

## 9 Difference

### Beijing and beyond

The Fourth UN World Conference on Women was held in Asia in the fall of 1995. Over 40,000 women assembled, filled with excitement and enthusiasm: 'Empowerment for women moving forward to the twenty first century'. I was really overwhelmed by the power of Asian women, especially women at the grassroots level. Compared with the International Women's Year World Conference, held in Mexico City twenty years earlier, at which Asian women held a rather low profile, at the Beijing Conference, the first worldwide women's conference held in Asia, women spoke out and acted so powerfully.<sup>1</sup>

The woman reflecting on the twenty years of international women's conferences was Matsui Yayori, former editorial staff member of the prestigious *Asahi* newspaper and a founder of the Asian Women's Association. Matsui had participated in all of the United Nations conferences: Mexico in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995. As we have seen, other women from Japan had also participated in these conferences, which had provided opportunities for reflection on Japan's place in Asia and on the gendered dimensions of international relations in the region.

From the 1970s to the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, members of women's groups reflected on their place in the Asian region. The emphasis of such groups gradually changed, from seeing women in other Asian countries with some distance, to a consideration of their own connections with these women, of the situation of diverse groups of women existing within the boundaries of the Japanese nation-state, and of the histories which had produced the current configurations of gender, class, ethnicity, 'race' and nationality.

### The Asian Women's Association

Matsui Yayori was one of the founding members of the Asian Women's Association (*Ajia no Omatachi no kai*), along with Gotō Masako, secretary to parliamentarian Doi Takako. Matsui had been appointed to

*Asahi* in 1961 and had been involved in some of the women's liberation groups of the early 1970s. Through her work with *Asahi*, Matsui had developed an interest in environmental issues, gender and development in the Asian region, and liberation struggles in the region. The group chose 1 March (the anniversary of an uprising in colonial Korea) to launch the organisation in 1977.<sup>2</sup> They issued a manifesto which outlined their concerns and described their understanding of their relationship with women in other Asian countries:

We want to express our sincere apologies to our Asian sisters. We want to learn from and join in their struggles.

We declare the establishment of a new women's movement on March first. This day when Korean women risked their lives for national independence from Japanese colonial rule marks the start of our determined efforts.<sup>3</sup>

The choice of the date of a Korean uprising against Japanese colonialism signalled that they intended to confront this history, but it perhaps also suggests a certain romanticisation of the Korean women, or even a search for a form of militancy that was difficult to find in their own history. The first edition of the journal *Ajia to Josei Kanjō* (Asian Women's Liberation)<sup>4</sup> concentrated on political struggles in Korea and included the first of many articles on Japanese women's participation in the colonial project.<sup>5</sup> Subsequent editions focused on issues of political repression which affected women in Asian countries;<sup>6</sup> Japanese cultural imperialism;<sup>7</sup> liberation movements in Asian countries; the off-shore economic activities of Japanese companies; working conditions in transnational factories; labour activism and its suppression; pollution; the international tourism industry, which was increasingly being linked with prostitution;<sup>8</sup> and the history of Japanese activities in Asia.<sup>9</sup>

Their strategy for closing the gap between the Japanese women who read their journal and attended their meetings, and the other Asian women who were the focus of these writings and activities, was to concentrate on the theme of 'Asia in Everyday Life' (*Kurashi no naka no Ajia*). By considering the food, cosmetics and manufactured goods that were produced in Asia, brought into Japan and consumed by Japanese women and men, they were able to show the links between themselves and other Asian women.<sup>10</sup> The early discussion of 'Asia' in everyday life focused on the consumption of products from Asian countries and the dissemination of information about the conditions of their production. From the 1980s, encounters with 'Asia' could just as easily mean encounters with the immigrant workers who came to staff bars, small-scale industry, and construction sites. These concerns were addressed in a message to potential members of the group:

For women, Asia at first seems like a world far away, but it's really very close. Bananas from the Philippines, prawns from Indonesia and tea from Sri Lanka have become part of our everyday lives. There has also been an increase in the numbers of immigrant women workers, international students, and brides from Asia. Japanese men go to Asia to buy Asian women, while Japanese companies advance into Asia and employ Asian women as cheap labour. We ask you to join our group, study with us, engage in activism with us, and make links with women in Asia in order to change Japanese society and ask questions about our lifestyles. We welcome people who will support our group as volunteers, because we are a group without hierarchy.<sup>11</sup>

The members of the association thus came to see themselves as the beneficiaries of the exploitation of their Asian sisters, and unable to see these women simply as the objects of pity or concern. In their attempts to close the geographical and temporal gaps between themselves and their sisters, some members of the association were also led into historical research, including an interest in such issues as enforced military prostitution during the Second World War.<sup>12</sup>

The Asian Women's Association has undergone several transformations in the years since its founding, and it continues to address issues at the cutting edge of relationships between people in Japan and people in other Asian countries. In the late 1990s, its journal was renamed *Omachino Nijū Isshū* (Women's Asia: 21).<sup>13</sup> In the 1990s, it focused on the feminisation of poverty, sexual rights, ecology and feminism, and unwaged work, and included translated reports from activists in Thailand and the Philippines.<sup>14</sup> While much of the earlier journal had concentrated on issues of political economy, the new version also included analysis of cultural representations and discussions of such issues as masculine sexuality.<sup>15</sup>

### Tourism, migration and human rights

In the 1970s, a series of developments had brought the issue of tourism to the fore in Japan. The austerity of the postwar years was overtaken by the income-doubling plans of the 1960s. Relationships were normalised with South Korea, while Japanese businesses started to move production offshore, in a reaction to increased wages at home and to greater government control over industry in the aftermath of several industrial pollution incidents.

As middle-class Japanese became prosperous enough to become tourists, a particular pattern began to emerge. Statistics on tourist travel to certain Asian countries – first South Korea, then the Philippines and Thailand – showed that an overwhelming majority of these travellers were male. It became apparent that the attraction of these places was the

prostitution industry. Some of the earliest public demonstrations against this trend were by Korean women who demonstrated in 1973 at Kimpo International Airport (in Seoul), holding placards protesting against the tour groups from Japan.<sup>16</sup> Soon they were joined by groups of Japanese women who had come through the student left, organisations such as the Asian Women's Conference (see Chapter 7), Christian organisations in Japan and Korea, and newer organisations like the Asian Women's Association.<sup>17</sup> The Asian Women's Association formed coalitions with women's groups in South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand on this issue. Within Japan, the association worked with subgroups of the International Women's Year Action Group and with a range of Christian women's groups, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

In the 1970s, these issues were externalised in as much as this part of the prostitution industry was carried out offshore, but the issue was very close to home for some women as they tried to come to terms with the sexuality of the men who engaged in such activities overseas or who profited from their promotion of such tours. Many women internalised a policing role and spoke of their 'responsibility' to curb the behaviour of Japanese men. The Asian Women's Association also paid attention to Japan's role as a major donor of foreign aid in the region and the increased emphasis on support of tourism-related projects in the 1980s.<sup>18</sup>

These activities led to a consciousness that sexuality, as expressed through the use of the services of prostitutes in tourist destinations, was not simply a matter of the relations between individual men and women. Rather, the link between prostitution and the tourist industry necessitated an analysis sensitive to the inter-relationship of class, gender and 'race' relations, in the context of economic inequality between rich and poor countries. By the 1980s, however, an understanding of this interplay could no longer be externalised, as the industry was transformed. In the 1970s, prostitution was discussed in terms of the tourists who travelled to other Asian countries in search of commodified sexual services. From the 1980s, entrepreneurs within Japan started to employ immigrant women from the Philippines, Thailand and South Korea to work in the bars and massage parlours of Japan's major cities.<sup>19</sup> Certain spaces came to be identified with immigrant workers, bearing such labels as 'Little Bangkok'. Particular bars, known as 'Filipina Pubs', developed as sites for the consumption of the spectacle of sexualised and ethnised difference.<sup>20</sup>

Immigrant workers also include students and trainees who do part-time work, and other categories of workers who often enter on tourist visas and may overstay while engaging in various kinds of work. There are also interesting gendered patterns, with particular regions providing different proportions of male or female workers, and quite distinctive

employment patterns for male and female immigrants. The year 1988 seems to provide a turning point, with significant increases in the total numbers of illegal immigrant workers, changes in the proportions of male and female workers, and illegal immigrants entering from a wider range of countries.<sup>21</sup> Estimates of the number of legal immigrants can be made using alien registration statistics.<sup>22</sup> Those countries with a striking gender imbalance in favour of males in the 1980s were Bangladesh, Iraq and Pakistan. Females from the Philippines and Thailand were disproportionately represented in the statistics. The number of illegal immigrants can only be estimated by looking at the number of those apprehended by the Immigration Department.<sup>23</sup>

Among legal workers categorised by residence status, 'entertainers' form a significant proportion. While entertainers enter Japan under a legal visa category, this status often masks employment in hostess bars or massage parlours. As for illegal workers, male workers are overwhelmingly employed in construction and factory labour. The largest single category for illegal immigrant women is bar hostess, followed by factory work, prostitution, dishwashing and waitressing. In the 1990s, workers in the so-called 'entertainment' industry comprised a diminishing proportion of immigrant workers, and there was a small, but significant, rise in such jobs as factory worker.<sup>24</sup> The largest suppliers of foreign workers by nationality have been South Korea, Thailand, China, the Philippines and Malaysia.

