

BEING *HAFU* (BIETHNIC JAPANESE) IN JAPAN:
THROUGH THE EYES OF THE JAPANESE
MEDIA, JAPANESE UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS, AND *HAFU*
THEMSELVES

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Asian Studies

College of Humanities

The University of Utah

May 2014

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ABSTRACT

There is generally scarce research concerning the *hafu* (biethnic Japanese) experience in Japan; therefore, the current study sets out to contribute to scholarship on this subject by examining Japanese media images of *hafu*, and how those images affect Japanese and *hafu* individuals' conception of *hafu* in Japan. Five research questions were posed: (1) How are *hafu* represented in the Japanese media ethnically? (2) How do Japanese university students perceive *hafu* to be depicted in the Japanese media? (3) Do Japanese university students perceive *hafu* to be generally Japanese/White as suggested by media images? (4) How do Japanese university students perceive *hafu* individuals? (5) What are *hafu* individuals' perceptions of employment opportunities in Japan?

Two populations, Japanese university students (n=49) and *hafu* individuals (n=8), were surveyed, and the nationality and ethnicity of listed *hafu* celebrities on a Japanese internet celebrity database were categorized. Findings revealed that *hafu* celebrities tended to be commonly Japanese/White. Japanese university students perceived *hafu* to be depicted in the media as good-looking, subjects of envy for their Japanese/White appearance, and linguistically ambiguous. The general theme for impressions given for specific *hafu* celebrities was that they were not "normal" Japanese. Further, Japanese students perceived "real life" *hafu* to be more likely Japanese/Asian, rather than Japanese/White. Japanese university students perceived *hafu* in general as being multilingual, good-looking with foreign physical features, and having traits of

“internationalism.” Finally, *hafu* individuals who had grown up in Japan tended to perceive more employment opportunities in Japan; whereas, *hafu* who had grown up abroad perceived more employment opportunities abroad. However, *hafu* generally perceived more opportunities for employment in jobs that required bilingualism as a skill set in Japan.

The narrow stereotypes created for *hafu* by the Japanese media seems to affect how both Japanese and *hafu* individuals perceive “being *hafu* in Japan,” as the common impressions given about *hafu* by Japanese students mimicked the media depiction of *hafu*, and *hafu* themselves felt more compelled to position themselves as “international” bilinguals in the Japanese job market.

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A NOTE ON ANGLICIZED JAPANESE WORDS

For Japanese words appearing in text, the traditional Hepburn romanization system has been used. Long vowels are indicated with macrons, for example, *ā* and *ō* (except for terms commonly spelled without macrons, such as Osaka). In some cases, the original Japanese has been written next to its anglicized form. In Japanese, the word “*hafu*” (meaning biethnic Japanese) is originally taken from the English word “half,” which is pronounced in Japanese as “ha-fu.” Although it is commonly spelled in roman characters as “*haafu*,” I have chosen to use the spelling “*hafu*” (the macron has been omitted) to stay consistent with the traditional Hepburn romanization system used throughout this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During my M.A. studies, Dr. Wesley Sasaki-Uemura acted as my primary supervisor, and Dr. Mamiko Suzuki and Dr. Reiko Hayashi were my thesis committee members. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep felt gratitude to all three professors for their informative courses and mentorship throughout this journey. They have demonstrated generosity with their time, knowledge, and a genuine care for helping me to develop my skills as a research student. This project would not have been realized if it were not for their support, and their diverse specializations have enabled me to learn from a truly interdisciplinary team on how to conduct academic research through a wide variety of methods.

I would also like to thank the University of Utah's Asia Center and Director Dr. Janet Theiss for providing a stimulating environment for my studies, and the U.S. Department of Education for granting me the Foreign Area and Language Studies Fellowship (FLAS) to support me in my academic career. Thanks to this generous scholarship, I was able to focus on my academic curriculum and research work.

My gratitude also goes to all of the people who kindly participated in my surveys for this thesis. Last but not least I am grateful to my parents for their encouragement and affectionate support.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Becky¹ is currently a popular celebrity in Japan, appearing in a number of television shows and commercials and releasing a series of pop songs. Being half Japanese and half British, she is a so-called “*hafu* celebrity.” Recently, a book titled *Becky Lucky Tour in Europe* was published by the Nippon (Japan) Television Network Corporation as part of a television show that Becky costars in called “Let’s Go to the End of the World Q!” (世界の果てまでイッテ Q!). In the show, Japanese celebrities travel worldwide and experience bizarre and exciting activities. Considering that Becky is the celebrity chosen to cover the area of Europe for the show, the image created, as suggested by the book, plays on a common depiction of *hafu* celebrities in the Japanese media; that is, they are Japanese/Western (White), and they bring a taste of the West to Japan. Although the Japanese media predominantly portray the image of *hafu* as being Japanese/White and at times emphasizes their ability to speak English or another European language to impress upon the audience a sense of Japanese “internationalism” (*Kokusaika*, 国際化), such an image is not in accordance with the reality of the majority *hafu* experience in Japan.

