at the Osaka Yomiuri Advertisement Agency:

‘Japanese advertisements are not so realistic...instead they create a mood. Something is wanted to help create that mood, or a fantasy feeling. Pictures of foreigners and foreign places help create this’ (1997:215). Creighton further explains that, ‘foreigners outlook might be “misemono”, spectacles, or “things to look at...”’(1997:215) to mainstream Japanese, so that at least in the media, these types of images are still being produced in Japan. Thus the aim is that mainstream Japanese will identify with White foreigners in their mood.

When Roberto went to the interview, he saw many nationalities of “gaijin” (foreigners in Japan). Some were Christian; some Muslim or Jewish. Roberto analyses why he was chosen as a Christian priest, despite him not being particularly religious, as such, “I think because I am White, not too young (age of forty), and quite tall.” According to him, non-White priests have no chance to be fake priests, which is sometimes much better paid than real priests are. Being a White foreigner denotes skilled professional, good qualification still in this sort of mood business in Japan.

Foreign teachers of English also face this kind of ‘White/non-White’ discrimination, especially in Japanese rural areas, which have more stereotypical ideas of foreigners, such as White Anglo Saxon American. Therefore, sometimes a blond Polish man has a better chance to be an English teacher than well qualified black Americans or Asian British teachers. Although this stereotype orientated recruitment; ‘foreign teachers should be White Americans’ has decreased in urban areas (because the more cosmopolitan and mainstream Japanese have more experience of foreigners living in Japan as well as abroad). Nevertheless, it is still the mood industry such as the media, advertisement, and

the service industry, which benefits the old stereotypes of White foreigners.

In the service industry, there are many Asian girls working as hostesses (i.e. prostitution), but also many Whites, such as English (note the recent tragedy of the English girl, Lucy Blackman in 2001), Americans, Australians and Canadian women who work at the “snack bar” illegally. However, as well as a big wage difference between White gaijin and darker skin foreigners, also treatment by customers (usually Japanese men) is quite different. According to Brown, ‘Racism complicates and deepens the domination theme in sex purchase by Japanese men. The Japanese consider themselves to be the “Whites” of Asia. In addition, they are every bit as racist as old-time Western colonialists. Japanese customers treat prostitutes differently according to their skin. Japanese and Caucasian women are treated far better than dark-skinned Asian women are’ (Brown, 2000:149). Brown assumed that these whites and mainstream Japanese women could obtain some power over the men and not to give them a total control like Asian women. She goes on, ‘...there is a close correlation between the scale of abuse and the depth of skin colour. ...young Colombian women have been gang raped on stage...Thai and Philippino women report beatings and threats with knives and guns’ (2000:149).

According to analysts of the social psychology of the Japanese the “Japanese have an inferiority complex towards the white Caucasian and feel superior towards non-White people”(Sugimoto, 1997). This phenomenon one could observe in almost any part of Japanese society. For example, the police feel shame that they can not speak to the White suspects, but they can subject non-Whites to close foreign language examination in Japanese, even though the non-white suspects would not understand Japanese well. Moreover, Whites may be more leniently treated, whereas, non-Whites may experience the exact opposite. Package-tour-guides have noticed that Japanese tourists becoming imperious in non-white countries, but they are servile to whites in their countries.

Therefore White people in Japan might experience discomfort in the excessive welcomes and respect shown by majority Japanese (Lie, 2001). According to Creighton, since the Meiji era, White Westerners have presented a standard of progress and beauty to Japan (Creighton, 1997; De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996).

Recently, for example (most notably since the 1960's), some Japanese women and men have opted for single eye fold (epicanthic fold) cosmetic surgery, in order to meet the perceived standard of White Western people's beauty. Furthermore, some Japanese women have attempted to have their breasts enlarged (De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1996). Although the image of 'White' is foreign, to the majority Japanese White Westerners' power in technological expertise, economic dominance, their fashion style and especially their overall explicit manner of communicating, over-rides the foreignness. According to Lie(2001), 'White Europeans and Americans are, in general, treated extremely well as honoured guests'(173). Moreover, most respondents in this study reported that White foreigners were treated the best, rather pampered by Japanese people in Japan (see culture shock in Chapter 4), therefore, some expected that sort of treatment by British people(being pampered and so on) in Britain. They were shocked to find out that they could be a target of racial discrimination, instead of being pampered.



On the other hand, there was evidence to show that even if they were treated nicely on the surface level, white people are seem as true foreigners and outsiders to Japanese people. For example, the article about 'Japanese –only public baths' (Jonathan Watts in Guardian, November 12th, 2002). According to Watts, an American born civil rights activist was refused to enter public bathhouse because the presence of foreigners drove regular customers away, despite his newly taken his Japanese citizenship and he even changed his name like a Japanese one.

Moreover, interviews reveal that more than 90 per cent (49 students) expected 'Britain was Whites' country' before they came here. So in a way, they expected to be surrounded by a White host population in Britain. However, how do they perceive their non-White status in Britain?

Blacks

As Wagatsuma argues, 'the Japanese has long associated the colour "white" with purity and positive traits, while "black" has symbolised that which is ugly and impure' (Wagatsuma in Creighton in 1997:221). Moreover, the colour of 'black' has been associated with death and being evil-minded. However, most Japanese hardly ever actually encounter black people in their every day lives (most black people in Japan are US soldiers in the base), or few English language teachers. Japanese people mostly experience them in their imagination. This stereotype of Blacks was possibly introduced by the White Western world after Commodore Perry arrived with his Black crew in 1854 (Creighton, 1997). Moreover, several delegates sent to the United States in the mid 1800's, saw Blacks being slaves in southern part of America. Even, during the American and allied's occupation, (1946), Japanese people saw White American officers and soldiers were staying in the different building from Black American soldiers', shops are also separated between Blacks and Whites(Furukawa, 1996). Certainly old generation Japanese felt uneasy in encountering 'burned pot coloured skin people'(Furukawa, 1996: 24), as Lie cited Kokubo Masao, a regional politician, said, "we know in our head s that discrimination is bad, but our feelings are different,.. when you shake hands with someone who is completely black, you feel your hands getting black "(Lie, 2001:173). As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Japanese prime minister Nakasone Yasuhiro's statement in the mid- 1980s by making racist remarks against American ethnic minorities, as well as denying their existence and discrimination against Japanese ethnic minorities

Generally speaking, being Black is a counter image of the White image to majority Japanese and they are hardly ever used in 'mood adverts'; 'mood business' like White people, unless they are famous professionals such as Michael Jackson or Carl Lewis (Creighton, 1997). Although Black culture such as Black music or fashion permeates the white world, and the image of 'Black' has been upgraded, (which is also adaptation of American popular culture) and has become popular among Japanese youth culture in the urban cities, it is still not strong enough to change their general stereotypes. In fact, some respondents in this study complained and expressed their racial prejudice point of view against Black people in Britain.

2.5. Conclusion

It could be argued that majority Japanese perceive foreign 'others' in terms of a referential grid. This grid has two axes (vertical and horizontal), and is further comprised of four areas. The vertical axis indicates the spectrum between who is considered superior (top) and who is inferior (below), in relation to mainstream Japanese (Nakane, 1970). The horizontal axis indicates '*uchi*' and '*soto*' (closeness or distance respectively) (Bachnik, 1994). This closeness is measured in terms of geographical, political (in terms of their homeland) and racial markers. Chinese or Philippino people fall closer on the referential framework to mainstream Japanese, than do Americans. However, White Americans may nevertheless be considered higher in status, despite their different ethnicity. We may refer to further examples. Majority Japanese perceive themselves as existing within the *uchi* and the superior axes. "Not quite Japanese" people on the other hand, the Burakumin, Ainu, Okinawans and Nikkeijin, rest in *uchi* and the inferior axes. Asians share the same space as 'not quite Japanese', in that they hold a similar status, but are also considered as being situated further away from Japanese. Both Blacks and Whites occupy distant

(foreign, *soto*) axes, but Whites stay in the superior axes whereas Blacks are in the inferior axes. Overall, this four-way distinction may be regarded as the racial map of the Japanese psyche. How do they see themselves in a different environment like Britain, going from majority to minority status?

It could be suggested that Japanese youths decide to come to Britain, because it carries the status of a White foreigner's country. Their overall purpose might be to study the English language and attain an English undergraduate degree. Holding such a degree is valued for its evidence of proficiency in the English language. The following factors need further consideration. For example, 'what sort of stereotypical images do Japanese people generally possess towards England and English people?' 'What expectations might be held by Japanese students prior to studying in Britain?' Furthermore, 'How do these Japanese students react to the relatively more multiethnic society in Britain?' As Brown puts it, as the Japanese behave like Whites (not real White people) in terms of treating different subordinate racial groups within Japan, do they do the same in a foreign land, among real White people? Do they pretend to be White and ignore the racist treatment they may encounter, or do they accept non-White status in the British society and recognise the same discriminatory experiences as the minority people in Japan? Although many Japanese students are not aware of the position and experiences of 'not quite Japanese people' in Japan (e.g. Burakumin, Zainichi Koreans, Okinawans and Ainu), some seemed to possess situational and general knowledge of racism in Japan. Did the latter group employ this knowledge of racism as well in Britain?

Chapter 3 RESEARCH METHOD

‘A person’s identity is not found in behaviour but in the narratives that have been constructed around it’ (Giddens in Lea and West, 1996: 185).

3.1. Introduction

The two main questions in this study are: “What experiences of race and racism do Japanese students encounter in Britain?”, and “how do they make sense of and cope with these experiences? In order to answer these questions, a qualitative method is employed because it enables respondents to express their feelings and experiences in their own words. Allowing respondents such an opportunity, will best ensure, insight into how they make sense of their position as ethnic minorities, within Britain.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, we need to investigate if they adopt situational and general knowledge of racism in Britain. In-depth interviews were employed as the main source of data collection in order to view how they perceive and evaluate racist encounters, and how they cope with these stressful experiences. It is crucial to closely understand Japanese students’ accounts of their experiences of racism. In addition, survey questionnaires, telephone and email were also adopted as complementary data collection methods. These preceded the interviews and were done in order to obtain a broader picture, which small-scale face-to-face in-depth interview data alone, was not able to provide. Moreover, they help to gain access to people who would be interviewed.

In this chapter, I will firstly explain the reason why a qualitative as opposed to a quantitative method is more appropriate for the purpose of this study. Secondly, I will

demonstrate why the in-depth interview will be used as the main data collection method, whilst other methods are taken as complementary methods. I will also identify the main strengths and weaknesses of the research methods adopted. I include with a discussion of my field work, including the research relationship and the data analysis.

3.1.1. A timeline

This is a timeline of this study:

May 2000-June 2000 : E-mails for recruiting interviewees for a pilot study were circulated in the university of Kent.

July 2000- August 2000 : Ten pilot interviews were conducted.

April 2001- June 2001 : Pre-interview questionnaires via e-mail for recruiting prospective interviewees were sent to the UK universities.

August 2001- November 2002 : Fifty-one interviews were conducted, transcribed in Japanese and translated into English language.

November 2002 : Two Second interviews and one additional telephone interview were conducted, transcribed, and translated.

December 2002- January 2004 : Data was analysed and writing up of thesis.

3.2. Qualitative Methodology

A qualitative approach allows us to examine the respondents' perception of and attitudes toward various forms of racism, and the way they interpreted their specific experiences and their coping strategies. Moreover, Rubin and Rubin (1995) assert that a qualitative approach helps to discover the nature of respondents' experiences and how they reconstruct incidents. Furthermore, 'qualitative methods provide more accurate and valid information about respondents' experience' (Foner and Cooks, 1991:90). According to Snape and Spencer, 'there is fairly wide consensus that qualitative research is naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within their social worlds (2003:3, Bryman, 1988). As the nature of the research problem is highly complex and rather invisible to the native population, it needs to be treated carefully by a qualitative interview. A qualitative approach enables us to observe how respondents understand and interpret their social environments. The way in which each Japanese student has been able to understand and re-interpret the past has been of crucial importance in the forging of a new self-image for them. Employing a quantitative survey approach would result in the failure to capture the complexities and ambiguities, which arise with racialized encounters (Kotre, 1984).

It was felt that a qualitative 'in-depth interview' method (with complimentary survey questionnaires via e-mail and additional telephone interviews) was the most suitable to gather the necessary data to answer the research questions. Although interview data does not ensure an external reality, but a respondent's internal reality, the method helps to 'understand how individuals make sense of the social world and act within it' (May, 1993:108; Silverman, 1985). Firstly, pre-interview survey questionnaire was sent or handed to the respondents, then an in-depth interview was conducted, and if it was necessary, an additional telephone interview or second interview was carried out.

The “mixed method” approach (Denzin, 1978) was useful. For example, the “triangulation” technique enables the researcher to use two or more different methods in order to maximise the findings of the study (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003; Denzin, 1978). Therefore, whereas one method may fail to gather a particular type of data, a second method may counter this disadvantage (Cook, 1984; Merton, 1957). Denscombe notes that, ‘each method provides its own distinctive perspective’ (1998:84). Therefore, the researcher, who may be ‘practically constrained (time, resources, access)’ needs to consider applying different methods to collect data on the same sample (ibid.).

3.3. Sample

The research sample population were 51 Japanese undergraduate and postgraduate students at British universities (mainly social science students). Forty-nine of 51 filled out a survey questionnaire. According to HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency), there are several institutions which contain a high number of Japanese undergraduate and postgraduate students, and most from are located in London and Southern England. Thus, all participants were recruited these areas, which also benefited the researcher, who was based in Kent. It was likely that there were regional variations in the racialized experiences of Japanese students studying in Britain because of the different ethnic compositions of different regions. Lancaster, for instance, is likely to have a different ‘racial’ composition overall to that of London, or Canterbury.

[TABLE 3.1: locations of students’ universities]

	Male students	Female students	Total
London	7	14	21
Kent	8	22	30
Total	15	36	51

The students all had at least one year’s experience of living in the UK (in order to avoid participants’ so-called “honeymoon period”) (Hsiao-Ying, 1995) and were Japanese undergraduate students and postgraduate students. Originally I had thought that though undergraduate students were more or less of a similar age group they would comprise a larger population than postgraduate students in Britain which would make it easier for the creation of a framing sample. Nevertheless, there was not much difference between undergraduate and postgraduate student numbers in terms of sampling (according to HESA, 3,310 Japanese undergraduate students and 2,840 Japanese postgraduate students were in the UK universities in 2002).

[TABLE 3.2: the number of undergraduate and postgraduate students]

	Male students	Female students	Total
Undergraduate	7	14	21
Postgraduate	8	22	30
Total	15	36	51

I also hoped to achieve an equal balance of both male and female respondents ranging in age from 19 to 45. This would have allowed me to analyse gender differences in their understandings of racialised experiences and their coping strategies (Kuo, 1997).

[TABLE 3.3: the age of students]

	Male students	Female student	Total
19-25	5	15	20
26-30	5	10	15
31-34	3	6	9
35-	2	5	7
Total	15	36	51

Unfortunately my sample, of necessity, produced more female students than male students (15 males, 36 females). According to HESA, 3,939 Japanese female students and 2,337 Japanese male students were in British higher education in 2002, and the sample population more or less reflected the total population of Japanese students in the UK universities. There was also lack of Japanese science students in British universities and this prevented this study from being able to analyse respondents' awareness of racism according to their choice of discipline.¹¹ According to HESA, subjects of study by Japanese students in the UK universities were as follow.

1. Design studies (554)
2. English (468)
3. Business & management studies (424)
4. Linguistics (335)
5. Other combined or general course (322)
6. Politics (290)
7. Fine art (220)
8. Other social studies (205)
9. Economics(159)
10. Japanese language, literature, culture (140)

However, two of the respondents actually changed their course into ¹²Sociology (from Art or Music), after their encounters of discriminatory incidents in Britain. Furthermore, the respondents in this study were more or less survivors of racial discriminations. Therefore, they may incorporate their discriminatory experiences into their consideration of future research and careers.

Some may question whether the small size of the sample is representative of all Japanese

¹¹ Data was from the HESA July 2002 Individualised Student record, total numbers of Japanese students were 6276.

students in the UK. It is not the purpose of this study to produce a sample representative of the general population in statistical terms. According to Merton (1972), it is much more useful if the samples are small and relatively homogeneous, in order to generate theory.

This study attempts to capture the respondents' racial experiences with their own words. For such experiences it may be argued, were interpreted, negotiated and reconstructed in the respondent's mind. This small sample was realistic, since the researcher was the only interviewer, and since a great deal of data can be generated in each interview. Large-scale research in this context was not feasible due to time and resource constraints.

3.3.1. Pilot study

In my pilot study, conducted between July and August 2000, I discovered an effective avenue for recruiting Japanese students. Initially I contacted the undergraduate office at the University of Kent to obtain contact numbers and/or e-mail addresses of existing undergraduate Japanese students. Not surprisingly, my request was denied, citing the protection of students' privacy. Then I remembered that in my department (School of Social Policy, Sociology, Social Research), e-mails are always circulated, which anyone in my department can open. I went to the student record office to suggest circulating an email, (including information about my research and requirements) to find Japanese students who may wish to participate in my pilot study. The person in the office was very reluctant at first, but agreed to send an e-mail to all undergraduate students in the university. In this way, I received fifteen responses from Japanese undergraduate students at the University of Kent, in spite of the fact that it was the summer holiday season. This strategy reached more females than male subjects.

¹² Sociology was 13th.

These pilot interviews (10) were semi-structured, lasted about an hour, and were mostly conducted in campus cafeterias in Kent. Most of the interviewees (undergraduate and postgraduate students) reported that they had experienced racism at some level, and revealed their various coping strategies, whether acquired consciously or unconsciously. I was very surprised, because I had not expected such a result. The problem of racism for Japanese people in Britain was more or less described as 'invisible' by Japanese students as well as non-Japanese people in Britain. It is like the minorities' problem in Japan, in that most of the people in the group of the majority don't know much about it. In fact, when it was suggested that I should conduct research on racism experienced by Japanese students, I felt ambivalent. On the one hand it was an interesting topic and no research had been conducted in the field. On the other hand, it was a broad topic area and I was worried that I was not able to find many respondents who had actually experienced racial discrimination in Britain.

Reactions to my proposed research were also mixed in the pilot interviews. In fact several fellow students and friends discouraged me by saying things like, "Are Japanese people being racially discriminated against? Never heard of it." So I was aware of the ambiguous and contested nature of this problem right from the beginning of this research. In fact, it was one of the key issues, 'the invisible nature of the problem', for example, 'something may stop them voicing their concerns' or 'something might prevent both Japanese and non-Japanese from realising that a problem exists'.

This was my real starting point for this study. I met several respondents for the pilot study who frankly and openly shared their very private experiences of racism which they had never discussed with anyone except close friends in the UK, even their own family. Some of these students had left for Japan for the summer, however, those who were going to be

on campus next term consented to my interviewing them properly between the end of September and November 2001, and usually each interview lasted for an hour to two hours.

3.3.2. Access to Japanese students

Some universities are more likely to have Japanese students than others. The University of Kent, for example, has special connections to Japanese universities. In addition, through these universities in Japan, students come to Britain every year. For example, there is a Japanese college (Chaucer College) in the University of Kent, which has over 150 Japanese boarding students. Every year a few students who complete the access course at Chaucer College enter the undergraduate program at the University of Kent.

Initially, I considered universities, which have access courses for overseas students, for example, the University College London, the University of Surrey, and the London School of Economics and Political Science, etc. However, after talking to a consultant, who helps Japanese students to enter these universities' access courses, I discovered that only one or two Japanese students in each of the above universities enter each course, every year. The consultant was also very suspicious of the purpose of my enquiries. Once I had explained my research questions and planned interviews the consultant was more forthcoming in providing suggestions. She suggested that I should try to look at "ex-Polytechnic Universities". These universities or colleges have less strict entry requirements for overseas students. The result is that ex-polytechnics are likely to attract more foreign students, whose English language standards are a little lower. There are six universities which have special connections to Japanese institutions, and four ex-Polytechnic universities.

During my fieldwork, I encountered a major limitation in the email method of finding prospective interviewees. Firstly, I sent out a contact letter to the student record office (or international office) of the target universities inquiring about accessing Japanese undergraduates. Then through the student records office, I circulated an e-mail to all the undergraduate and postgraduate students asking if there were any Japanese students willing to help in my research, and invited them to contact me through email.

There were not many universities which had extended e-mail systems such as the University of Kent, especially those in the centre of London. Particularly, three of the target universities had this problem, which made it rather hard for me to collect samples. Where circulating an email to undergraduate and postgraduate students was not feasible, I asked the contacts I had in those universities to place my request on the students' notice board. This was particularly suggested by the people in the Goldsmiths College. However, this method was less effective than email, and it did not generate samples at all.

After my disappointing recruitment efforts through e-mail, I abandoned that idea, and turned to 'flow populations' technique, 'where samples are generated by approaching people in a particular location or setting' (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003:94). I directly went to the targeted universities, and spend a lot of time in their canteens and approached Japanese students' groups. Whenever I found them, I showed my student card, introduced myself, explained my research and asked them to be interviewed. Most of them actually showed their willingness to participate in this study, but some were suspicious or reluctant to talk about themselves to a stranger. In fact, on one occasion, I was suspected to be a person who would try to convert Japanese people to a Japanese 'new religion', because those people usually apply similar tactics for approaching groups of Japanese people in the hope of be-friending and eventually converting them. I was not aware of all this, so I was initially surprised. One student was somehow very sceptical of anything I said. It took almost 3 months of e-mail correspondence for her to believe in my intentions.

Eventually she agreed to participate in the interview, and she even introduced her friend to me. Although I usually carried tapes and a tape recorder with me when I visit the targeted universities, I rarely interviewed them the day I met them unless specifically requested to by the students themselves. I usually suggested to prospective interviewees that we should meet the week after. I aimed at only one or two interviews a day to prevent confusion in my own mind and to ensure that I remembered the interviewees' reactions both verbally and non-verbally. I tried to transcribe the tapes of the interviews on the day of interviews, or at the latest on following day.

In some cases, I also went to the London university canteen with some of my British friends, who were happy to approach groups of Japanese students, the friends made initial contact with the groups, then introduced me to them. Somehow, in that way, groups of Japanese people were more appreciative. They seemed more willing to help us than when I approached them directly. In Japan, an approach by a stranger is always viewed with suspicion. However, Japanese students in higher education in Britain are more open to British people contacting them. In fact Japanese students often complain that British people always stick together, which makes it difficult for foreign students like Japanese to practise the English language and communicate with them. For example, one of the male respondents criticised fellow Japanese female students who were just happily respond and attentively listen to British men for their English conversation skill. My British friend usually gave an excuse to the groups of Japanese students like, 'my Japanese friend (researcher) is doing PhD research but being a Japanese person, she hesitates to approach strangers, so I am helping her.' This sort of joke also helped later to create a rapport between my interviewees and myself. They identified my position as 'someone Japanese who was also studying in a foreign university', which provided a good foundation for our future research relationship. I usually asked them to introduce me to other Japanese students ('snowballing' techniques), but it was time-consuming, because 'sample

generation and fieldwork took place concomitantly' (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003). Moreover, because 'snowball sampling' generates respondents through personal recommendations by other respondents (Kuo, 1995; Song, 1999; May, 1993), this can result in a biased sample, with like-minded participants.

I usually bought a cup of coffee or tea, or if I was visiting their place, I brought some Japanese sweets or a box of chocolates as a gesture of appreciation, and then started off chatting to them as a Japanese student in British higher education. On several occasions, the students later brought other Japanese students into my office in the university to introduce me.

I also never forgot to wish them success in their own study here and offered them a copy of my data, if they were interested. I also encouraged all respondents to ask me questions about myself and my thesis during the course of the interview. Most of them wished me luck and asked me for a copy. A few respondents actually expressed their wish for the experiences of Japanese students in Britain to be voiced in social research. Because they said they felt 'no British people would even dream of this, what sometimes we have gone through in this country.'

Before in-depth interviews took place, I sent (via email) or handed respondents my research information and a pre-interview survey questionnaire. This questionnaire comprised demographic questions and mostly closed questions (see Appendix 1).

3.4. Pre-interview survey

Email was used for this pre-interview survey. Email is now one of main communication resources on campus in Britain. Most students, lectures and administrative people contact

each other through email. Email is an indispensable communication resource in university life and thus the response rates to my e-mail approach were higher than my postal communications.

On the other hand, some students may not have taken it very seriously, or might choose to ignore circulated letters sent from their department. Therefore, relatively complicated and time-consuming open questions were not realistic for the pre-interview survey. By carrying out the larger sample pre-interview survey (around 200), it enabled the researcher to select in-depth interview participants from them.

The pre-interview survey questionnaire was set out in two parts. The first concerned respondents' demographic details. The second was focused on respondents' opinions and attitude about their treatment and sense of belonging (or not) in Britain. They were not asked explicitly about racism in this survey. Both parts of the survey questionnaires adopted mostly closed questions. This survey research was carried out mainly through email, sometimes in person before the in-depth interview. Because I sometimes had to conduct the interview on the same day I met the interviewee, but in all cases I would explain the nature of my research.

However, unlike other survey research, I was not attempting to construct a study population which would be representative in a statistical sense. Pre-interview survey questionnaires offered the interviewer an opportunity to prepare the interview. By conducting a pre-interview survey in advance, the interviewer could maximise the time allotted during face-to-face interviews. It also provided some information about the research which was relevant.

The advantages of closed questions concern their ease of manageability. For example

because the closed questions were all fixed (see Appendix 1), answers could easily be compared between different respondents.

However, there were several concerns raised concerning the usefulness of closed questions. According to Foddy, 'there are tendencies to tick in the middle of rating scales.... to endorse the most socially desirable or acceptable answer... to endorse the first response opinion seen, as well as the last opinion heard' (1993:131). Also the respondent might merely provide a socially desirable answer.

Some students who filled out my questionnaire, begged me to come to their area to conduct further research on racism experienced by Japanese students there because they considered it to be very significant. Although this was not feasible for this study (because of the extra time and cost that would be involved), it might be interesting to conduct such interviews in a future study.

3.5. Semi-structured interviews

Interviews can be conducted in a structured or an unstructured way. It depends on how much control the interviewer intends to have (May, 1993). For example, survey style interviews (the formal standardised interviews) rely upon a more structured approach. It is suitable for quantitative research for the purpose of generalisation and causal analysis (May, 1993).

In the case of an unstructured interview, it is like a conversation (Burgess, 1982; Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003); no questions are prepared by the interviewer in advance. However, as May (1993) puts it, the researcher has 'an aim in mind when conducting the interview' (1993:94). This style of interview permits the interviewee to express his or her

opinions in their own manner and “life-history”. “Oral history” interviews also pursue this style (Foddy, 1993). Before conducting the interview, it is crucial for the interviewer to know how much information about the research topics should be covered and how this can be done (Jones, 1991).

The in-depth interviews in this study were semi-structured, because such an approach retains the best qualities from both the structured and unstructured interview approaches. First, the interviewer (researcher) could prepare the interview questions in advance (Jones, 1991) (see Appendix 2). However, these were used more as a guideline rather than a rigid question regime. Interviewer flexibility in a semi-structured context allowed the researcher to change, add and/or drop some questions during the interview, if deemed appropriate. For instance, the respondent’s pre-interview survey questionnaires were sometimes discussed, if he or she wished and also interviewees were encouraged to ask questions of the interviewer about the research topic or even on more general issues. Second, a semi-structured interview style enabled the researcher to explore the respondents’ experiences with their own words and manner, whilst the researcher retained some control over the interview direction. Third, it allowed the researcher to maximise the use made of the interview time. A semi-structured interview also allows the researcher to code transcripts more easily.

However, even with a semi-structured interview situation, the researcher can clarify questions and answers and gently ‘probe’ respondents who may appear reluctant. A range of probes are able ‘to achieve depth of answer in terms of penetration, exploration and explanation’ (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003:141).

The interview schedule was composed of four main parts: firstly, the informants’ background, secondly, their pre-departure expectations, thirdly, experiences of ‘race’ and

racism in the UK which they had experienced, and fourthly, the respondent's future plans and how their experiences in Britain affected their thoughts and attitudes toward foreigners and ethnic minorities in Japan.

3.5.1. Conducting the interviews: time and place

Location of the interview was very important. This was due especially to the fact that they were tape-recorded. Most interviews were carried out at the interviewees' universities or colleges. The venues included students' room, cafes, and restaurants in the university or the college or outside. The venue had to be a relatively quiet place for tape-recording. Except in a couple of cases, most of interviews were conducted in the university or outside coffee shop. I was hoping to conduct the interviews at their lodgings, in order to observe their home and feel some essence of the person. However, most respondents preferred a neutral place for interviews.

The interview process started from the end of August 2001 and concluded in November in 2002. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. Some of them could not be finished within the set appointment time and had to be adjourned to a later date (second interview). There were a couple of resumptions of adjourned interviews and a follow-up telephone interview in November 2002. At the end of each interview, I asked the respondents or their friends for the names of any other prospective interviewees they might know. They usually contacted me about this through e-mail or the text messaging facility of their mobile telephone. Some of the respondents have now become my friends and have kept contact with me even after they left for Japan.

Timing was an important factor in working out an interview schedule, which I had not expected at the beginning of the research programme. Because they were students, I

thought that they might have more free time or be more flexible than office workers. However, because they were university students, particularly during holiday time, it was next to impossible to contact them. During the examination period also it was difficult to make contact with the students, and I had to avoid these periods, which caused my fieldwork period to be unexpectedly extended.

The tape-recorder was used as the main interview instrument. Although note taking had been considered as an option, tape-recording enabled me to note freely an interviewee's non-verbal gestures, face expression and also to engage in the conversation. From my pilot study experiences, people, including the interviewer, did forget they were being recorded. Self-consciousness of voice and speech patterns might very well recede into the background as the interview progresses. Therefore, all interviews were tape-recorded with the interviewees' permission.

The tape-recorded interviews were first transcribed into the Japanese language (50 of 51 interviews were conducted in Japanese language, and while one interviewee preferred to be interviewed in English). I kept 'field notes', in which I wrote information about my interviewees before and after the interviews, for example, initial contact, my impression about interviewees, text message on the mobile phone and mail correspondence about interview dates, etc.

3.6. Research relationship

According to Legard, Keegan and Ward, 'post-modern approaches emphasise the way in which reality is constructed in the interview, and the relationship that develops between researcher and interviewees' (2003:140). In this study, as a Japanese person, the

researcher shared the same language and the same ethnic background with her respondents. This was very crucial when investigating respondents' ambiguous racial status in Britain and to understand the delicate experiences of subtle racism. Although knowing the interviewee's language and cultural background is not a sufficient basis for being a good interviewer, it is still an important issue to be addressed. The interviewer, being Japanese, had the great advantage of sharing the first language of the respondents. If interviews had been conducted instead in English by a British researcher, Japanese respondents might have felt less relaxed and forthcoming in their answers. Furthermore, the respondents may have been worried about their ability to express themselves in English, due to language limitations. As a result, they may have been more reluctant to participate in the interview, even if they had had substantive experiences of racial abuse. I first conducted interviews in Japanese, and transcribed them into Japanese, then translated them into the English language.

On the other hand, I was aware that sharing cultural and racial similarity with respondents could be a disadvantage. I could have easily projected my own experience. So, although I managed to escape from perpetuating Westerners' ethnocentric assumptions and unverified stereotypes about "the Japanese" (Morsbach 1977), I might be in danger of losing some objectivity in the interview situation.

Furthermore, as I discussed earlier in the previous chapter, horizontal *soto/uchi* (outside/inside) and vertical (older/younger or superior/inferior) relationship frameworks in Japanese society might affect research relationships. It is ideal to have *uchi-uchi* interviews, which means that interviewees could express their feelings without much hesitation as in an in-group situation, because some incidents or feelings can be very hurtful to the respondents' "tatemae" (the surface world of social obligations).