Migration became an issue for the Immigration Department, the police, the judiciary, local governments, non-government organisations, and academia. The situation of immigrant workers also marked a new stage in Japanese feminists' engagement with women from other Asian countries. These 'others' were within the boundaries of the Japanese nation-state and likely to need assistance with the legal system, or protection from violent pimps or husbands, a major impetus for the setting up of women's refuges. Feminists within Japan could no longer assume that 'Japanese women' were the 'natural' object of their concern, or that they were separated from 'other' Asian women by geographical and cultural boundaries.

While the transience of the situation of many immigrant workers may have allowed evasion of a detailed consideration of their place in Japanese communities, or their conceptual space in discourses of citizenship, some crossed a conceptual boundary by marrying into Japanese families. From 1975, the typical 'international marriage' (*kokusai kekkon*) changed from the pattern of non-Japanese husband/Japanese wife to Japanese husband/non-Japanese wife, with these wives coming from the Philippines, China, Korea, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Brazil, Peru, and even Russia. There is considerable overlap between supposedly distinct analytical categories. Women who migrate as brides may be seen as a specific form of labour migration, as they provide domestic, sexual and reproductive

labour for their husbands. In other cases, a sham marriage may mask exploitation in the sex industry. Similarly, many legal or illegal immigrants may become involved with Japanese partners. If this results in marriage and an application for resident status, they will move into a new category as far as the Immigration Department is concerned.

Some migrants come to Japan through the mediation of marriage brokers. For a time, local governments were involved in promoting such marriages, but this was later delegated to private brokers. While women who migrated to rural areas were the main focus of the media, those who married husbands in urban areas received less attention.<sup>25</sup> As these women and their children became part of local communities, notions of community and nationality were challenged at the grass-roots, and commentators on gender relations needed ever more sophisticated models of the interplay between gender, class, 'race' and ethnicity.

The situation of illegal immigrant workers engaged in the sexualised service industry within Japan was linked – through a consciousness of human rights – with the political economy of tourism and prostitution, the issue of military prostitution in the Second World War, and the problem of militarised sexual violence around military bases in places such as Okinawa. The discourse of human rights was also mobilised by groups engaged in advocacy for the former outcaste class, as their publications and museum exhibits linked gender, class, caste, and ability and disability, with issues connected with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. A collection on human rights, edited by Watanabe Kazuko in 1994, brought together articles on feminist approaches to human rights, international human rights networks, sexual violence against female political prisoners, trafficking in women, military prostitution, sexual harassment, violent pornography, sexual violence by military personnel stationed in Japan, domestic violence, and the United Nations machinery for protecting women's human rights.<sup>26</sup> This interest in the gendered dimensions of human rights within Japan was congruent with an international interest in human rights, as reflected in the International Conferences on Human Rights in Bangkok and Vienna, and a focus on human rights at the Beijing Conference in 1995.<sup>27</sup> This engagement with international discussions was carried out in parallel with activities that focused on exposing human rights abuses within Japan and on setting up structures to deal with those who suffered these abuses as immigrant workers, in the sex industry, through sexual violence or through domestic violence.

### Women's refuges

A distinctive feature of the movement for women's refuges in Japan is that much of the activity in this area was stimulated by the plight of

immigrant women. While some public emergency accommodation had existed for most of the postwar period, this has generally been tied to particular legislative programs, such as welfare legislation or anti-prostitution legislation. Immigrant women in particular were not served by public facilities, and it was private NGOs which created the first refuges in the mid-1980s. HELP Women's Shelter (*Jossei no Ie*) was established in 1986, by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, to mark the centenary of the formation of the organisation in Japan. The shelter provides temporary accommodation and referral to lawyers, medical practitioners or social workers for women needing advice on domestic violence, marital problems or immigration issues. HELP volunteers are also involved in educational activities and networking with other NGOs.<sup>28</sup>

Although refuges like HELP were generally set up for immigrant women, they soon had to find room for Japanese women with no other escape from domestic violence. The links between the violence suffered by disparate groups of women brought home the necessity for an analysis of gendered patterns of violence, while the specific vulnerabilities of immigrant women focused attention on the dynamics of class, 'race' and ethnicity. Shelters are run by women's groups, Christian groups, citizens' groups with an interest in human rights, and anti-alcohol/anti-drug groups. Most are funded by subscriptions and donations, but some progressive local government areas provide support for private refuges, and complex networks have been built up between NGOs and local government welfare departments.

With respect to non-Japanese clients, volunteers may have to deal with the Welfare Bureau, the police, the Immigration Department, hospitals and other public facilities in order to deal with such matters as living expenses, travel expenses, pregnancy, birth, treatment of illnesses, legal assistance, infant welfare, and so on. This requires volunteers with specific knowledge and linguistic skills. Because of the lack of community consciousness about domestic violence or the issues facing immigrant workers, most shelters undertake community education activities, such as lectures, and the production of pamphlets, educational slideshows, videos or newsletters.<sup>29</sup>

As the patterns of labour migration and marriage migration shifted, workers in shelters dealt with new kinds of problems. Earlier groups of immigrant workers tended to seek the assistance of shelters in escaping from enforced prostitution and finding a way to return to their home countries. For immigrant women who married or lived with Japanese men, a new set of problems appeared. Some sought shelter from domestic violence by husbands or partners. Others sought to regularise the nationality status of their children. In order for the child of a Japanese father

and non-Japanese mother to receive Japanese nationality, it is necessary for the father to give official acknowledgment (*inmei*) of the child.<sup>30</sup> If a woman's visa status is 'spouse of a Japanese national', divorce will mean that she loses her residence status, and she will need to apply to the Department of Immigration for special permission for continued residence in Japan. While some women may be happy to return to their country of origin in such circumstances, the situation is more complex for women with children.

The authors of a 1995 report on shelters in Japan commented on a shift in attitude from 'helping' those in need, to working towards 'empowerment' in terms decided by the clients themselves.<sup>31</sup> Another commentator discussed such initiatives as Kawasaki City's childcare classes for immigrant women, which also provided a focus for networking for these women, with a shift from activities led by local welfare workers to ones initiated by the women themselves.<sup>32</sup> A representative of Yokohama's Mizura Space for Women described the development of a new 'human rights service sector' in the 1990s.<sup>33</sup> The Yokohama municipal government funded a study of shelter facilities in Japan and overseas in the early 1990s, in order to inform future policy development in this area.<sup>34</sup>

These patterns of feminist engagement with welfare issues provide an insight into some distinctive features of the Japanese situation. We can contrast Japan with the Australian situation in the 1980s, where feminist engagement with state institutions was so extensive that a special label was coined for feminist bureaucrats: 'femocrats'. Australian feminists for much of the 1970s and 1980s were able to receive government funding for such activities as establishing shelters, and were also able to make limited progress in setting up facilities which could address the needs of specific groups of women, such as those of non-English-speaking backgrounds.<sup>35</sup> By contrast, most of the Japanese activity has been carried out by private volunteer organisations dependent on subscriptions and donations. Some have been funded by private foundations, and a few progressive local governments have provided assistance to NGOs. Some commentators are now calling for increased government assistance for such activities, while recognising the dangers of co-optation and loss of autonomy.<sup>36</sup> There is still, however, an anxiety about government co-optation among many women's groups in Japan.