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2010a) of

¹ Becky’s official website: <http://www.becky-music.jp/index.html>

Japan, in 2010 the four largest ethnic groups in Japan, excluding the “other” category, were, in order: Chinese, Korean, Brazilian, and Filipino. For such ethnic groups, having lived in Japan for generations, becoming a part of and contributing to Japanese society, many have internalized a Japanese identity alongside their ethnic identities, especially second or third generations. Further, due to the fact that they are the representative population of foreigners who have settled in Japan, there is a greater likelihood for *hafu* individuals in Japan to be mixed with Chinese, Korean, Brazilian, and Filipino ethnicities rather than the dominantly portrayed Japanese/White *hafu* in the Japanese media.

In fact, the 2011 percentile rankings of the nationalities of the foreign parent for *hafu* infants, from the Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare of Japan (2011a), shows that Japanese/White² *hafu* constituted a smaller proportion compared to other ethnicities; as can be seen in Table 1.³ Additionally, the percentile ranking of the nationality of the foreign spouse in an international marriage in Japan for 2011 from the Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare of Japan (2011b) can be seen in Table 2.⁴

In observing both Table 1 and Table 2, it becomes clear that the ethnicities/nationalities: Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and American comprise the top of the rankings, which signifies that in 2011, *hafu* infants or soon to be born infants (assuming that the married couples in Table 2 had children) were likely to be half Japanese and half Chinese, Korean, Filipino, or American (excluding the “other” category); which indicates more Japanese/Asian *hafu* births than Japanese/White *hafu* births.

In this study, I have chosen to focus on the *hafu* population specifically because I believe the position *hafu* occupy in Japanese society reveals to us something about the

² In this case assuming that the USA category includes European Americans.

³ I have formatted the table.

⁴ I have formatted the table.

construction of “ethnicity” in Japan.

The Positioning of Non-Western Versus Western Nationalities
in Japanese Society

In considering the various ethnic (national) backgrounds that *hafu* come from, it is important to take notice of the different positions that various nationality groups occupy in Japanese society. For example, Table 3⁵ shows the top three industries in which Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Brazilian, American, and British⁶ residents in Japan are employed, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2010b), as of 2010.

Among the listed nationalities in Table 3, the only nationalities whose top ranking for employment is in the academic sector are the Americans and British. Although Americans and British are also employed in the service and wholesale retail sectors, for the most part, they are the only nationalities in the table whose top three employment sectors include academics. This reveals that there are marked differences in how these nationality groups are positioned in Japanese society. These differences are due to the historical contexts in which these national groups have been received into Japanese society.

For Japan, the initial act of opening its doors to foreign trade and relations during the Meiji period (1868-1912), was motivated by the desire to “catch up” with (and not be defeated by) the modern advances the Western nations demonstrated in technology,

⁵ I have formatted the table.

⁶ As it has been established in the current discussion that *hafu* are likely to be half Japanese and Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Brazilian, or American, the remainder of the discussion will focus on the social and economic positions these ethnic communities occupy in Japanese society. “British” is added and grouped with “American” to constitute Western nationalities.

science, political systems, and the newly emerging concept of nationhood itself. This desire to be on a par with Western civilization affected the relationship Japan had with non-Western countries, which directly links with how the Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Brazilians have been received into Japanese society throughout the past century.

During the 19th and early half of the 20th century, impoverished peasants, laborers, and merchants emigrated from China in search of better opportunities. It was in the larger global context of Western imperialism that the Chinese were brought to Japan as servants and employees of the Western merchants who had been stationed in the treaty ports of China, but with the “opening” of Japan, expanded their business into Japan (Kamachi, 2004, p. 199). Further, Japan’s occupations of Manchuria (1932-1945) and Taiwan (1895-1945) also brought a significant wave of Manchurian Chinese and Taiwanese forced laborers to Japan (Shipper, 2002, p. 54).