“Honne (true feelings and desire)”, are often expressed in in-group situations (uchi relationship) (Hamabata in Sugimoto, 1997:6). “Tatemae” sometimes covers up “honne”(Sugimoto, 1997:24). Consequently, it is important to notice interviewees’ “honne”. It is crucial for a researcher to get as much “honne” from Japanese respondents during the course of the interviews. The researcher needs to enter the invisible circle of ‘uchi’ without invading respondents’ space. If the researcher can not break the wall down, she/he would hear loads of ‘tatemae’ and ‘the way things should be’ instead of their real thoughts and feelings.

A vertical bias can be seen between Japanese people due to several differences like age, gender, and social position. Within the Japanese language, these differences are deeply embedded (Rosenberger, 1994; Quinn, 1994; Kondo, 1994). For example, the vocabulary should be addressed within the situation; who you are (male or female) and with whom you speak (older person or younger person to the speaker). Consequently, research relationships with Japanese people seem to be affected by these “situational positions in a frame (Nakane, 1970:2)”. The researcher being older than the respondent might affect the vocabulary used in the interview setting (49 of 51 respondents were younger than the researcher). Furthermore, it was possible that the respondent might project his or her image of the older person onto the researcher. The researcher needs to be aware of these discussed issues.

One respondent who was bullied at school in Japan was very aggressive toward me at the beginning of our meeting, especially after I revealed my previous occupation as a teacher in a secondary school in Japan. After some difficulty, she told me her teacher in her class just ignored the fact that she was being bullied. Moreover, the teacher encouraged the bullying by not taking her story seriously. She was projecting the image of a teacher who didn’t value her story and who failed to help her from the misery of being a victim of

bulling at school in Japan, onto me. I tend to wear casual clothing when I go to interviews, because I want the respondents to see me as a fellow Japanese student, mature and relaxed, yet not a person to judge them in any sense. Many respondents I interviewed had some inferiority complex concerning their English language speaking ability which had been planted in English class in Japan, as a result of the rather unhelpful language education system. So they were more sensitive about their ability to communicate and feared that their academic performance would be judged on their English language ability. As a researcher, this aspect of the research relationship needed to be given careful consideration.

On the other hand, being an older researcher, tended to remove gender bias from the interview, and more quickly build trust and respect. It was almost as if the respondents were talking to an 'agony aunt'. For example, one male respondent had encountered a white middle-aged flasher in a public toilet. The Japanese student had never mentioned this incident to anyone, but in the interview he was relaxed and expressed his experiences, thoughts and feeling freely with the older researcher. He may not have been so forthcoming with a female researcher of the same or younger age as himself.

It is clear that an interviewer needs to help direct participants through several 'interview stages' (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). First of all, an interviewer needs to ease participants, establishing good rapport, then take them down to deeper level that they can focus on a specific topic. If this deep concentration is achieved in the course of interview, participants may feel satisfaction and sort of catharsis. However, the interviewer has to know his or her role as a facilitator and help participants enable to express his or her feeling, thoughts, and experiences. This needs to be done with great cares. Otherwise participants could be hurt or become defensive, especially over sensitive issues (ibid.).

I sometimes met very defensive respondents who provided minimal answers to my questions. He/she looked extremely uncomfortable almost like a bird trying to escape. Although I explained my research and so on, still some respondents got upset by the questions. Other respondents showed their reluctance by postponing or cancelling their interview appointment. However, I did show my appreciation for their initial interest in participating in interview, and kept myself open for the next opportunity. It can be quite a traumatic experience to reconstruct hurtful events for a stranger, especially if the raw emotion of shock or anger had not settled in their minds yet. I tried not to be impatient or upset about this rejection.

On the other hand, some respondents said that they felt a sort of cathartic effect on them as they reconstructed and expressed the bitter experiences which they had previously never shared with anyone. They thanked me for listening to their story sincerely and patiently, and treating it like a valuable but fragile gift. This gave me great encouragement throughout the PhD research and I especially felt strongly responsible that their story should be voiced in this study.

Some might argue that it is easier to discuss personal issues with ‘outsiders’ than ‘insiders’. Because of their neutrality and greater objectivity, outsiders have access to the local secret more than insiders imagine (Wolf, 1996; Merton, 1972). In this respect, I could emphasise my status as “a foreign student from Japan in a British university”, which helped these Japanese students to reveal personal information about themselves.

Interviewees found talking with me in their native language (Japanese) relaxing, and at the same time, speaking in true confidentiality encouraged them to express their feelings and anxieties, without having to feel insecure. I also talked about myself if they asked me.

As Oakley points out, 'if the interviewee does not believe he/she is being kindly and sympathetically treated by the interviewer, then he/she will not consent to be studied and will not come up with the desired information'. Oakley also emphasises the balance between 'the warmth required to generate "rapport" and 'detachment' at the same time to observe the interviewee (Oakley, 1982:31; May, 1993). Oakley also suggests that getting interviewees' permission to tape-record the interviews and assuring the respondents that no one else except the interviewer listens to the tapes, would prove successful in establishing a good rapport. It was crucial that the respondents felt secure that their information would not be abused, or used for purposes other than the study. In this study, the policy of confidentiality has been rigidly upheld. All interviewees are referred to by pseudonyms chosen by the interviewees themselves

3.7. Data analysis

Transcripts of interviews, field notes, and pre-interview survey questionnaire comprise the 'raw' data in this story (Rithie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003). All data was coded, categorised, and initial themes identified. All interview questions were fully coded, and each answer was transformed into numbers and these number were sorted column by column using a SPSS (a Statistical Package for the Social Science), and its results were printed with percentages (Mann, 1968). Some might question the usefulness of SPSS for such a small sample (51) analysis. Moreover, self-teaching and using SPSS for the analysis of the data (inputting categories, information) was a lengthy process for the researcher. In fact, the columns totalled more than 50 including demographic information (sex, age, location, etc.) plus other crucial information, such as, pre-departure expectations, initial reaction of racist incidents, its perpetrators, with whom they discussed the incidents, the respondents' coping strategies, etc. However, after inputting

all data into the package, I was able to manage it, and it helped me to clarify ‘themes’ and ‘issues’ from transcriptions, and it also enabled me to apply ‘cross tabulation’ to view the correlation between 2-3 individual columns of information, and to view the data from different perspectives.

To extract more detailed information for modifying and generating models, I used ‘hand sorting’, which included marking transcriptions, making numerous column sheets, ‘using the conventional ‘five-barred gate’ system’ (Mann, 1968:201). In that way, I have been able to modify the existing categories developed by Essed (1991) for perceiving and evaluating racial encounters, and those for coping strategies developed by Kuo (1995).

Data findings through ‘triangulation’ combining ‘theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies’(Bryman, 1988:131), enabled me to capture a rich and complex picture of the respondent’s experiences and self-identity. Using the pre-interview survey questionnaire, interview transcript, and ‘field notes’ in which I had written impressions and thoughts, before and after the interview, I triangulated these three resources to identify ‘patterns and processes, commonalties and differences (Miles and Huberman, 1994:9) to look for “themes” which emerged recurrently in the transcribed text and other data.

Throughout this study, I relied upon the narratives of the students reported in chapter 4 and 5. Without relying upon and analysing these specific students’ accounts, it would not be possible to understand the complex and ambiguous nature of the problems Japanese students in Britain encountered, especially in terms of perceiving cumulative experiences of racism, and the dynamic nature of their coping strategies.

However, all data (such as, transcribed and translated into English language interviews

and analysed questionnaires) were products of interpretation by the researcher (Denscombe, 1998). Furthermore, each interview itself was a product of inter-subjectivity between the interviewer and the interviewee. An interviewee reconstructed his or her experience during the interview, whereas an interviewer interpreted the interviewee's interpretation of reality.

As Denscombe puts it, 'the researcher's identity, values and beliefs play a role in the production and analysis of qualitative data and therefore researchers should come clean about the way their research agenda has been shaped by personal experiences and social backgrounds (1998:209)'. This position enables the researcher's self to become an important resource instead of a limitation to the research (Denscombe, 1998).

Thus, reliance upon a rather small sample, with in-depth interviews, was essential in making sense of the ways in which racial experiences were understood, and had affected, Japanese students in the UK. In the next chapter, I will focus on the perception and interpretation of racialized encounters by Japanese students in Britain.

Chapter 4 THE INTERPRETATION OF RACIAL ENCOUNTER

Stories are told because the storyteller believes she experienced something “special” (Essed, 1991:135).

4.1. Introduction

In recent decades covert and subtle forms of racism have increasingly been studied in Europe as well as in the United States (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1991; Solomos, 1991; Mellor et al., 2001; Back, 1995; Pettigrew & Meerens, 1995; Mason, 1995). Generally speaking, many racial encounters are now marked by their ambiguity (see Byng, 1998; Essed, 1991). Different scholars have variously conceptualized subtle forms of racial prejudice which protects the perpetrators’ self-image as tolerant, and non-prejudiced. Racialised encounters, therefore, are not just ambiguous for the victims, but also for the perpetrators in order to protect their ‘positive illusions’ that they are not victims of prejudice (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Thus, it is sometimes difficult to identify the intent and the consequences of some discriminatory actions. As Essed has discussed, covert forms of racism may be problematic for participants to perceive or interpret as racism, because some racially discriminatory actions may seem subtle or ambiguous at first sight, but after some reflection, information and knowledge, it may become clear that such encounters were not as innocent as they seemed before (Essed, 1991).

Japanese students’ expectations (prior to their arrival in Britain), and their understandings about racism and minority status in Japan, were relevant in their interpretation of their

racialised encounters in Britain. As Essed (1991) and Mellor et al. (2001)'s findings suggest, foreign- born or new immigrants are unlikely to possess a general or situational knowledge of racism. In the case of the Japanese students studied, in their home country most were members of the majority group in Japan and thus had no experience of being treated as a member of a racially disadvantaged minority.

This chapter explores how Japanese students judged and made sense of the situations in which they found themselves, and how they recognized manifestations of racism. "Why did they think what happened was discrimination?" In order to answer this question, the students had to reconstruct and interpret various ambiguous social situations. First of all, I consider the ways in which they assessed and evaluated the negative events which may have had racist implications. I then explore the reason why the respondents eventually decided that they had been subjected to a form of racial discrimination, and finally I consider why some respondents believed what they had experienced was racism, while others did not interpret their encounters as racist ones.

4.2. The Interpretation of racist events

Essed (1991) suggests a six-step model for the assessment of racial events. She argues that, without a general and situational knowledge of racism, one cannot make sense of racial encounters. In her study, she found that Black American women perceived more racism than Black Dutch Surinamese women. The latter did not possess a strong general knowledge of racism. According to Essed, although Dutch Surinamese people suffered colonisation and slavery like American Black people, they never lived among White Dutch people until they migrated to Netherlands. Therefore they had relatively little knowledge of racism gained through every day life, compared to Black Americans, who

had a long history of resistance against racism (Essed, 1991; Mellor et al., 2001). Essed explains the dynamic nature of ‘knowledge of racism’ as ‘a process of constant intake, testing, and interpretation of new information and remodelling of previous representation’ (Essed, 1991:74).

Essed identified two strands of ‘knowledge’ of racism: ‘general’ and ‘situational’, which were particularly useful in helping minorities to recognise covert forms of racism. Essed suggests that “situational knowledge” is to understand what is acceptable behaviour in an ambiguous situation, for example, information about racism through education, the media, by those for whom they hold a high regard, helps participants to judge everyday situations. On the other hand, “general knowledge” is based on information gained in every day life, i.e. the accumulation of recurrent racist experiences faced by individuals, as well as the historical experiences of a group (Essed, 1991).

The following table sets out the social cognition model (six-step model) by which Essed suggests individuals process their interpretation and evaluation of a particular event that may or may not have racist implications.

Question	Subjective assessment	Objective assessment
1. Is this behaviour acceptable?	Yes: no racism No: to Step 2	No racism or no situational knowledge
2. If this behaviour is unacceptable, are there any acceptable excuses?	Yes: no racism No: to Step 3	No racism or no situational knowledge
3. If there are no acceptable excuses, did this behaviour occur because you are Black?	No: no racism Yes: to Step 4	No racism or no general knowledge of racism
4. If the behaviour occurred because you are Black, is this specific event excusable?	Yes: no racism No: to Step 5	No general knowledge of racism

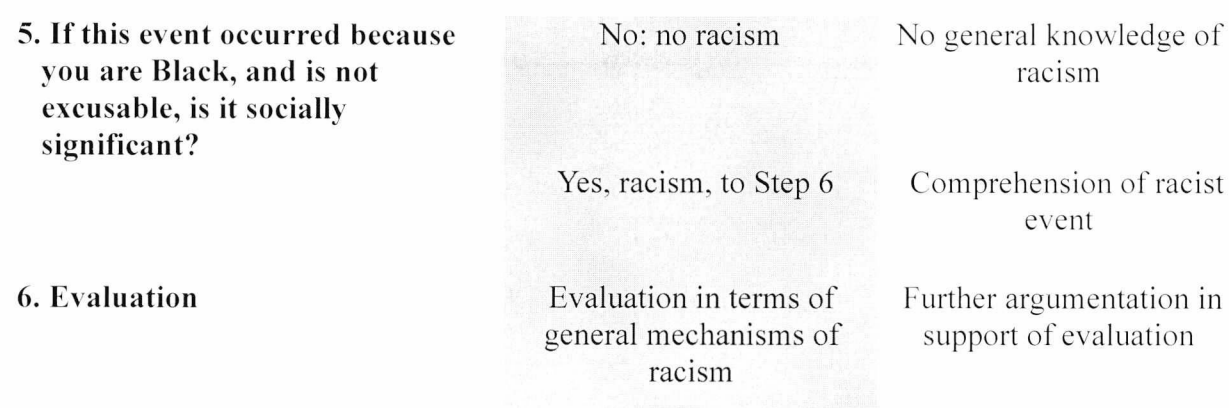


Figure 1. Flow diagram of Essed's six step model for the assessment of racist events

In the Second step, some respondents might blame their poor English language skills, and may accept an excuse for unacceptable behaviour. The first and the second steps question participants' situational knowledge. Step 3 questions their general knowledge of racism. In the Third step, Japanese respondents might answer, 'well, it is racial discrimination and I think it happened because I am Japanese or East Asian, but on the other hand, foreigners like us are guests here, so of course we can't expect to be treated exactly the same way as native people'. In that case, discrimination is *a fact of life, and one cannot change the majority* (Essed, 1991) and participants may tend to forget the incident. In the Fifth step, one might say, 'I think it was racism, but Whites don't know much about Japanese or East Asian people, so it might have been just a misunderstanding.' This response may suggest that one has internalised the dominant group's point of view and its framework - one has to tolerate 'deviance and even error of racism' (Essed, 1991:108). Essed argues that this problem of 'internalised racism' is inherent in the attitudes of Surinamese women in Netherlands, which contrasts with Black American women in her study. She also points out the specific attitude of Surinamese women towards the dominant population's racism as, 'they are aware of the problem but are reluctant to mention it because they fear that the information will be used against Blacks.' - In a similar way, several respondents in this study decided to keep quiet about the negative experiences they had encountered. They said, for example, 'I don't want to draw attention

to these matters.’

During my analysis of the data, I developed a more refined model to explain the Japanese students’ experiences of racism in the UK, using Essed’s six-step model and Mellor et al.’s eight categories model (Mellor et al., 2001:480). It is significant that in developing a refined model I found that several respondents were sure they were suffering discrimination, despite their uncertainty about the reason, although there was no clear consensus about the ‘why they became the target of such abuse’. They didn’t know **whether** the discrimination was because they were Japanese, or East Asian, or just foreign.

Category	Meaning	Example
0	No response	‘No racism, I have never had a negative experience here.’ <u>No situational or general knowledge.</u>
1	Acceptable behaviour	‘They are just having a good time’ <u>No situational or general knowledge.</u>
2	Acceptable excuse for unacceptable behaviour	‘Unacceptable, but he or she didn’t mean what he or she said.’ <u>No situational or general knowledge.</u>
3	Unacceptable excuse but not because of race	‘Unacceptable, but it might happen to anyone, regardless of race.’ <u>No general knowledge of racism.</u>
4	Because of race (Japanese, or Asian, or non-White foreigner), but can be excused in particular circumstances	‘Pretty racist but maybe my English wasn’t good enough.’ <u>No general knowledge of racism.</u>
5	The event was seen as socially significant	‘It was racial discrimination, but we are <i>guests</i> here, and it would be the same for foreigners in our country. So I won’t say this to White people, because I don’t think we can change it, and they might use it against us.’

6	Evaluation	<u>No general knowledge of racism</u> ‘They are racist, they think they are the best, they don’t like Asian people, or Japanese, but I won’t keep quiet about it, I will let them know, otherwise more Japanese or Asian people will become victims of discrimination.’ ‘We should raise awareness.’ <u>Comprehension of racist event.</u>
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Figure 2. *Refined six- step model; Japanese students’ interpretations of racism in the UK.*

Most interviewees (**43 of 51**) reported experiences of either overt or subtle forms of racism in Britain (category 4- 6). Although it cannot be concluded from this finding that 43 respondents possessed a full general knowledge of racism, they certainly had some situational knowledge in order to assess that the racial discriminatory actions they had encountered was unacceptable behaviour.

One respondent (of 51) reported that she had suffered no negative event which she could recall during her stay in Britain, so she fell within category 0 (Mellor et al., 2001). Falling within **0 to 3 indicates no attribution of racism (8 of 51)**. In category 1, a respondent does not find an event unacceptable. Both in category 2 and category 3, the respondents found events were unacceptable, but the respondents in category 2 found some excuse for the behaviour, while, the respondents in category 3 said the events were inexcusable, but not because of race. On the other hand, **category 4 to category 6 show attribution of racism (43 of 51)**. In category 4, respondents found an excuse for unacceptable inexcusable events, for example, ‘their English skills are not good enough’ and so on. In category 5, respondents possess some degree of general knowledge of racism, yet some of them internalised the dominant group’s attitude (internalised racism). Category 6 indicates a wider general knowledge of racism. Respondents may not always perceive

incidents as racist or not racist. For example, one respondents may find a negative incident to be unacceptable, yet he or she might deny that it was due to race (category 3), but on another occasion, he or she could interpret an incident as inexcusable and clearly racist (category 5-6).

Essed's 'interpretative strategy', especially the second part (Essed, 1984:167-168), also helps to interpret how individuals reconstruct their racialised encounters with both White and non-White Britons. They gradually develop and refine their knowledge of racism as they encountered it in everyday life in Britain (Essed, 1984). Her method of finding plausible evidence of racism is as follows:

(1) Inference from belief, expectations, and knowledge

- Inference from social cognition of racism, including knowledge, expectation, beliefs, and opinions about racism in general and about situational racist actions.

(2) Comparison for consistency and consensus:-

- Systematic observations of White behaviour, for consistency.
- Opinions of others, for consistency and consensus.
- Comparisons with the experiences of other Blacks or with Whites, for consistency and for inconsistency.
- Comparisons with similar personal experiences, for consistency.

In their studies, Feagin (1991) and Feagin and Sikes (1994) suggest that racial discrimination is cumulative in its impact. Feagin carried out 37 in-depth interviews with black middle- class respondents in several US cities. He argues that 'when blatant acts of avoidance, verbal harassment, and physical attack combine with subtle and covert slights, and these accumulate over months, years, and lifetime, the impact on a black person is far more than the sum of the individual instances.'(1991:114-115) Middle-class Blacks

realise that these incidents are not isolated cases and come to believe that the White population see them as 'typical street criminals and potentially dangerous (ibid.).' This phenomenon can also be seen from the testimony of some of the respondents in the current study. Some respondents were seen as potential shoplifters by White British shop owners and shop assistants.

It is often observed that Blacks are likely to share their discriminatory experiences with their family and friends (Feagin, 1991; Feagin and Sike, 1994; Collins, 1991; Byng, 1998). According to Byng (1998), this intimate group of friends and family could provide 'a discrimination free social space' for Blacks, concurrently intimate and self-defining, and it could assist them in mediating the discrimination of the society. He also argues that 'safe social spaces' can provide the oppressed an opportunity for gaining empowerment 'through self-definition, determination, and valuation'(485). I observed a similar 'intimate group of friends' with whom the Japanese students shared their discriminatory experiences. As their families were mostly in Japan these intimate groups comprised only friends or partners. I found these intimate groups to be very important in terms of these students' perception of racism, knowledge of racism, their social identity, and their coping strategies. I will discuss this in detail in the next chapter.

Mellor et al. (2001) explored the knowledge of racism in their study: "the perception of racism in ambiguous scenarios". By applying 'Essed's six-step model', they conducted a comparative study of White Australian and South East Asian students' perceptions of socially ambiguous filmed scenarios. According to their study, and unexpectedly, the Asian students were found to lack a general or situational knowledge of racism in comparison to White students there. Mellor et al. suggested that as it was one of the cultural values of Asian university students not to question authority figures, they were less likely to perceive racism.

4.2.1. Japanese students' awareness of racism

Several blatant acts of racism were quite obviously directed towards Japanese students, and also they might have suffered a few less obvious acts. Also they might have heard fellow Japanese students or Asian students' talk of their experiences and views about negative racial encounters in Britain. It is from all these cumulative incidents that they construct their general knowledge of racism (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991). This finding is counter to that of Mellor et al, which found foreign-born South East Asian students to be less likely to possess a general and a situational knowledge of racism and therefore, not likely to perceive racially discriminatory actions. However, Mellor's study didn't contain in-depth interviews with Asian students, so it wasn't able to explore in depth whether they had actually experienced racism in Australia. Moreover, the scenarios they used for the study were based on ambiguous events between 'Asian victims' and 'White perpetrators'. Therefore, White students who participated in the research (they were all Psychology student volunteers) tended to be critical of 'White perpetrators' and sympathetic toward 'Asian victims' in the scenarios. Mellor's finding suggests that Asian participants tended to be 'influenced more by their own cultural norms (for example, 'In Asian society authority figures such as teachers and parents are given extremely high status') than by appropriate situational knowledge' (2001:482,486). Some respondents in the study I have carried out initially expressed their reluctance to criticise English teachers or their host family (where they had home stays) at the beginning of their stay in Britain, yet most of them had adjusted to the British reality through the cumulative experiences of the negative incidents, which made them realise that they could not always blindly respect and appreciate an authority figure.

Now let us turn to the second question: why some respondents admitted that what they

had experienced was racism when others did not perceive their encounters as racist? This reluctance may be due to an underlying reason for not perceiving racism. Overt forms of racial discrimination were encountered by 30 respondents. Moreover, many of the people who experienced overt forms of racism also encountered subtle forms of racism. It appears that the overt racism alerted them to the existence of racism in Britain so that they then became aware of subsequent acts of both overt and covert discrimination. The respondents' cumulative experiences of obvious and less obvious racial discriminatory incidents (Feagin, 1991) contributed to their growing knowledge of racism (Essed, 1991).

According to Crocker and Major (1989), 'attributional ambiguity' is often faced by minority members. Negative feedback is frequently attributionally ambiguous for minority group members, in that it might be attributed to a lack of personal deservingness or it might be attributed to discrimination. Furthermore, Crocker and Quinn suggest (1991) that perceived disadvantage had negative effects on the self-esteem of Asian students, but on the other hand, had positive effects on the self-esteem of African American students. In this study, 8 (of 51) respondents expressed their reluctance to acknowledge underlying racism for what they regarded as unacceptable but ambiguous events (category 0-3). Although Japanese students in Britain are quite distinct from African American college students in the US, 43 (of 51) respondents in this study admitted that they had encountered racist discriminatory action, and some who were confronted with racist incidents didn't exhibit lower their self-esteem, like the African American students in the Crocker and Quinn study. Thus, these Japanese respondents might attribute negative events to discrimination in order to raise their self-esteem.

4.2.2. Denial of racial prejudice/discrimination

Eight (of 51) respondents did not perceive negative events as racially discriminatory

actions (category 0-3). Now let us turn to the people who minimise or deny that they have discrimination. Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) suggest some explanation for the reason why minorities may minimise or deny their perception of discrimination. According to them, participants tend to minimise negative events in order to protect their self-esteem and maintain a perception of self-control. 'By minimising the discrimination that confronts them, minority group members may be able to maintain the perception of control over personal outcomes in their lives'(1997:375) Thus, failure to perceive racism by minorities may be psychologically adaptive. Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) also refer to several common forms of psychological coping by majority members in response to stressful events: the 'positive illusions' people may engage in, which is the tendency to minimise negative events (better-than -average effects which indicates that individual tends to believe negative things might happen to other people but not to themselves). This tendency of minimising negative events and internalising the egalitarian self-image held by the majority population might lead the participants to trivialise and forget the negative events they encountered.

For Japanese respondents who might deny or minimise racist discriminatory action against them, it can be seen as psychologically adaptive to do so (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). They may not want to admit that they are members of a socially rejected minority group, and might try hard to improve themselves, for example in the areas of, English language and communication skills or social manner, in order to feel more socially accepted. There were also cultural factors. For example, in Japanese society, it is very important to be socially accepted and social approval is vital to most Japanese people's self-esteem and therefore, this internalised social value might affect the way some respondents perceived discrimination in Britain.

Eight of the 51 respondents declared that they hadn't experienced any racist incidents yet

they reported incidents which seemed to be racist. For example, two respondents, Bie and Yuki (both were female undergraduate students in Kent) reported that they had had no racist experiences, yet Bie also said that she had been shouted at by White teenagers on the street when she was a high school student in Kent. Yuki had rubbish thrown at her in a fast food shop. Bie came to Kent for her summer course. She said that she was angry about that the incident, but her language teacher at that time told her that, “well, in England, there is a very high divorce rate and not many children have a proper family, you know” Bie said she accepted the explanation as an excuse for the unacceptable behaviour. According to Bie, ‘it was not quite racial discrimination, but poor under-privilege teenagers’ thoughtless act towards foreigners’. According to our six-step model, she was in category 2 and seemed to lack situational knowledge. Bie said that she didn’t understand why those teenagers shouted at her. Yuki said the White teenagers who shouted and thrown rubbish at her were strange and since then she said she avoid White teenagers, but she didn’t seem to think it was because of race. Some of the 8 respondents who denied experiencing racism in Britain seemed to adopt this attitude towards discrimination, probably so they didn’t need to feel that they were members of disadvantaged minority. Their understanding of negative incidents was of ‘isolated’ events, which was closer to White majority people’s understanding of racist events (Feagin, 1991; Essed, 1991). However, one might argue that it could be doubtful to say they were all in denial.

Although they didn’t see themselves as members of the majority population in Britain, they seemed adopt the ‘majority’s attitude’ and protect their self-esteem as members of society, or be protective towards members of the dominant groups’ social self-image as well as protecting their own . One respondent’s general attitude towards racism was rather passive, and her coping strategy was to rationalise and trivialise the problem away. There were other respondents who kept their Pollyanna-ish attitude rather than getting upset

and complaining about their encounters of racial prejudice. For example, Katsura (a female postgraduate student in London), because of her 'language handicap', didn't feel she was treated like a normal human being, yet she rationalised this treatment in this way:

'Well it was my choice to be in a foreign country and it is my fault that I can't speak English perfectly. I try not get depressed about it'

On the other hand, she expressed the opinion that being a dance student in a famous London institute, her performance state self-esteem was bound to be based on her 'dance performance' instead of her English language skills, so she might not be so affected by the 'language handicap' as she had said. This was commonly observed among Japanese Art students especially, in the London area; the performance by which they were judged was not their command of English language but their Art. Moreover, they often admitted that they were looked up to because of their exotic appearance and Far Eastern culture, their stereotypes nullified by their art and performance. Of course, foreign Art students need to present their work and explain it in English, but it may not be as much of a burden as for other students. On the other hand, for taught course students in the Social Sciences or Humanities (undergraduate or postgraduate), which comprise most of the Japanese students in British institutes (see Chapter 3), for them English language and communication skills were of vital importance during seminars and lectures, and their level of skill may well influence their self-esteem. For example, 19 respondents (of 51) said that they had been discriminated against because of their poor English language skills. For them their English Language and communication skills were more important than their skin colour and other racial differences. Furthermore, because they spent most of their time in an English university, foreign students may assume that they were dealing with intelligent, highly educated and open-minded people. Yet when they came across rather 'backward, old-fashioned, limited way of thinking, such as racism', they were shocked and angry (Feagin, 1991). I will discuss this in the section of covert racism.

Ishi (a female postgraduate student in Kent), on the other hand, had confidence in her English language and communication skills. Above all, according to her, she had an extra advantage. She said, she could 'read the situation'. Ishi was one of 8 who reported no **major** racist experience in Britain, however, she said that she had a few minor negative experiences, but she was not able to recall them. Ishi had heard a story from her Japanese friend about an incident in the post office in Canterbury. There was a man at the counter who was known among Japanese students to be racist towards foreigners and Ishi knew the person. One day this friend went to buy ten 45p stamps. The man gave her forty-five 1p stamps. She said, "Not those, I said ten 45p stamps" but the man continued to give her the wrong kind of stamps. She got angry and said, "You are always like this, I remember you, I know you are a racist!" He said to the Japanese girl, "I am not a racist, next time you come, there won't be any problems." However, according to Ishi, this incident traumatised her friend and she left before the completion of her course. Ishi said British people didn't like to be called 'racist' even if they were. She said she understood that the image of being non-racist was very important to them, and she expressed some ambivalence toward some Japanese students (included the friend) who had been discriminated against. Ishi did believe what her friend and other Japanese students had said about racist incidents and she didn't deny that racist people exist, yet she was of the opinion that some Japanese students didn't understand situational rules well, which she herself knew, and therefore could avoid trouble. Ishi said she wanted to accept cultural differences and these incidents were extreme cases. She preferred to minimise negative incidents, as Ruggiero and Taylor have suggested (1997), and she analysed that a lack of knowledge of situational norm(s) in a foreign country might provoke these negative incidents without individuals being aware (Essed, 1991; Mellor et al., 2001). However, these 'situational rules and regulation of behaviour' wasn't Essed's situational knowledge of racism, in which participants found out what is acceptable in a particular situation

through education, media, directly from others and so on. The situational norm, to which Ishi was referring, was for minorities to present, for example, an appropriate manner as being a good guest - the 'does and don'ts' necessary to be socially accepted in the society.

By acquiring this situational norm, Ishi was able to protect her social state self-esteem, as well as her performance state self-esteem. By minimising negative events, she didn't feel that she belonged to a disadvantaged minority group. As far as she was concerned, she was doing well, had no major communication problem with English language, and could understand the situation well enough to avoid trouble in Britain, and it was this attitude which protected her performance state self-esteem. This attitude was observed in among 3 of 8 respondents who reported no racist discriminatory actions against them. Seeing themselves and believing themselves to be seen as a 'good guest', understanding the host country's norm (which may include being aware of Whites' self-image of being non-racist), i.e. culture, and being adaptable, was the core of this attitude ('internalised racism' by Essed, 1991). How one can be seen by significant others is often important for one's sense of self-worth (Clocker and Quinn, 1998; Cooley, 1956; Mead, 1934). According to Abe (a male postgraduate student in London),

'I have never experienced anything like that (blatant racist action) yet, but even if I was racially discriminated against here, I would accept it, because I am a kind of guest here.'

By applying this attitude, even if they came across blatant racial discriminatory actions, they could buffer it by saying 'he or she must be an unprivileged, sad individual, well bad luck.' Although Fleishman (1984), Crocker and Quinn (1998), Billing and Moos (1981) have suggested that participants who minimise or deny discrimination tended towards lower self-esteem, it certainly wasn't the case for these respondents. Moreover, this 'good guest attitude' seemed unlikely to be influenced by the length of their residency in Britain.

Ishi, for example had been in Britain more than ten years, Uchida (in category 3, one of 8 respondents) had been in Britain for 5 years, others for 1-3 years, so they were unlikely to say that ‘they were here for relatively short time, therefore they couldn’t have a whole picture of the society’. Their situational knowledge, which enabled them to feel that they belonged to the society might be useful for protecting their self image and self-esteem, but may not help in recognising racism.