### Representing differences

From around the time when the proportion of immigrant male workers reached 40 per cent, and absolute numbers of both male and female

workers started to increase rapidly, newspaper articles increasingly focused on illegal immigrants as a problem for economic and labour market policy. One strand of this commentary was voyeuristic, describing living conditions, wages and working conditions in fine detail, drawing attention to the co-existence of disparate groups of people in local communities. Another strand of reporting concentrated on non-Japanese residents and their collisions with the criminal justice system, in cases related to visa problems, theft, assault, or the forging of telephone cards in a desperate attempt to keep in touch with relatives in their home countries.

Women's organisations and citizens' groups also devoted time to considering the language used to describe immigrant workers. A popular label for women immigrants from Southeast Asia was '*yapa-yuki-san*' (women who come to Japan), a pun on *Kara-yuki-san*, the women who travelled from Japan to Southeast Asia in the late nineteenth century, often being put to work as prostitutes.<sup>37</sup> Activists prefer to reject the sexualised connotations of *yapa-yuki-san* and have emphasised that these women are exploited as *workers*, with much in common with other groups of illegal immigrants to Japan. Other commentators referred to '*gaikokujin rōdōsha*' (foreign workers), a label which focuses on 'foreign-ness', while sidestepping the distinctions between legal and illegal visa status. Advocacy groups preferred to refer to '*karigai dekasegi rōdōsha*' (overseas migrant workers), or '*Aijin dekasegi rōdōsha*' (Asian migrant workers). The Immigration Department categorises people according to their visa status: legal or illegal.<sup>38</sup>

Women's groups were critical of popular men's magazines which initially published 'guides' to the brothel areas of Bangkok, Manila and Seoul, and later focused on their Tokyo and regional equivalents. One strand of this reporting attributes a certain amount of negative agency to the Thai and Filipino women in the sex industry, describing them as calculating and manipulative, and distracting attention from the structure of the industry and the groups and individuals who profit from their labour. Even articles in relatively well-meaning publications often focused on anecdotes of remittances sent home and electrical goods purchased, rather than on the coercive conditions suffered by many women workers.<sup>39</sup>

Representations of Filipino women also started to appear on television in the 1990s and in some independent films.<sup>40</sup> These films and programs often included the stereotype of the Filipino woman as hostess (or occasionally as marriage migrant), although Filipinas in Japan were also likely to be factory workers, domestic helpers, or students.

The claim of stereotyping was a main complaint of Filipinas living in Japan speaking out against the television drama [*Filipina o Aisshita Otokoachin* – Men Who Love

Filipinas]. In 1993, Liza Go, senior secretary at the Hiroshima Peace and Human Rights Center of the National Christian Council in Japan (NCCJ), led a group of Filipinas who protested this drama, describing it as 'discriminatory'. The first issue of the Thinking About Media and Human Rights Group's newsletter outlines the main complaints of these women: (1) Filipinas are stereotypically portrayed as deceptive, opportunistic, money-hungry hostess/prostitutes who willingly jump into bed for their own financial advancement. In addition, the meaner personality traits of Ruby (the hostess played by Moreno), the main character, may be viewed as characteristic of all Filipinas...<sup>41</sup>

This focus on labelling and representation reflected a desire to rethink the status of immigrant workers. Collections of repertoire or testimonials from immigrant workers provided a way of challenging such representations.<sup>42</sup> Although many of these works were filtered through the commentary of their Japanese authors or editors, they provided limited space for the words of immigrant workers. The protest against representations of Filipino women described above demonstrated that Filipino women, through their knowledge of English, could have some access to forums where they could speak back to an English-educated Japanese audience, at least. This was less likely to be true for immigrants from Thailand and other countries. Indeed, due to linguistic problems, it is Thai women who are said to have been subject to the most extreme exploitation as immigrant workers.

Tomiyama Taeko is a Japanese artist who has tried to find new ways of representing the struggles of women in Asian countries. Tomiyama was born in 1921 in Manchuria (which was then under Japanese economic control), returned to Japan with her family after Japan's defeat, and has spent much of her adult life documenting the darker side of Japanese history. More recently, she has turned her attention from those marginalised within Japan to those who suffer through economic marginality in the Asian region – those women who are exploited in the sex tourism industry, and those former military prostitutes who have broken their silence to demand compensation from the Japanese government for war crimes committed over fifty years ago. Tomiyama's involvement with these issues dates from 1973 when she joined demonstrations against sex tourism. Her black-and-white illustrations decorate the pages of the journal *Ajia to Josei Kaihō* (Asian Women's Liberation), and she continually experiments with new ways of disseminating her art. In the 1990s, she started to produce colourful oil paintings which she then transferred to slides. Slides provided a more accessible and portable method of display than static and expensive art galleries, and often formed a feature of meetings by such groups as the Asian Women's Association. Two series from the 1990s documented the issue of immigrant labour – 'Let's Go to Japan', and 'The Thai Girl Who Never Came Home'. The latter was

presented in collaboration with a Thai artist and musicians.<sup>43</sup> Tomiyama's account of her development as an artist describes the journey taken by one feminist activist in the last decades of the twentieth century:

I have felt a resistance to being ghettoised by the category of 'woman artist' and I have painted subjects in the shadows of modernity – paying attention to mines, the third world, the poetry of Korean political prisoners. When I came to paint the subject of military prostitution, I could not avoid the representation of sex. Three taboos – troublesome for a painter – were overlaid with each other – war responsibility, the Korean issue, and the representation of sex.<sup>44</sup>

In her art, Tomiyama moved from an engagement with marginalised mining workers within Japan, and the repression of political prisoners in Korea, to an engagement with issues which reveal the multiple axes of gender, class and ethnicity in the interconnected spaces of the political economy of contemporary East Asia. In finding ways to represent the women subject to enforced military prostitution, she attempted to find new methods of artistic representation, challenging taboos on discussing Japan's colonial history, and taboos on the topics which women could address in public discourse. Tomiyama also participated in the Asian Women and Art Collective. Their journal, *Visions*, provided a forum for the discussion of issues of gender and representation in the Asian region. The first edition, which appeared in 1993, was a special issue on gender and Orientalism. Later editions looked at feminist art theory and introduced the work of artists from other Asian countries.<sup>45</sup>

### Embodied differences

An illustration in the journal *Asian Women's Liberation* from the early 1990s depicts the sole of a woman's foot. Inscribed on the foot is a computer chip. This artistic representation is part of Tomiyama Taeko's attempt to help people within Japan to imagine the situation of immigrant workers, workers in transnational factories, and workers in the transnational sex industry. The caption to this illustration describes her concerns: Noi, a young girl who came to Tokyo to work from a poor farming village in Thailand. The things that surround Noi are neon lights and a hi-tech world. The contradiction of modern times is engraved into the body of the girl working in the sex industry.<sup>46</sup>

The cover of *Asian Women's Liberation* comes from a series of paintings 'The Thai Girl who Never Came Home'. Figure 9.1 shows one of the paintings from this series. Tomiyama's response to the conditions of women's work as part of the globalisation of economies may be seen as artistic, poetic and metaphorical. Her understanding of the mutual

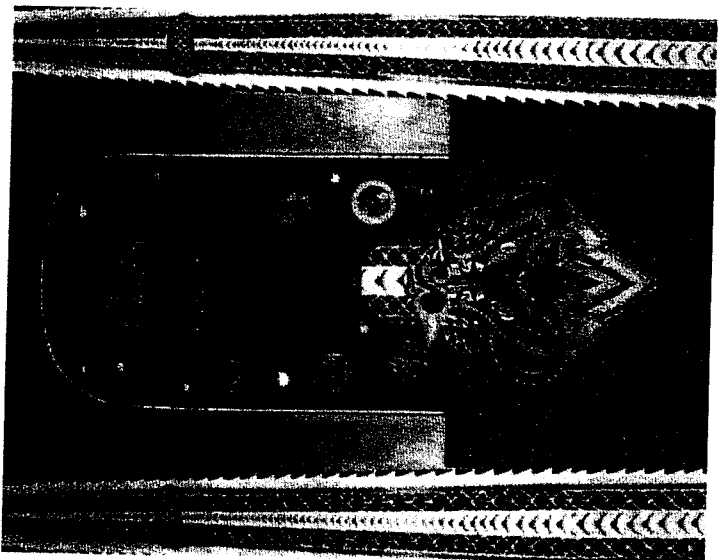


Figure 9.1 Postcard depicting a woman's hand on which is inscribed a computer chip (from Tomiyama Taeko's series 'Kaeranu Onnatachi', undated)

imbrication of machine and human body is dystopic, in contrast with recent feminist thinkers who have celebrated the hybrid figure of the cyborg.<sup>47</sup> Tomiyama's words and pictures are useful in highlighting new dimensions of the politics of embodiment. In earlier years, feminist discussions of embodiment had involved a consideration of the connections between physical labour and women's reproductive capacity. The issue of women's demands for control over their own reproductive capacity is one which has recurred in every decade in modern Japan. In the 1990s, attention shifted to the embodied experiences of migrant women and women in transnational industries. Many of the jobs created in the transnational tourist industry depended on various kinds of embodied labour, while the jobs made available to immigrant workers in Japan were those described as 'dirty, difficult, and dangerous' (*kiitanai, kitsui, tiken*) and generally involved physical labour.<sup>48</sup>