These respondents like Bie, understand racial discriminatory actions as a British national characteristics and part of their culture,

Bie: People are so stupid that they can’t quickly count the change. Everything is so insufficient, and slow. I get very irritated. I don’t think because I am Japanese therefore they count slowly, just they are slow that’s all. So I don’t feel it is racism. Yet, when I sometimes walked in the shop, they recognized me walk in and they turned their head away, very rude, and I wonder “I am customer here. You don’t want to sell to the customer? Well, now I understood these English characteristics.

Uchida even criticised some Japanese people he knew in London complaining “why is it in Britain that sales assistants in the computer shops don’t know anything about computers?” or “shop assistants don’t treat customers properly.”

Uchida: From my point of view, those things are national characteristics. So there is nothing you can do except accepting it as it is, for example, ‘trains are always late’ or ‘stinky train carriages’. Those things are national characteristics. So you have to accept these.

Ishi also criticised other Japanese students and said, “I think it depends on how you perceive it. I usually say hello when I walk in a shop. I think Japanese people in general walk into shops without saying anything, but here people say hello, so that sort of manner also could trigger unpleasant treatment, they also need to understand the cultural differences. Especially at the beginning in this country I felt I was guest, so I was careful

to adopt the manner of a guest. I wanted to be treated as a guest- nicely. Some Japanese people who were not as sensitive and did not adopt the manner of a guest might have been treated rudely and therefore thought that they were being racially discriminated against, but they may have been rude first without knowing it. I think I acquired those rules of behaviour at quite an early stage of my stay. Ishi particularly showed her understanding toward the host culture, yet she said that she was shown to the worst table in a restaurant, whilst typically White English people were taken to much nicer tables even though they came after her. She said she wondered why. Several respondents in their interviews referred to 'less nice table', 'less friendly to them than White people'.

4.3. Overt racism

Forty-three (of 51) respondents reported racism, and more than sixty percent of the interviewees (30 of 51) reported overt forms of racism, mainly committed by White youths on the street (Feagin, 1991; Benokraitis and Feagin, 1986). In this discussion of overt racism: I examine two types of abuse: physical and verbal abuse. Physical abuse included physical attacks, harassment and threats. Attacks included physical assaults, such as being mugged, threatened at knife point, being kicked, slapped, punched and having one's front teeth smashed. Also having their bags kicked and rubbish, weeds, eggs (raw and boiled), bricks, bottles, chips and snowballs thrown at them. Furthermore, their experiences included being spat at, water and air guns used on them, and having drinks poured over their heads. Verbal abuse, included 'verbal attacks such as the shouting of racial epithets' (Feagin, 1991:102) and negative 'street remarks' (Gardner, 1980), such as passing by with comments and racial mimicking. Although violent attacks against Japanese students are not very common, such that there were, were mainly on the street. The Parekh Report describes 'street racism' as being committed largely by 'white people

who are themselves economically disadvantaged in relation to the wider society' (Parekh, 2000; 59). A total of 16 out of 51 students had physically attacked in some way.

More Japanese women reported being verbally abused and shouted at, than was the case for Japanese male students. On the other hand, it was more common for Japanese men to be victims of physical assault. For instance, a young male undergraduate student Hideo described a fearful and stressful event in Folkestone in Kent. He was with his Japanese friend and said he tried to escape from an attack by White male teenagers; a group of five or six, fifteen or sixteen-year-olds, but they chased after them near his house. He was very scared and so was his friend, so much so that his friend decided to go to school by taxi after that. Hideo, however, didn't seem to be affected in the same way. The following morning he went to the same place on his way to the language school and saw many pieces of bricks on the street. At school, he told the incident to his teacher, and teachers reported to local police. He said that these events affected him so much that he even decided to study Sociology to understand and make sense of the racial incidents he and his other Japanese friends came across, and keep encountering even now. In this case, the event was not ambiguous. It was very blatant and obvious, yet to Hideo, on the receiving end, it was not quite clear why he and his friend were treated like that in Britain. Because he had no prior knowledge of racism in Britain (or in Japan), he couldn't understand how he became a target of this racism. Being a member of majority group in Japan he did not understand the reason for this brutal attack. He wanted to know why he was treated in such a way by strangers. Also he preferred to conceal the incident from his English friends in order to protect his social state self-esteem as well as the social (racial) identity of being Japanese in Britain (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997).

If we apply the refined six-step model, we find that Hideo understood that he had suffered discrimination, and this was inexcusable, yet, he seemed to find difficulty in accepting

that he had a lower social status or was a member of a disadvantaged minority group. Partly I suggest, this was because he still lacked a general knowledge of racism at that time, but also, as I mentioned previously, because he was not sure why he had suffered such discrimination. Was it because he was Japanese or just a foreigner? I also found this same ambiguity in understanding and self-perception in some of the other respondents.

In London, a Japanese female student, Akiko also experienced life-changing racist events.

Akiko: When I was walking around here, in New Cross, near a bus stop, a white Englishman in his 50s, suddenly approached me, well, almost rushed towards me and shouted, very aggressively,

“You - go back to Japan!” He seemed very angry.

YN: When did it happen?

Akiko: That was 3 months ago.

YN: Hmm.

Akiko: In the summer. I was extremely frightened by that strange man. It was in the rush hour; so there were many people around me. I felt terribly embarrassed, at the same time, I was shocked that no one said anything.

First of all, Akiko said she was terribly shocked by that White stranger’s aggression, but equally surprised by the onlookers’ total indifference. She told this story to her friend, who said, “He is nobody, but he is everyone.” Her male friend who was Pakistani British continued, “People usually don’t say such things explicitly, but everyone thinks like that”. She seemed to be shocked by the incident and she said she wanted to know why it happened to her. After this incident, she reported that she started questioning two things: First, “why was that White man so angry and disturbed about her (a Japanese person) being in England? Second, why did the onlookers ignore it completely? Was it that they didn’t want to get involved (like people in Japan), or as her Pakistani friend suggested, ‘everyone thinks like him’? Through the incident, she observed 3 different parties in the British society: one is an angry White man who seemed to be terribly disturbed by her

presence, another is “other British people”; onlookers who chose to ignore her and the incident, and thirdly, the non-White British friend who told her ‘everyone thinks of foreigners in that way’. This particular experience made her realise that the incident was not just an individual one-off case, but part of a broader pattern involving the other British people who ignored the event. This ‘unchallenged norm of White dominance’ was called, ‘passive racism’ or ‘consensus power’ by Essed (Essed, 1991:134 &135). Akiko realised that the White majority here was represented by the angry man. With her accumulation of racist experiences, both direct and indirect, she began to notice that she was shouted at (“Yellow”/“Jap”) by White teenagers, in many places and that everyday racism tended to be a “group phenomenon”. As Feagin (1991) suggests, she started to notice many negative events around her and realised that they were not isolated cases.

Akiko: Yeah, on the tube, train, or bus, and when I was walking on the street, waiting for the traffic lights to change, and so on. But everybody (her friends at the university) said that ‘these things happen’.

As she had done with her Pakistani friend, she discussed these incidents with other Japanese and East Asian (Koreans, Chinese) friends who had encountered discriminatory events in Britain. She reported that most of the Japanese students she met were called ‘Yellow’ or ‘Jap’, and so on. She began to collect evidence of discrimination against Japanese and other minorities in Britain. She also had had no experience of being a minority in that way in Japan and she never had even dreamt of being treated that way in Britain. Thus she didn’t possess a general or a situational knowledge of racism. Her new determination to search for an answer to her unexpected experiences in Britain made her decide to take up a Sociology course like Hideo, instead of Contemporary Arts, which was her initial interest. She said that the negative event she encountered was unacceptable, and was of social significance. According to the six-step model, she had developed a situational and a general knowledge of racism after a couple of years of residence in UK.

However, like Hideo, she was still wondering, ‘why had this happened to her and her friends?’

Another female student in Kent seemed to realise that one unacceptable event was enough for her to perceive racism toward East Asian people. Yuki was an undergraduate student in Kent. She seemed to encounter a very unpleasant and unexpected incident in the Kentish coastal town of Folkestone, and she too received no support from onlookers (passive racism). She was in McDonalds with Japanese friends when teenagers started to throw rubbish at them. She reported that she was shocked and realised, “in this country how could I be in the position of being treated like this, an object of such bad behaviour?” Which, of course she had never experienced in Japan; therefore, she hadn’t already gained a general knowledge of racism, yet the incident was bad enough to make her realise her social status in this country was lower than the majority Whites.

Yuki then observed how other foreigners were treated by local White youths; she said that foreigners were often treated like that in Folkestone. There were a lot of foreign language students staying in the town who were abused like her, she wondered why nobody stopped the perpetrators or said anything to them. Of the onlookers, she said that White Britons clearly did not care about foreign students being abused by their “own” young people, more than 30 onlookers watched White youths throwing rubbish at her and her friends but said nothing. She reported that she felt alienated and similar passive racism by onlookers made most students aware that they didn’t socially belong here but might be members of a disadvantaged minority group in this country. Nobuko (a female undergraduate student in Kent) experienced several physical attacks by White youths on the streets over a period of time, and the physical threat to her body made her realise she was identified as one of a racially exploitable minority. These perpetrators became, in her mind, a group of ‘white racists’, not one or two odd individuals. The shift from ‘he’ to

'they' in the minds of the abused was one of the effects of racial discrimination (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991). Nobuko seemed to apply what Essed called 'interpretative strategy' to test for consistency and consensus for racial experiences. She observed other White people's behaviours, (for example, onlookers and White youth on the street, friend's White boyfriend, White teachers' treatment of non-White foreign students and so on) collected from her every day experiences with White people and compared them with other Japanese and Asian people's racial experiences. However, both Yuki and Nobuko said that they were discriminated against because they were non-White foreigners. They attributed that ambiguity to discrimination, instead of questioning why they were treated that way (Crocker and Quinn, 1998; Crocker and Major, 1989). In the six-step model, they seemed to have some general knowledge of racism, especially Nobuko who reported that she used to think that there was nothing she could do to change the situation a few years ago, but after cumulative unacceptable and inexcusable events had taken place, and after having numerous discussions with her Japanese and Asian friends about racism, her general knowledge of racism seemed to develop. Actually this change of perception and evaluation of racist events, affected her coping strategies; they became more active and reactive. They all (perception, evaluation, coping strategies) acquired a dynamic nature and inter related with each other, kept reinforcing one another. I will discuss coping strategies in detail in the next chapter.

Hana (Female undergraduate student in Kent) said that her friend had suffered a racist attack, yet she said she was not sure of the reason, whether it was because her friend was seen as Japanese or Asian or just as a non-White foreigner. Hana was walking on the street near the university. She suddenly found her friend, who was walking just next to her covered with egg.

Hana: I wasn't sure what happened and what actually hit her. It was dark. Then I looked closely and found that the egg was all over her hair and face.

Hana said she was really angry and she thought that it was a vehicle for the perpetrators' frustration in general; looking down on Asians as a minority, whose Japanese or Chinese languages are so alien. British people might think foreigners are less intelligent, because they speak a 'stupid foreign language'. So they became an easy target for the local people's frustration, like school-bullying, because they were different from the mainstream and are strange and alien. She said she believed that her friend and herself were not seen as fully human, but seen as objects or worse - animals. She said that it was clearly racial discrimination against Asians. She seemed to have some situational knowledge; even before she came to Britain, she was studying Sociology, because of her interests in 'social inequality'. Thus, she didn't particularly have a general knowledge of racism as Essed discussed, (which is accumulation and contextualisation of repetitive racial events experienced by an individual member of minority group) (Essed, 1991), however, she seemed to have some information about racism, which she learned at school in Japan. This information might have helped her develop a situational knowledge of racism. Hana said she found the incidents and White behaviour unacceptable, and the excuse she suggested (bullying or vehicle of frustration) was inexcusable to her, especially the act of throwing eggs at people (which is not very common in Japan compared to the US or UK). Moreover, she believed that the incident happened to her friend because all the friends whom she was with when the incident took place were East Asian students.

However, her general knowledge of racism was still in the process of development,

'A bit of me wants British people to know about this issue and how we were actually treated here, yet other parts of me never want them to find out how we were treated. I don't want them to see us that way.'

Hana said it was a delicate issue, and her ambivalence was similar to that found in Essed's study of Dutch Surinamese women, (which I mentioned in page 4) who are very much

aware of racism, yet are reluctant to mention it, because it might be used against them.(Essed, 1991). Although Japanese students were not migrants like Dutch Surinamese women, yet they seemed to react in similar ways.

Several 'egg incidents', which Japanese students reported might be categorized as "street racism". Some racist actions were reportedly committed because of their Asian appearance but not necessarily for money that they might possess, which made Japanese students or Asian students more shocked and confused. 'Street racism' was also experienced by respondents on public transport and in fast food shops. Several students reported their unexpected experiences of having rubbish, and straws thrown at them and one student had her burger snatched by a group of teenagers in the shop.

Yet, like Kuniko, she was not sure whether this 'street aggression' actually targeted Asian or Asian looking people, as the group she was in which was attacked by White youths (She said offenders were likely to be fellow students in the university because of the location) comprised Japanese, Taiwanese, Cameroon and other Black students. Thus, she said that all non-Whites were equally targeted by the 'street aggression' of White youths. Other respondents also reported a similar feeling - that the racism was generally 'ethnocentric' rather than specifically aim against Asians.

Yoshio (a male undergraduate student in Kent) was a student who has gained both a greater general knowledge and situational knowledge of racism since arriving in Britain (3 years of residency). In addition to being called 'Jap' several times in the street Yoshio reported an experience of being the target of verbal and physical threats from White teenagers in London. About 10 teenagers surrounded him; first, they demanded crisps which he was eating and when he refused to give up his crisps, they became verbally abusive and demanded some change. Some shouted "Yellow" at him and snatched his crisps and dumped them on the street and ran away. Yoshio was not sure what they

wanted. Yoshio said that they wanted to ‘pick a quarrel’. He also suspected Asians (‘Yellows’) were seen as rich people who were therefore targets for muggings and so on. He said his friends had had similar experiences to his, and that also, if White strangers became very friendly towards him, he would suspect that there was something they wanted from him, like cash. He didn’t think they identified or targeted him as specifically Japanese, but Asian, even he had been called a ‘Jap’ on the street. He might protect his self-image of being Japanese in that way.

Ken (a male postgraduate student in Kent), like Yoshio, also looked for deeper reasons when his Taiwanese friend had eggs thrown at him from a car at night. Ken was really angry to hear of this incident and he thought it was clearly racial discrimination. However, he didn’t quite know why his friend’s ‘oriental’ appearance would provoke such a hostile incident. Ken also, like other respondents, hadn’t gained a general knowledge of racism, therefore, his friend’s brutal experience of discrimination certainly had an impact on him, yet he still did not know why it had happened. Then he encountered a negative incident himself, he was walking in a street in Canterbury, carrying a box of beer. A member of a group of teenage girls hit the box as she was walking past, laughed and ran away. He thought “what?” He found it very unpleasant. At first, he wasn’t sure what had happened, but when he saw the malicious expression on their faces, he said he understood what happened. However, he told this story to his American colleague, who said to him, “those girls must have been interested in you!” so Ken gave up discussing this incident with anyone. His friends were suggesting that he should “forgive and forget”. It was frustrating and upsetting for Ken to have friends or colleagues invalidating his perceptions of what “really” happened, yet he was not sure why that had happened to him. According to him, it happened because he was Asian. He had had a prior racist experience in Australia, name calling, and being spat at, so he had some experience and some situational and general knowledge of racism, but he still could not deny his puzzled feeling about why he was

treated that way.

There were some respondents who were quite sure why they had been discriminated against. Yukito, (A female undergraduate student in London) had a clear idea about the way she was treated, she said once she had to pay 6-months rent in advance, just because she was Japanese. The estate agent had said, "We thought Japanese were rich, and we trusted them at first, until some of them left without paying their rent so we are more careful about Japanese students now." So Yukito's parents became worried that she might become homeless and paid up. This is not the usual story of Japanese students, searching for accommodation in Britain; however, in this case the estate agent was quite sure that they could get away with this, with his or her clients. Yukito never found out why those people treated her that way. There were a couple more respondents who expressed their anger toward an ex-landlord who overcharged them or didn't return their deposit without proper reason. Yukito initially seemed to lack a general and a situational knowledge of racism. After these negative cumulative experiences, Yukito reported that she started to view negative events and sometimes ambiguous incidents as discrimination. Her attributional ambiguity (Crocker and Quinn, 1998 Crocker and Major, 1989) seemed to form during her 3 year degree course. Several students like Yukito reported that they were particularly discriminated against because of the stereotypes of being Japanese in Britain.

Midori's (a female post graduate student in London) Japanese male friend was robbed and lost £8,000; she said that it was because he was Japanese and carried the image of a Japanese tourist carrying a lot of cash with him. He was in a mini cab, and the driver took his credit card and bank card and left him in the woods outside of London. According to Midori, he was worried about being harmed or even killed, so he didn't fight. Midori also mentioned the special Japanese announcement in the London underground, warning of thieves. Several respondents expressed that they felt they were being cheated financially

because they were Japanese. Midori said the Japanese were targets of mugging in London, because they were not aware of the situation and due to lack of English language skill.

Tomo (a male postgraduate student in London) was convinced he was cheated because he was Japanese,

When I rented a room from the property agent, first they promised to pay my deposit back. But later on they sent a letter saying, "not fully returnable" and another letter came saying "maybe half" and another letter came "we can give you one third". So I had a several letters from them and the price of deposit got less and less. They claimed it was because something was broken or missing, and so on. I talked to my teacher at the language school. He said, "This is strange. This is discrimination." So the teacher complained to the estate agent, saying, "This is discrimination". They suddenly changed their tone and said, "Sorry, we will return his deposit fully."

YN: So they admitted that was discrimination?

Tomo: Yes, they did.

However, in this case, it might also be his foreignness, his English language skills, his Asian appearance, alongside of the image of being Japanese.

Although most students reported overt racist perpetrators to be White males, there were some students who had been treated badly in seminars and shouted at in the pub and told to get out, by White women. There were two students who were victims of overt and physically violent racist acts by White females. One of the respondent's friends had her face slapped by a white female stranger on the street in Canterbury. According to the respondent, she didn't know why, but she was very frightened by that. Taka (a male undergraduate student in Kent), was on a London tube train with three or four Japanese friends, when suddenly one young White girl threw a coke bottle at them. He was really angry, and his friend came up to her (she was name-calling also), but she suddenly screamed, and people in the carriage who had ignored the incident until then, looked at them rather disapprovingly, so his friend stopped himself from doing anything to her; he

said he threw bottle back at her which missed. As they got out of the carriage, just before the door shut, she spat on the other friend's trousers. They were very angry. Taka said he had also experienced his mother being pushed into a car by a Black British person, and had also been isolated among White British students in the university dorm. He therefore seemed to view the coke bottle incident as a racist attack, and the onlookers in the train also part of the racist picture. Taka, unlike other respondents, used to live with his parents in London, and he was able to discuss with his parents about racial treatment in Britain, which might help to develop situational and general knowledge of racism in Britain.

As I mentioned it previously, these overt incidents were relatively obvious to understand as racist attacks despite some respondents being unclear as to the reason they were discriminated against. Thirty respondents admitted having experienced overt racism. They all found it unacceptable behaviour and most of them found it inexcusable, and therefore, their situational and general knowledge of racism had developed. Also admitting that they were a target of such blatant abuse needs strong knowledge about racism (most respondents who reported their experiences of overt forms of racism fall into either category 5 or 6). Now let us turn to less clear discrimination; covert racism and explore how respondents assessed and evaluated them.

4.4. Covert (subtle) racism

Forty-one interviews with the Japanese students in this study reveal a great deal of experience of 'subtle racism'. Reported incidents included being followed in stores because shop assistants behave as if 'your hands are dirty'; by shaking the clothes you had just touched, witnessing heads being turned as soon as they walked into the shop. Experiences of being ignored if the Japanese person was on his or her own, but being

suddenly recognised if he or she was with White people. Experiences of being totally ignored, and skipped by when it was your turn as if you were not there in the seminar group, although such perpetrators “always look friendly and answer your questions, but you are never asked questions or have a conversation that is initiated by them.” Waters describes ‘subtle racism’ as ‘acts of omission as well as commission’ (1999:80-81). These are often ambiguous situations, whereby victims may feel something is ‘not quite right’, but where they cannot identify clearly what they are experiencing; therefore it needs more careful evaluation.

This subtle racism is very similar to the “aversive racism” which Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) describe as follows: ‘aversive racism represents a subtle, often unintentional, form of bias that characterises many white Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are nonprejudiced’ (1998:5). So it might not be expressed as open hostility but Whites may find some degree of discomfort or fear. In this study, students were asked to describe their racially discriminatory experiences which could include rather ambiguous racial encounters in various public spaces.

Yukito (A female undergraduate student in London) and Takahashi (a female postgraduate student in London), like most of the respondents, carefully observed White people’s behaviour towards them. They reported observing the “obvious fake smile in the shop”, or the “I don’t want to know you, foreigners!” sort of attitude that they came across in everyday life in Britain. This led to them remembering every unpleasant incident in their everyday lives and they found themselves analysing each one to see if it really was a further example of covert racism. They found themselves doing this to such an extent that they started to suspect that they were becoming paranoid, and this would stress them even more. Yukito and Takahashi’s experiences were typical of the way in which most Japanese students came to gain a general knowledge of British racism. As

Feagin has suggested, the accumulation of negative events in everyday life made a member of a minority group aware that it was not just a one off case which happened every few years. (Feagin, 1991) Furthermore, Yukito and Takahashi both had close Japanese and Asian friends - Takahashi's husband worked in a Japanese corporation in London - and they often discussed their interaction with British people. Yukito also had a Japanese boyfriend who lived with her. He seemed to have had several physical assaults and suffered non-physical (but not subtle) discriminatory actions committed by Whites in Britain. They both reported that they often discussed racially discriminatory incidents with their partners; therefore, they didn't consider themselves to be paranoid. This sharing of experiences with close friends helped them not to feel isolated from the rest of the world, nor feel that it was entirely their fault. These sharing experiences often appeared in the interviews with Japanese students; and in a number of ways helped respondents cope with the problems they encountered. I will discuss this further in the next chapter on coping.

Jun (a female postgraduate student in Kent) reported that when she was on her own or with her Japanese friends, she was treated rudely or ignored, whereas when she was with her White husband, especially in a typical English White shop, or restaurant, assistants, waiters and waitresses were friendly to them. For example, she would usually say 'hello' or 'thank you' in shops, but if she was on her own this would not be acknowledged they would not reciprocate her greeting. Jun observed this in Canterbury as well as in Manchester, but she thought it was more explicit in Manchester. Jun said that the same White people behaved differently when she was with her husband. However, on the other hand, she noticed that when she went to the non-white English shops, for example, Indian or the Turkish Kebab shop, they tended to be friendlier to her. Moreover, she noticed that when she was with her Japanese friend, shop assistants in the department stores treated her less politely. Her friend was from Japan and she was so shocked to be told to "get out"

by shop assistants when it was in fact well before closing time. Jun was furious. She thought it a terribly different culture from Japan. When she first came to England to live in Dorset she could not put her finger on any specific discrimination although she felt that something was not quite right. It was not until she went to Manchester that she became aware of discrimination *per se*, and thus later, in Kent was able to identify the more subtle forms of racism of which hitherto she had been unaware. Jun became aware of this double standard of treatment when she was with or without her white husband. In Dorset she had sensed something strange or uncomfortable about the way people treated her. When she moved to Manchester and became aware of discrimination through its more overt forms, she began to compare her Dorset experiences with similar incidents in Manchester. She then, compared people's treatment of her with her husband present, and in his absence. She also talked about these incidents with other Japanese as well as with non-Japanese people and also discussed them with her White husband. Jun said those differences were sometimes very subtle and discreet. Other respondents also reported similar feelings, the varying treatment they received depended on who they were with. Her husband began to notice these issues in every day life too: how Japanese or Asians might be treated differently from other White people. However, he was from Gibraltar, so he said he also sometimes felt that he was discriminated against by White British people. He was like Akiko's British Pakistani friend, who was native-born British yet said he was treated like a foreigner in his home country. According to Collins (1991), the oppressed one always finds their voice in their safe social spaces. Although Collins' study is of African American women, and distinct from this study's Japanese students in Britain, sharing their racist experiences with their close friends may also provide this safe social space for the respondents in this study.

Far from denying or minimizing negative incidents, even those of covert racism, in order to protect their self-esteem, the self-esteem of respondents like Yukito, Takahashi, and

Jun, was protected as they more openly discussed the incidents with their partners and friends. Therefore, my findings in this respect did not support Ruggiero and Taylor's finding (1997) that members of minority groups either do not perceive, or tend to minimize negative incidents that confront them. My findings rather supported the notion 'the oppressed are empowered' by Collins (1991) and Byng (1998), which 'through self-definition, determination, and valuation, through transforming their life and their consciousness in safe social spaces, the oppressed are empowered'(Byng, 1998:485), though Byng's study was about African American Muslim Women in the United States. Furthermore, the findings also supported the concept of 'attributional ambiguity' by Crocker and Major (1989), and Crocker and Quinn (1998), in which 'negative feedback is sometimes attributed to the perceived external reasons for the discrimination, instead of their own shortcomings, and as a result, their self-esteem is protected.' In addition, for these respondents, the reasons for the discrimination were not so problematic.

Most students recognized that the image of being 'non- racist' was quite important to British people. They didn't want to be seen as racist and they didn't believe that they were. The respondents like, Yukito, Takahashi, and Jun rather let White British people to know their experiences of racist encounters.

Jun seemed to complain whenever she thought she came across unfair or rude treatment. One day it was 'a rude ticket officer' who called her 'liar', because she was not able to buy a ticket before she arrived at the station (In fact, there were several students, who experienced 'rude ticket officers'). Jun said she was really angry about the way she had been treated, so she said "why don't you fix your machine, it wasn't my fault." She said that she had to stand up strongly for herself, otherwise people in this country would walk all over her and other Asian people. She also had a similar experience on a local bus in Manchester. She said she was cheated over the fare, but at that time she had been with her

white husband so, clearly it wasn't her race that had engendered the incident. However, as a result of these accumulating experiences she is now far more aware of the harsh realities of life like, 'if you are cheated, then you are stupid and it is your own fault'. Jun said she had become cautious about everything in Britain. She is now of the opinion that here in Britain, many public systems, such as universities, public transport, hospitals, local government are not working properly. She said this frustrates her every day and even a little miscommunication can make her irritated. As a result, she has begun to worry about herself becoming too sensitive to racism and possibly reading too much into such situations. The stress caused by being suspicious about almost all personal interactions which she reported feeling, was common among the respondents who had become gradually aware of racism in Britain. One source of the stress was the uncertainty about what had occurred, had they been the victims of racism or were they being paranoid and overly sensitive?

It was possible that bus conductors and ticket officers on the railway were overcharging Japanese students, but this might have been caused more by a communication problem than racism. Kita, who was a male postgraduate student in Kent, noticed that a ticket officer in a London train station always shouted at foreigners. Kita said that he must have been fed up with foreigners who couldn't speak the English language properly. He wasn't quite sure if that was a racial incident or not. The language issue seemed to puzzle many Japanese students and made it more ambiguous to deal with, because it triggered their own inferiority complex about English language, as well as their perception of Whites being members of the majority group.

Yukito (A female undergraduate student in London) said that her worst experience was with an immigration officer. She said that the officer asked inappropriate questions about her boyfriend and the visa. She later heard from other Japanese students, both male and female, that male Japanese students found it relatively easy to get a full visa for the period

of the their courses; on the other hand, officers reportedly gave only one-year visas to Japanese female students. (In fact, one of male respondents complained that he was not able to get a full visa.) She asked, "Why did you only give me a 1 year visa for a 3 year degree course?" The immigration officer reportedly said to her, "But you might fail this year - you don't know yet." She thought that remark was rude and unacceptable in an official situation, especially when she thought of the expensive university fee she had paid, although she did understand that they must be strict with people from outside of Europe. Yukito said that she was really angry and although she usually confronted such negative situations, she thought it wise in this instance not to "blow up", so she just said "THANK YOU." Thus she has had to apply for her visa every year. When she came back from Japan last time she re-applied for it as usual with the university's letter saying, "I am doing my third year". On entering England an immigration officer questioned her and said, "Your visa is going to expire soon and you are doing your third year?" She replied, "Your colleague didn't give me a three-year visa." She said that those people (the British immigration officers) were arrogant and she was fed up with the whole thing. Although there was not enough evidence of difference in treatment between the genders as she described, immigration officers may have exercised their power over those respondents who were in a weaker position. Even so, Yukito said that it was quite hard to prove that they were treated the way they were because they were Japanese. However, Yukito reported that their non-EU status and non-white appearance possibly made them more exploitable than white European foreigners.

4.4.1. At their universities

A foreign student's position in university can be seen as quite ambiguous; there are mixed attitudes and feelings about overseas students in UK universities. Phillips and Pugh point out three main attitudes towards overseas students; 1) A source of fees. 2) The British

contribution to aid in the Third World, 3) The proof that the institution is truly international. They suggest that these attitudes often create a 'businesslike' relationship which lacks the right support, is patronizing, shows paternalistic benevolence, and treats students in a collaborative manner (1987:123)'. They also warn overseas students to be aware of resentment and hostility that they might come across in their university from staff or home students who feel there are more suitable home students than foreign ones. Taka (a male undergraduate student in Kent), and Kawa (a male postgraduate student in London) came across home students complaining about there being too many foreign students and feeling those strangers swamped their universities.

Furthermore, as mentioned previously, foreign students expect to deal with highly educated, open minded home students in such higher academic institutions, so it may come as a shock to them to find negative racial attitudes in fellow students from the dominant group in the society (Feagin, 1991).

Seiko was a female undergraduate student in a south coast town who had a very upsetting experience in her seminar group. She claimed that several White female students didn't acknowledge her during the whole course. She said that she was confused and questioned herself, trying very hard to find the cause of this problem. She sought help from friends, tutors, and the equal opportunity unit people in the university. However, according to her, the situation had not improved and she had to change her university and move up to London to register at Goldsmiths College, which she thought would provide a less White-centric atmosphere. Although Seiko was satisfied with the seminar group in Goldsmiths, another female respondent, Yukiko, who was taking postgraduate degree course in Social Science at the same university, said she had been totally ignored by one White female student in her seminar group. Indeed 31 respondents (apparently they were all Social Science or Humanities students) claimed that they had experienced being

ignored by White fellow students outside and inside their seminar groups, so Seiko and Yukiko's experience of seminar groups in Britain were not isolated cases. All 31 respondents expressed equally strong confusion and distress to Seikos'- that they could not make out the reason for such rude treatment, which had been unimaginable to them until they came to Britain. Seiko said she tried to make friends with those White course mates, say hello to them, yet she was ignored. However, after hearing the comment below, she said she realised that what was happening was deliberate racial discrimination.

Seiko: I heard one of them explicitly stop others talking to me in the seminar, "she is not English, so she doesn't understand." Her voice was very loud and anyone in the seminar could hear this statement.

There were 25 people in the class, about 10 of them were friends of this girl (the one who made the comments to her friends.) Three, including Seiko, were foreign students, one Polish girl and another Japanese girl, but the rest were all White English. In a smaller discussion group, she said that one White female student treated her as if she was not there, if Seiko asked her opinion, she dismissed her, saying, "Don't know.", turned her back on Seiko and then started discussions with other people in the group. Seiko said she was angry, frustrated; puzzled because she had no idea why they ignored her so completely. She said that what had happened was unacceptable and no acceptable excuses had been offered. Seiko did not confront these women in the seminar group, but she confronted the problem by reporting to other people; tutor, equal opportunity unit and so on. She also talked to her Japanese and British friends in London and Staffordshire. She wanted people around her to know how she was treated. She said that a Polish girl came to sit with her in the seminar, and they were the only two who were left alone in the class. According to Seiko, although the Polish girl was White, she was foreign and as she was with Seiko, she also got ignored in the seminar group.