There are some distinctive features of immigration policy in Japan. There is an implicit privileging of mental labour over physical labour

encoded in immigration policy – a mind-body split whereby intellectual, white-collar work is given recognition but manual and physical labour is not and certainly sexual labour is not. While male workers in construction and manufacturing are often discussed in terms of labour policy, the women who come to work in the entertainment industry are officially discussed in terms of morality and policing. So far, the Japanese Department of Immigration has failed to permit immigration for the purpose of engaging in what is defined as unskilled labour. This means that it is illegal to import labour for domestic work, although anecdotal evidence suggests that some families are finding ways to employ overseas maids. Japan is thus relatively distinctive in not importing large numbers of domestic workers.<sup>49</sup> Rather, the overwhelming majority of women entering the country from Southeast Asia are working in some part of the 'entertainment' industry. Thus, the sexualised image of immigrant women workers in Japan is partially produced by the workings of immigration policy, which make it difficult for immigrants to be employed as domestic workers, while the legal category of 'entertainer' provides a mask for a continuum of sexualised activities, from singing and dancing, waitress-ing and hostessing, to prostitution.<sup>50</sup> In other words, immigrant workers offer a range of personalised, and often embodied, services in the bars and brothels of the urban centres of Japan.

While economic rationalist arguments have sometimes been made for the recognition of immigrant workers in manufacturing and construction, immigrant women workers have remained beyond the pale of discourses of citizenship. The women from Thailand and the Philippines who engage in entertainment, waitressing and prostitution are subject to voyeuristic attention, with an added element of sexualisation. While male workers' jobs are physically dirty, these women bear the stigma of sexualised labour. Like their male counterparts, they engage in work with long hours and difficult working conditions, with the added danger of violence and sexually transmissible disease. The dynamics of employment in the entertainment industry within Japan thus have much in common with the purchase of the services of prostitutes in the tourism industry of Southeast Asia. Encounters between male customers in the entertainment industry of the major Japanese cities, and the women from Southeast Asian countries working in this industry, reinforce gendered and racialised hierarchies through embodied practices. The daily repetition of encounters between Japanese white-collar workers and immigrant workers in the entertainment industries reinforces the opposition between Japanese and non-Japanese, male and female, mental labour and physical labour, sexualised labour and non-sexualised labour. Hierarchies are also reinforced through the practice of using immigrant labour in jobs which are thought to be 'dirty, difficult and dangerous': those jobs are

seen as increasingly undesirable by young Japanese people entering the workforce, but appropriate to be carried out by immigrant workers.

While artists such as Tomiyama Taeko used imaginative resources to come to terms with such embodied labour, other activists collected testimonials, and NGOs worked to set up shelters, community unions and advocacy groups, as we have seen. Academics attempted to analyse the cultural logic which naturalised the divisions between mental and physical labour.<sup>51</sup>

In some countries, arguments have been made for the recognition of prostitution as work and for its decriminalisation. It is only quite recently that prostitutes' advocacy groups have been seen in Japan, despite the attempts to form a red-light district workers' union in the immediate postwar period.<sup>52</sup> Although decriminalisation has recently been debated by Japanese feminists, it is rarely promoted by those performing advocacy for immigrant workers, for they recognise the coercive conditions many of these women work under.<sup>53</sup> Another distinctive feature of the Japanese debates is the history of a state-regulated system of prostitution in early twentieth century Japan, and the relatively recent (1956) enactment of legislation prohibiting prostitution.

Many immigrant women work in situations where violence is one of the strategies used to exert control. Workers in shelters attempt to assist women escaping from such violence. Other support groups have addressed the needs of immigrant women charged with violent retaliation against the employers who have coerced them into prostitution. Several Thai women were charged with murder or attempted murder in the early 1990s, suggesting the desperation of women whose only hope of escape from a coercive situation is violence. It seems that it has been those women who, through linguistic and other barriers, are furthest from the reach of NGO assistance who find that their only escape is through violent retaliation. Also, it is their immediate supervisors (often immigrant women themselves) who have been the target of such attacks, rather than the entrepreneurs who ultimately profit from their sexual labour.<sup>54</sup>

Domestic violence is another embodied practice which reinforces gendered, sexualised and racialised hierarchies. Activists dealing with the violence suffered by immigrant workers and by Japanese and non-Japanese wives in domestic situations have thus been sensitised to what has been called the 'gendered division of violence', whereby those in positions of power due to their gender, class or ethnicity perpetrate violence on those in less powerful positions.<sup>55</sup> In the case of policies on domestic violence, the government of Japan recognised this issue when it passed legislation on spousal violence in 2001, although activists are still dissatisfied at the failure to address the matter of militarised sexual violence during the Second World War.<sup>56</sup>

Such an understanding of the 'gendered division of violence' may also be linked with the institutionalisation of prostitution in military institutions, whether this be the history of military prostitution in the Second World War, or the current issues of sexual violence against women in the communities adjacent to military bases in Japan, South Korea and other parts of Asia. Such issues have brought together feminists in Okinawa and elsewhere in Japan, South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines.<sup>57</sup>

### Sisters in Okinawa

Okinawa has been the site for a feminist discussion of militarised sexual violence, and the gendered and sexualised dimensions of international relations. Although the Allied Occupation of mainland Japan ended in 1952, Okinawa remained a protectorate of the United States and thus continued to suffer the effects of direct military occupation. Even after reversion to Japan in 1972, it has retained a disproportionate number of US military bases and has thus been at the frontline of all of the problems associated with hosting a large number of military personnel.<sup>58</sup> New Left interest in Okinawa in the 1970s, as we have seen, focused on the labour conditions of local workers in the military bases, and on the connection between these bases and US activities in Vietnam. More recently, attention has concentrated on the effects of bases on the local economy, the sex industry which has developed around the bases, and incidents of sexual violence against local women. Okinawa is now another destination for the immigrant women from Asian countries who work in Japan's sex industry.

In 1995, an Okinawan adolescent girl was sexually assaulted by three US soldiers. This was not a unique occurrence: such assaults had been prevalent throughout the postwar period. However, the response of Okinawan residents ensured that *this* incident would become a matter of international relations. First of all, the local authorities chose to prosecute the offenders in local courts, rather than delegating this responsibility to the US military. Secondly, there was a network of feminist activists, attuned to the political significance of such incidents through their campaigns for compensation for women forced into military prostitution in the Second World War, and through their participation in the UN International Women's Conference in Beijing. Finally, the then Governor of Okinawa, Ōta Masahide, was willing to challenge the governments of both Japan and the United States by delaying, for as long as possible, local government ratification of an extension to the agreement to house US bases on Okinawan soil. The result was the extraordinary spectacle of

representatives of the Japanese and US governments discussing the sexual behaviour of soldiers. The events of 1995 thus gave new impetus to the movement against military bases which had been carried on in Okinawa throughout the postwar period.

Okinawan women had presented a workshop on sexual violence at the Beijing Conference. On return from Beijing, they were faced with the future over the assault and immediately moved into action, drawing on many of the networking skills they had been discussing at the conference. They embarked on a 'Peace Caravan' to the United States in February 1996, using the opportunity to establish networks with human rights groups, women's groups and environmentalist groups. As the members of *Behetren* had done nearly thirty years before, they took out an advertisement in the *New York Times*, in order to address the American people directly with their concerns about the stationing of US bases on their land and about the problems which these bases brought to the Okinawan community.<sup>59</sup> As they tackled the question of the effects of military bases on local economies, they made contact with women in South Korea, which also hosted extensive US military facilities, and in the Philippines, where the links between the former military bases and the current tourism industry were an ongoing concern. In their attempts to understand the deployment of sexuality in military institutions, they also formed coalitions with advocacy groups for former military prostitutes, another network which spanned the Asian region.

### Militarised memories

An initial focus of the Asian Women's Association, as we have seen, was the links between women and men in Japan and women and men in other Asian countries. They attempted to transcend the geographical gaps between themselves and other Asian countries. These interests were informed by an interest in the histories which produced the current configurations of gender, class, ethnicity and 'race' in the region. These historical interests were paralleled by the activities of the collective which produced a series of publications under the title *Yūgoshi Nōto* (Notes for a History of the Homefront). The *Yūgoshi Nōto* collective attempted to close the temporal gap which separated them from their mothers who had experienced the militarised state of the 1930s, the age of imperialism and colonialism in Asia, and the Pacific War. In documenting women's complicity with the militarist state, they implicitly and explicitly questioned the workings of the postwar Japanese political system, and the roles women should play in this system. They also traced the genealogy of the military prostitution system.



The issue of enforced military prostitution removed the possibility of distance from the events of the Second World War. The women claiming compensation were often elderly Korean residents surviving in contemporary Japan; the younger women supporting their claim came from the Korean resident community; and the failure of the Japanese government to come to terms with this issue caused them to ask searching questions about the current political regime. Activism and research on military prostitution also drew on 1970s campaigns around the issue of the links between tourism and prostitution, and on the networks of activists in several Asian countries who had addressed the axes of gender-, class- and ethnic-based inequalities.<sup>60</sup>

To international observers, it might seem that the issue of military prostitution suddenly appeared in public forums in the 1990s, fifty years after the end of the Second World War. Knowledge about the military brothels had, however, been retained not only in the memories of those forced to engage in prostitution but also in the memories of their customers and their recruiters. Official records of the existence of these brothels were largely destroyed after Japan's defeat. However, traces of evidence were available in various forms. We now know that such evidence exists in the Japanese Department of Defence and in the military archives of the Allied countries, and that the brothels were mentioned in some war crimes trials after the Second World War.<sup>61</sup>

A feminist historian and member of the *Jūgoshi Nōto* collective, Kanō Mikiko, has shown that accounts of military prostitution and rape appeared in the memoirs of ex-soldiers from the 1950s. Kanō, who has analysed these memoirs, points out that these accounts were written from the point of view of the male perpetrators of sexual violence, with little consciousness of the plight of the women subject to such violence. The use of military brothels and the rape of civilian women are presented in the memoirs as exoticised sexual experiences.<sup>62</sup>

In 1970, a former military officer admitted that he had been responsible for setting up military brothels in Shanghai, one year after the massacre which has come to be known as the 'Rape of Nanking'. The brothels were seen as containing the violence of the soldiers and as a way of controlling the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The stories of the women who had been enforced labourers in these brothels came to light in the 1970s, as Japanese and Korean historians interviewed Korean residents who had been brought to Japan as enforced labourers and who had remained there after the end of the Second World War. Many of the interviews took place in the southernmost prefecture of Okinawa, which had recently reverted to Japanese control. These oral historians found that not only had hundreds of thousands of Koreans been subject to conscripted labour, but also that many women had been forced to engage in sexual labour.

The first books on this issue appeared in the 1970s.<sup>63</sup> These early works brought the matter to public attention in Japan, but mainly focused on Japan's responsibility for its wartime aggression and its history of colonial domination over Korea. The women were portrayed as victims of Japanese colonial and military aggression, with little attention paid to the specifically sexual exploitation they suffered. A feminist analysis of military prostitution only became possible after a series of developments in the women's movement in Japan, which have been surveyed above, and parallel developments in women's movements in the countries which shared this history.

However, even in the early 1970s, the issue of military prostitution is mentioned in the texts of the early women's liberationists in Japan and appears sporadically until the 1980s, when it receives more sustained attention. Tanaka Mitsuo's analysis of masculine sexuality, in her impassioned manifesto 'Liberation from the Toilet',<sup>64</sup> suddenly had a new relevance as feminists tried to understand the psychic structures and institutional arrangements which had made the military brothels possible. ¶

Events moved rapidly in the early 1990s. First of all, a Korean woman, Kim Hak Sun, decided to break her silence about her experiences and claim compensation from the Japanese government. At around the same time, historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki found records in the archives of the Department of Defence which proved the involvement of the Japanese military, strengthening the case of Kim and her fellow petitioners. Soon, Kim Hak Sun was just one of a group of women from Southeast Asia, the Netherlands and Australia who brought their stories into the public domain, bolstered by advocacy groups who supported their claims for compensation from the Japanese government.<sup>65</sup>

As women in NGOs planned a series of tribunals to address the issue of violence against women in conflict situations, the question of the understanding of history started to be raised in a range of forums. The inclusion of accounts of the wartime activities of the Japanese army had long been an area of controversy, with historian Ienaga Saburō engaged in a long-running series of court cases over the censorship of his history textbook. In popular culture, cartoonist Kobayashi Yoshinori contributed to the denial of wartime activities in a series of illustrated narratives. While some pressured the Japanese government to apologise and compensate the victims of the military prostitution and enforced labour systems, a group of parliamentarians started to publicly question the veracity of accounts of massacres and militarised sexual violence. Finally, a group of conservative historians collaborated in the production of two revisionist textbooks for school history and social studies courses.

Historians and activists formerly associated with such groups as the *Jūgoshi Nōto* collective and the Asian Women's Association, and other

progressive historians, debated the political importance of the writing of history. Their long engagement in historical research at a grass-roots level meant that they were well placed to refute the claims of the revisionists. Feminist sociologist Ueno Chizuko also entered the debates on gender and history with her reflections on gender, nationalism and imperialism. The work of historians was also vital to the conduct of the People's Tribunal.<sup>66</sup>

### Degrees of diaspora

Another group which tried to come to terms with this history were the women from the Korean resident communities in Japan.<sup>67</sup> The military prostitution issue has been one catalyst for the creation of feminist groups among these communities. One member of a Korean resident feminist group has commented:

Until now, *zainichi* people have failed to go beyond simply criticising Japanese society, but we now realise the necessity of criticising sexism within our own community as well. Many *zainichi* men believe that the 'comfort women' issue is solely a racial one, but this is not the case. Why, for instance, did the former 'comfort women' remain silent for half a century? Why did these women in North and South Korea remain hidden? It is largely because of patriarchal Korean society. Prostitution exists in our own male-dominated society. The same can be said of the *zainichi* community itself, and we need to be critical of our own society.<sup>68</sup>

The existence of Korean and Taiwanese communities, the descendants of those who migrated to Japan during the colonial period, is one legacy of Japan's imperial and colonial past. For much of Japan's postwar history, nationalist issues have been the major political concerns in such communities, the Korean community in particular being split between groups with alliance to North or South Korea.<sup>69</sup> The creation of feminist groups in these communities is a relatively recent development.

While some scholars have used postcolonial theory to interrogate contemporary British society, arguing that the problems of racialised relationships are a direct legacy of the colonial project, these perspectives have also been brought to bear on Japanese history. Relations between 'majority' Japanese and Okinawan, Ainu, Korean and Chinese minorities are a constant reminder of Japan's colonial history, while former enforced labourers, war orphans, internees, and military prostitutes refuse to let the Japanese state forget this history. A generation of leftist and feminist historians in Japan has been engaged in recording these histories. Although they have not, until recently, labelled this project 'postcolonial', their writings can usefully be brought into dialogue with critiques of postcoloniality in other parts of the world.<sup>70</sup>

Second- and third-generation Korean and Taiwanese residents are now called 'oldcomers', in comparison with the 'newcomers', the newer labour immigrants. However, many issues of concern to these communities remain unresolved. Immigrant communities have, since the 1980s, been protesting against the alien registration system and their exclusion from public service positions, and have been calling for full benefits under the welfare system. Some progress has been made, and the next hurdle is political representation in local government. These descendants of earlier migrants have more chance of entering the Japanese public sphere through their biculturalism – some are bilingual in Japanese and Korean, while Japanese is the first language for others. One group of Korean resident women celebrated hybridity in the name '*Uri Yosong Netto*' (Our Women's Network), a combination of Korean and Japanese English. Such groups also provide a further dimension to discussion of the newer immigrant groups. The second- and third-generation residents are the descendants of an earlier wave of labour migration, but South Korea also contributes significant numbers of illegal 'newcomers'.