Another Japanese girl from the same seminar group was convinced that she had been treated similarly because her English language ability was not good enough, and she had accepted that as an excuse for the behaviour. Seiko said that, as a result she often did not attend the seminar. However, for Seiko such behaviour was not excusable, because when she had been in Staffordshire, although at that time her English language skills had been very poor, the White British people there had been friendly to her, and she made many good friends. That was why she had decided to do her primary degree in Britain. As a result, she often found herself making a comparison between her current situation and her time in Staffordshire.

Seiko said that she remembered a Japanese girl who used to live in Brighton saying that South coast towns were pretty ethnocentric. The girl warned her to be careful of White people who lived on the South coast because they were conservative and xenophobic. To test this hypothesis, once she had suffered the discrimination referred to, Seiko observed other White people's behaviour in and out of the seminar group to test for consistency. Again, to test for consistency and consensus she asked other people's opinions, both White and non-White people who surrounded her (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991). Indeed I have found that most respondents also interpret racial discrimination in a similar manner to Seiko, carefully evaluating and testing cumulative experiences in different ways. They had all tried hard to find some acceptable excuse for the unacceptable behaviour they had encountered (Essed, 1991; Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997).

Seiko's case is difficult to interpret in detail. Because her experience of White British people in Britain had been good initially she seemed to expect to repeat that experience again when she went to live in Southern England. It is not possible to determine whether the treatment she actually received in Southern England happened because she was specifically Japanese, or merely because she appeared Asian. However, as Jun pointed

out, British people could be kind and helpful toward vulnerable people such as foreigners who didn't speak English at all and this might have been the case with Seiko. Thus, despite her prior experience of staying with a White English family in Staffordshire, that stay did not equip her to deal with the racism she subsequently experienced. Her previous home stay experience rather gave her an overly rosy view of White British people, which made it difficult for her to accept her subsequent distressing experiences in university. She also said that the experience she had in South England, made her stronger (Collin, 1991; Byng, 1998) and that she appreciated her English friends in London more than before.

Now let us look at Yukiko (a female postgraduate student in London), who had also been ignored by a White female student in her seminar group in the Goldsmiths College. (She was mentioned in the story of Seiko) In Yukiko's Women's studies course, the White woman 'avoided looking at her as if she was an object or a dangerous animal'. That woman was aged 33 or 34, and Yukiko noticed that her behaviour was consistent whenever they met even when Yukiko was with an American course mate the White woman would be talking only to the American girl (Feagin, 1991; Essed, 1981). Yukiko reported that she found the way student avoided eye contact with her to be very odd, as if she did not exist. After some confusing, rather distressing months, Yukiko decided to treat that English woman in exactly the same way - by ignoring her as if she too didn't exist, and said she felt less helpless when she decided to do this:-by taking a control of the situation, she seemed to be able to protect her self-esteem. However, she did not talk about this woman's behaviour with British people. She said she was not sure people would understand what she wanted to say and she said she was worried that they might use it against her. Her thoughts were different from Seiko's.

I have found that the feeling of 'not existing in someone else's eyes' is a common

experience for Japanese students in seminars. However, respondents often discussed the incident with other Japanese student, yet they did not often report like Seiko. The perpetrators were not only White fellow students, but also White teachers; lecturers, seminar leaders and so on.

Male students also experienced this subtle form of racism and exclusion in the university, from white fellow students as well as their teachers. For example, Tomo (a male postgraduate student in London) described to me his experiences with White female fellow students in his seminar group. Tomo said that during lectures or seminars, when they did some group work or worked in pairs, the White female students might ask his opinion and if they didn't quite understand what he meant, they might ask him again. But he didn't expect them to give up completely if they still didn't understand him, but they did. He said they would dismiss his opinion, as if his opinion was of no worth. In the group, he reported that they just gathered other people's opinions and ignored his completely. He said that they forced him to end conversations because they had given up trying to understand him, even saying such things as "Why can't you just speak properly?" That made him angry and he said such behaviour was unacceptable and he certainly wouldn't have treated foreigners in Japan like that, the attitude shocked and irritated him. Their attitude was hostile towards foreigners whose English was not up to their standard. In Tomo's opinion they should know that the level and command of the English language of foreign students could not be the same as that of native English people and they should be more tolerant of foreigners who spoke less accurately than they did, yet they expected and demanded the same level of communication skills from foreign students as they had themselves. Tomo could see no justification for this attitude. He also reported to me that he sometimes experienced seminar leaders or lecturers bluntly ignoring him when they disseminated handouts. However in his view this treatment was not so much an 'anti-Japanese' sentiment, but more a kind of general attitude towards

Asians, that they are of a lower status in this society. So according to Tomo, even where there is nothing particularly disconcerting about Asian people, it is quite normal for White people to look down on them. It is worth noting that some of the other respondents also mentioned this to me - other East Asian students also complained about White British fellow students' unrecognition of their presence in the seminar group.

Hana (A female undergraduate student in Kent) described her confusion when she was ignored in her seminar groups, although she had heard about that kind of thing happening to other Japanese students. There were all White students in her seminars and during the discussion, although they were all sitting face to face, no one looked at her. She was the only invisible one in the class. She reported that she felt she was completely ignored by everyone in the seminars. She was especially embarrassed when one student volunteered as group leader and asked the members of the group for their opinions, but skipped Hana 'as if I wasn't there at all'. She said, on another occasion, when Hana asked some questions, the members of the group lightly dismissed them.

Hana said her image of English people had been based on her English teachers in high school in Japan, who were very attentive and very kind. Ten other interviewees of the 51 interviewed also reported very similar experiences of kind English teachers in Japan. Mana (a female postgraduate student in London) compared the attitudes toward foreigners and their language skill found in Britain and Japan in this way:

Mana: I think in Britain people are used to seeing foreigners, but on the other hand in Japan, it is still rare to see foreigners, so people are a little bit over caring or even patronising towards them. Well, I am sure it depends on the individual, but more or less there is an atmosphere in Japan that we want to take care of these foreigners. We feel sympathy like, "it must be very difficult for them to understand the Japanese language", but here, it is more like "you can't even speak English properly!" To the British people, foreigners who speak perfect English are not a surprise but a normal thing! In Japan if foreigners could speak even only a little Japanese, it would be

greatly appreciated by the dominant group people.

It was evident that both Hana and Mana had expected to be socially accepted as being a foreign students who tried hard to adopt different language(a good guest).

On the other hand another student, Yoshio (a male undergraduate student in Kent) pointed out the cultural difference between the English and the Japanese which prevented him from having eye contact with fellow White students in the seminar group. He said that at the beginning, he felt uneasy making eye contact and being the centre of attention as this made him terribly nervous that he might not say things properly. In Japan, he said it was still quite rare to have eye contact and if one did, it could be interpreted as rudeness. So Yoshio said he got muddled or self-conscious about his own speaking, and made grammatical mistakes and so on. On one occasion he noticed that suddenly no one was listening to him. At first, he was conscious that everybody paid attention to his presentation, then he started to get a bit nervous about how his presentation was going and towards the end, he noticed that people looked so bored that some of them began to chat to each other. He reported that it distracted his concentration and made him feel inadequate, and to question whether his approach to the topic was correct or not. So, because he was not confident enough in his English language skills, he decided to keep a low profile, even though this attitude might discourage British students from recognising him and his opinions.

There were other students who similarly preferred to remain unnoticed by British students rather than be perceived negatively. For example, Yoshio also reported that one seminar leader avoided picking him in the seminars. At first Yoshio thought that the seminar leader couldn't pronounce his Japanese name, but after the seminar he asked him if he had his handout, so it wasn't that. However this was rather an ambiguous situation as

some seminar leaders may well be genuinely concerned about Japanese students' ability to speak out in the group, and they may have been concerned about embarrassing them.

According to Nobuko (a female undergraduate student in Kent), this rather passive attitude was often observed in Japanese students at the beginning of their stay in Britain - it seemed to help them not to be embarrassed in public - although most of them move on from the shyness to be bold and courageous about their grammar mistakes. Yet whatever the reason for their being ignored totally in the class this can still be a traumatic rejection experience to many Japanese students.

Miki (female postgraduate student in Kent) said that she was totally ignored by her teacher. There were fifteen in her seminar, (all the students were white English and French and she was the only Asian in the class) and everyone in the class was asked for his or her opinions except Miki. On another occasion, when in a small group discussion, the seminar leader loudly pointed out to her that she should join in more in the group discussion despite the fact that she had tried hard to express her opinions. She even once said to Miki "Oh, are you still there!?" Miki didn't know how to respond to this, so she said, "Yes." Other students were concerned about her and said, "Don't worry about her." Miki didn't find all seminar leaders and lecturers to be like that, but neither was she the only one to experience this negative sarcastic treatment. She said those teachers in European studies, didn't understand language handicap concepts at all. She said that foreign students were foreign students, and they didn't suddenly become native students, yet teachers didn't understand that. She also heard that some teachers refused to give any marks to foreign students.

Although some White foreign students might experience cold treatment by the university staff, Miki's report suggests that there might be several institutional failures which work

against the achievement of equal opportunity for the university's students. 'Institutional racism in higher education' has received some attention in recent years. Oga used to go to a university in Glasgow, and he talked about his frustrating experiences with his supervisor there.

Oga: '....., professors and supervisors were awfully nice to me - in a sense! You know, the sort of stereotypical British academic who keeps smiling and always saying nice things, but only on a surface level. Never in fact doing anything to help students. Their behaviour was totally that of 'guest treatment'. "We will teach you, young boy, from the strange Far East." "Be a Good boy, follow me, and you will be safe." Something like that. But if you differed from their opinion or thinking, or if you criticised their ideas, they'd dismiss you and say, "You don't understand this." They suddenly became extremely defensive and exclusive.'

Oga reported that on one occasion his previous supervisor had become very defensive and tried to manipulate him to change his research topic.

Oga: For example, the topic I chose was "the sectarianism between Protestant supporters and Catholic, or Irish supporters in Glasgow - Football", and the first things that I was told, "Look, you are Japanese, it is impossible to understand these things. Why don't you do something Japanese?" I think, first of all, amongst that academic culture, there is their own lack of knowledge about British working class football culture, and the discriminative attitude to it. Secondly, "How on earth can a Far East student understand these things?" I think the latter reason was stronger.

Oga continued to observe his supervisor and other researchers in the Scottish university.

Oga: Researchers are predominantly White Scottish or Northern English. On the other hand, there are many black players, Indian fans and Pakistani fans, and a huge Chinese community of football fans. Researchers here rarely focus on ethnic minority fans and their experience of everyday racism, which I was interested in, but no one seemed to take it seriously. They said that these were really minor issues. And "You can't research such a minor issue, how can you, a Japanese student, delve into this issue? Impossible!" I was told that many times.

He had observed their reaction and found it to be unacceptable. They might not know

those ‘minor issues’ but that would not be a good enough excuse for the unacceptable treatment. He concluded therefore that he was being subjected to a form of racism.

‘It might sound too harsh to say it was racism, but it is. It is racism. They should let students choose the topic and do it - let the student do what he or she wants to do. Students pay for this, I think. But basically every department has the same problem.’

As Oga pointed out there were such cases everywhere, even in his present university in London, although it should be noted that this sort of negative feedback about research ideas can be experienced by White students too. Therefore, it may not be only because of race. In the end however Oga moved to a university in London and took on a new supervisor.

Although ‘Kawa’ (a male postgraduate student in London) had felt institutional racism, he had not found it easy to spot. He said some foreign students overreacted on the matter. He had heard non-British students (including Japanese students) saying, “I was asked why I couldn’t do research in my country or do cultural things instead of another culture or why especially the English one.” He said he was not sure whether or not that was racism but his friends seemed to take it that way. Kawa was doing his PhD in English literature but fortunately hadn’t been placed in that situation himself. He said, it might have sounded like racism some times but such questions are often asked regardless of race. However, although Kawa said that his Korean and Japanese friends had been told quite explicitly, “You are Korean, why don’t you do your own things?” by their supervisors, he still found it difficult to say that it was racism. He suggested that their supervisors may be genuinely worried about the students’ academic ability to carry out research on English issues or simply because of their English language skills and so on. He said it could be both - protective and patronising. Kawa seemed to have uneasy feelings toward other student’s attitudes about institutional racism. Moreover, he was not

sure if Japanese students actually suffered institutional discrimination because of their race. For example, when his Japanese student friends had been ignored by their lecturer, and had not been given handouts by him in class, they had complained to the Student Union who raised the matter with the lecturer. The Student Union clearly thought the white male lecture was racist against the Japanese. However, Kawa said that what had happened could equally happen to any Asian students, or just non-white students, or that perhaps the lecturer somehow didn't like Japanese people personally, but Kawa thought that this was not at the level of institutional discrimination. There are many ambiguous issues around subtle racism. However, as a PhD student of English literature, he seemed more concerned about English language ability than racism against Japanese or Asians. He lacked a general knowledge of racism and saw the negative incidents but did not seem to attribute them solely to race.

Not many respondents said that they had found administrative departments of their universities to be racist. There were only particular individuals who were not friendly to any students, for example, a secretary in the department or in the registry. However, there were one or two administrative people who seemed to dislike foreign students and were rude to them but not just to Japanese students. Taichi (a male postgraduate student in Kent) said he was very shocked to see what he saw on campus even after he had heard about a particular person (a white female officer) in their accommodation office who had a reputation for disliking foreigners. According to Jun (a female postgraduate student in Kent) who had lived in Manchester, everything seemed more explicit there than in the South East of England.

Jun: The admin people were nasty too, even the university help line people, who were supposed to help students. They were really cold and rude. In the university, their racism wasn't really explicit but it was there in their attitudes as if they were doing us a favour. I wanted to say, "That's your job! Don't you get wages?"

Although those university people Jun mentioned were rude to her and to other students, they may not only have been rude to Japanese students or Asian students. They could have been rude to any foreign students. For example, Yukito (A female undergraduate student in London) observed a White English man at the Union shop in the university discriminating against Black people, but not to her personally, always talking to her with smile. However, one day Yukito and her Black course mate went to the shop to buy cigarettes, it was nearly closing time. She said, there were only herself and her friend, so he could have closed the shop after serving both of them. However, according to her, he served her and not her friend, and he shut the shop after serving her. She reported that her course mate was really angry at him and her, "That's discrimination! But why was I discriminated against and not you?" She said she didn't know what to say. The girl was born in London, of Caribbean background. She said there was racial discrimination between Whites and Black people, as well as between White and Muslim people. However, according to her, Japanese or Chinese people were not badly treated nor had serious conflict with White people in South London. She said that Japanese people here (in her university) were more or less just students, not refugees or migrant workers, therefore, they were not an economic threat to the White majority.

In their accommodation in the university, Japanese students experienced much avoidance and rejection by White fellow students (Feagin, 1991).

Kyoko (A female undergraduate student in Kent): Well, a few days ago, I was doing something in the kitchen; the American girl was there, cooking. Then one of the English boys came home and came into the kitchen. He said "hi" as usual to both of us. Then he started to talk to the American girl and they had a conversation. He didn't even look at me once. It was as if I didn't exist. Now, maybe he thought I didn't speak English well and I might feel alienated. He might be alienating me without knowing it. Well, I am not sure.

Kyoko seems continuously to experience this alienation in her own flat. She said most of

the time she stays with her Nigerian boyfriend in his flat. She reported that he often resents White people because of his ancestral past. She said that she compared her experiences with her black boyfriend's opinion about White British people and his own discrimination experiences in Britain. She noticed that when they were together, he was the one suspected to not having a proper ticket or committing other forms of petty crime. This related to Yukito's experience of her Black course mate who was ignored in the campus shop, whereas she was served. Not many Japanese students experienced and actually compared their racial status with other ethnic groups, however, in the next chapter, I will examine how these Japanese students perceived their racial status compared to other non-white people in Britain.

Mitsugu (a male postgraduate student in Kent) had similar experiences to Kyoko in the dormitory. One White English student in the dormitory didn't say a word to Asian students. He would talk to White students, but he never talked to Mitsugu and other Asians and Caribbean students. His conviction, Mitsugu said, was never to talk to coloured people, because his facial expressions always showed his clear hatred towards these people. For example, when Mitsugu knew nothing of the situation, he said hello to this student and was ignored. Then he heard about him from other Asian students, and also some White students were saying the same thing., according to Mitsugu, he was an odd student in everyone's opinion. Yet Mitsugu himself, still thought he was a racist.

Mitsugu: I thought clearly he was racist, the expression on his face was special, when he saw non-White students, it was as if he saw 'dirt' or 'sin', something that shouldn't be there.

Assessing and evaluating subtle racism is not straight forward as I have mentioned. Participants could not depend on obvious evidence like an overt racist attack. In such a case as Mitsugus it is necessary to pick up bad vibes, the malicious expression on the face,

and so on, and then start to collect more information about a particular offender or specific situation. Mitsugu talked with other Asian students as well as other Japanese students in the dorm about the odd White student. Then he began to see other White women's group ignoring Asian people.

Mitsugu: He wasn't exceptional. There were several white female students, who completely ignored Japanese and Chinese students. I saw them not even look at Chinese and Japanese students, even when they said hello. Those girls ignored them completely.

Mitsugu, like other Japanese students who were ignored, didn't realise it at the beginning, but then he noticed that other Japanese as well as other Asians, such as Koreans, Chinese students were experiencing exactly the same treatment by the same White girls. After these incidents, he concluded that *'not all-British students are like that, but it was not just a one off case'*. This 'ignoring' is a common experience within seminar groups, however, and students who experienced it reported that they encountered this everywhere on campus. It often seemed to make them feel puzzled, confused and frustrated, because again, they didn't really know why they were treated that way. These subtle but negative racial encounters by Japanese students were less easy to assess, compared with more aggressive overt ones. However, it seemed more widespread among Asians, and non-White foreign students, and so was it easier to observe and collect information.

4.4.2. Gendered experiences of racism

There are more cases of covert experiences, which are specifically based on Japanese racial stereotypes. Many Japanese women and men expressed the feeling in their interviews, that Japanese girls in Britain had "Geisha like images (eg. exotic, look up to men, easy to sleep with)" projected on to them, not just by White British men but also by men from other cultures. 'Japanese are rich, quiet and small', were stereotypes the

respondents mentioned in the interviews, and some reported that Japanese boys were not as popular as Japanese girls. In order to assess this perception of 'gendered racism' participants were asked more questions like, 'Did it happen to you because you are a Japanese (East Asian, non-White, and non-Western) woman?'

Atsuko was a postgraduate student in London. She explained why she didn't want to go out with White men in Britain. She said they might prefer Asian women because they believed such women looked up to men, whereas White English and European women or Western women in general, were too strong and didn't usually respect men. She said she had observed those mix raced couples around her.

Atsuko: That doesn't apply to all White men and Asian women's relationship. But I feel it as I look at the couples around me. The people, who like Japan, or Japanese girls or boys, as far as I see, don't have many British friends anyway, or if they have, they also have their own inferiority complex, for example, a stammer and so on. I think Japanese people generally are protective toward those difficulties and are sympathetic. So they don't need to feel too much of an inferiority complex as long as they are with Japanese people. I don't really know. I am just guessing.

According to Atsuko, many White men who were 'into oriental' didn't look at Japanese women as individuals, but in fact racially fetishized such women.

Another respondent, Akiko (a female postgraduate student in London) said these projected images of Japanese girls very puzzling and confusing, especially when she didn't speak English very well. She looked back on her ambiguous and unpleasant experience of sexual harassment with her landlord during her home stay in London. She said, at first, she thought he was simply very lonely and unhappy with his wife who was often away. In his wife's absence he usually took Akiko to some places like pubs, his friends' house or cinema and he hugged her often, because that was allegedly a part of

English custom, which she should get used to. However, she reported that this touching and hugging made her feel really uncomfortable, although he was also kind and helpful. She said she wasn't communicating very well in English and he spent a lot of time teaching her English, making it more difficult to call it harassment. Then she decided to go to UCL's language course and moved to the dorm of UCL without complaining to them. Because of the ambiguity of her relationship with her landlord, she said she was very polite to him and remained on friendly terms. She looked back and thought it had a lot to do with her language problem, (which) she couldn't communicate with him at that time. However, she thought the Japanese body territory was very different from his English one, especially when his hands went near her bottom: she was embarrassed and softly refused but basically ignored him. Although she said she hadn't had a clear view of him exploiting her she began to see that some stereotypical images were projected on her as well as on other Japanese women by middle aged men in Britain.

Akiko: I have got an impression that English middle-aged men, between 50 and 60, usually like Japanese girls very much, I mean Whites, mostly White men and many of them are in their 60s. For example, in pubs or when I was waiting for buses or trains, they would come up to me and say "Are you Japanese?" and they would try to chat me up. I feel Japanese girls are sexually appealing to them and at the same time, they look down on us. These two points I feel particularly sure about, because it wasn't just my experiences but also most Japanese girls in Britain have these sorts of experiences.

Twenty-seven of the 51 male and female interviewees agreed with Akiko's point, Japanese women have a racially sexualised image which was held by many White middle aged men in Britain. Akiko also talked about how Japanese women seemed to appeal to Black people, especially young Blacks. "Now Japanese is very cool - language, technology, culture, everything". The image of Japan, as a "high-tech country" seemed to strongly appeal to them, like a life long dream, she thought. She also heard from other students that it is kind of fashionable to be friends with Japanese people. Atsuko and

Akiko seemed to avoid those middle-aged White men, however, she analysed that some Japanese girls, who are aware of these images, might explore and exploit them. On the other hand, some girls, who were also strongly aware of those images might reject them or fight against them. However, Atsuko and Akiko's story indicated, 'gendered racism' as well as 'racism' were perceived because participants perceived that they were seen and treated in a specific way according to their race and gender or racially presented stereotypical images. They didn't feel they were seen as individuals.

Before Akiko became aware of this projected image of Japanese or Asian women by White middle aged men, she reported she had had another experience of sexual harassment by one of her lecturers. In her previous MA course, she was writing her dissertation on religion and one lecturer helped her. He specialised on Buddhism, and had books published on that subject. She initially asked to meet him about her dissertation and after she had completed this, he contacted her and offered to teach her more about Buddhism. She said she thought she was lucky and didn't doubt his intentions. He suggested meeting in his house and looking at her dissertation again. However when she actually went around his house, there was no conversation about her dissertation neither was any other academic issue discussed, instead, he cooked dinner and they drank wine, and when she went to the bathroom upstairs, she saw numerous pictures of oriental women on the wall, which made her feel suddenly really scared, so she decided to go home. She insisted on going home, but he didn't let her go so easily. After she finally left his house, she realised that she had left her dissertation, and he again suggested meeting up with her at his house. She said when she showed her reluctance, he suddenly got really angry, "I never usually see students over the summer. I especially gave my time to you. How could you do this? Who do you think you are?" she said she was really scared.

Akiko clearly didn't have any prior knowledge of racialised sexual harassment. She said

she had never come across it in Japan, neither at university nor while she was working in an office, and therefore she had not suspected the lecturer's intentions. After the lecturer got nasty to her, her male English friend, who was very supportive, said, "If something happens, I will help you. I can talk to him, so don't worry." She said she felt more relaxed. However, she said that although at this time she was harassed sexually in the institution, she still found it very difficult to talk about this issue openly with her course mates in the department. She said that she should be quiet about it:- He had power over her future PhD degree at that time, if she stayed in that department (Art history) so she didn't want to cause any problems with this. She said he definitely saw her opportunistically and 'if he was lucky he might get what he wanted.'

After all her cumulative experiences of racial (see her experiences of overt racism) and sexual harassment and observation of racially and sexually projected images in Britain, Akiko said she became more and more interested in these social issues, so eventually decided to do her PhD in Sociology instead. However, when she talked about this lecturer to her Japanese girl friends, they said it was her fault because she went to his house. What he had suggested was very explicit and she should have understood his message and motive. She said that made her more confused and she felt she'd made a mistake. Therefore she didn't report that incident and tried to forget it, and actually during the interview she wasn't able to remember that incident very well and it reportedly only came to her mind after a couple of hours of talking. Because of the nature of the incident, Akiko found it particularly difficult to talk to other young female students, both Japanese and non-Japanese (Akiko saw herself as a little older than other MA students). Therefore despite her male friends support, she was not sure how to explain the experiences to me. I suspected that that was because I was a female Japanese student also, so she was worried about me judging her like other female students.

In her case, it is difficult to definitively say that she was the victim of either racism or sexism. According to Byng, "if a person has more than one characteristic that makes them a target for discrimination then he or she will be uncertain as to which one has triggered the action and may not see discrimination as motivated by race only"(Byng, 1998:475, Collins, 1991).

Now Akiko's male English friend was sympathetic towards her problem and she was quite confident that her male Japanese friends' reaction would be the same. However, how do Japanese men in Britain generally observe the projected images of Japanese women?

Mitsugu (A male postgraduate student in Kent) reported the existence of a stereotypical image of Japanese women, as easy to go to bed with (5 other male interviewees agreed), for example. He was asked many times to be introduced to any Japanese girls in Britain, "I think the image of the obedient and quiet Geisha girls is still strong (10 male interviewees agreed)". He said he was annoyed by this stereotyping of fellow Japanese women, and saw it as a form of racism against the Japanese.

On the other hand, Yoshio (a male undergraduate student in Kent student) said that he was a bit envious about the image of Japanese women in Britain. He thought Japanese women were treated better or got more attention than men by British people. Japanese men were just left out and didn't get much noticed, except being occasionally chatted up by gay people, in his case. Yoshio reported the old saying which still lived in Western people's consciousness; "The best of all possible worlds is to live in an English Mansion, earn an American salary, eat Chinese food, and be married to a Japanese wife. While the Worst is to live in a Japanese House, earn a Chinese salary, eat British food, and be married to an American wife." He thinks that it is this idea which supports the stereotype of Japanese

women in the West, and still strongly effects people's mind-set in Britain. He was particularly aware of White British men chatting up many Japanese women here and was not really happy about it. But he said he also observed that some Japanese girls preferred to be with White British men. However, most Japanese men's reaction to the stereotypical images of Japanese women is like Mitsugu, a rather negative one. 'Kawa' (A post graduate student in London) said those stereotypical images and attitudes are based on an image that is terribly racist - attitudes and images such as 'Japanese girls are sweet, compared to Western women. English women are hard and harsh, while Asian women are sensitive and sweet, Japanese women are small and quiet'. He, on the other hand, observed that Japanese boys were not so appealing to non-Japanese women due to their shyness, although Japanese girls who had non-Japanese boyfriends were not necessarily 'small and quiet'. He said that the 'boys- ask- girls- out' kind thing strongly existed in the romantic culture in West, though Japanese girls or Asian girls who were not subservient and docile might not be so popular among Western men. Although Kawa's speculation may not to be always the case, most respondents agreed about Japanese women's popularity in Britain. However, on the other hand, several Japanese female students expected to have White boyfriends as well as some Japanese male students expecting to have White girlfriends, and both had stereotypical image of White males and females, through media, Hollywood films and so on. So it sometimes might be encouraged from both sides.

4.5. Pre-departure expectations

Being seen as a minority that is discriminated against, whether overtly or covertly, was a totally new experience for most Japanese students in Britain, because they were members of the racially dominant group in Japan. Thirty-eight out of 51 respondents had never imagined that they would be discriminated against in this country, especially as they

thought the university was a relatively secure environment. Nine respondents said that ‘it might happen to them’ and 4 respondents were ‘prepared for something to happen’. However I found that those 13 students who were either clearly or vaguely expecting to be discriminated against in Britain had had prior experience of racism in and outside of Britain. Most of them had had rubbish or bricks thrown at them on the street, when they were at summer school in Britain, or in other white English speaking countries, such as Australia, and Canada. So they had some knowledge of how they might be treated by the host population when they were in a foreign country. One of them thought that she might be misunderstood because of her lack of English language skills, so she was prepared to be treated unfairly because of this. However, 12 other respondents expected racially motivated abuse in Britain and thought that they might be treated unfairly. However, 38 out of 51 respondents didn’t expect any discrimination at all, and equally reported that they were very distressed and confused by the racist incidents they encountered. For example, Yoko (a female postgraduate student in London) was so shocked when someone yelled “No Chinese!” at her in a university corridor. She was shocked because it happened in the university building and the young white man who shouted at her seemed to be a student at her university. When she turned her head, he saw that she noticed him, but her friend didn’t see him. Several students expressed their astonishment that these sorts of things happened at their own university. They thought they were kind of protected, from the human rights point of view and they said they expected that university students especially, were civilised enough not to do such things (Feagin, 1991). Feagin illustrates how middle class Black people were shocked to come across rather explicit negative treatment by White strangers, despite their class status and higher education. Similarly, Japanese students in this study were more or less uniformly from a middle class, highly educated background in Japan, yet as racially disadvantaged foreigners, they encountered unpleasant and unexpected events.

For example, Oga (A post graduate student in London) experienced very stressful and upsetting racist statements from White middle class British women on public transport. He was on his way to Newcastle from London.

Oga: I felt I needed to respond to this lady. She was the wife of a WW2 POW. The elderly lady was sitting opposite her niece and me. Her niece was a middle-aged woman, who was bitterly criticizing Japan. I got on the train at Kings Cross; they got off at Newcastle. For three hours non-stop they went on about, “Yellow monkeys”, “Jap” and so on, despite being aware of my presence. I thought I had to say something. “It is very unpleasant, so please stop it”, I said. “You do know I am Japanese.” In fact I said this twice. They shrugged their shoulders and stopped talking about the Japanese. But a few minutes later they started again. There was a man, well, a gentleman, who interrupted them; “you are being very rude speaking like this, why don’t you go to another carriage, if you want to talk like that.” But they just ignored him, so eventually I left that coach. Of course it wasn’t physical violence, but it was very obsessive. It was clearly explicit racism. They looked like very ordinary middle class elderly women.

Oga said that he felt more sad than angry about the incident involving the White women on the train, who persistently and in such a rude manner criticised Japanese people in his presence. Oga had studied Sociology in Japan, so he said he was prepared for a multiracial and class-based society in Britain with its problems of racism. However, in his case, the perpetrators were White middle class women and it wasn’t at all subtle. He reported that the unexpected nature of this encounter shocked and distressed him.

These students were never prepared for such brutal racist treatment by White British men and women, which included not just working class, but also middle class people. However, why did most (38 of 51) respondents not expect to experience racism in Britain? What made them so naïve about being a minority in Britain? Now let us look at the images and stereotypes of Britain and British people which they had before they actually arrived in Britain.

4.5.1. Life in Japan

Generally speaking, these students' initial reactions to racist incidents in Britain were one of 'deep shock' - the shock of those, who had never experienced such things before in Japan, of being treated as a racialised minority. But also their pre-departure images of Britain (see chapter 2) made them very un-prepared for this hostile treatment toward foreigners. In the course of the interviews, students were asked about their pre-departure expectations and images of Britain and the British people. Although most students knew that they would be not White in a White country (they thought Britain was mostly White country before they came here) they had unrealistically positive images of Britain, had expected to be treated like other White foreigners, and thus to blend easily into British society. Although they didn't think of themselves as White they seemed to think being Japanese would not matter in everyday life in Britain. Where did that naïve expectation come from? How did these Japanese students construct this image of a fair Britain? As I pointed out before, 38 of 51 students didn't expect any racism in Britain. Nevertheless, if Japanese students had thought that it would be a serious problem they wouldn't have come to Britain.

Most students seemed to come to study in Britain thinking of it in terms of a gap year, a kind of long holiday, and normally people wouldn't go to a place for a holiday if they felt it might be dangerous or unpleasant to stay there. This is quite different from Hein's (1994) "migrant orientation". These students were not migrant workers and they didn't need to live in Britain in order to make their own living. Moreover, many students confessed that the choice of going to the United States was a non-starter with both their parents and themselves, due to the image of the United States as a gun-toting society and so on. For example, Yoshio said he used to think "'Great Britain'" must be a great country because it evoked the famous image of 'An English gentleman'. After he had had several ungentlemanly experiences with White British people, he said his idea of Britain was

forcibly changed; his main image shattering experience was having eggs thrown at him from a car. He said he had clear eye contact with a White young person, in the car, throwing an egg at him, so he realized that he was the target, and although the eggs didn't actually hit him, he said he was really shocked and felt totally lost. However, he said he was targeted as an Asian and not as Japanese, and that he had also had the experience of being called "Yellow" (see Back 1995) in the streets in London and Bristol by both White and Black people, especially by Black people who stuck their middle finger up at him from their cars and drove off. He said that he had never experienced anything like this in Japan, and had never expected such hostile treatment.. As discussed in a previous chapter, some respondents' images of Black people were influenced by prejudice they had gained in Japan, because historically they were introduced as slaves of White Westerners.