In 1990, the Immigration Control Act was modified to allow second- and third-generation descendants of Japanese emigrants to enter Japan for up to three years, in a long-term resident category with no restriction on engaging in employment.<sup>71</sup> These descendants of Japanese who migrated to the Americas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may now enter Japan to work legally under this special visa category, and it seems that some women of these communities are working in Japan in nursing or caring occupations, while others work in factories alongside other family members.<sup>72</sup>

Some suggest that the changing welfare situation in Japan may be a catalyst for changes to immigration policy. With the increase in the proportion of the aged population, and the strain this is putting on public and private facilities and private families, some argue for the importation of unskilled labour as nursing aides and domestic workers – likely to be another case of using immigrant labour for what is seen as 'dirty' and 'difficult' work, and unlikely to lead to a professionalisation of caring professions. Once again, there is a curious conjunction of seemingly disparate issues: welfare, ageing, migration and labour market policy in the context of globalised labour markets.

### Feminism in a transnational frame

The United Nations Women's Conference in Beijing in September 1995 provided many of the abovementioned groups with an opportunity to present their issues to an international audience, and to consider

strategies for change. Three sets of workshops deserve mention in this context: attempts to raise the issue of enforced military prostitution (which built on activities directed at the Bangkok and Vienna conferences on human rights), workshops on issues related to immigrant workers, and workshops by Okinawan women on militarism and sexual violence.<sup>73</sup>

Women's groups within Japan had spent over a year preparing for their activities at the Beijing Conference.<sup>74</sup> The following statement was issued by the East Asian Women's Forum in October 1994:

It is said that the 21st century will be the century of Asia. Japan has become a global economic power; the NIES (newly industrialised economies – South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) have achieved outstanding economic development; China and Macao have accelerating economic growth; and Mongolia is moving toward a market economy.

The economic energy of East Asia is having an impact on the lives of people of the world through the filling of the world market with the wealth and abundance of its products. This emergence of Asia is capturing great interest around the world.

However, it is questionable whether the current type of economic development based on the free market system improves quality of life, gender equality and the advancement of women... Deeply rooted gender-role divisions limit women's participation in policy decision-making in every sphere including economics, politics, society, education, mass media and culture. We maintain that gender equality is far from being realised.<sup>75</sup>

Those groups which focus on migration issues have learned that the relationships between immigrants and their relatively privileged hosts in Japan have been shaped by a history of imperialism and colonialism and by the features of the contemporary political economy of East Asia. Their experience of dealing with immigration has taught them that issues of difference and inequality are now very close to home, but they have taken their struggles back into international circles through such forums as the Beijing Conference. The Migrant Women's Research and Action Committee produced a booklet for Beijing which outlined their concerns. In addition to documenting the conditions of immigrant workers, they outlined a program of action:

1. Support and help migrant women to organize their own organizations.
2. Link migrant women's organizations relates [sic] with local NGOs especially women's NGOs which focus on the common problems all migrants face.
3. Demand the proper application of all laws to migrant women.
4. Demand that Japanese labor unions acknowledge that they and migrant workers have common goals and solidarity.<sup>76</sup>

Okinawan women, as we have seen, mobilised the skills learned from the Beijing experience in their campaigns against the use of their land by US bases and against the militarised sexual violence which accompanied

the bases.<sup>77</sup> Beijing was also important to support groups for the survivors of the military prostitution system.

One stage of the campaigns around military prostitution involved simple testimonials. Women came out in public statements, oral history interviews, memoirs, autobiographies, and documentary films and videos to reveal their experiences of enforced military prostitution. Eventually, they were supported through demonstrations, lobbying, historical research, mock trials at NGO forums, testimonials at UN meetings on human rights, and an investigation by a UN Special Rapporteur, with some women eventually taking their claims into the legal system to demand compensation. The Beijing Conference was important to these women in strengthening international networks and in providing an international public forum for their concerns.

The culmination of a series of NGO tribunals on human rights issues was held in Tokyo in December 2000 and attracted over 5000 participants, including sixty survivors from the Second World War, lawyers and scholars, and spectators from over thirty countries. The tribunal was jointly sponsored by organisations from North Korea, South Korea, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Japan and Burma. In reports on the tribunal, the women's testimonials were first of all framed in poetic terms:

We celebrate every woman  
 who had the courage to speak.  
 Each woman – a miracle of survival;  
 Every testimony – a triumph of truth;  
 Every truth, a condemnation of an unspeakable crime:  
 Crimes against women in times of war  
 Crimes of war against women in times of peace.  
 And in speaking out, we are naming;  
 We are resisting,  
 We are transforming.  
 See us come from the different cultures of Asia  
 See us bring our knowledge and wisdom to the fire  
 See us heal and make ourselves whole again.<sup>78</sup>

The organisers of this tribunal also presented their judgments in legalistic terms and justified the action in terms of 'moral responsibility' and participation in 'global civil society':

This is a People's Tribunal set up by the voices of global civil society. The authority for this Tribunal comes not from a state or intergovernmental organization but from the peoples of the Asia Pacific region and, indeed, the peoples of the world to whom Japan owes a duty under international law to render account. Some will say this Tribunal lacks due process guarantees. It cannot and does not purport

to provide such guarantees. Further, this Tribunal steps into the breach left by states and does not purport to replace their role. The power of the Tribunal, like so many human rights initiatives, lies in its capacity to examine the evidence and develop an enduring historical record.<sup>79</sup>

Although these women have not yet been successful in obtaining compensation from the Japanese government, they have contributed to a transformed discourse on human rights which has meant that militarised sexual violence is now seen as an issue which can and should be discussed in public forums. Campaigns on migration, tourism, prostitution and militarised sexual violence have brought women from various communities in Japan into contact with international networks.

In December 2001, a meeting was held in Tokyo to report back on the judgment of the People's Tribunal. The judges had taken almost a year to prepare their judgment, which was announced at The Hague, a city linked with human rights struggles through the location of the International Court of Justice and the recently created International Criminal Court. As had been foreshadowed in a preliminary statement at the original tribunal, they found the defendants guilty of crimes against humanity.

Before the Tokyo meeting commenced, a small group of women of several nationalities held a vigil outside the public hall. They were dressed in black from head to toe, their faces hidden by black veils. These women were affiliated with an international movement called *Women in black*, who have used such occasions to silently mourn the women who have been the victims of institutionalised violence and human rights abuses. The first such demonstrations were undertaken by Israeli, Palestinian and American women in 1988. Since then, they have been carried out around the world, including protests against the war in the former Yugoslavia, and vigils associated with the terrorist attacks in the United States in September 2001 and the subsequent war in Afghanistan. By staging a vigil as 'women in black', the women associated with the People's Tribunal were visually affirming their links with women's groups around the world.<sup>80</sup>

People in Japan have had to deal with the question of their relationships with their neighbours in other Asian countries throughout the postwar period, often in the shadow of an imperialist history which has not yet been publicly dealt with in any satisfactory way. Feminist commentators have contributed to debates on the legacy of the Second World War and have challenged revisionists who wish to deny the atrocities committed by the military. Commentators have necessarily operated with a consciousness of two parallel time frames: the frame of colonial modernity and the frame of postcoloniality.<sup>81</sup> Some contemporary issues are a legacy

of the imperial and colonial past: the existence of a substantial minority of the descendants of Korean and Taiwanese immigrants from the colonial period, and the claims for compensation by those subject to enforced labour and enforced prostitution in the Second World War. Other issues reflect Japan's place in the postwar political economy of East Asia: the consumption of products produced in the transnational factories of the Asian region, the gendered effects of tourism on the economies of the region, and the issue of the rights of immigrant workers within the boundaries of the Japanese nation-state. We could argue, with Gupta and Ferguson, that current perceptions of cultural difference have been historically produced in a world of 'culturally, socially, and economically interconnected spaces'.<sup>82</sup> These are the issues which feminists face at the start of the twenty-first century.

## NOTES

1 Yayoi Matsui, *Women in the New Asia: From Pain to Power*, trans. by Noriko Toyokawa and Carolyn Francis, *Bangkok: White Lotus*, Melbourne: Spinifex Press, and London and New York: Zed Press, 1999, p. 1 (translation of Matsui Yayori, *Omatashi ga Tsukuru Ajia*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996).

2 1 March 1919 marks the date of an attempted Korean uprising against Japanese rule, which included the participation of women students. Kim Yung-Chung (ed./trans.), *Women of Korea: A History from Ancient Times to 1945*, Seoul: Ewha Women's University Press, 1982, pp. 233, 260-4.

3 *Asian Women's Liberation*, No. 1, 1977, p. 2.

4 A literal translation of the Japanese title would be 'Asia and Women's Liberation', but 'Asian Women's Liberation' is the title the group uses in English.

5 *Ajia to Josei Kaihō*, No. 1, 1977, pp. 16-20.

6 *ibid.*, No. 3, 1978.

7 *ibid.*, No. 4, 1978.

8 *ibid.*, No. 2, 1977; No. 8, 1980.

9 *ibid.*, No. 5, 1978; No. 12, 1982; No. 13, 1983.

10 *ibid.*, No. 11, 1981; No. 19, 1987.

11 *ibid.*, No. 21, 1992, back cover. For further consideration of the concept of 'Asia in everyday life', see Vera Mackie, 'Asia in Everyday Life': Dealing with Difference in Contemporary Japan, in Brenda Yeoh et al. (eds.), *Gender and Politics in the Asia Pacific: Agencies and Activisms*, London: Routledge, in press.

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15 *Omatashi no Nijū Issaiki*, No. 9, 1996, pp. 49-50, 55-6.

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- 18 Vera Mackie, 'Japan and South East Asia: The International Division of Labour and Leisure', in David Harrison (ed.), *Tourism and the Less Developed Countries*, London: Belhaven Press, 1992, pp. 75-84.
- 19 *Ajia to Josei Kaihō*, No. 14, 1983, No. 21, 1992; *Asian Women's Liberation*, No. 8, 1991.
- 20 See discussion of the representation of these spaces in popular culture in Vera Mackie, 'Japayuki Cinderella Girl': Containing the Immigrant Other', *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, May 1998, pp. 45-64.
- 21 Itō Ruri, 'Japayukisan' Genshō Saikō: 80endai Nihon e no Ajia Josei Ryūnyū', in Iyotani Toshio and Kajita Takamichi (eds), *Gaikokujin Rōdōhanon*, Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1992, p. 294.
- 22 All overseas residents in Japan who are there for more than 90 days must be registered in their local government area and carry an Alien Registration Card (*Gaikokujin Tōroku Shō*), which bears a photograph, at all times. The law on alien registration was revised in 1993, so that permanent residents are no longer required to be fingerprinted. In later revisions, temporary residents no longer need to be fingerprinted, but the alien registration system remains in place. Hanami Makiko, 'Minority Dynamics in Japan', in John C. Maher and Geyan MacDonald (eds), *Diversity in Japanese Culture and Language*, London: Kegan Paul International, 1995, p. 142.
- 23 Kasama Chinami, 'Tainichi Gaikokujin Josei to "Jendā Baisau": Nihonteki Ukeire no Ichi Sokumen to Mondaiten', in Miyajima Takashi and Kajita Takamichi (eds), *Gaikokujin Rōdōsha Kara Shinin e: Chitki Shakai no Shiten to Kadai kara*, Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1996, pp. 165-6.
- 24 Kasama, 'Tainichi Gaikokujin Josei to "Jendā Baisau"', p. 168.
- 25 *ibid.*, p. 172.
- 26 Watanabe Kazuko (ed.), *Josei, Bōryoku, Jinken*, Tokyo: Gakuyō Shobō, 1994. See also Matsui Yayori, 'Ajia ni Okeru Sei Bōryoku', *Kokusai Josei* '92, No. 6, December 1992; Josei no Jinken Inka, *Josei no Jinken Ajia Hōtei*, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1994; Osaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, *Osaka Jinken Hakubutsukan Tenji Sōgō Zuroku*, Osaka: Osaka Jinken Hakubutsukan, 1999, revised edition.
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- 31 Yokohama-shi Josei Kyōkai, *Minkan Josei Sherutā Chōsa Hōkokū*, Vol. 1.
- 32 Kasama, 'Tainichi Gaikokujin Josei to "Jendā Baisau"', p. 177.
- 33 Abe Hiroko, 'Mizura: Providing Service to Women in Yokohama', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996, p. 167.
- 34 Yokohama-shi Josei Kyōkai, *Minkan Josei Sherutā Chōsa Hōkokū*, Vols 1 and 2, *passim*.
- 35 Much of this activity was curtailed with a shift to conservative governments in the 1990s. On Australian feminists' engagement with state institutions, see Suzanne Franzway et al., *Staking a Claim: Feminism, Bureaucracy and the State*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989; Marian Sawyer, *Sisters in Suits: Women and Public Policy in Australia*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992; Marian Simms, 'Women and the Secret Garden of Politics: Preselection, Political Parties and Political Science', in Norma Griever and Ailsa Burns (eds), *Australian Women: Contemporary Feminist Thought*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994; Margaret Thornton, *The Liberal Promise: Anti-Discrimination Legislation in Australia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990; Sophie Watson (ed.), *Playing the State: Australian Feminist Interventions*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990; Anna Yearman, *Bureaucrats, Technocrats, Femocrats: Essays on the Contemporary Australian State*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992; Anna Yearman, 'Women and the State', in Kate Pritchard Hughes (ed.), *Contemporary Australian Feminism*, Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1994.
- 36 Kasama, 'Tainichi Gaikokujin Josei to "Jendā Baisau"', p. 182.
- 37 The word '*Kara-yuki-san*' is composed of three elements: '*Kara*', an archaic word for China, but here referring broadly to any overseas destination; '*yuki*', from the verb 'to go'; and '*san*', an honorific title. '*yapa-yuki-san*' replaces China with Japan, and thus refers to immigrants who come to Japan. While '*san*' is a non-gender-specific title, the word '*yapa-yuki-san*' generally refers to women, and an examination of the context of its usage reveals that it generally refers to Southeast Asian women in sexualised occupations. One can occasionally see male immigrant workers referred to as '*yapa-yuki-kun*', using the male-specific title '*kun*'.
- 38 Itō, 'Japayukisan' Genshō Saikō', p. 293.
- 39 Himago Akira, 'Japayuki-san no Gyakushū!', *Bessatsu Takarajima 106: Nihon ga Taminzoku Kōka ni Naru Hi*, Tokyo: JICC Shuppankyoku, 1990, pp. 83-91; Hisada Megumi, 'Watashi, Nippon no Papasan to Kekkon shite Happi na?', *Bessatsu Takarajima 106: Nihon ga Taminzoku Kōka ni Naru Hi*, Tokyo: JICC Shuppankyoku, 1990, pp. 68-82.
- 40 Ann Kaneko, 'In Search of Ruby Moreno', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, p. 121; see also David Pollack's discussion of the cartoon book and independent animation feature *World Apartment Horror*, which deals with illegal immigrants in contemporary Japan and the repressed history of Japan's imperialist past; the article contains perceptive comments on a Japanese masculinity constructed in opposition to feminised and racialised others. David Pollack, 'The Revenge of the Illegal Asians: Aliens, Gangsters, and Myth in Ken Sarotshi's