4.5.2. Culture shock

Experience of racism was undoubtedly shocking to the Japanese students, however, so-called 'cultural shock' also added quite ambiguous negative experiences to many respondents, especially 'unfriendliness' and 'rudeness' in the service industry in general, which was not viewed as being the typical image of British people, held generally by Japanese people in Japan (on the contrary, in Japan, British people are known to be 'modest' and 'polite').

During the course of the interviews, respondents were asked to say how differently British people treated them as opposed to Japanese people. Most of them reported that the standard of service at the shops, restaurants was quite different (Furnham and Bochner, 1986). For a few Japanese students it was too shocking to accept as a different culture.

Hana: At the beginning of my stay in Britain, my English language skills were such that I couldn't say what I wanted to say all the time, then people tended to ignore or look down on me, and become very impatient, you know? I think English people are

very impatient. I remember when I bought a ticket at the West station, I really didn't understand why the ticket seller was so exceptionally unfriendly. He just threw the ticket at me unpleasantly. I had never experienced that sort of unfriendliness in Japan and it made me really puzzled for a while.

Hana said that she was never sure whether an incident was of a one-off individual nature or was an example of a more deep-seated and general forms of discrimination. This ambiguity was quite stressful to Hana, especially after she had experienced things being thrown at her on the street.

Megumi: Well, in the WHSmith store, there works one middle aged woman who is very rude and tries not to look at me when she served me, but other people who work there are not at all like her, and I am not sure whether what she was doing was being done only to me or to other customers too. I don't feel good about it especially as I don't even know that person. I try not to be affected by this. Generally speaking, people are not so educated in the service industry here.

Next, Miki, whose case is very ambiguous, she was comparing the treatment she got with the treatment given to White European customers', moreover, she already had some idea about racism in Britain by then.

Miki: I went to a boutique, for example, and if I touched a product such as a scarf or a necklace, the shop assistant would dash up to shake the products and tidy them up. Whereas when other White European customers did the same, she didn't do so immediately. Those things I began to notice.

YN: Immediately?

Miki: Yes, it was quite shocking. It was quite explicit. Moreover, in a restaurant, waiters were slightly slower to serve us (Miki and her mother) than other customers.

Miki: Maybe I was less approachable if I was in a group of Asians. But it didn't just happen once or twice.

Her story about shop assistant surveillance was common in Feagin's (1991) middle class black women's experiences of subtle racism which similar to, 'blacks are seen as shoplifters, as unclean.the discourtesy of the clerks illustrate the extra burden of

being a black in public place, a black person can not escape the stigma of being black even while relaxing or shopping' (107). A couple of respondents also reported they were followed around in a local supermarket in Kent. The point I am making here is that there are certainly big cultural differences between the two countries, and at the same time, the respondents experienced being the target of discriminatory actions. Furthermore, both the culture shock and encountering racial discrimination were stressful to the respondents (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Thus, some respondents who reported their experiences of explicit racial discrimination often viewed individual incidents or cultural differences as racially motivated prejudice. They might attribute the negative outcomes of culture shock to discrimination.

Although some respondents understood this cultural difference, when added to their cumulative racial discriminatory encounters, it became quite stressful. Because both culture shock and racial discrimination are extremely stressful to the Japanese students, not knowing which one they were encountering made the situation ambiguous, and this was also stressful to the respondents, and leading them to rationalise negative events as cultural difference in order to minimise the stress. I will discuss the rationalisation which Japanese students adopted more fully in the next chapter.

4.6. Making sense of racism

How did the Japanese students make sense of their experiences? Why did they think they had suffered racial discrimination in this country? As I discussed earlier, most respondents perceived that they had experienced forms of racism. However many respondents said that why they were discriminated against in Britain was not so obvious. In the interviews, respondents were asked what was really preventing them from getting

close to British people, and why they thought they were discriminated against by them.

They gave the following responses (some of them chose more than one reason.): -

1. A different appearance (skin colour; size; foreign look); for example, 'Asians look small and weak', 'non-white appearance', and the general idea held by British people about Japanese being racially inferior.
2. Ignorance and indifference toward Asian culture, and ethnocentrism.
3. A language barrier (poor English language skill); 'misunderstanding based on lack of English language skill', 'speaking stupid language (non-European language)'
4. Resentment of 'rich foreigners by working class people.
5. Other reasons; 'bad luck', 'being in a part of this culture', 'because we are foreigners'.

More than half of the respondents (21 of 51) supported the idea that an Asian or non-White appearance might provoke hostility (Mellor et al., 2001, Essed, 1991), and more than a quarter of all respondents agreed that the British people were ignorant about Asian culture and were ethnocentric. This idea was mainly supported by the respondents who tended to attribute negative events to discrimination (attributional ambiguity).

There were 3 students who felt strongly that skin colour was a major factor (one of them actually expressed her wish to be White.) As Chisaki (a female postgraduate student in Kent) put it,

Chisaki: It is about skin colour or foreign appearance. One day I was walking to the supermarket with a friend from Hong Kong. It was a sort of White working class area, my friend got really angry with those teenagers who were racial name-calling and she wanted to fight back. I thought they were just kids, so I didn't want to take it seriously, so I tried to stop her getting involved. After that she was still very angry.

She said "two Asian looking women (Chisaki and her friend from Hong Kong) did provoke such an event", as if they deserved to be treated that way. However, she said that

she still felt ambiguous about the issue and tried not to take it seriously.

Sakura (a female postgraduate student in Kent) talked about the existence of a colour hierarchy more actively after she discussed an incident involving a Southeast Asian girl with other Japanese students,

Sakura: I heard that one Malaysian girl was physically assaulted on the street near the supermarket. Then I remembered my egg incident and I thought again, 'Canterbury was not safe for an Asian.' And 'again, non-White people were targeted by White youths.' Those thoughts came to my mind. Then I thought that that girl didn't look Chinese or Japanese; she had a darker skin than us, so we are less badly targeted than those darker coloured foreigners. Darker people are more likely to be discriminated against overtly, I thought.

However the level of darkness of the skin affecting racial experiences wasn't so commonly reported by other respondents but they noted it as a possibility and it might be of some comfort to the Japanese who have less dark skin compared to other non-White people. Sakura felt sorry for White youths in Britain because they had a very limited point of view and no one had actually educated them or stopped them behaving in that way,

Sakura: I pitied those White youths (who threw eggs at her); they think that because they were White they could get away with it. No one around us did anything about it. I mean stopping those youths, that's quite sad and scary. They just ignored it as if they didn't see anything. About the egg- incident - it was our appearance. We were all Asian, non-whites.

Sakura said that her Asian appearance prompted the incident. Another postgraduate student in Kent, Wakana, reported that size was a big issue to British people, which many other respondents mentioned from time to time in the interviews, because most Japanese students are shorter or smaller than the average for British people. Japanese people never become a threat to them:

Wakana: I don't think Japanese people are a threat to British people, because we are smaller, and I really feel that this matters to them. They always talk

about body size; they feel safe or unsafe in relation to size. I think it's a bit stupid, but it seems to affect many people's way of thinking here.

Language and communication problems also may prompt the idea of a Japanese person being inferior to British people. Twelve interviewees expressed their concern about the language barrier, however, 2 of them expressed the rather optimistic point of view that if they spoke better English, they would be accepted as a member of British society and there would be no problems after that. They both witnessed that British born Asian or African people were nicely blended into the native white population, at least in the university campus. To their eyes, those British born non-White people seemed to have no problem in socialising with White British people. However, Kyoko (a female undergraduate student in Kent) said her African Black boyfriend, although being polite and friendly to White British students in public, never got close to them, moreover, as pointed out previously, Black people might have rather bitter feelings due to their "ancestral past."

Kawa (a male postgraduate student in London) said that at the surface level, the European students were treated and seen as equal to home students. He (he was doing a PhD in English literature) also stressed that it was all down to language skills, and according to him, "British people might tolerate foreign people's appearance and their poor English language, but they don't have the patience to understand and comprehend it, as they don't want to spend their time listening to some foreigners' poor English." On the other hand, he said that he was aware of his own inferiority complex, "That's what I feel, so it might be my projection of an inferiority complex onto the English language, I don't know." He kept emphasising the importance of speaking good English in this society, "I think if someone speaks poor English, even if the idea itself is brilliant, it won't impress British people much." Kawa said that some local people were so used to foreign students around

them that they actually might be enjoying this sort of cultural diversity. Kawa seemed to be more concerned about his English language skill and inferiority complex than himself being racially discriminated against as a Japanese student.

A female undergraduate student in Kent, Hana pointed out the fact that Asian languages were so different from English or European languages was a factor, “Japanese or Chinese languages are so alien to English people, so they might think we are less intelligent, because we speak a ‘stupid language’. So whenever they get frustrated in their lives we were there as an easy target.” Hana, like Ken, stressed that Japanese or Asian students were a target for bullying by local youths who didn’t understand different languages.

On the other hand, Chisaki was still reluctant to accept those as racial incidents or that her social position was that of a member of a disadvantaged minority. She said that the youths who called people names on the street had no experience of meeting Japanese or Asian people, therefore they didn’t feel any empathy.

Someone like Sari, even though she experienced forms of ‘street racism’ in Kent, noted both were just kids, playing, or making a joke:

Sari: maybe they tried to make foreigners weak and vulnerable. Because foreigners are initially shocked to be treated that way, and frightened of provoking more, they sometimes don’t fight back. Japanese people especially try to avoid trouble. And they are less confident in speaking English. Those kids were basically ignorant, and want to feel superior to physically different foreigners. And they think those foreigners are an eyesore and want to push them away from the society.”

Sari suggested that any foreigners who were ‘not White English’ could provoke youths to behave in that way, not just Japanese people.

The rest of the respondents observed that it was a mixture of the above, and only one respondent answered that she had suffered pure bad luck. Some viewed language and background as crucial elements to being accepted in British society, as they observed non-White British people as being well integrated into White British society. For example, Ken observed a British flatmate who was British-born Chinese, and concluded that as long as you were born or brought up in this country, you were accepted as a member of the society, at least in the university. However, several studies on second generation British of ethnic origin revealed that that was not always the case (Song, 1999; Parker, 1995; Back, 1995; Alexander, 1996).

Why they were discriminated against was not really an easy question for the respondents to answer. Most of them said that sometimes they were treated negatively because they were Asians, on other occasions, they were ignored because of their foreign accented English language. However, there was no clear consensus among students about the reasons as to why they were racially targeted.

4.7. Conclusion

I have discussed in this chapter how Japanese students in Britain assess and evaluate the negative events they come across which may have had racist implications. Based on Essed's six-step social cognitive model, I refined six-step model that was generated from the analysed data. Although only 10 of 51 respondents seemed to possess a substantial degree of general knowledge of racism, 43 respondents admitted that they had been subject to or had witnessed racist events as Japanese students, despite most Japanese students not having sufficient knowledge of racism before they arrived in Britain (they were all more or less members of the dominant group in Japan).

The respondents recalled the negative events, and assessed how unacceptable it was to them, and whether there was an acceptable excuse for it. As Feagin (1991) and Essed (1991) suggest, minorities try very hard to make sense of the negative events that they come across. The respondents in this study also didn't just blame everything on race from the beginning. Of the 8 respondents who said they had never experienced racist events, some of them accepted that their Japanese friends had come across racist events. Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) suggest that the denial or minimizing of racial discrimination is psychologically adaptive in order to protect self-esteem. Some of them also developed a situational norm, and adopted the dominant group's value system (which included internalizing the dominant group's attitude towards minorities) (Essed, 1991) and attempted to be a 'good guest' in the society so they can protect their social self-image. Also through gaining more situational information in the society, they might obtain higher performance state self-esteem. Some respondents perceived one incident as racist and confronted it, yet on another occasion, they blamed unacceptable treatment on their English language skills. These changeable interpretations relates to the coping strategies I will discuss in the next chapter.

Essed argues that Black women in the US have more general knowledge of racism than Black Surinamese women in Netherlands, because the former had a long history of resistance against racism, and not just information about past slavery. In this study, although many respondents actually perceived racist incidents (43 of 51), only 10 respondents possessed a high level of general knowledge of racism. Because Japanese students had neither migrated to Britain nor had a past history of slavery, they wouldn't have the same degree of general knowledge of racism as African American people.

However, in comparison with Mellor et al.'s finding (2001), which suggested that because Asian students in a university in Australia lacked a general knowledge of racism

in comparison to White students, in this study, 43 of 51 respondents did perceive racist events in Britain, and the respondents were all foreign born Japanese, (like Mellor et al.'s study, which had foreign born South East Asians). Mellor et al.'s findings also suggested that Asian cultural values helped to suppress the perception of racism in the Asian students. However, in this study, although some students were initially reluctant to break these cultural codes (e.g. not criticising your teachers and so on), this did not prevent most Japanese students recognising that they had experienced various forms of racism.

My findings also show that many respondents who perceived racism also could protect their self-esteem, which supports Byng's (1998) finding of African American Muslim Women; the oppressed are empowered through creating safe and operating in social groups.

Moreover, there was no consensus in the interviews about 'why they became the target of such abuse'. Was it because of their being Japanese or East Asian, or because of their lack of language and communication skills, or was it simply part of the British character of which they had been unaware before? And if it were the latter then why was their difference in race a problem to British people? Many layers of ambiguity and unanswered questions seemed to surround the respondents' attitudes. In addition, gendered racist events and cultural shock seemed to confuse and hinder them from getting a wider picture of the society and their racial identity.

Being East Asian, Japanese and foreign students, and being away from their family, friends and relatives made them more vulnerable to the majority population. How did they cope with their perceptions of racist events? In the next chapter, I will examine how the Japanese students responded to racist events, and the nature of the coping strategies they adopted in relation to their ambiguous social status in Britain.

Chapter 5 COPING WITH RACISM

5.1. Introduction

As I discussed in the previous chapter, most respondents (43 of 51) stated that they had perceived or experienced racially discriminatory actions against them, thus showing that they had gained some situational and general knowledge of racism (though only 10 possessed general knowledge). Of the 8 respondents who reported no discriminatory experiences, some of them said they adopted ‘situational norms’ or ‘common sense’ which they used to avoid negative events (see chapter 4). In chapter 4 we noted the ways in which these 8 respondents might deny racist events to protect their self-esteem (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997). Moreover, even those who were able to perceive racist events may not possess a substantial degree of general knowledge of racism and therefore might give excuses for the events, rather than recognise them for what they were. For example, one might rationalise, ‘Although it was a racist event, and therefore unacceptable, similar treatment would have been given to foreigners in Japan’ or ‘We are just guests here, so we must expect this to happen.’

Furthermore, the reasons the respondents gave for the discrimination they had suffered were varied and ambiguous - Asian appearance, language and communication problems, negative stereotypes of Japanese held by British people, and so on. This ambiguity creates a complex picture of the racism experienced by the respondents and indeed demonstrates how hard it was for the respondents to articulate what they had experienced. However, the ways in which they perceived racist events were important in shaping their coping strategies.

In John Ogbu's (1990) terms, Japanese students are mostly a 'voluntary' minority, who expect certain social, political or economic benefits while living in the host country Britain. This is in contrast to the case of 'involuntary' minorities, who are or were forcibly incorporated as subordinated minorities (in the USA) through slavery, conquest, or colonisation. In the former case, there is some tolerance of their social position in the host society and there is also some tolerance of discrimination toward them.

Hein (1994) also suggests that minority groups in the USA respond to racism differently, according to their orientations, which Hein classified as 'migrant' and 'minority' orientations. Where the migrant orientation focuses on the experience of immigration and being 'foreign', the minority orientation emphasises institutionalised disadvantages and the tense relationship with the wider society. With the migrant orientation, minority people expect certain prejudices and marginalization, on the basis of being foreign, and their main concern is with improving their socio-economic status. By comparison, the minority orientation, as exemplified by 'native' African Americans, attributes their disadvantage status to racial discrimination in the wider society.

Thus, according to Ogbu (1990) and Hein (1994), we should expect Japanese students to tolerate racist treatment up to a certain extent because they were in Britain by choice (voluntary) and for a limited period of time only, and I could cite as examples Katsura (the dance student mentioned in chapter 4), who said that if she were treated badly because she was a foreigner who could not communicate well, it was her own fault, because she was the one wanted to be in this foreign country; or some of the other students who expressed the wish to be socially accepted as a good guest in Britain - friendly to the dominant group of people and not complaining about the treatment they received. However, Japanese students in Britain are neither minorities nor migrant

workers, who stay in the country in order to save some money. Their position is thus distinct. They can always go back to Japan and they don't usually earn income. Therefore they don't need to tolerate bad treatment if it is really unreasonable and impossible to endure. As discussed in the last chapter, most of the Japanese students did not expect to be treated in a hostile and racist manner. In any case, these students are not likely to be as invested in the idea of 'belonging' in Britain (as are 'minority Britons'), as they are planning to return to Japan.

This chapter examines Japanese students' responses to their racial encounters in the UK. As I discussed in a previous chapter, according to Essed (1991), the victims of racial discrimination need to have a situational knowledge and a general knowledge of racism; she views a "general knowledge of racism as the most important factor in the interpretation of situations that may be ambiguous with regard to racism" (Essed in Mellor et. al., 2001:475). She also empathises the cumulative nature of this knowledge: 'the more experience individuals have with racism the more expert they become in judging racist events, and more automatically the interpretative sequence proceeds' (ibid. 475). As I mentioned in chapter 4, the respondents had been members of the dominant group in Japan, and most of them had had no general knowledge of racism, and they gradually gained this knowledge through their careful assessment and interpretation of the experiences they encountered. In this chapter I demonstrate that forming this general knowledge of racism is also a means of coping with racism.

According to Feagin and Sikes, there are 'middle-class strategies for coping with discrimination': 'careful assessment of the cumulative incidents and withdrawal', totally ignoring discrimination '(blocking strategy)', confrontation strategies, such as, verbal confrontation, physical confrontation and reporting the incidents to relevant institutions

Feagin,1991:103¹³). Japanese students in British universities are from predominantly middle –class backgrounds in their home country. Although there are crucial differences between middle class black Americans and middle class Japanese students such as English language skills and citizenship, not to mention their historical experiences (African Americans and slavery), there might be some similarities in their coping strategies regarding racism as a minority group.

Crocker and Quinn (1997) argue that some minority groups may attribute negative feedback (including racist encounters) to discrimination, in order to protect their self-esteem. In other words, rather than attributing negative feedback to some personal fault or lack of ability on their part, minorities may attribute it to societal discrimination. They reported that Asian American respondents' self-esteem was the most negatively affected by the perceived discrimination and disadvantage and suggested that one of the reasons was the cultural tendency of Asian people to find fault with themselves, rather than blame society. African American respondents were least likely to base their self-esteem on the approval of the dominant group, i.e. the White Americans.

In the case of the African American students they studied, Crocker and Quinn also argue that African Americans are so used to racial prejudice that they use this strategy to protect themselves from its negative outcomes, but when they face non-discriminatory and positive situations which contrast with what they would normally expect, they become suspicious of there being an ulterior motive.

In addition, there is a cultural attribution that affects the respondents' choice of coping

¹³ According to Feagin and Sikes (1991:292-302) . '1) discrimination is a lived experience; 2) discrimination is cumulative in its impact; 3) discrimination affects the behaviour and perceptions of African Americans; 4) micro experiences of discrimination are the elements of institutionalised racism. They argue that the personal coping strategies blacks use to counter discrimination are: 1) defensiveness 2) over-achieving; 3) developing a healthy self-concept; 4) prayer; and 5) humour and laughter.

strategy and their self-esteem. Crocker and Quinn (1998) suggest that, because their culture encourages modesty and discourages complaints, perceived racial discrimination lowers Asian American students' self-esteem more than that of European American and African American students, because Asians tend to attribute discrimination to personal failings or inadequacy on their part (Crocker and Quinn, 1998; Abe and Zane, 1990; Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Asian American students who are affected badly and negatively by such discrimination experience a greater lowering of their self-esteem than African American and European American students who are less likely to think that they are personally somehow at fault (Crocker and Quinn, 1998). They continue, 'in Asian cultures, the self-concept is more interdependent, and the self is constructed in the context of one's relationships with others. In these cultures, self-esteem is based on one's ability to adjust, remain the self, and maintain harmony with social context' (Crocker and Quinn, 1998:186). Although the case of African American students in the United States is different from Japanese students in Britain, yet, as we saw in the previous chapter, some Japanese students who possessed the general knowledge of racism and admitted that they were members of disadvantaged minority, recognised that they were negatively discriminated against without it lowering their self-esteem. In fact, some respondents who had been subjected to racist events and who were not frightened to confront the perpetrators said that after several such incidents, they felt more confident and emotionally stronger than they had been before these incidents. They seemed empowered by recognising and countering their oppression (Byng, 1998; Collins, 1991).

Another key analysis of coping with racism is the work by Wen Kuo (1995) as discussed in Chapter 1: the two modes of coping strategies, 'problem-focused' and 'emotion-focused' have been explored in Kuo's study of four Asian American groups: Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and Koreans (1995). According to Kuo (1995), 'Asian Americans tend to cope using emotion focused coping strategies, because traditional

Asian-American cultural values and the recognition of minority status tends to rely on emotion-focused coping strategies' (1995:125). The two modes of coping strategies are based on 'stress coping strategies in psychology' (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980). 'Problem-focused' approaches attempt to 'act against or negotiate to compromise', 'raise awareness' and possibly 'change the environment' (place of living or institution), i.e. deal with the problem itself. In contrast, 'emotion-focused' approaches tend to focus on reducing psychological distress, denial, and 'selective ignoring' (Kuo, 1995; Fleishman, 1984). Kuo notes that 'such strategies (emotion- focused coping strategies) involve the cognitive reconceptualization of problems, avoidance and optimistic comparison' (1995:125). As Fleishman pointed out, both problem-focused and emotion-focused approaches can reduce emotional stress (1984).

Kuo suggests that problem-focused coping strategies include: (1) 'Ask advice from friends'; (2) 'Ask advice from relatives'; (3) 'Take it to a civil rights organisation'; (4) 'Talk to ethnic organisation leaders' (1995:116), whereas, emotion-focused coping strategies are: (1) 'Tell yourself it is not really important'; (2) 'Just try to ignore what is going on'; (3) 'remind yourself that things could be worse'; (4) 'Look around at other minorities to see how much better off you are than they are'; (5) 'Decide there is really nothing you can do to change things'. However, his samples were of Asian Americans in the United States, whereas this study is based on Japanese students studying in Britain. Kuo's finding has suggested that Asian American people tended to cope with discrimination by applying emotion- focused coping strategies. Therefore, I expected that Japanese students would adopt a more emotion –focused coping strategy (passive coping) than a problem-focused strategy (active coping) (Essed, 1991).

However, coping strategies may not always be constant for some participants. Some might cope with one situation with an emotion- focused mode and another situation in a

problem- focused way. Fleishman (1984) suggests several patterns of coping strategies in his study on 'Personality characteristics and coping patterns'. He examines patterns of behaviour which people apply to cope with stressful events in their lives. Fleishman (1984) suggests that people select their coping style according to the role they are playing at any given time, for example, for marital problems, they seek advice from others, but for work problems, they tend to confront the issue and so on. He called it 'mixed coping'. He argues that 'people cannot be always classified as either problem focused or emotion focused copers'. (241) In other words, people do not always stick to the same type of coping strategies.

For example, in the case of Japanese students, one might ignore blatant racist actions in the street, yet the same individual may confront university personnels' racial prejudice. Since "mixed copers" were quite a large proportion of the respondents (28 of 51), they provide the key to understanding Japanese students' coping strategies. Fleishman also notes in his study that older people apply active coping less, and 'less often seek advice' (1984:239); more educated people and people who have higher incomes engage in active coping and tend to confront problems, and are less inclined to ignore problems which cause them stress. He adds that people in positions of power could apply a direct problem solving approach. Although his findings were not about the stress of racial discrimination, it might be useful in looking at Japanese students' coping strategies in Britain.

5.2. Japanese students' coping strategies

Interview data revealed a 'mixed coping strategy', which mixes emotion focused coping strategies and problem focused coping strategies, according to the type or nature of problems, or sometimes depending on participants' emotional state at the time, so there

was not always a consistent use of coping strategies. Half of the total respondents seemed to cope with one mode, like 'confrontation strategy' or 'avoidance', but the rest of the respondents (mixed copers, 28 of 51) I observed tended to cope with problems situationally, and especially among the respondents who perceived racism and found particular excuses for accepting it. According to Essed, those people had a lower degree of general knowledge of racism and were similar to the Dutch Surinamese women in her study who were reluctant to complain about their problems to the dominant group people, even when they believed they were racially targeted, because they worried that the dominant group might use it against them if they complained (Essed, 1991). However, as Fleishman (1984) has suggested, it is not a case of classifying one thing as emotion focused and the other as problem focused. For example, some Japanese students may ignore youths who shout racial epithets at them, because they think they can do nothing about it, but if one of them had a negative racist experience involving university students or staff, then he or she might decide to report it. Or others might not want to confront the problems but may share the experiences with fellow student friends. I have also observed some respondents gradually change their use of coping strategies, for example, from confrontational to avoidance because of discouragement from others, and the other way around; after cumulative experiences of overt and covert forms of racist encounters, they started to cope with the problem by using a more problem focused approach instead of avoidance. These findings show that the Japanese students' coping strategies were not static. They sometimes changed over time and through the accumulation of negative experiences and numerous discussions (Feagin, 1991).

5.3. Emotion focused coping strategies.

From the analysis of data, four examples of emotion-focused coping strategies were adopted by Japanese respondents:

- 1) *Ignore or minimise all incidents and issues (never discussed with anyone)*

- 2) *Rationalisation, e.g. 'maybe it happened because I am Japanese'.*
- 3) *Denial (dismiss) of significance of encounters: - they were stupid individuals and racists, so I ignore them.*
- 4) *Defeatist attitude: 'there is nothing we can do to change the situation'*

According to Billing and Moos (1981), Strategy 1 in Emotion-focused coping strategies involves 'avoidance' (as exemplified by the 8 respondents who reported no racist events) and the rest of the emotion focused coping strategies may be classified as an 'active cognitive strategy', and Problem-focused coping strategies (discussed later) could be classified as 'active- behavioural strategy'.

Thirteen (of 51) respondents applied emotion-focused coping strategies or 'passive coping strategies'. According to Billing and Moos (1981), this method of avoidance coping might have a more negative effect on women than men by increasing their distress, whereas active coping methods would reduce their stress. As I discussed in the previous chapter, this does not necessarily seem to be the case for the 8 respondents who said that they had had no racist encounters, and seemed to successfully protect their self-esteem and maintain social acceptance through 'denial'. However, in fact more respondents in this study applied problem focused-coping strategies. Therefore, we could say that emotion focused coping strategies may not reduce the stress of Japanese students as much as problem focused one might do.

5.3.1. The Rationalisation coping strategy

The interviews most commonly revealed a particular type of emotion focused- coping strategy; - 'Rationalisation coping strategy': 'because I am Gaijin ("foreigner" in Japanese) here.' 'Maybe because I am Japanese, or Asian, or Muslim....' They rationalise

the reasons for their racial discrimination, and 'rationalise it away'. The respondents who perceived racism yet found particular excuses for it as well as the respondents who found events unacceptable yet did not consider them to be racially based, and some who found events unacceptable (again not necessarily for racist reasons) yet considered that there were acceptable excuses for them, and finally people who didn't think racist incidents exist, these respondents rationalised away unpleasant events or ideas which may have racist implications, and minimised the negative impact of the experiences. I must note that mixed copers (28 of 51) also used this coping strategy for excusing the unacceptable racist events they had encountered.

People try to ignore and minimise their emotional damage by rationalising it, and that could affect their actions and their interpretation of incidents. As Kuo points out 'the cost of direct confrontation with racism can be formidable' (Kuo, 1995:113). Thus if they have already adopted emotion-focused coping strategies, they will be unlikely to seek advice from anyone or discuss problems with members of the majority group and even with their Japanese friends. They consequently isolate their own experience of discrimination from that of other minorities' experiences. Their responses were ambivalent, even when they decided to share their unpleasant experiences with friends or other members of the same minority group, because of the nature of the discriminatory experience and an uncertainty about their own social status and their own rights within the society.

Friends may also ignore or try to minimise the discrimination experiences of others and even to become emotionally protective saying, for example, 'Are you sure they meant it?' or 'Do you really think it was racial discrimination?' This reaction from others encouraged their own emotion-coping strategies, reinforcing them as they encountered more unpleasant racial incidents. Moreover, at the same time, foreigners who experience interpersonal racism try to avoid uncomfortable incidents by socialising only with a

particular group of people (other foreigners). They avoid going out at certain times of the day, or to certain parts of the town or buildings; they are determined to prevent the incident happening again (Modood, 1997). This is very similar to the behaviour of bullied children; it is as if the fear of being a target of racial discrimination has taken over their life and as a result, they may experience lower self-esteem. Fleishman (1984) suggests that the people who apply emotion focus orientated coping are less consistent in their level of self-esteem than problem focus orientated people. Several students started off applying emotion- focused coping, and as a result, they experienced lowering of self-esteem and slight depression, so they then decided to cope more actively and assertively. They became mixed copers.

For example, Wakana (a female postgraduate student in Kent) said she was really depressed after cumulative experiences of local people's unfriendliness, which she said she particularly felt when she was in the company of other Japanese in London.

"When I am with Japanese friends in clubs, I feel that people in the clubs are particularly unfriendly to us, maybe they think we are all tourists. I still don't know why, but I never felt that way when I was on my own. But it makes me really uncomfortable because I feel unsure of what is going on, and then feel a bit down. I feel they (local people) don't treat us with respect, because they think I am just a tourist. And I think if Japanese people are always being treated this way, they might come to feel inferior to British people. If a group of people look down on you all the time, regardless of who you are, I think you naturally identify yourself as that lower and unexpected being and eventually it consumes you and makes you feel inferior. I felt that when I was living in London, a sort of inferiority complex as being a Japanese who was always looked down on. In the end, I even felt that I was not worth taking a seat on the crowded underground. I know it sounds ridiculous"

Wakana said that her inferior feeling brought her self-esteem really low, in her mind one unfriendly incident or person became a group thing, *'it happened because I am Japanese'* (rationalisation strategy). She described this effect as a snowball. " Maybe the person on the counter in the post office happened to be unfriendly, for example, but if there are

many incidents like this happening over a certain time period, they become like a big snowball for me, which I would call an inferiority complex. “Maybe because I am Japanese, that’s why I was treated that way.” It is not always that people who rationalise away racial discriminatory problems come to have lower-self esteem, and there is a personality characteristic side to it. Especially Wakana’s case, she was from Okinawa, and referred to Japanese people from the main islands as ‘people in the homeland’. In the interview, she often said that ‘Okinawans are usually like this, maybe not the people in the homeland....’ As I illustrated in chapter 2, Okinawans are not seen or treated as a member of the dominant group of people in Japan. First, they had been colonised by the Japanese military and then they suffered long years of occupation as an American base, which continues to be the paramount problem still overshadowing their land. She may well have rationalised unacceptable (racist) events in order to excuse in Japan too.

As Feagin explains, in his ‘middle class strategies for coping with discrimination’, Black Americans, after carefully evaluating the racist situation based on cumulative experiences, often take two common strategies, one is “*to leave the site of discrimination rather than to create a disturbance*”. Another is “*to ignore the discrimination and continue with the interaction*”, a ‘blocking strategy’, which is similar to what Gardner (1980), reported for women dealing with street remarks. Those strategies are emotion focused coping strategies, instead of being assertive and dealing with problems, they exit or deny it.