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- 43 Tomiyama Taeko, *Kaeranu Omatachi: Jagan Ianfu to Nihon Bunka*, Tokyo: Iwanami Bukkuretto, No. 261, 1992; Tomiyama Taeko, 'Tai no Gakatachi to no Kōryū Kara', *Aija to Josei Kaihō*, No. 21, 1992, pp. 35-6; Hagiwara Hiroko, 'Off the Comprador Ladder: Tomiyama Taeko's Work', in Sunil Gupta (ed.), *Disrupted Borders: An Intervention in Definitions of Boundaries*, London: Rivers Oram Press, 1993, pp. 55-68.
- 44 Tomiyama, *Kaeranu Omatachi*, p. 20.
- 45 *Visions*, No. 2, 1 February 1994.
- 46 Asian Women's Liberation, No. 8, 1991. See also: Tomiyama Taeko, *Silenced by History*, Tokyo: Gendai Kikaku Shitsu, 1995.
- 47 Donna Haraway, 'A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s', *Australian Feminist Studies*, No. 4, Autumn, 1987.
- 48 Elizabeth Grosz and other feminist commentators have argued that women and subordinate groups 'embody' all of those elements which are marginalised from masculine models of citizenship. While Grosz was referring to 'white' European males as the archetypal citizens, it could be argued that Japanese males occupy a similar structural position with respect to various marginalised 'others' in contemporary Japan and its regional labour markets, all those who take on those jobs which are 'dirty, difficult, and dangerous'. 'Women... take on the function of being the body for men while men are left free to soar to the heights of theoretical reflection and cultural production... Blacks, slaves, immigrants, indigenous peoples... function as the working body for white "citizens", leaving them free to create values, morality, knowledges.' Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994, p. 22.
- 49 Diplomatic personnel may employ domestic workers or chauffeurs who speak English. This allows them to employ overseas workers, often from the Philippines. While such workers have a legitimate visa status, they do not come under the purview of the Labour Standards Law. The Labour Standards Law is the legislation which regulates the working conditions of regular workers, but it does not apply to domestic workers. Azu Masumi, 'Current Situation and Problems of Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers', in *Migrant Women Workers' Research and Action Committee* (eds), *NGOs' Report on the Situation of Foreign Migrant Women in Japan and Strategies for Improvement*, Tokyo: Forum on Asian Migrant Workers, 1995.
- 50 Gupta and Ferguson argue that 'the area of immigration and immigration law is one where the politics of space and the politics of otherness link up very directly. If... it is acknowledged that cultural difference is produced and maintained in a field of power relations in a world always already spatially interconnected, then the restriction of immigration becomes visible as one of the means through which the disempowered are kept that way.' Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 1, February 1992, p. 17. See also Itō, 'Japayukisan' Genshō Saikō, p. 296.
- 51 Itō, 'Japayukisan' Genshō Saikō; Inagaki Kiyō, 'Nihonjin no Firipin-Zō: Hisada Megumi, "Firipina o Aishita Otokotachi" ni Okeru Firipin to Nihon', in Aizawa Isao (ed.), *Aija no Kōsaten: Zainichi Gaikokujin to Ciiniki Shakai*, Tokyo: Shakai Hyōronsha, 1996, pp. 271-96.
- 52 Momoca Momocco, 'Japanese Sex Workers: Encourage, Empower, Trust and Love Yourself!', in Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Deozema (eds), *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 178-81.
- 53 Ehara Yumiko, Nakajima Michiko, Matsui Yayori, and Yunomae Tomoko, 'The Movement Today: Difficult but Critical Issues', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, pp. 38-52; Group Sisterhood, 'Prostitution, Sigma and the Law in Japan: A Feminist Roundtable Discussion', in Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Deozema (eds), *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, London: Routledge, pp. 87-97.
- 54 Matsui, 'Aija ni Okeru Sei Bōyoku'; Matsushiro Toako, 'Problems in Legal Procedures: The Murder Trial of Trafficked Thai Women', in *Migrant Women Workers' Research and Action Committee* (eds), *NGOs' Report on the Situation of Foreign Migrant Women in Japan and Strategies for Improvement*, pp. 40-3.
- 55 V. Spike Peterson and A. S. Runyon, *Global Gender Issues*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993, p. 37; Gillian Youngs, *International Relations in a Global Age: A Conceptual Challenge*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 109.
- 56 An English translation of the Law for the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims (*Hateishita kara no Bōyoku oyobi Higaisha no Hogo ni kansuru Hōritsu*) is available at <<http://www.gender.go.jp/index.html>>.
- 57 Takasato Suzuyo, *Okinawa no Omatachi: Josei no jiten to Kichi Gunrai*, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1996; *Agora*, No. 217, 1996; Takasato Suzuyo, 'The Past and Future of Unai, Sisters in Okinawa', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, pp. 133-43.
- 58 Takasato, *Okinawa no Omatachi*, p. 135.
- 59 *Agora*, No. 217, 1996; Takasato Suzuyo, 'The Past and Future of Unai, Sisters in Okinawa', pp. 133-43.
- 60 Yamazaki, Hiromi, 'Military Slavery and the Women's Movement', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, pp. 95-7.
- 61 The emergence of the issue is traced in Vera Mackie, 'Sexual Violence, Silence and Human Rights Discourse: The Emergence of the Military Prostitution

- Issue', in Anne Marie Hilsdon, Martha Macintyre, Vera Mackie and Maïla Stevens (eds), *Human Rights and Gender Politics: Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 37-59.
- 62 Kanō Mikiko, 'The Problem with the "Comfort Women Problem"', *Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1993, p. 42.
- 63 Senda Kakō, *Jūgun Ianfu*, Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1978; Kim Il-Myon, *Nihon Josei Aishi*, Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1980.
- 64 See Chapter 7.
- 65 Hanguk chongshindae munje taecheok hyobuhoe, *Kangjŏro hkyulyogwan Chosonn kunyūbandul*, Seoul, 1993; Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman: Slave of Destiny*, Manila: Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism, 1996; Keith Howard (ed.), *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women*, London: Cassell, 1995; Jan Ruff O'Herné, *Fifty Years of Silence*, Sydney: Editions Tom Thompson, 1994; Yoshimi Yoshiaki (ed.), *Jūgun Ianfu Shiryōshū*, Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 1992; George Hicks, *Comfort Women: Sex Slaves of the Japanese Imperial Forces*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995.
- 66 On these debates, see, *inter alia*, Suzuki Yūko, *Sensō sekinin to jendā: 'Jūjū shugi shikan' to Nihongun Ianfu Mondai*, Tokyo: Miraisha, 1997; Takahashi Teruya, *Rekishi, Shisetsūjūgi*, Tokyo: Iwanami, 2001. On gender and nationalism, see Ueno Chizuko, *Nashonarizumu to jendā*, Tokyo: Seidosha, 1998.
- 67 Yun, Jeong-Ok (ed.), *Chōsenjin Josei ga Mita Ianfu Mondai*, Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1992.
- 68 Kim Puja, 'Looking at Sexual Slavery from a Zainichi Perspective', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, p. 158. 'Zainichi' literally means 'resident in Japan', but is often used as a shorthand term for the resident Korean community.
- 69 During the colonial period, Koreans and Taiwanese were treated as 'subjects' of the Japanese Emperor, but Japanese nationality was revoked in the 1950s after the ratification of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The Korean War made it difficult for these residents to choose to live in Korea, and they had to choose an allegiance to either North or South Korea, although resident in Japan.
- 70 cf. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, New York: Routledge, 1987; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, New York: Routledge, 1990; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, New York: Routledge, 1993; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999; Kang Sang-Jun (ed.), *Posutokoro-narizumu*, Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2001.
- 71 Yamawaki Keizō, 'An Overview of the Influx of Foreign Workers to Japan', in International Peace Research Institute Meiji Gakuin University (eds), *International Female Migration and Japan: Networking, Settlement and Human Rights*, Tokyo: International Peace Research Institute Meiji Gakuin University, 1996, p. 18.
- 72 Some commentators describe Brazilian and Peruvian women of Japanese descent who work as what they call 'convalescent attendants'. Few commentators question the assumption that this is a gender-typed occupation. Yamanaka Keiko, 'Factory Workers and Convalescent Attendants:

- Japanese-Brazilian Women and Their Families in Japan', in International Peace Research Institute Meiji Gakuin University (eds), *International Female Migration and Japan: Networking, Settlement and Human Rights*, pp. 87-116; Kasama, 'Tainichi Gaiokujūjin Josei to "Jendā Barasu"', pp. 165-86.
- 73 Matsui Yayori, *Beijing de Moeta Onnatachi: Sekai Josei Kaigi '95*, Tokyo: Iwanami Bukureito No. 391, 1996.
- 74 *Agora*, Nos 199-210, 1994-95.
- 75 Matsui Yayori, 'Economic Development and Asian Women', in Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, p. 55.
- 76 Kadokawa Toshiko, 'Afterword', in Migrant Women Workers' Research and Action Committee (eds), *NGOs' Report on the Situation of Foreign Migrant Women in Japan and Strategies for Improvement*, pp. 54-5.
- 77 Takasato, *Okinaawa no Onnatachi*.
- 78 VAWW-NET-Japan, Report on the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000, <vaww-net-japan@jca.apc.org> (accessed 27 December 2000).
- 79 *ibid.*
- 80 On 'women in black', see <http://www.igc.org/balkans/wib>.
- 81 cf. Barlow, *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*.
- 82 Gupta and Ferguson, 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', p. 8.