In Feagin’s study, the respondents were all native born middle class black Americans; therefore they are quite distinct from the Japanese students in my study, who are suffering from communication problems in relation to their language skills. The Japanese students are also less likely to settle in the UK, whereas African Americans ‘belong’ in the United States.

However, both Feagin's black Americans (1991) and the Japanese students in this study were predominantly from middle class backgrounds and I suspect that they both had hopes that the White majority would try to be fair and civilised towards them, and that they hoped that a potentially racist encounter was merely a mistake, and perhaps they wondered if they were being too sensitive.

Several students seemed to rationalise their racial encounters as a class matter. For instance, Ken (a male postgraduate student in Kent) was suddenly shouted at by White men on the street in Edinburgh. They gave him a hard, hostile look, and were very offensive verbally. However, he said he just ignored them and walked on because he said he didn't see any point in getting involved with such people. He reported they were 'clearly working class types', from their clothing and so on. Since he came to Britain, he often heard from other people (foreigners and native British people) that working class people expressed more blatant racism to foreigners than middle class people did. Several students actually pointed out discrimination by working class people in their area, and some said it was to do with their education level; if people were well educated they wouldn't do such a thing. Sakura (and two of the others) said because they were brought up in that way, that's why they discriminate against foreigners, i.e. 'They learn to discriminate against others', therefore it isn't their fault.' She came up with an excuse for the unacceptable behaviour. Ken rationalised the incident as being caused through the perpetrators working class background, and Sakura blamed the event on offenders' education and social environment.

Nobuko said she was actually told by her supervisor "there were not many working class background people in higher education such as university, so there is hardly any chance of coming across any racism." However, when Nobuko looked back at her home stay experience in Kent (most students in this study had experienced home stay before they

took a university course), she said she realised that this was not correct as many rooms for rent were to be found in working class people's houses as they tended to rent out their spare rooms to foreign students for extra income, even to the extent of subletting a room in their council flats. According to her, the cheaper student accommodation tends to be in those areas, so foreign students can often accidentally end up living in the heart of a working class area, and become the target of racist hostility.

Since the respondents came to Britain, the stereotype of working class people being racist against foreign students has strongly affected some Japanese students' ideas. Ken said that it is a political or economic stress that leads to increased racism; e.g. being out of work or being in poverty can engender racist feelings toward foreigners. Being foreign or alien and being bullied by an economically frustrated host population was for most Japanese students' the key to understanding their experiences of discrimination. This is similar to 'street racism' which is said to derive from an 'economically unprivileged and frustrated host population annoyed by the presence of foreigners' (Parekh, 2000).

On the other hand, there were some students like Uchida (A male undergraduate student in London) who said class difference was irrelevant to racial discrimination against foreigners. According to him, even in the same class, some people are racist and some are not.

Uchida: "It depended on their moral sense, if people were well refined then they could go beyond race, but if they were not, then they were worried about convention. It depends on one's broad horizon, and how he or she can be open to different kinds of people, nothing to do with the education they had."

Uchida reported that, *'discrimination was everywhere (not just in Britain), whether one likes it or not. So we have to be careful about selecting people who we socialise with. Even if that is unpleasant, it is the British national characteristic, so we should accept it.'*

Uchida was one of the 8 people who denied any racist experiences in Britain. He didn't discuss any racial issues with British friends, and he said that if he encountered racial discrimination, he would conclude that he was mixing with the wrong people.

This emotion- focused strategy was also adopted by Taichi (a male postgraduate student in Kent);

Taichi: I think if they (British people) are more stupid, they are more likely to use stereotypes to attack others. They can't think as individuals.

The respondents who applied this 'denial of significance of encounter' and the respondents who adopted defeatist attitude made sense of their experiences as : 'It was racial discrimination, but we are *guests* here, and it would be the same for foreigners in our country (Japan). So I won't say this to White people, because I don't think we can change it, and they might use it against us.' We could say that their perceptions of racist encounters are also their coping strategies.

5.3.2. Lack of discussion with friends and the host group.

Twenty-nine of the 51 respondents expressed their unwillingness to share their discriminatory experiences with British people. It is important to understand their emotion focused- coping strategies in more detail:

Never discussed racial incidents with British people ---- 29

1. Avoiding any misunderstanding--- 4
2. Not wanting to be seen that way---2
3. British people don't like Japanese or East Asians, so they wouldn't want to understand this, or would minimise the incident, therefore I won't bother---6
4. Never really experienced racism---8
5. No British friends, so no chance to talk about the incident—6

These respondents said that they didn't want to speak out about their problems because they wanted to avoid attracting more bullying or being pushed away. The majority of Japanese wish to avoid any trouble in Japan. Hana and a few more Japanese students, seemed to be concerned about how their White friends might react, applying their knowledge of being a member of a dominant person in a society, who might discriminate against a minority either actively or passively. The respondents excused the negative events like through defeatist comments, like: 'I don't think we can change this situation'.

The students did not talk with British people about incidents or issues because they wanted to avoid misunderstanding, especially if they had language concerns. They reported that they didn't feel their English language ability was good enough to communicate about such a delicate and difficult topic as racism. They also said that because of their lack of confidence in communicating in the English language, maybe they were misinterpreting incidents as racism. They tended to rationalise both the reasons for the incidents and their not discussing them with British people as being their inadequate English language ability. They also would not perceive racist encounter fully; 'it was racist incident, but maybe my English was not good enough' or 'I was too shy so maybe they couldn't approach me properly'.

For example, Enoki (a male undergraduate student in London) said it very difficult to articulate what was racism and what not. He reported that he was also aware that some Japanese students he knew could confidently perceive racist incidents and confront it because they could communicate in the English language well, but like himself, he said he was still bound by his inability to express his thoughts and feelings in English. Those respondents excused negative behaviours blaming their English language or

communication skill.

Eight of 51 respondents thought they had never experienced racism, therefore they did not discuss the issue with anyone. Six of 51 students reported that there were no British friends around in their environment; such as the dorm or seminar class, therefore there was no opportunity to talk about racial experiences. Sari (a female postgraduate student in Kent) was one of them, “well, I didn’t have a chance to talk with British people because there were none around us in the dorm or class, but I often heard it said that English people couldn’t distinguish Asian people’s faces, so if I did talk about those incidents they might just say, ‘just ignorance, so forget it’, that will be the response I might get, I think.” Sari wasn’t expecting British people’s reaction to be sympathetic or surprised. ‘No British friends’ may indicate a ‘lack of confidence in their English language communication skill’, or like Sari, they had already expected British people to minimise or ignore the incident. In that respect, she might just avoid having a contact with British people.

The interviews revealed a certain correlation between participants who possessed less situational and general knowledge of racism and the lack of communication with the majority group of people about racist events, although it was not always the case. Some of the respondents, who applied emotion focused coping strategies and most mixed copers, strongly expressed their reluctance to discuss these racial incidents with British people. Hana (a female undergraduate student in Kent) struggled to articulate why she wasn’t able to discuss the ‘egg incident’ with her white British friends:

Hana: I don’t want them to start looking at me in that way, ‘as not equal or a target of bullying’. I wondered how our friendship might change or shift from that point. It might go in a positive way, which could bring us closer together and we might understand each other better, but on the other hand it might not be a good move, for example, they may start thinking “I thought we were equal but different, but this girl

is socially in a minority and being racially discriminated against.” “She comes from a less equal position than us.” And also, they might think, “If we were with this girl, then we could get some fall-out.” “We might be seen as the same.” They might start wondering about these sorts of things, if I mention that experience, you know? If you are with a person who is bullied then you might become a target of bullying. If you are with them, you are not with us, you know? I don’t want them to become conscious about being with Asians. But others might say to them, “why do you hang around with Asians?” for example. If I tell the story to my English friends about the ‘egg incident’, they might wonder, “If I am with Hana, I could get eggs thrown at me by mistake.” They might not be too conscious of it but they could gradually distance themselves from me.”

The reason behind her explanation came from her experiences in her seminar group where she thought she was seen as an Asian rather than a fellow student:

Hana: “I don’t really know why they ignore me, but I think it is because of my different appearance, and funnily enough, I kind of relate to this. When I was in the University in Japan, I saw some foreign students in my seminars. They were from China, Mongolia and Nepal. When we were talking in the seminars I often avoided asking them questions because I worried that they might not be able to answer the questions and they might feel awkward about this, and I would feel sorry for them in awkward situations. So I wasn’t ignoring them or alienating them, but... Well, I don’t know if British people were worried about me in that way. But in Japan at that time I thought I wouldn’t push those foreign students by asking questions in the seminar, but I thought that if they really wanted to voice their opinions they would.”

Hana said that being ignored in the seminar was not the same as her egg incident, but that her Asian appearance triggered both cases. Like Hana, some respondents reflected on the treatment of minorities in Japan to rationalise their experience away. Mana (A female postgraduate student in London) also articulated a sense of conviction that she might get the same treatment as she gave to those who were not quite Japanese in Japan. Although she didn’t think that she actively discriminated against them in Japan, she said that she felt it could be perceived as discrimination or passive racism. Therefore she said it was possible that ‘British people also didn’t mean to discriminate against us (Japanese people),

at least not as much as we perceived'. Several respondents talked about an old Confucian saying, "A wise man should not go near trouble." It well describes the majority Japanese response of passivity towards problems of discrimination in general. This is due to the fact that they may risk facing even more discrimination outside their communities if they stand up in public. Or "neta ko okosuna." It means 'do not wake a child who is fast asleep.' It is like the English 'let sleeping dogs lie.' Some minorities wish to be increasingly invisible to the public and do not want to experience any recrimination levelled against them (Shiomi and Komatsu, 1996). This 'cultural coping' is also a part of their rationalisation coping strategy.

Some of these emotion-focused respondents and mixed copers, like Ken, Tomo, and Yoshio, said they didn't want to discuss delicate issues with British people, because British people didn't like Asians, and would therefore minimise the matter. Some of them had tried but had now basically 'given up on this'.

Tomo: I think I had a kind of giving up feeling in me. And it is not the person who did it, so the person has no responsibility. I can't take it out on them. Even if we discuss with them, nothing would change.

Tomoko, a female postgraduate student in Kent, also felt that 'gave up feeling' not just with British people, but White people in general as well.

Tomoko: ... Oh, that girl didn't understand the joke!" it seemed the idea of racism didn't occur to him at all. I was disappointed that he could not relate to it or understand the situation and the atmosphere.

Someone like Chisaki who reported several experiences of racism in Britain as well (as on the other side of the Atlantic) didn't want to discuss them with anyone and decided to keep them to herself.

“I don’t want to offend those (British people) and I don’t want to create any misunderstanding. Racism is still a sort of touchy subject, so I wouldn’t talk about it. I am never really conscious of this. I won’t talk with my American boyfriend here, because I don’t want to be seen by him in that way. We socialise with both sets of friends, so I don’t want to insist on my point of view to our common friends, even if I felt some of our friends are racist, for example. Well, I haven’t experienced it so far. I think the minority people wouldn’t talk about those things to the majority.”

Chisaki convinced herself that racism was a ‘minority problem’ and she was a member of a minority, so she did recognise that racism was a group phenomenon, not just “a silly individuals’ act”. However, she wouldn’t discuss it with her boyfriend and his friends, who were Whites. There were several students, both male and female, who felt that way, and therefore they couldn’t discuss things with British friends.

There were students like Chisaki; she wouldn’t talk to other Japanese students in Britain, because:

Chisaki: Most Japanese friends live in the university, so they wouldn’t understand those things (racism on the street and in a working class neighbourhood) and people in Japan, of course they wouldn’t understand. So I won’t talk about it to anyone.

However, in her case, geography was not only the reason, but her experiences of being bullied in Japan might keep her distant from a group of Japanese students on campus, and made her reluctant to discuss these rather negative delicate issue with them. Possibly she was afraid to reveal that she was once bullied in Japan and also being targeted for racial abuse outside of Japan to fellow Japanese students. Thus, she didn’t want to be seen as a member of a disadvantaged minority group (or a target of bullying) by either British people or other Japanese students. However, her case was individual, and not representative of all respondents who tried to minimise racist incidents.

Hideo, (a mixed copper), also had previous experiences of racism before he came to Britain. He said, "I didn't talk to anyone except Japanese people in Britain. I suppose I didn't want my identity as Japanese to be seen as 'a disadvantage' to British people and non-Japanese people. I guess I don't want to perceive my Japanese identity as being overshadowed in that way." He reported that he didn't want to admit that his Japanese identity was seen as a sign of inferiority in Britain. He had some idea of racism and was interested in studying and observing it. Although he reported the brick incidents to his teacher in the language school (problem- focused coping strategy), his mental attitude was like Hana's. They both wanted to deny the idea of being inferior or a disadvantaged race in this country. However, not many students expressed that fear of being seen as a member of the disadvantaged minority groups as explicitly as they did, although they had underlying doubts about their perceived status as Japanese or Asians.

As discussed in the previous chapter, one can observe racial discrimination against other Asian people in Japan, for example, Chinese or Koreans. A few students who were aware of that issue in Japan, had an idea about the existence of racism against Asian people. Therefore like Hideo and Chisaki, they could easily understand that there was racism against Asian people in the UK; and that they can be discriminated against, but by mistake, as non-Japanese Asian people. Yet, it was still hard to accept and understand the racism against Japanese, because that is something unimaginable to them and still quite uncertain, so they preferred not to mention the issues to British people. There can also be a certain amount of stress involved with accepting themselves as a member of a stigmatised minority group (Crocker and Quinn, 1997; Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997).

However, whatever the reasons, this finding is very important, especially in terms of understanding the invisibility to others (both Japanese and from the host country) of the racial discrimination experienced by Japanese students in Britain. Their reluctance in

sharing racial issues and incidents with members of the host population as well as their Japanese friends and relatives in Japan, could keep racial problem against Japanese students in Britain invisible.

Some respondents reported that they had never even thought about the word 'racism' until I mentioned it in the interviews, and it may be seen as a means of 'ignoring or minimising incidents and issues '. Even for the respondents who discussed their experiences with Japanese friends in Britain, they wouldn't discuss it with their family in Japan. I must note that 49 out of 51 respondents in this study had said nothing to their family or friends in Japan about their experiences of discrimination. Whether their study had been financed by parents or not, they found it impossible to tell their parents because it would make them worry about their son or daughter in a foreign country. It was the same even if their parents had had experience of living or staying the UK. This is quite an interesting observation when compared with other foreign students in Britain, and whether they discuss racist incidents with their family in their countries or not. African American people tended to discuss the racist events with their family (Feagin, 1991; Essed,1991; Collins,1991; Byng,1998). However, they are native born and their family could be around them, whereas Japanese students in Britain were mainly on their own in a foreign country. Moreover, the reason Japanese students in Britain did not give friends in Japan any information about racism in Britain was because people in Japan have extremely vague ideas about being in Britain (as I mentioned in the previous chapter - 'pre-departure expectation'), which shows in their questions such as "Are All lectures and seminars conducted in English in Britain?" They seem to have no interest in finding out about negative images of Britain.

Because they were reluctant to voice their experiences both in Britain and Japan, the issue of racism against Japanese students itself became more and more invisible to the native-

population as well as to fellow foreign students and other Japanese students. They stayed as isolated experiences in their minds and this burying of their memories might well affect their mental health and academic performance. Moreover, every year, Japanese students who come to Britain and study would have very little information about how they might be treated by the host society. Miki (a female postgraduate student in Kent) said that non-Japanese people expressed and voiced their discrimination experiences more aggressively than Japanese people in Britain did, because they didn't seem to have the language problems the Japanese had. Therefore, she felt that 'compared to those people, because of the language handicap, the Japanese are *more* discriminated against passively (neglected or dismissed), and those other minority group people wouldn't know or didn't experience some of the things Japanese people actually experienced here because of their passivity.' Although it was not clear that Japanese people were more discriminated against compared to other minority people, these Japanese students believed that their racist experiences were invisible to the wider society in Britain.

On the other hand, several Japanese students applied 'favourable comparison' with other minority groups. As Crocker and Quinn put it, 'individuals who are disadvantaged may protect their self-esteem by comparing themselves only with similarly disadvantaged individuals' (1997:172). The respondents might cope with stressful discrimination encounters by comparing their own experiences with other minorities' experiences in order to feel better. For example several respondents expressed that among Asian people in Britain, the Japanese were treated the best, although this view may well have been heavily influenced by Japanese people in Japan who strongly hold this view. According to Sakura,

Sakura: "I hardly ever feel disadvantaged by just being Japanese. It is more beneficial to be Japanese than any other Asian nationality, but of course I noticed that the status of being seen as Asian was less fortunate than being White. I never saw

myself as Asian or Japanese when I was in Japan, but since I came here, I have more and more noticed that I was seen as an Asian. That sort of Asian identity has been forced upon me, and although I don't feel uncomfortable about my new-found identity it was a totally new experience to me."

Sakura said that she felt less fortunate being non-White or non-European, but she considered that she had better treatment compared with other East Asians or South East Asians. This 'favourable comparison' was a typical emotion focused approach to her status as Japanese which enabled her to look down on other Asians.

However, a few respondents said that their social status as Japanese in Britain was the worst in their perceived racial hierarchy in Britain, which didn't fit into the category of 'favourable comparison'. I will discuss this in more detail in next chapter.

5.4. Problem focused- coping strategies

There were four problem-focused coping strategies, which included:

- 1) *Confrontation (verbal, non-verbal, physical)*
- 2) *Making an official complaint*
- 3) *Discussing experiences with British people(dominant group)*
- 4) *Sharing and discussing incidents with Japanese and Asian friends (comparing events, ask advice, give advice, give warnings)*

Thirty-eight respondents (out of total 51) used problem –focused coping strategies against racial prejudice and discrimination. Although this includes mixed copers (28 of 38), it neither supported Kuo's finding nor my initial hypothesis that Japanese students cope with racial discrimination by applying emotion- focused coping strategies. Thirteen

respondents applied emotion-focused coping strategies including 8 respondents who said they had experienced no racist events. The strategy of 'sharing with Japanese and Asian friends' was most common, and 'making official complaint' was least commonly found in Japanese students' problem-focused coping strategies. It might be due to Japanese and Asian students' cultural values: don't question authority figures (Mellor et al., 2001). For the same reason, among Japanese students and Asian students, they could share the same cultural value, therefore, it might be most common for them to share the racist experiences within their group.

Three women and one man fought back **verbally** (which includes shouting at offenders in Japanese) against mainly physical threats, such as having stones, eggs or rubbish thrown at them, or being shot at by an air gun. Two male students and one female student fought back **physically** in response to a physical assault, such as a bottle or snowball thrown at them. Three females and one male student reported the incident to the authorities, and in one unique case, one woman who was ignored in the seminar for a whole year, 'ignored back' quite openly. Many of these respondents applied 'confrontation strategies' or an 'active behavioural strategy', in dealing with the problem, instead of ignoring it. Twelve of 51 respondents who applied confrontation strategies possessed substantial general and situational knowledge of racism.

However, there were different levels of awareness and purpose in their confrontation strategy. Yuki (a female undergraduate student in Kent) was attacked by local White teenagers in a fast food shop by having rubbish thrown at her when she was dining with other Japanese students. She picked up one of the plastic bottles on the table and threw it back, although it didn't hit them. That was her initial reaction to the incident, because she was angry. She wasn't able to sit down there quietly, and dismiss their outrageous behaviour, whereas many other respondents in this study, in similar situations decided to

ignore it, “because those people are stupid individuals”.

When Oga was attacked by several White teenagers with snowballs and racial epithets, he intended to stop them doing it and also make sure that they wouldn't do it again to him or the other East Asians in that area. He put stones in his snowballs and threw them at the White teenagers. Then he caught them and demanded that they take him to their parents. Finally they promised him not to do it again and left. So we can see the same confrontational reaction but with different intentions. One element shared in common among these respondents (who applied confrontational strategy) was that they let the perpetrators know that they were angry and that they would not tolerate such behaviours.

Moreover, the interviews revealed that some of the students applied this coping strategy whenever they encountered racist events. But others like Nobuko applied it only selectively, when she was physically threatened. As Fleishman (1984) suggests in his study of coping with stress, many people mixed their coping strategies ('mixed copers'). Nobuko thought she could not ignore the physical threat (by White youths in her case) and had to show them that she was angry. Therefore, her primary focus was to show those offenders as well as passers-by that she wouldn't tolerate 'this'. Nobuko was a mixed copper, because she said she usually ignored verbal racial epithets in the street, but when it became a physical threat to her, she confronted it (for example, when she had a stone thrown at her by White youths, she walked toward them and complained). During the interview, she said she never discussed those incidents with her British friends, whereas she did with her Japanese friends. The reason was that she was worried that her British friends might ignore her in front of other British friends. (It was fine if such friend was speaking on a one to one basis with Nobuko.) Thus she didn't feel truly accepted by her British friends. However, over the course of a year she discussed those incidents more and more with non-Japanese friends and even with some of her British friends whom she felt

were close to her. Discussion of a problem with Japanese friends would help the respondents to become aware that what they had experienced was not just imagined or nor just a “one-off” case.

Another ‘mixed copier’, Seiko, a female undergraduate student previously in South England later moved to London (see chapter 4), reported her classmate’s behaviour to the Equal Opportunity Unit in the university, but she ignored and withdrew from racial name-calling on the street, as according to her, it happened so often and the perpetrators were mainly stupid local teenagers, so she gave up noticing. As I mentioned earlier, Fleishman (1984) suggests that people select their coping style to accord with the role they were in at the time, for example, for marital problems, they seek advice from others, but for work problems, they tend to confront the issue and so on.

Nobuko said that a physical threat (a group of White English youths threw stones at her near her home, so she decided to walk toward them telling them to stop.) made her confront it, but a couple years before, Nobuko reported that she had had an experience where White youths shot at her with a water gun on the street, but she said that she just ignored them, because at that time she wasn’t sure what happened. Although Nobuko said she never expected such a treatment by British people nor initially found herself confronting them, after some year’s experience of living in Britain and building up cumulative encounters of unfair treatment, she gained a general knowledge of racism and on gaining also a certain level of English language and communication skills; she started to confront those issues and incidents. In fact, two of the interviewees came back to me after a year and said, “Now, I do complain and confront unfair treatment”. Therefore it could be that the choice of coping strategies would be affected by the cumulative racial incidents individuals come across in Britain, as well as confidence in English language and communication skill, and this could change and reform their general knowledge of

racism.

For example, when Waskana was in London, she said she was always rationalising things away; 'because I am Japanese.' And so on, using emotion focused coping strategies and seemed to be very low in self-esteem. Then she left the site of discrimination (Feagin, 1991), which was London and came to study in Kent, and she decided to take more action to change her environment. She became a postgraduate student, and studied the English language (her language skills weren't good enough to get a job when she was in London). After she started her MA in Kent, she started to discuss racial incidents with her British friends. She changed her style of coping after the cumulative negative experiences and took control of her environment and changed from using an emotion focused approach to using a problem focused approach.

As you can see, the respondents' choice of coping strategy was not static, but rather dynamic. Most respondents said they didn't want to confront a physical attack with racial epithets in the street (no immediate confrontation), yet they said that they might report or mostly they discussed the events at the university with Japanese or non-Japanese friends. They mixed different coping strategies according to the specific situations they encountered.

For example, Jun would usually confront a racist situation and tended to talk to her British friends and Japanese friends about the incidents. However, in her first year in Britain, she said she wondered about the way she was treated and tried very hard to make sense of it.

Jun: I wondered why I was treated that way, maybe my appearance or my English language skills were not favourable, but I didn't deserve to be treated like dirt. I really worked hard then on improving my English language skills because I couldn't change my skin colour, but I thought at least I could improve

that. At the beginning I seriously questioned myself “Why do people here discriminate against other coloured people or foreign people?”

YN: Hmm. Have you kind of given up?

Jun: I thought at the beginning those racist people were really exceptional here, but now I realised that OK, there are some genuinely nice people, but most people here are not so wise in that respect and have a really low educational level. Class difference is also just another way of expressing their racism but deep down both working class and middle class people, for example, believe that the English are the best in the world.

Jun said that she was trying to rationalise first, for example, her language or appearance, but soon after her students had had a stone thrown at them by white local youths, she said she couldn't just rationalise and stay quiet. (She had been a teacher in a Japanese high school, accompanying her students studying English in the South of England). She said she started to tell everybody, British and Japanese, around her and encourage others to report such incidents. Of course not all students who initially rationalised the problem started applying problem- focused coping strategies after a year. In fact, after applying problem focused coping strategies, and finding that they had not actually worked as they wanted to, then they tended to adopt ‘defeatist attitude’.

However, Yukito (a female undergraduate student in London) said that she was always ready to fight back whenever she came across a situation, “I simulate the situation and how I would fight back in my mind all the time, ‘if someone says this, I will say that’ and so on.” She said because she was fully aware of those things (e.g. racist prejudice and discrimination), she could spot them easily. She also seemed to have strong ideas about racism and inequality in the society in Japan. In the interview, she mentioned that she was going to understand more about racism and minority treatment in Japan when she finally finished her degree and returned there.

In fact, Yukito and several other respondents were affected by ‘attributional ambiguity’,

in other words, for the minority group members who attributed negative feedback to discrimination, situations with a positive outcome, are attributed to discrimination as well. For example, if non-Japanese people complimented or appreciated them, the Japanese student felt suspicious about their sincerity. Crocker and Quinn suggest that 'attributional ambiguity may sometimes trigger suspicions about whether one personally deserved the positive outcomes received on earlier occasions,' for example, 'positive evaluations from a professor received previously were influenced by the student's race', and as a result it may decrease one's self-esteem (1997:177).

5.4.1. Confidence in English language and communication skill

From the interviews, I found that the respondents' English language and communication skill is one of the important elements influencing their choice of coping strategies and their self-esteem. If they didn't have confidence in their English language and communication skills, they were more reluctant to discuss or confront the racial incidents or issues with British people in English. Although someone like Yukiko (a female postgraduate student in London), who chose to make it obvious that she was ignoring her rude classmate in her seminar, chose a confrontation strategy even though she felt that her English language and communication skills were somewhat lacking. She did indicate however that if she had been able to communicate better in English she would have confronted the girl verbally, instead of just explicitly ignoring her in the seminar class. Another non-verbal but active copier, Yoko, who threw an empty plastic bottle back at the rubbish throwing offenders, didn't seem to be worried about the level of her English language skills. She said that she just needed to confront the offenders. Yoko also said that these White offenders seemed under 15 years old, so she did not worry about the consequences, but if they had been older, she said she might have not done it (Because she would be scared of). The 2 female respondents who shouted back **in Japanese** at

British offenders were like Yoko. They reacted instantly. Yukiko and Yoko were both mixed copers, and neither of them wanted to discuss the incidents with the dominant group people. Yukiko said, 'they (British people) might misunderstand me or just use it against me'.

However, 22 of 51 respondents who discussed the incidents with their British friends valued their strong confidence in their English communication skills. Thus, for these Japanese students, there appears to be a significant correlation between their confidence in language skills and their choice of coping strategy. As Fleishman (1984) and Feagin (1991) suggested in their studies, richer or higher social status people tend to apply a problem focused coping strategy, rather than an emotion focused one, because they feel confident that they can deal with it and they have enough recourses to do so. This appears to apply similarly to my respondents who are all students in a foreign country. If they have substantial English language communication skills, they tend to cope with their stress more actively, and in their case, their English language and communication skills became their main resource for dealing with the problems.

Furthermore, as they acquired their English language and communication skills in Britain, they appeared to become familiar with the 'Western individualistic culture', and if they succeeded in incorporating this as western cultural values, they appeared to cope with distressing incidents without their self-esteem being negatively affected. For example, of the 8 respondents who denied experiencing racist events, some of them acquired a 'common sense' of host society as well as improved English language skills which (they said) protected them from discrimination.

On the other hand, there were two students who said that although they discussed the issue of racism with British friends, they only talked about race and racism in general, for

example, the recent wars against Afghanistan and Iraq, or against Black people. They thought those topics were *safe* enough to talk with British friends. The topics were sufficiently 'far away' from their own personal experiences as Japanese or an Asian. Both said they could not discuss the racist experiences which the Japanese or Asians encountered in Britain, or their own individual experiences, with British friends. Thus, not all the respondents who discussed racism with British friends adopted a problem-focused approach to their problems. Their reasons could of course have included protecting the native population as well as themselves, i.e. both to protect themselves as Japanese persons and to avoid awkward situation. In other words, they didn't want the Japanese to be characterised in their friends' minds as one of the disadvantaged minority groups in the UK.

Twenty-two of the 51 respondents, talked with British people about incidents or the issues of racial discrimination against Japanese and Asians. Eight respondents didn't talk about the incidents or issues with anyone. Twenty of the 51 respondents only talked with Japanese friends in the UK. Most respondents who talked with their British friends expected their reaction to be the same as their Japanese friends - understanding and sympathetic. However, some (who had discussed the incidents with British people) had received unexpected reactions and therefore eventually stopped discussing those issues with British people. Jun, for example often received reactions like: "Not all British people are like that!" "It must be untrue" or "You made it up!" These reactions of the dominant group people seemed to affect her in two ways, one to make her to be more aware of racism and British people's non-racist self-image, and at the same time, discouraged her to talk openly about these negative incidents with British people.

There were several students like Akiko, who was a postgraduate student in London, who did talk with English girlfriends about her experience of sexual harassment by one of her

lecturers (see Chapter 4). She said that she expected more understanding and sympathy, but in fact also received practical advice unexpectedly from her friends:

Akiko: first of all, they got really angry and told me that I should report the incident to the university and the department. But somehow I was expecting that reaction because I wasn't sure how much they could identify with my situation and feelings.

Although her friends might be very supportive about her encounter, she said she almost felt that she was at fault for causing the incident; firstly, she didn't understand the man's motive, secondly, she didn't stand up and report it. She said she also didn't want to be seen as a member of a stigmatised minority group in Britain.

Akiko: If I told them that I was treated like this in a racist and sexist manner by that man, it would confirm that 'Japanese girls are inferior to English girls'.

Akiko said she decided to cope with negative and ambiguous situations in a non-confrontational manner as well as keeping quiet to her friends. As I have pointed out, 'discouragement' (Akiko perceived her friends support as discouragement) from dominant group people may affect the participants' coping strategies. She seemed to avoid any confrontation about racist issues.

Tomo said that there was something more specific about the way British people treat Asians in Britain, therefore he did not talk with British people.

Tomo: "There might be a strong 'anti-Japanese' sentiment that exists, but also there is a sort of general view towards East Asians who have a lower status in this society, the sort of take-it-for granted racism against East Asians, because they are an underclass in a way. So even if there is no particular reason to be angry with them, it is quite normal to look down on them."

Although Tomo was not able to articulate why East Asians received this discriminatory

treatment, as I mentioned earlier, the stereotypes and treatment of Asian people in general in Japan might be reflected in his perception and interpretation of Asian people in Britain. Moreover, as Back (1995) explores in his book, the fact that Vietnamese youths (who have language problems compared to their Black and White peers) were sometimes treated as a linguistic underclass, might help to illustrate Tomo's impression. Male respondents in this study more seriously addressed the linguistic difficulties, and most of them felt they were discriminated against, mainly for their lack of English language skill, whereas female respondents expressed their Asian appearance as causing discriminatory treatment.

Tomo also expressed his awareness of the possibility that he was over reacting:

"Sort of self-conscious, like Western complex, so-called inferior and superior complex. I sometimes feel ambivalent about the host culture. So even though they don't mean to be rude or indifferent to me, because of the complex, I could hear it that way, I mean, they might talk to me as usual as with other white people, but because of my self-consciousness, I understood it like this, and I end up interpreting it as discrimination against the Japanese. But I think the sort of ambiguity will never cease. No matter how long I live here I don't belong here and I never will. I am always a foreigner in a different culture after having lived here for 8 years, and it won't change."

Although Yukiko and Tomo said that they often discussed racial issues and incidents with other Japanese students, they wouldn't discuss those things with British people, because of their uncertainty about their perception and interpretation of racism, and they both had 'giving up' feelings about their treatment - "British people are racist, they don't understand. "They consider themselves superior". Yoshio would also apply this coping style:

Yoshio: I noticed British people tend to criticise other countries, sort of shutting their eyes to their own faults. They believe that they were the best.

They seemed to lose confidence in British people. However, for Tomo, who had lived in Britain for more than 8 years, it was more complicated and he had mixed feelings; he had had several blatant discriminatory experiences, but when it came a subtle one or a positive event, his judgement has been clouded by his own inferiority complex about language skills or race, and attributional ambiguity. He said that it is 'positive discrimination', for example, at the beginning of the term when no one knows anyone else. Japanese students are very popular, because they look harmless, rich, polite and exotic to be friendly with. But later on new students started to settle down with their own friends, and then they didn't care about the Japanese students any more. So Tomo said that Japanese students were only ever pampered at the beginning of term, and he said that he had warned other Japanese students about this. He said that for a similar reason i.e.- positive discrimination- Japanese looking oriental women were popular among non-Japanese men, and though it looked like a positive thing, such as appreciation and understanding, in fact, it was sexual and racial discrimination; they were not seen as individuals. His view was similar to Kawa's (see chapter 4). Kawa also admitted that when a British person complimented his ability to speak English and his communication skills, he often added '*as a Japanese person*' in his head. He felt unsure about his actual abilities.

Several students expressed an inferiority complex driven attitudes towards Western people and culture, and the same could be observed within Japanese society in Japan, especially after the Meiji era in which Japan was first heavily influenced by Western countries. This collective inferiority complex might make Japanese respondents confused and uncertain about the knowledge of racism in Britain.

5.4.2. Informal discussion with close friends

Twenty-two (of 51) respondents talked *only* with Japanese friends in the UK, about their experiences and problems. However, the informal discussion about racist incidents they encountered seemed to support the respondents in two different ways, the first way to be addressed was as a place to share discrimination (Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Byng, 1998). For example, most of the respondents who only talked about the incidents with close Japanese friends were not raising those issues in order to change the environment, and although they might gain some knowledge about racism in Britain they had only initiated the informal discussion to provide a buffer against the stress of discrimination. However, in such discussion the students could help each other in a practical way by providing useful information and advice on how to deal with the problem.

In the second way, informal discussions may give the respondents a wider view of the problem, and help them to gain situational and general knowledge of racism. Consequently increased knowledge affected their use of coping strategies. Indeed two of the respondents said that their attitude gradually changed toward racist incidents and issues and so did their coping strategies (become more confrontational) during their stay in Britain. One of them used to ignore and try to forget the negative incidents, but after she heard other Japanese students talking about their experiences of racial discriminatory encounters, she seemed to realise that these things were not one-off cases and they were not only happening to her. Thus, ignoring all negative events and the reaching of a new racial awareness caused the respondents great stress, some of them over time switched to a confrontational strategy. On the other hand, such confrontation by the respondents produced a mixed reaction from the dominant population, often producing such comments as 'not all of us are racists', 'can't believe it, you must have made it up!' and so on, i.e. trying to minimise the issue (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997), and this often had the effect of discouraging the respondents to discuss the problems with the dominant group of

people.

The interviews revealed that Japanese women discussed racist incidents and issues more often than Japanese men. Sakura (a female postgraduate student in Kent) told her story which she wasn't sure was discrimination or not, and it helped to evaluate her experiences

Sakura: "I don't think it was discrimination but I told the story to my friend and my friend said it was. I bought a coach ticket, but when I looked closely. It was misprinted, so I asked the black ticket officer to change it, and I had to do this five times. He kept doing it wrong, the date, time; place and so on, without an expression on his face. I thought he wasn't too bright or was very tired, but my Japanese friend said that "maybe it is because you are Japanese." But overall my experience of public transport here is very good."

Despite her friend's interpretation, because she had primarily pleasant experiences with people in public transport, she wasn't entirely convinced by the idea that what had happened to her was racist. The ticket officer in the coach station might not have understood Sakura fully. However, there were again themes of uncertainty. In the group of other Japanese students, the respondents could negotiate their experiences with others and their past experiences, in order to see consistency and consensus in situations and perpetrators. Eventually, as I have suggested before, it may help their general knowledge of racism in Britain.

However, each informal discussion group seemed to have their own character and its own unique coping strategies. For example, some informal discussion groups generated their own strong prejudice against other minority group people in order to feel better; Sari had told her friends group about her friend's racial incident and the people in the group concluded that it was because she had a 'more Chinese like face' than is usual in Japanese people (according to Sari). Sari also seemed to be convinced by that explanation of 'the idea of colour hierarchy' (Whiter skin is safer or less racially targeted) which sometimes

came up in the groups.

Suggestions made in the informal meeting, such as 'British people never distinguish Asian faces' would come up, especially if the discussion was within the Japanese students' group. Such suggestions were really only a form of rationalisation after the event and rarely went further than rationalisation, e.g. "maybe British people don't like Asian faces." Or "Someone was attacked, because her or his face looked like Chinese." "Our lighter skin is better treated by whites than darker-skinned Asians, like Thai or Malaysian." and so on. This 'informal chat' about or around the racial incidents helped individuals to look away from the problems.

By trivialising them, they could buffer the stress of such racist encounters. Several Japanese students were able to make a joke of the racial incidents which they had encountered and were able to laugh about them with an audience of their friends, and it brought them a shared feeling (Byng, 1998). For example, Oga's female friend who was confronted by a Black man with a knife in London (see Chapter 6) who told both Oga, and her other friends of the incident as if it were a funny story with a happy ending. Also some of the other respondents who experienced 'egg incidents' (an egg was thrown at the group of Japanese and Asian students near the university) thought it was funny, especially the fact that it was an 'egg' which had been thrown. Of course not all respondents took their experiences so light heartedly, but they used it as a coping strategy (Feagin and Sikes, 1994).

On the other hand, some of the discussions developed into more serious, critical analyses and allowed individuals within the group to gain more situational knowledge about racism in Britain. Unfortunately however, most were more like an endless complaint about the dominant population and their culture. Yokko (a female postgraduate student in

London) often had this sort of informal discussion with her Japanese and Asian friends, "...We get more and more excited criticising anything about British people and British things like food, transport, services, etc. Every time we meet we criticise the same things but it makes us feel better." Her purpose for having the discussion was not at all to focus on the problems, but to relieve her feelings of frustration and anger. In another clear example of such "feelings orientated discussion, Megumi (a female undergraduate student in London) on hearing sometimes of her friends' experiences of 'racism', yet she wasn't quite sure what their experiences were exactly;

Megumi: My friends sometimes talked about British people and their racist attitude toward non-British or non-whites, I usually responded "Well, yes, maybe." Because I hadn't had any big, definite experience, like those they seemed to have, and several other Japanese students would agree with these statements without going into detail also. I never asked, "Such as?", nor did anyone else in the group. But it was accepted as common ground among Japanese students in Sussex.

YN: Can you guess?

Megumi: Perhaps everyday things which we try to ignore, in the shops, on the street, at the university and so on.

YN: How did you feel?

Megumi: kind of mixed feeling, because I don't really know what happened to them.

YN: How did you respond to it?

Megumi: I just agreed - vaguely.

Megumi had an experience of being shouted at - 'Chinese, go home!' on the street in South England. She was walking with her Japanese friends. She said that although she was shocked, it was nothing compared to what she had heard in Japan. Her friend had been in Britain for a year before Megumi came, and the friend had had an egg thrown at her by local white youths in South England. She trivialised her experience compared to her friend's one. In fact her discussions with her Japanese friends in Britain were very ambiguous, vague and rather pointless, but she thought that some people had worse experiences than herself. This is an example of the form of rationalisation which uses the

‘favourable comparison’ with others concept.

The male respondents also had informal discussions with other Japanese friends. Tomo gave his impression of such discussions as: ‘it became just an ongoing complaint!’ He couldn’t have the same discussion with British friends about it. He said, “I don’t want to take it personally, it wasn’t their fault. I can’t take out on them.” And he carried on by saying, “I don’t think British students know about Japanese students’ experience here. My friends don’t usually talk with them.”

As discussed before, this shared feeling was exclusively for the Japanese students who lived together in Britain. Most respondents usually did not have any close relationship with other Japanese groups, such as: non-students, business people and their families, British born Japanese in Britain and so on. Moreover, some, like Yukiko wouldn’t talk about the racism that she or other students had experienced to her friends in Japan unless they asked her specifically, “Only if they asked me, otherwise I wouldn’t do so voluntarily. Perhaps they wouldn’t be interested in it. I don’t want them to worry about me as well.”

On the other hand, one respondent (Miki), a female postgraduate student in Kent, who had a rather good relationship with her British housemates, began to avoid those Japanese informal meetings. She said that those who took part became rigid, and always stuck together and complained about life over here.

5.5. Feeling like a Minority?

Thirty- four of 51 respondents (which included 10 respondents who had substantial

general knowledge of racism) viewed themselves as a ¹⁴minority in Britain. Chisaki acknowledged that she was a minority with a language handicap, and the racism she came across in everyday situations was a minority problem. They said that other reasons for them to feel like a 'minority' were the lack of work permission, and unreasonably expensive university fees (more than 7 times higher than home students and European students) and they also resented their difficulty in obtaining student visas, even though they were totally eligible.

On the other hand, 15 of the 51 respondents didn't feel that they were part of a disadvantaged minority group (which included the respondents who reported no racist incident). The reasons they gave were 'living in a multiracial city (unexpectedly) like London'; 'in the university there are many foreign students (more than 15 per cent of overseas students and European students as home students)'. Two of 15 students reported they were not in a minority here because they didn't have any difficulty in getting a student visa. Some were shocked and unhappy about their minority treatment in Britain, but most respondents accepted their status as being a "guest" in this country and had a rather tolerant attitude towards the host society, which is like Hein (1994)'s migrant orientation; the participants do tolerate marginalisation on the basis of being foreign. The 15 respondents who didn't feel they were part of a minority in Britain, also either reported a lack of racial encounters or they tended to minimise those experiences (8 respondents). As I mentioned in a previous chapter, Bie had rubbish thrown at her by local youths in Kent, yet when she was asked if she had experienced racism in Britain, she denied it. These respondents (8 of 51) did not accept the idea of racial discrimination against certain racial groups, nor were 'they were members of racially disadvantaged minority groups'.

¹⁴ 'Minority' means oppose to 'majority', so this is not the same sense of Heins' minority who are settlers. This is more like being foreign, 'unwhites' in a white country (Feagin, 1991).

Kuniko had an egg thrown at her near the university and she suspected that the offenders were fellow students who could be White because she was walking with other Asian students. However, Kuniko didn't talk about this incident to British friends, and she thought it happened because they were seen as a bunch of Asians, not a group of Japanese. To her, the problem was more to do with the 'stereotypical image of Chinese', which didn't marry with the majority of the British people and their mentality. However, in fact, she was talking about her own prejudice against Chinese or other Asian people, identifying with British people. She denied a group of or individual Japanese people could be a target of such treatment by British people.

Others empathised with 'an atypical Japanese identity', for example, "I was always told that I was not typical Japanese," or "if I am with other Japanese people, then I am more likely to be treated as a foreigner." They wished to distance themselves from the stereotypes of Japanese people. They seemed concerned that the typical image of the Japanese (which they thought of as quiet, submissive, less assertive and so on) was disadvantageous in Britain. This is also a part of their rationalisation strategy.

As I mentioned before, all 8 respondents who didn't perceive racist incidents said that they did not feel in a minority in Britain, and 10 respondents, who had substantial situational and general knowledge of racism reported that they felt they were a minority in Britain; they seemed to adopt the idea of being a member of a disadvantaged minority group. They form a sub-group of the total of the 34 who saw themselves a part of a minority and from analysis of the data, it is clear that there is a strong correlation between these individuals and those who used problem focused coping strategies (38 of 51).

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter examined Japanese students' responses to racial discrimination, focusing on

their various coping strategies. The analysis shows that most Japanese students used emotion-focused coping strategies. Gender differences in coping strategies were not observed in a way which would strongly support Kuo's findings for Asian Americans; 'female Asian Americans tended to respond to discrimination with problem- focused strategies, while Asian American men tended to rely on emotion focused strategies' (Kuo, 1995:125), though more female respondents discussed racist incidents or issues with their friends (especially Japanese friends) than male respondents. However, it needs to be tested by a larger sample, especially for the male group.

Thirty-eight respondents applied problem focused coping strategies to the racist incidents they encountered or issues of racism in Britain, whilst 13 respondents adopted emotion-focused strategies and, decided to ignore or rationalise their racial encounters. Of these, there were 28 'mixed copers', who varied their strategies depending on the particular situation.

Twelve respondents coped with racial incidents confrontationally and for 2 female interviewees in particular, in a non-verbal manner, and most of them developed a situational and a general knowledge of racism since they arrived in Britain. As discussed in the previous chapter, 13 people actually expected unfair treatment in Britain, but in fact, they coped with racial incidents less actively than people who hadn't expected it at all. They might adopt the attitude that 'it could happen to foreigners in Japan, so it is the same for us here' and they didn't want to complain. The people who didn't expect any racial incidents were more shocked, and two of them quickly developed some understanding of racism within a few months of their stay, but mostly it took a year or two of cumulative experiences of discrimination.

Mastering the English language and communication skills in Britain was an important

resource for Japanese students in dealing with ambiguous racial situations more actively and satisfactorily. It could make them feel better able to discuss and challenge people from the majority population confidently, incorporating the norms of the host society into their own normative perspective, which allowed them to make sense of their problems more easily. Most of the 22 respondents who only discussed racist incidents with Japanese friends reported that lack of confidence in English language and communication skills stopped them sharing their racialised negative experiences with British people.

There were 29 respondents who were reluctant to discuss the racial problems Japanese people encountered with the host population, and 7 out of 29 were desperate to protect their image of Japanese people in Britain as Japanese but not as a 'minority', despite their good level of English language and communication skills and a situational knowledge of racism. They were reluctant to admit to themselves as well as to the host population that they were members of a disadvantaged racial minority group.

With regard to emotion-focused coping strategies, interviews revealed that those using them rationalised the causes of discrimination to cope with both subtle and blatant racism, and ignored experiences of racial discrimination. This optimistic rationalisation involves cognitive reconceptualisation of problems and their avoidance. These students also isolated their racial experiences from their British counterparts and their peers in Japan. It seemed that most respondents, both male and female in the current study, accepted their social status in Britain as 'guests'. Their mental orientation mirrored Hein's 'migrant' orientation, which emphasises 'foreign' status in explaining their disadvantaged status in the host society.

Most respondents rationalised that they were treated better than most other groups of East Asian and South East Asian people- (Chinese, Koreans, Malaysian and Thais), and when

favourably compared with them, this reduced stress for them and they were better able to cope with negative events in Britain. I believe that Japanese students' own double-standards instilled from Japanese society was reflected in their view of other East Asian people. As discussed in the previous chapter, in their mental map of racial hierarchy, other East Asians, South Asians and Black people were seen as lower than any other racial groups in Japan. Five of the 51 respondents confessed that they had been totally indifferent to other East Asian people (Koreans, Chinese) and their cultures before they came to Britain but after they arrived, because they received the same treatment from the British and other white Europeans, this had led them to view minorities in Japan with more empathy.

The 'mixed copers' were sometimes in the middle of a process of attitudinal change, from denial and avoidance to 'active coping' or vice-versa. For example, in Nobuko's case, as long as it was not a physical threat to her, she applied 'denial of significance of encounters' and "those people are stupid, I shouldn't be bothered." However, if she felt she was threatened physically, then she confronted and fought back or reported the incident. And although she still didn't voluntarily discuss incidents with her English course mates, if she was asked she would talk about them. Several respondents reported the process of change from passive coping to active coping. After careful evaluation, based on past experiences and updating of their general knowledge of racism gained through informal group discussion with other Japanese students in a similar situation, several of them started to cope in a more problem focused way toward discrimination.

On the other hand, 28 of 51 respondents said that it was tiresome having to confront every single incident, such as racial name calling by white youths on the street, so while they began with a problem-focused approach, they sometimes adopted emotion-focused strategies over time. However, they said they still would confront and complain about

other issues, such as unfair treatment in the public space, like shops, public transport, university and so on.

Some Japanese students may settle on one particular pattern of coping strategy. Several respondents recognised some kind of option to choose their coping strategies according to their mood, and the types of problems encountered; they might feel that they cannot gain control over different situations through only 'one type of coping strategies', for example, a solely problem-focused or emotion-focused coping strategy may give them stress, whilst the mixing styles of coping strategies may be less stressful, because of an increased sense of control and flexibility.

Moreover, because of the ambiguity of Japanese students' social status in Britain, their racial status, the types of discrimination they encountered, and how they perceived in the problems, are all very unclear and sometimes even invisible to the host population and other groups of minority people, as much as to the Japanese students themselves. However, some Japanese students could use this ambiguity when they perceive racism and choose the coping strategies suitable for them at the time either emotionally or practically; considering many different ingredients, such as time, language and communication ability, certain networks they have with Japanese as well as non-Japanese.

Recognition of themselves as members of 'a discriminated against minority group' could badly harm their self-esteem, because it was heavily based on the approval of others (Crocker and Quinn, 1997). However, the respondents who felt like 'minorities' tended to cope with discriminatory incidents using a problem focused approach, and their self-esteem was well protected. They were empowered by their cumulative understanding and awareness of negative incidents.

Based upon the case of Japanese students in Britain, I argue that their coping strategies for racism are not static but rather dynamic and situational. The effects of the cumulative experiences of racial discrimination are also dynamic, and it is crucial to understand how these Japanese students perceive and react to the ambiguous and 'invisible' nature of their social status in Britain. In the next chapter, we will look at how the students' experiences of coping may affect the way in which they perceive the racial hierarchy and the status of disadvantaged minority groups in Japan.

Chapter 6 SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF HOW JAPANESE STUDENTS PERCIEVE AND COPE WITH RACISM

6.1. Introduction

I have examined Japanese students' experiences of racism and their coping strategies. However, what are the wider implications for their awareness and knowledge of racism? As I mentioned in a previous chapter, most of them would not talk about their racist encounters to their family and friends in Japan. Moreover, more than half (29 of 51) of all the respondents expressed their reluctance in discussing incidents and issues with the host population in Britain. I noted in chapter 3 that several British people's reactions to this research topic was rather 'unexpected'. They didn't imagine that Japanese students experienced racial discrimination in Britain.

According to Ruggiero and Taylor, 'the finding that minority group members are inclined to minimise personal discrimination has disturbing societal implications. If minority group members do not perceive themselves to be discriminated against, and instead blame themselves for negative outcomes, they may not be oriented toward removing discriminatory barriers to their own personal advancement. Equally disturbing are the implications for the prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory practices of majority group members. The tendency of minority group members to attribute negative outcomes internally may provide members of majority groups with justification for ongoing victimization of minority group members' (1997:387).

Although my findings show that most respondents (43 of 51) did not deny their experiences of racism, the majority of them came up with some kind of excuse or rational justification for the incidents, which minimised them feeling victimised. Yet this strategy would not stop the further victimisation of fellow students.

How do Japanese students see their social status in this multiracial society? How do they position themselves in the racial hierarchy in Britain? What are the implications of these students' experiences in Britain for their return to Japan (including their perception of minority status and racism in Japan)? How do their experiences of being foreigners in Britain affect the ways in which they think about foreigners and discriminated minority group people in Japan? Have their feelings changed before and after the experiences of racist encounters? Do their experiences and their modes of responding to such racial incidents apply equally to other foreign students in Britain?

6.2. Perception of racial hierarchy

As a part of the Japanese students' rationalisation strategy, the respondents favourably compare their experiences with those of other non-White minorities. As I discussed previously, the difference between understanding discrimination against other non-White foreigners or racial minorities (Blacks, Indians, East Asians, etc.) and Japanese people in Britain might be based on the respondents' prejudice against other non-White people, which had been formed in Japan. As I interviewed the Japanese students in Britain, it became clear that their ideas about racial hierarchy in Britain were to some extent, similar to the racial map in Japanese society (see Chapter 2). There was a consensus that the highest position on the vertical axis was occupied by common Japanese and then, "not

quite Japanese”, such as Korean Japanese, Ainu, Okinawan, 3rd generation Japanese from Latin American countries, and then finally in the lowest position were Asians, such as Chinese, Koreans, Filipino, etc. Whites occupied a higher position on the vertical axis, but were at the furthest points on the horizontal axis (of foreignness). Blacks occupied a lower position on the vertical axis, and were ever further out on the horizontal axis. However, according to the interviews, in the racial hierarchy in Britain, there was a consensus that the highest position on the vertical axis was occupied by White British people, followed by other White Europeans. Yet, in the case of non-White populations, the respondents had ambiguous ideas as to where to rank other minorities; especially the Black people in Britain.

In Britain in 2001, there were three major “race riots” between local Whites and Asians (Indians and people from the Indian subcontinent): in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford. The respondents in this study perceived that the Asian Muslim British people get more and more racial attention by Whites especially after the 9 /11 incident. According to the Office of National Statistics, there are more Pakistani victims of racially motivated crime than Black African and Black Caribbean victims (2001 Census).

However, in my study, (although most overt forms of racism were perpetrated by Whites,) almost ten percent (4 people) of all racial incidents reported in the interviews revealed that the perpetrators were either British born Blacks or Black African students. In United States, there was the so-called ‘Black-Korean conflict’ (Kim, 2000; Abelman and Lie, 1997), which was between local Black people and Korean immigrants in New York City and Los Angeles. Kim discussed racial triangulation between Whites, Blacks, and Asians (Koreans) in some parts of the United States and Asians’ position as being ‘inassimilable with permanent others with their odd culture’, and the ‘myth of model minority’, economically successful and politically silent.

Oga talked about two Japanese female students in South London, who were both racially abused by Black men in the street. One girl was doing her MA in Sociology. A black man shouted at her, "You! Jap! Go! Back! Bastard! , You Jap go back, bastard!" She asked this guy, "Why should I go back?" The man was repeating, "You Jap! You Jap! You Jap!" He repeated and shouted at her many times. She was angry, but also very scared. Fortunately people surrounded her and started to confront that man. They told him to shut up and go away. However, she was very shocked. She liked New Cross very much, because of its relaxed atmosphere. Now this happened for the first time. She was encountering racial abuse and it happened to be by a Black person. The second person was proposed to by a Black man in the street, "Would you marry me?" he asked. The Japanese girl was surprised and didn't know what to say. She was really confused. Then the man started to shout at her, "Will you marry me or not!" Oga said he thought this man was a junky – a heroin or cocaine addict. She said to him, "No, I can't marry you." He then became more and more hostile; "You don't like me. You don't like me. Jap! Bastard!" He suddenly took out his knife and pointed it at her. She was so scared, as it was midnight, with no one around. Her initial thought was, 'just turn back and run', but if he could run very fast, there was no chance to escape, so she decided to stay and fight. She had a long coat. She took her coat off and throwing it over the hand with the knife in it, she ran past him. He had panicked, when the coat went over his hand. He couldn't handle the situation. So she was able to get past him and run past the way he came. He just couldn't figure out what she'd done. He was left with his hand and a knife covered with her long coat. The following morning, she went back there and found her coat. She picked it up. She was quite happy about it. Oga analysed these incidents of Black racism towards Japanese people, simply because there were more Black and non-White people living around that area as well as working class White people. Both Japanese women didn't seem to have any ideas about Black people in Britain and were very shocked by it all. These cases were

rather extreme and it did not give fair picture that how Japanese students were generally treated by Black people in Britain.

However, there were some Japanese students who seemed have their own prejudice against Black people, either from their cumulative experiences, or even before coming to Britain. Atsuko (a female postgraduate student in South London) reported that there was more Black prejudice towards Japanese or other Asians rather than by Whites in South London. Her experiences were included; A black man on the street spitting on her as he passed and saying "Chinese bitch" and so on. She thought Black people mostly did those things. She claimed that they were never done by Whites. On another occasion she was smoking while waiting for the bus at the bus stop. Many people come to her to ask for a cigarette, because cigarettes here were quite expensive, she usually refused. She noticed that only Black people abused her shouting at her "You Chinese cunt! You think I am Black." However, she thought if he or she were White, they wouldn't say things like that. White people might use a swearword and say "fucksake", or some other negative street remark, but not use a racial term. Whereas, Black people often verbally harass Japanese or Asians with racial epithets. 'South London' is known to be a so-called 'dangerous area' where you have to be careful about your personal belongings (Back, 1996), and it has own recipe for racial and ethnic mixture, which is comprised of white working class culture, Afro-Caribbean, Vietnamese refugee (ibid.). Although Atsuko's experiences is not consistent with other Japanese or Asian students' experiences of racism, it is certainly important that it be looked at - Black racism toward Japanese or Asian people in Britain (Back, 1996).

However, this doesn't only happen in a particular part of London. Oga's Korean friend had a terrible experience, with young mixed race perpetrators in Salford. He was a student of University of Salford. When he came to Manchester for the first time he was very

surprised, because he thought that Salford was a very rundown town, on the very first day of his visit in Salford, racially mixed youngsters on the street threw bricks at him - not only white kids, but black kids and Indian kids - a young multiracial gang of 5 or 6. They called him "Yellow bastard!" and he was so shocked, because he hadn't been prepared for this kind of treatment and wouldn't go out of his room for 3 days, he was so scared and afraid of the outside environment.

Jun (a female postgraduate student in Kent moved from Manchester¹⁵ last year). She was also surprised with the racism she reportedly experienced, when she moved to Manchester. She, like Atsuko, seemed to have some prejudice against Black people which had arisen through her cumulative negative experiences with Black people, which began with an African girl in the dorm in the university. The female African student often gave a party after her exam was finished, while Jun was still preparing for her exams and essays, she found that woman was very drunk and terribly noisy.

Jun: Her voice was often loud as if she was an operetta in Africa, she was also very fat, and people could hear her voice even from the three houses away. She had a very loud voice.

Jun complained politely several times like other students, but that African student insisted that she had a right to do as she like – sing her heart out.

Jun: Then she started walking much louder, stomping around in her room, like an elephant.

Eventually Jun left the dorm much earlier than she originally expected. She moved to Canterbury with her husband. The landlord in the dorm apologised to her for not getting her removed. He said that she agitated and threatened to take him to the university's Equal

Opportunities Office as a racist because she was from Africa and black. He was a White Mancunian. Jun thought she was spoiled and very unfair, using her Black skin to get what she wanted. Her other shocking experience related to a Black person and was also in Manchester. It was by a Black police officer.

Jun: I think I have had several times (been racially discriminated by Black people). One time it was a black policeman in Manchester who harassed me. That was the worst one. I was in front of the station. I went to fetch my friend and I stopped the car because of the one in front. I wasn't sure of the reason why the car in front was stopped where it was not allowed to stop. Then a policeman approached me and said I should move. He didn't ask the car in front to move - only me. I explained to him that my car was stuck because of the car in front. He ignored me and threatened me with imprisonment. There were cars in front and on the other side too. I wasn't able to drive in between them. I explained again to the policeman, but he only said, "Shut up - Do you want to be arrested?" I said, "I was just following the car in front". We argued like that and I said "You must be racist" then he got really angry. I added to the black policeman's anger, by saying, "Look, the people in front are taking something out of the car. Why can't you tell them to move as well? Can't you do that because they are white? Are you frightened to talk to whites?" I was well hemmed in, so I changed my tone and politely requested him, "can you make a space for me to move my car otherwise I can't". He asked the driver of the car stopped on the other side of me to move, and this made a space which he then directed me to go through. Finally he let me go but I was so angry I shouted in Japanese "you are racist!"

She might have learnt from the experience of her neighbour, the African girl, who starts calling others 'racist', when she is harassed or hassled by anyone non-Japanese.

There were some Japanese students like Takahashi (A female post graduate student in London) who had never experienced blatant racial discrimination by non-white British people, but she said she had observed the interaction between Whites and Black people, and between Black people and Japanese or Asian people, and had heard of other Japanese or Asians' experiences of Black prejudice in Britain. Takahashi expressed her impression

¹⁵ North West England, 81 percent of White resident population.

of Black people in London and she perceived it as Black subtle racism. She observed that Black people put a fake smile on to White customers but not to Asian customers in the supermarket, for example. Her impression was that Black people discriminated against Asians, Chinese, and Japanese people, because they were foreigners and newcomers. Takahashi said that Black people in South London wanted to exclude foreigners such as Japanese or Chinese or Vietnamese, from their territories, as happens in the United States where there are examples of Blacks and non-Blacks' inter-ethnic conflict with Jews, Arabs, and Chinese (Abelmann and Lie, 1997). However, there is no comparison between the East Asian population in South London and the ones in New York or Los Angeles in the United States, especially as the Japanese students in South London were not any kind of a threat to the native Black British population.

Other respondents didn't seem to have any particular racial interaction with, or awareness of non-Whites people in Britain. Wakana (a female postgraduate student in Kent) also said that among foreigners, Japanese people were treated best, because of the image of their homeland economy, although the British people would treat European people better.

Wakana: Arabic people are a sort of threat to British people. Indians and the other sub-continent people are part of the Commonwealth countries, so they are less dangerous. 'Another Paki, let them live there.' Something like that. The Chinese are just famous for their huge population, but that's it, and it's too far anyway, and not so much of a threat, 'Chinese are Chinese!' Japan has better treatment, because it is a highly developed country, a rich country and so on, so Japanese would be respected more than Arabs and Indians, I think.

Then she added that her views might have been strongly influenced by those of her white English boyfriend. Wakana very much adopted her boyfriend's (native White British) idea of foreigners in Britain.

Akiko said that most Japanese people were scared of Islamic people and culture, because

they knew nothing about them. However, 'the fear of Islam' is not only held by Japanese people. As I mentioned in a previous chapter (chapter 1), the idea of Islamophobia has recently been expressed more and more strongly by the media, especially after the 9/11 incident and following the two wars with Afghanistan and Iraq. A few other respondents supported this view. For example Mitsugu, a male postgraduate student in Kent, was concerned about more recent feelings of hatred towards Asian people in Britain after the 9/11 incident.

Mitsugu: recently I have seen some statistics which conclude 'in the future there will be more and more racial attacks on Asians which include Indians and sub-continent people, especially after 9/11.' That was in answer to the question; 'which people do you (British) hate most?' I think Japanese, Koreans and Chinese people are Far Eastern, so they are not particularly hated but these non-white groups of people the British feel that they can abuse them. And it doesn't matter if they complain or not.

YN: So do you think Black people would be treated better than Asians?

Mitsugu: Well, I'm not sure whether actually better or not, but they seem to me to be more blended into the society. On the other hand, British people do not seem really happy to see many Japanese people coming in to their country suddenly, especially not as maids or anything, but only as a customer or an employer. The Black people may have a chip on their shoulder. As I said, Black people are not necessarily enjoying better treatment here. I am sure they are still bitterly discriminated against but Asians are hot targets now. I think Japanese people are better treated among non-White foreigners, for instance, I never had any problems with my visa here, but I heard that other Asian students and African students seemed to have many problems to getting one.

Mitsugu, however, said that "Japanese are treated better than other non-white foreigners because they didn't need any visa to visit most countries in the world, certainly western countries." Mitsugu certainly used 'favourable comparison' in order to feel better about his social status as Japanese in Britain. Moreover, there respondents who mentioned the stereotypes of Iranian, and Muslim people ('dark skin coloured people') in Japan, such as drug dealers and so on (which I will discuss next section in this chapter), and this may

influenced the respondents view on British Muslim people.

Akiko (a female postgraduate student in London) also pointed out the Japanese people's prejudice against other 'dark skin coloured people'. She had a Pakistani British boyfriend and she was shocked to hear fellow female Japanese students in the dorm talking about her non-white boyfriend:

Akiko: I think normally Japanese girls think of White people as 'English'.

YN: Hmm.

Akiko: Any other colour or race of people is *not real English* to them.

YN: not really English?

Akiko: Yes, for instance, when I was living in the dorm, there were some Japanese girls who wanted to have a white boyfriend. One of them said to me that, "well, you can find a boyfriend here if he was not necessarily white." I was shocked.

YN: Hmm.

Akiko: What she meant was finding a white boyfriend was not easy, so in fact she has an African French boyfriend, and I have Asian British boyfriend, so she wanted to say that we were the same, more or less, having second best.

YN: I see.

Akiko: So she empathised with me for having a *Black* English boyfriend, instead of a White English boyfriend. That made me very shocked, you know, that way of thinking.

The idea of 'not really English' seems to have some correlation with 'not quite Japanese' or 'not quite foreigners' mentioned in a previous chapter (Chapter 2). In their mind, there were strong stereotypical images of 'proper (White) English' or 'proper Japanese', and anything different from the stereotype was not *quite* the same.

So there were certain prejudice against not just Black people but also other 'dark skin coloured people' held by some Japanese students.

Some respondents didn't apply 'favourable comparison' with other minority groups.

Yumi (a female postgraduate student in Kent) said that she thought East Asians, such as

Chinese, Koreans and Japanese were becoming targets of abuse because of their different and unfamiliar appearance. Whereas other non-Whites, like Blacks or Indian people, because of their history and so on, their presence was familiar to the White British population.

Yuki (a female undergraduate student in Kent) also considered that Japanese people were not treated with high regard, perhaps even lower than other East Asians, such as Chinese people. On the other hand, she thought that Black people and Indian people were sort of on the same level, and then came South and East Asian people, but Japanese people were really low on that scale, they were barely recognised by native White people (invisible). However, Japanese businessmen's status was quite high, because of the Japanese economy, and they came in a privileged area, go to prestigious public spaces, such as shops, restaurants and so on, whereas most Japanese students financed themselves, in her words - "save every penny to live in an expensive country". She suggested that Japanese people in Britain possessed some diverse images and stereotypes. She observed Japanese students' social status as really low, as low as other South Asian peoples, like Thais, Malaysians. Her perception seemed to reflect her everyday life as a student in Britain.

Some respondents said that foreign students like them, were more or less at the bottom of the social scale, a so-called 'underclass', which they described as 'lower than the lowest class'. Some reported this was true especially inside of the university, and other said it was the same everywhere, particularly if they had had personal experiences of any street racism (see chapter 4). Chisaki said that she felt very distressed,

Chisaki: They are kids (racial name –calling) so they don't understand, but it did make me feel that we were a minority and also I felt handicapped, language wise. Although they say it is a multicultural country here and there seems to be sophisticated approaches to race and minority problems, in fact it is not much

different from other countries like Japan or the United States. Well, I felt sad and a little bit upset at the beginning, as I wasn't sure what was going on.

Chisaki said she felt that she was supposed to be in an advanced multicultural country where it was taboo to talk about race and racism, yet she came across hostile ignorance by White youths in the street. She noted it as ambiguous and stressful.

Their different appearance, language handicap, and invisibleness seemed to make some respondents feel they were seen as inferior to other racially minority groups in Britain.

Jun (a female postgraduate student in Kent) said there were two distinct areas, one was outside university, and the other was inside:

Jun: I think, from the White people's point of view, Japanese people are in the middle of the social scale, after White people including Europeans. The Japanese in Britain are not poor, not immigrant so they have a status economically, and there isn't much hatred against the Japanese, like rioting or boycotts and so on; Japanese people don't need a visa to come to Europe, for example, in most countries in the world the Japanese don't need a visa, whereas some Asian people need a visa to come here, they might be more cautiously treated than the Japanese.

This view is similar to Mitsugu's 'favourable comparison'. On the other hand, according to her, in the university, the hierarchy changed. The homeland economy was less important than English language skills and the knowledge of the terminology used in the university.

Jun: in that way, I was at the bottom of the scale at the university. People who were born here, no matter which colour, their status at the university, could be upwardly mobile but a Japanese person like me who might relatively be OK outside of the university, once in the university, and people recognised that my English language skills and the knowledge of jargon weren't so impressive, then my status dropped down to the bottom of the scale. That was what I felt.

And Japanese students became invisible to other students. However, some respondents stressed on the importance of their language ability in Britain. Kawa said that the language ability was a main issue of social status in Britain outside or inside of university.

Kawa: I think it depends on how fluently you speak English; otherwise there is no difference among non-white foreign students.

There were 11 out of 51 respondents like Ryoko, who wanted to stay in Britain to obtain a job (either full time or part time), after completing their present course, or wanted to try out their English language skills and study for a higher degree course¹⁶. Those respondents (especially the ones who hoped to get a job) felt a strong social exclusion against Japanese people in Britain. Ryoko reported that Commonwealth people and European White people were treated better than the Japanese in terms of job hunting and obtaining a visa and so on, so they must have more benefit from living here than others. Sari said historical as well as geographical distance was important in terms of thinking about the racial map.

Sari: (Among non-whites), Indians come second after Whites, and Black people are third, and then East Asians, like us. But if they were born here, they are above all of the non-white foreigners. East Asians are seen as furthest and I think lowest, possibly, because if they think where they are (Britain and Europe) is the best and everything else is lower or less privileged than them. East Asians are furthest, so it might be lowest as well."

We could say that overall the respondents' idea of racial hierarchy was based on the Japanese racial map in Japan. The dominant population, such as White British, is the highest and then non-white British, foreigners are lower, and most students reported that

¹⁶ Thirty-three respondents of fifty-one reported that they want to go home to find a job or higher course. Four students plan to pursue a higher degree course in Britain, and three respondents feel that they don't mind to go anywhere as long as they find satisfying job.

they were better treated by other Asian foreigners in Britain. A couple of interviewees felt their social position in the racial hierarchy in Britain to be lower than other non-white people in Britain.

However, those ideas of racial hierarchy in Britain were still quite vague to most respondents, except for the feeling that they were 'guests' in Britain. Therefore in their mind, whether or not they might be treated better or worse than other groups of non-White minority people in Britain, they felt that they could always exit by going back to Japan. Their perceptions of hierarchy in Britain were quite diverse (unlike agreement about the racial hierarchy in Japan), and it might be heavily dependent on their personal experiences with different racial groups and racist encounters. Thus, for some respondents 'favourable comparison' did not actually work for them, who had traumatic discriminatory experiences in Britain. The position the respondents identified in a racial landscape in Britain was not a consensus, except most of them recognised that the dominant group, which occupied the highest position on the vertical axes was White British. Yet there was no agreement about the relative status in Britain of the non-White populations, which highlighted the respondents' uncertainty about their status and racialised identity in Britain. Especially for some respondents, 'invisibleness' of Japanese people in British society could be the worst disadvantage of living in Britain compared to other and more visible disadvantaged minority groups of people. Several respondents who said they were treated as 'invisible' in their seminar group because of their English language and communication skill (see chapter 4), also felt that they were 'invisible' in the British society. Whilst others viewed the 'invisibleness' as a smoke screen in which they could hide themselves, and thus remain unnoticed by the majority population, and so escape from the discriminatory harm which might otherwise damage them and their self-esteem.

6.3. Their perception of Japan's minorities

All respondents were asked whether their experiences in Britain had affected the way they think about foreigners or non-Japanese people in Japan. However, as their various experiences of racist encounters and coping strategies were diverse, their perception of foreigners and racial minorities were also diverse. Thirty-seven of 51 respondents said “yes” to this question, and 10 people said that “it hadn’t affected at all.” Four respondents said that they didn’t know.

Four of 10 respondents who claimed their thoughts and attitude toward foreigners in Japan would not be affected by the experiences in Britain, said that they always had respected foreigners as individuals, therefore it would not change. The rest (6) said if they saw a group of foreigners (for example, Iranians in Japan), they might still feel wary of them. A couple of the respondents mentioned incidents in which, several groups of Iranian groups of people were arrested during 1990s in Japan for possession or smuggling of drugs.

Bie: I don’t think it would change. If there were groups of Iranians talking their native language in Tokyo, I would associate them with drug dealing smuggling and so on. I wouldn’t think like sympathetically, for example, ‘oh, they must be so stressed, being in a foreign land, that’s why they need to speak in their native language to their friends!’

YN: You wouldn’t?

Bie: No, I think I would tend to suspect them, especially as I am Japanese and in Japanese society. Because it is my native land, I can’t really be sympathetic toward the stress they suffer because of the pressure on them to speak Japanese. It wouldn’t be easy for me I think.

Bie was one of 8 respondents who didn’t perceive racist incidents, despite her experience

of being shouted at by White teenagers on the street. Her lack of situational and general knowledge of racism seemed to affect the way she would treat foreigners in Japan.

Yasuko (a female post graduate student in Kent) also expressed a similar point of view;

Yasuko: Well, if I were to go back to my country, I would start to think like the majority Japanese, because I would be native there, so I think I would understand British people's irritation and suspicion toward groups of foreigners.

Yasuko was also vague in her recollection of 'racial' events, saying that she might have been discriminated against, but she couldn't remember exactly how. Both Bie and Yasuko lived in dorms (Bie lived in the dorm of the Japanese college, and Yasuko lived in a dorm of the university) which housed only Japanese students, and they expressed their lack of contact with British people generally. Their lack of knowledge of racism seemed to make them less aware of the position of minorities and of foreigners' difficulties in Japan.

However, most of them (10 respondents) said they would treat a foreigner well and respect them as an individual if they saw them in their seminar (for example) in Japan. Moreover, interestingly, all 10 of these respondents dealt with racist incidents and issues in a problem focused way in Britain.

Four of 51 respondents couldn't say it would be different or not when they got back to Japan. Mayuko (a female postgraduate student in London) said nothing would change the situation (foreigners being discriminated against), so she would not think about it. Another respondent, Uchida, who said he did not know how he would be affected. They both coped with issues and incidents of racism in an emotion focused way. Two other respondents simply could not comment on the subject; both Mayuko and Uchida, like Bie who did not perceive racist incidents, seemed to have a lack of interest in the whole issue, Mayuko saying she tended to ignore racist events or issues in Britain as she would do in

Japan. It seems that if someone became interested in racist issues in Britain, they would likely be engaging with these issues in Japan as well, at least emotionally and would be more aware of foreigners' needs and thoughts. Conversely, if someone tended to ignore the fact that they could be racially discriminated against in Britain, they may well be turning a blind eye to the treatment of foreigners in Japan.

'The incidents experienced in Britain affected my way of thinking about foreigners in Japan' was most common response to the interview question (see Appendix 2) by Japanese students in Britain (37 of 51). How it affected them is summarised as follows;

1. I would be kind and helpful to foreigners and try to understand their feelings.(15)
2. I would respect and show interest to foreigners more, treat and view them as individuals.(8)
3. My experiences here would help me to imagine foreigners' experiences in Japan.(6)
4. I can approach foreigners, because now I can speak English.(3)
5. Challenged with any inequality, I would be more understanding about the issue.(2)
6. I would help them, but they should know that they are foreigners and cannot expect to have priority over native Japanese people in Japan. (1)
7. Now I don't want to socialise with Korean people.(1)
8. I think I would, but just don't know yet.(1)

The most common responses were Response 1- 4; thirty-two respondents who experienced being a foreigner in Britain, would like to treat foreigners in Japan with respect. Most of them wanted to give what they had wanted or in many cases actually received from British people in Britain; 'to be friendly, helpful, and understanding of the foreigners' situation and feelings, to treat them as individuals, not just a bunch of foreigners'. Most of them coped with racist incidents and issues in Britain with problem focused way (26 of 32).

Megu (a female undergraduate student in London): I noticed here that some people maybe try to treat foreigners 'equally', therefore ignore them seeking help or not to cope very well. I was angry about this attitude. I would be kind to foreigners in Japan, if they seem to be seeking some kind of support or help. I won't ignore them.

One of 32 respondents said that she particularly wanted to know more about East and South East Asian people in Japan. There were several respondents who said how much they *had not* paid attention to these Asian people when they were in Japan. After they came to Britain they felt that they were identified as a member of East Asians group by British people, and therefore, they started to identify themselves with East Asians and began to feel in sympathy with other East Asian people. In Japan, South East Asians and East Asians' social status are not very high in the racial map in Japanese people's mind (see chapter 2). Thus, the respondents had not had a chance to identify with those Asian foreigners when they lived in Japan.

However, one respondent said he did not want to socialise with Korean people when he returned to Japan, but his case was slightly different.

Kitagawa (a male postgraduate student in London): Korean students in our university always aggressively talk about the Second World War, and once even blamed me for Japan not apologising. I was really angry.

Some respondents criticised their Japanese friends for openly complaining about being mistaken for Chinese people. They said those fellow Japanese students just wanted to be seen as Japanese, not Chinese or East Asians, because they looked down East Asian people. There were some respondents who actually expressed their superior feeling towards Chinese people (see racial hierarchy).

In fact, most respondents realised East Asians (Chinese, Koreans) were friendly to

Japanese students, and they knew more about Japan than Japanese students knew about their countries. Ken (a male postgraduate student in Kent) had a Taiwanese best friend in Britain and he noticed that he was not interested in Taiwan at all when he was in Japan.

Ken: I didn't in the least know about Taiwan. But Taiwanese people know about Japanese TV, music and so on almost at the same time as Tokyo. That made me feel a bit embarrassed. Because it showed me how much I was looking down on them and not interested in their culture and people at all.

YN: Hmm.

Ken: I was not in the least interested in other Asian countries. I was just looking at the West, Europe and the United States. In that perspective, I can identify with the European people who are less interested in Japan and Japanese culture than we are interested in their own European culture. I also noticed that for European people, Japan is one country somewhere in Far East, just exotic.

Another respondent who wanted to treat foreigners as individuals said,

Kurata (a male postgraduate student in Kent): I was looking at 'Stephen Lawrence case' (see chapter 1), and my own experiences of overt racism, thinking that 'this country (Britain) was not so advanced as I thought it was in Japan', but we can still learn from this country's mistakes. Staying here gave me many opportunities to think about my own countries and own people, how we treat foreigners, our stereotypical bias toward Asian people and so on.

Some respondents seemed to be happy that now they could talk to foreigners in English in Japan. They realised that they used to avoid foreigners in Japan because of the language barrier, but now they said they could offer to help foreigners. However, a couple of them were more concerned about retaining their English language proficiency and said that was why they would like to make a contact with foreigners in Japan.

Several respondents expressed the view that they could identify foreigners' life and their problems in Japan better than before:

Ryoko (a female postgraduate student in Kent): I think of the difficulty of finding a part time job, financing themselves, studying. Now I really respect these foreigners in Japan. I understand that it must very hard to do so. I think it definitely has affected my way of looking at and treating them. I think I would be more under standing of them than before.

Response 5 shows that these 2 respondents (who confronted racist incidents and issues in Britain) would challenge and be sensitive to minority issues in Japan. Their coping strategies in UK seem to reflect their view on inequality and discrimination in Japan. However, both respondents were always interested in racism or other inequalities in society when they were in Japan. Their experiences of being foreigners in Britain seemed to increase their interest. Jun said that 'I always can't stand any inequality even in Japan, but since I came here I feel more and more sensitive to the issue. It would make me very angry and I would attack that idea wherever I am.'

Some like Akiko (a female postgraduate student in London) seemed to be inspired by the experiences in Britain. As I mentioned before, she decided to do PhD in sociology instead of doing in art, because of her several racist incidents.

Akiko: Of course these things (racist incidents) never happen to me, so I had no chance to even think about these issues in Japan, but after I became 'a foreigner' for the first time, I wanted to know more about those things (racism and other inequalities). If I stayed in Japan, I would not have been interested in racism.

YN: Wouldn't you?

Akiko: No, that is also a problem I think. Awareness of racism is extremely low in Japan, these issues are still invisible.

Abe (a male postgraduate student in London)'s response was that he would be helpful and be friendly to the foreigners in Japan, but he wanted them to remember that they were 'guests'. It was clearly reflecting his coping strategy. He said that he would tolerate some unfair treatment as a 'guest' in Britain. So in Japan, Japanese people have the priority over foreigners, therefore they should prepare to be treated as foreigners in Japan. Not all

respondent who felt they were 'a guest' in Britain had such a strong idea about the guest status as had Abe. However, several respondents who accepted the unfair treatment they received in Britain seemed to identify with this idea.

6.4. Conclusion

This thesis has explored and examined the racial experiences of Japanese students in the UK, and the way and which they perceive and respond to various social situations. I have examined their experiences of racial discrimination, racial awareness and their responses, coping strategies and the situational and general knowledge of racism that some developed during their years of stay in Britain.

As I have discussed within the thesis, despite there having been much attention drawn to the great social and political significance of race and 'racism' in western societies, very little literature has focused on the perception of racism, or coping strategies. Racist incidents have become subtler and institutionalised, and perpetrators' egalitarian self-image (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991) has made the participants experiences more complex and ambiguous. In chapter 1 I introduced some psychological studies on stress coping, and some literature on the subject of coping on racism. I also introduced different mental orientations such as 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' orientations (Ogbu, 1990), and 'migrant' and 'minority' orientations (Hein, 1994), which are very much connected with the participants' ways of perceiving and responding to discrimination.

However, this literature on coping with racism are all outside of Britain and none dealt with the racist experiences of East Asians, or Japanese in foreign countries. There was, however, more literature on either native born second generation or immigrant minorities

in Britain. Most of the above literature on race and 'racism', racist awareness, coping strategies with racist incidents, migrants, or on various ethnic minorities' experiences in Western European countries and North America, is inadequate to explain the position of Japanese students as a minority group in Britain. Their experiences and voices seemed never to have been raised and addressed in British society and its people's minds, and thus they have stayed invisible and isolated. The picture of Japanese students and their experiences in British social landscape is rather vague and ambiguous since they are neither immigrants nor 'native' minorities. Therefore their mental orientation as well as their experience is distinct.

In order to make sense of how Japanese students perceive and interpret racist incidents, we must look at their pre-departure expectations and how they perceived 'others' in their country. As I closely examined how the majority Japanese people perceived foreign 'others', I have modified Nakane (1970)'s 'grid'. It could be argued that 'others' in terms of a referential grid, and this grid has two axes (vertical and horizontal), and is further comprised of four areas. The vertical axis indicates the spectrum between who is considered superior (top) and who is inferior (below), in relation to mainstream Japanese (Nakane, 1970). The horizontal axis indicates '*uchi*' and '*soto*' (closeness or distance respectively) (Bachnik, 1994). This closeness is measured in terms of geographical, political (in terms of their homeland). For example, Chinese or Koreans, South Asian people fall closer on the referential framework to mainstream Japanese, than do White or Black Americans. However, White Americans and White Europeans may nevertheless be considered higher in status (superior) and Black Americans, and Africans have a lower status (inferior), despite their different ethnicity. In fact, a couple of respondents in this study applied 'the darker skin colour the more inferior' attitude for their 'favourable comparison'. Overall, this four-way distinction I regarded as the racial map of the Japanese people's mind.

According to the grid, Japanese students may view the White host population as being superior to them and other non-white British or foreigners as less significant. In Japanese society especially, the grid does not only apply to mainstream Japanese and foreigners, but also the inside of Japanese society as well. For example, someone older, in a higher social position occupies a vertically high status. If someone is a close friend or family member, then they are seen as *uchi* (close) relationship. So especially at their university in Britain, Japanese students may be reluctant to point out their White lectures' racial prejudice toward them. Moreover, since they are mainstream and members of the majority in Japanese society, the experiences of being minority and its status very much affect their identity and the way responding racist encounters.

Furthermore, this horizontal *soto/uchi* (outside/inside) and vertical (older/younger or superior/inferior) relationship framework in Japanese society affected research relationships. In *uchi-uchi* interviews, the Japanese interviewees were able to express their feelings without much hesitation as in an in-group situation, because some incidents or feelings were very hurtful to the respondents' "tatemae" (the surface world of social obligations).

In chapter 4, I discussed how Japanese students in Britain perceive and evaluate the negative events they encountered which might have had racist implication. I have created a refined six- step model, based on Essed's six- step social cognitive model, in order to assess the respondents' descriptions of their racist encounters. My finding shows that 10 of 51 respondents possessed a substantial degree of general knowledge of racism, and 43 respondents perceived racist incidents or issues in Britain, despite their lack of sufficient knowledge of racism before they arrival to Britain.

As Feagin (1991) and Essed (1991) suggest, the respondents in this study also didn't blame everything on race from the beginning. Findings also revealed that 8 respondents said they had never experienced racist events. As Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) have suggested they might denied or minimized the racial discrimination (which is psychologically adaptive) in order to protect self-esteem. Some of them also adopted the dominant group's cultural value system (which included internalizing the dominant group's attitude towards minorities) and tried to be a 'good guest' in the host society so they can protect their social self-image (Essed, 1991). They may also achieve a higher performance state self-esteem (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1997) through acquiring situational information in the society.

In this study, although many respondents actually perceived racist incidents (43 of 51), they did not often possess high level of general knowledge of racism (only 10 of 51). Which means that as Japanese students had neither migrated to Britain nor had a past history of slavery, they had not have the same degree of general knowledge of racism as African American people. Nevertheless, 10 respondents seemed to develop a general knowledge over time.

Thus, I contest with Mellor et al.'s finding (2001), which suggested that Asian students in a university in Australia lacked a general knowledge of racism in comparison to White Australian students. Mellor et al.'s findings also suggested that Asian cultural values helped to suppress the perception of racism in the Asian students. However, in this study, although some students were initially reluctant to break these cultural codes (e.g. not criticising your teachers and so on), this did not prevent most Japanese students recognising that they had experienced various forms of racism.

Surprisingly, in contrast with Ruggiero and Taylor (1987) my findings also show that

many respondents who perceived racism were also *able to protect* their self-esteem, which supports Byng's (1998) finding of African American Muslim Women; the oppressed are empowered through creating safe social groups. Several respondents' comment like, "I feel stronger after I confront the issue (racist encounters)" showed their growing confidence through the experiences.

However, there was no consensus about 'why they suffered discrimination' from analysed data. Was it Because of their being Japanese or East Asian, or because of their lack of language and communication skills, or was it simply part of the British character of which they had been unaware before. These ambiguities about host population and their treatment made the respondents more reluctant to voice their experiences, which, in turn made them stay invisible to host population. Gendered stereotypes and cultural shock also added to the confusion.

I originally hypothesised that Japanese students would cope with discriminatory events by adopting 'emotion focused' approaches in the same way that Kuo's finding suggest that Asian Americans tend to cope with emotion focused way. However, the research findings did not support hypothesis. The analysis shows that most Japanese students (38 of 51) used problem -focused coping strategies, and gender differences towards coping strategies were not observed in a way which would strongly support Kuo's findings for Asian Americans; 'female Asian Americans tended to respond to discrimination with problem- focused strategies, while Asian American men tended to rely on emotion focused strategies' (Kuo, 1995:125). However, more female respondents discussed racist incidents or issues with their friends (especially Japanese friends) than male respondents. Thus, it needs to be tested by a larger sample, especially for the male group.

Interestingly the interview data revealed 28 'mixed copers', who varied their strategies

depending on the particular situation, and their cumulative experiences of racist encounters drove them from one coping strategy to another. Although some Japanese students may settle on one particular pattern of coping strategy, several respondents recognised that they had an option to choose their coping strategies according to their mood, and types of the problems encountered. They might feel that they cannot gain control over different situations through only 'one type of coping strategies' e.g.-either problem-focused or emotion-focused coping strategies may give them stress, whilst mixing styles of coping strategy may give them stress, whilst mixing styles of coping strategy may be less stressful, because of an increased sense of control and flexibility, their coping strategies were very much dynamic.

Twelve respondents coped with racial incidents actively and confrontationally. However, most of them did not expect such racist treatment in Britain when they were in Japan, so they must have developed a situational and a general knowledge of racism since they arrived in Britain. Thirteen people who expected unfair treatment in Britain, coped with racial incidents less confrontationally. Most of them adopted the rationalisation of, 'it could happen to foreigners in Japan, so it is the same for us here' and they didn't want to complain'.

All Japanese students admitted that speaking good English language and acquiring better communication skills in Britain was an important resource for them in dealing with ambiguous racial situations more actively and satisfactorily. With these powerful resources, they could discuss and challenge the majority population confidently. If they didn't have that confidence, they could not share their experiences of racist encounters and the host population would not know such a thing existed. In fact, as I mentioned, many British people surprised and reluctant when they heard my research topic. They didn't think racism against Japanese people existed or at least not so obviously.

There were some Japanese students who were reluctant to discuss the racial problems Japanese people encountered with the host population, not because lack of English language skills but because they were desperate to protect their image of Japanese people in Britain. They felt uneasy admitting to themselves as well as to the host population that they were members of a disadvantaged racial minority group.

A 'rationalisation coping strategy' appeared a lot in the interviews, in order to rationalise the causes of discrimination to cope with both subtle and blatant racism, and ignore experiences of racial discrimination. This optimistic rationalisation involves cognitive reconceptualisation of problems and their avoidance. These students also isolated their racial experiences from their British counterparts and their peers in Japan. Most respondents, both male and female in the current study, accepted their social status in Britain as 'guests'. Their mental orientation mirrored Hein's 'migrant' orientation, which emphasises 'foreign' status in explaining their disadvantaged status in the host society.

Most respondents adopted 'favourable comparison' and rationalised that they were treated better than most other non- white foreigners, for example, groups of East Asian and South East Asian people, and it reduced their stress. Japanese students' own racial 'grid' (chapter 2) in Japan, could strongly influence their way of rationalisation coping strategy.

As the Japanese students belonged to the majority group in Japan, the recognition of themselves as members of 'a discriminated against minority group' could badly harm their self-esteem, because, in the Japanese society, self-esteem is heavily based on the approval of others (Crocker and Quinn, 1997). However, Japanese students who felt like 'minorities' tended to cope with discriminatory incidents using a problem-focused

approach, and their self-esteem was well protected. They were empowered by their cumulative understanding and awareness of negative incidents.

After their experience of being a minority foreigner in Britain, most Japanese students admitted that their feelings and attitude towards ethnic minorities and foreigners in Japan had been changed. Predictably, most of them became pro-foreigners and anti-racism. However, a few respondents confessed that if they become a majority again, they would be the same as before, associating certain foreigners as criminal. As I mentioned in chapter 6, a situational and general knowledge of racism were crucial to their interpretation of and response to racial events and issues both in the UK, and in Japan. In fact after they returned to Japan, I would like to carry on researching how actually their knowledge of racism and experiences of being part of a minority affect their way of thinking in the Japanese society.

I think that because other East Asian (Chinese, Koreans) students share similar cultural values (not to complaint to the authority figures and so on), to Japanese students, it is likely that the issues of racism against them are also invisible to the host society. Moreover, I suspect that other East Asian students would share their racist experiences with their fellow students in Britain, and thus would cope with racist incidents by adopting a problem-focused approach instead of an emotion-focused approach. Experiences like discrimination could bring people of the same nationality closer, so I would not be surprised if most foreign students gradually shared their experience with other fellow students (problem-focused coping strategies), at least after cumulative experiences of racism. However, this aspect would need further study, and in fact, I met someone at a conference, who showed a keen interest in study, because she would like to do similar research with foreign born Indian students. It would certainly be interesting to analyse the differences between such foreign born Indian students' perception of racism,

and the coping strategies they used, in comparison to the Japanese students in this study. It would also be interesting to ascertain how Japanese students' experiences differ according to the different host countries in which they might find themselves, for example, in the United States, where different stereotypes might be held by the majority population. However, these comparative studies need to be conducted in the future.

Are the findings of this study generalisable to other foreign students in Britain? I think they probably are to other East Asian (Chinese, Koreans) students, as they share similar cultural values (not to complaint to the authority figures and so on), the issues also being kept as invisible to the host society. However, as interviews revealed, several Japanese students discussed the incidents with fellow Japanese students as well as other East Asian students, so they would discuss their friends in Britain, but I am not sure if they would discuss the issues with their families or friends in their own countries. It needs further study. However, I would say that these other East Asian students appear to cope with racist encounters by applying a problem-focused approach. Being foreign students in unfamiliar environment could bring people of the same nationality closer, and I suspect that most foreign students would share their experience with other fellow foreign students (problem- focused coping strategies), at least after an accumulation of racist experiences.

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APPENDIX 1

PRE-INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

JAPANESE STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

(Study by Yumiko Nishimuta, Ph.D. candidate, University of Kent)

* You don't need to fill out everything in detail.

Name: (Nickname is also OK) _____

Age: _____ Sex: _____

Name of university: _____

Type of your course: BA _____ MA _____ PhD _____ OTHERS _____

Subject of study: _____

Residence address & telephone: _____

Mobile phone & e-mail address: _____

Address (Prefecture) in Japan: _____

Parents' occupation:

Office worker ___ civilservant ___ retired ___ others _____

How many years have you been in Britain? _____

Please answer the following questions with "a. I strongly agree." "b. I partly agree." "c. I rather disagree." "d. I strongly disagree."

1. Overall British people are friendlier than Japanese. _____
2. In Japan, people are much more helpful to foreigners than people in Britain.

3. I feel socially accepted in Britain. _____
4. I am happy neither in Japan nor in Britain. _____
5. I really miss being in Japan. _____
6. I prefer living in Britain. _____
7. Overall, I have been treated well by British people. _____
8. My spoken English is very good, and I can communicate confidently in English. _____
9. I am highly aware of being Japanese in Britain. _____
10. My experience in Britain has been different from what I expected before I came. _____
11. If yes, please explain.

12. I spend most of my time here with other Japanese students. _____
13. British people do not know Japanese people well. _____
14. I do not come here to have British friends. I prefer to be with Asian people.

15. In the future, I want my children to be educated here. _____

Would you be willing to be interviewed in person? _____

The researcher would meet you at your convenience, and it is strictly confidential.

Thank you for answering these questions.

APPENDIX 2

JAPANESE STUDENTS' INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

NAME:

DATE:

PLACE:

TIME STARTED:

TIME FINISHED:

BACKGROUND

Why did you come to Britain?

What made you decide to come to the university?

When did you come?

How many years are you planning to stay more?

Where did you live when you first came to Britain?

Whom did you live with? How did you find living with this person/these people?

How good is your English?

How comfortable do you feel speaking English?

EXPECTATIONS

Before you came to Britain, what were your expectations of Britain and the British people?

How did you expect to be treated in Britain?

Did you worry about how you might be treated in Britain?

How did you expect to experience the racism?

Did you expect to make English friends or just expect to socialise with other Japanese students?

Did you expect to find an English girl/boyfriend?

Did you expect to live with English people?

EXPERIENCE OF THE RACISM IN BRITAIN

Tell me about your life here. How differently do people treat you British as opposed to Japanese?

Shops?

Restaurants?

In public transport?

At university?

How do you think other Japanese students are treated by non-Japanese?

What do you think of other foreigners' treatment by British students?

How do you feel you have been treated in comparison to other minority people, for example, Chinese, Pakistani, or Black people in Britain?

How do you spend your spare time here?

And who with?

Do you have any English or non-Japanese friends?

Do you have a non-Japanese boyfriend or girlfriend?

How do you feel you have been treated as a Japanese student?

By other students?

How do you think that non-Japanese students see Japanese students?

By teachers?

Have you ever experienced racism?

If yes, explain.

If no, describe your experiences with British people.

Where and when?

Could you explain what happened?

Did it happen when you were alone?

How did you respond it?

How did it make you feel?

Do you see other people (non-Japanese) experiencing racism?

When and where?

How did it happen?

How did it make you feel?

How do you think you are treated, in comparison with other Asian or Black people in Britain?

Do you notice other Japanese people being racially discriminated by British people?

Where and, how did it happen?

How did you feel?

How did you respond it?

Have you discussed any racist incident(s) with other Japanese?

With British people?

How did they respond to you?

If you have experienced racial incidents, why do you think you are treated this way?

Do you see yourself as a racial minority here in Britain?

FUTURE

What are you going to do, after you finish the course here?

Would you return to Britain?

Has your plan of future changed much since you came to Britain?

Why or why not?

What would you tell other students in Japan who were interested in studying in Britain?

Has your experience in Britain affected the way you think about foreigners or non-Japanese people in Japan?

Do you know of any other Japanese students who would be willing to be interviewed in Southeast?