The “old-comer” Chinese population residing in Japan are the descendants of those who settled in the foreign settlements of the Meiji period, such as Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki (Chen, 2008, p. 42). After extraterritoriality was abolished in 1899, Western residents were allowed to reside off the foreign settlements; however, the Chinese residents were not given the same privilege and they were confined to such occupations as “cook, tailor, and barber,” known as “three knives” (*San-ba-dao*),⁷ due to fear that they would steal the jobs of the Japanese (Chen, 2008, p. 42). Hence, as a legacy from the past, today many “old-comer” Chinese residents continue to engage in business

⁷ This was effected by Imperial Ordinance No. 352, which declared that “those foreigners who did not have freedom of residence according to a treaty or custom could reside, move, and engage in trade and other activities outside the former foreign settlements. However, in the case of laborers, permission from the authorities was required in order to reside or work outside these former foreign settlements” (Yamawaki, 2000, p. 41).

in the Chinatowns of Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki (Chen, 2008, p. 43).

Since the 1980s, new comer Chinese residents in Japan have entered as students or technical trainees (*kenshyusei*), often placed in poor factories in rural areas; furthermore, there is a sizable population of “over stayers” who continue to reside and work in Japan regardless of the expiration of their visas, and they occupy the lower classes due to limited job options because of their illegal status (Chen, 2008, p. 43).

Korean migration to Japan occurred primarily between the period of 1910-1945 when Korea was colonized by Japan. The “old comers” are involuntary migrants (Okano 1997, p. 526) who came to Japan because their lands were confiscated by the Japanese colonial government, and they had no employment options in Korea (Tai, 2004, p. 357). During the period between 1939 to 1945, Koreans were brought to Japan by force (Tai, 2004, p. 357) as colonial laborers to work under inhumane conditions in mines, construction and agricultural sites, and factories (Lee, 2000, p. 208) to support Japan’s imperial ambitions and expansion. Lee (2000) states, “As conscripted labor, Koreans had little control over the conditions of their existence in Japan (p. 209). Many old comers are now in their 70s or older (Lee, 2000, p. 211). They are often illiterate, not included in the pension system (regardless of having paid taxes), and suffer the results of having been discriminated against in education, employment, and housing (Lee, 2000, p. 212).

The second and third generation Koreans residing in Japan, regardless of being born in Japan and being assimilated into Japanese culture, are not automatically given a Japanese nationality (they must naturalize if they wish to become Japanese), and face the same challenges of discrimination; although, compared to the postwar period of the 1950s and 1960s, overt institutional and social discrimination against Koreans has

lessened in recent years (Kim, 2008, p. 886). Today, the cities of Osaka and Tokyo are home to a large population of *zainichi* Korean⁸ residents (Lee, 2000, p. 211).

According to Suzuki (2008), Filipino immigrants in Japan have been received primarily as entertainers (with various meanings) throughout the past century. In the early years of the 1920s and 1930s, Filipinos in Japan were invited into society as jazz musicians and boxers (Suzuki, 2008). Suzuki (2008) contends:

[S]ince the beginning of the Meiji Restoration(1868), Japanese had imported Western lifestyles and popular culture on a massive scale in order to “civilize,” (i.e., “Westernize”) the nation and to avoid colonization by the Western powers. Against this background, it was the Filipinos who served to “civilize” and “Westernize” the Japanese in the fields of jazz and boxing. (p. 68)

From the 1970s onward,⁹ Filipinos were received as “female entertainers” to work in bars as hostesses and dancers, or in some cases as prostitutes (Suzuki, 2008, p. 71). Yujose (2007) describes that prior to the 1960s, “[Japanese][s]ociety and the government did not hide them [Filipinos] in the generic term, “entertainer,” which today is often used as euphemism for bar girl or prostitute” (p. 80). Further, in more recent years, Filipinos are emerging in Japan as caregivers to meet the demands of Japan’s increasingly ageing society (Lopez, 2012, p. 256),¹⁰ and many Filipino women have shifted their roles in Japanese society from that of “female entertainer” to caregiver with the hope of changing the negative stigmatization placed on them (Suzuki, 2008, p. 73).

When discussing the Brazilians in Japan, the population to be noted here are the Japanese Brazilian (*Nikkeijin*) return migrants and their family members. It was in the

⁸ *Zainichi* Korean is the political term used to assign a nationality to Koreans residents in Japan.

⁹ As a result of the 1973 Philippine Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation (Ballescas, 2009, p.128).

¹⁰ The Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement of 2008 aims to officially receive Filipino caregivers; however, nonprofit organizations are also players in the “market” for receiving Filipino caregivers (Ballescas, 2009, p. 127; Lopez, 2012).

early half of the 20th century that a significant number of Japanese migrated to Brazil; driven out of Japan as impoverished peasants, they landed on the coffee plantations of Brazil (Tsuda, 2001, p. 53). In the 1980s, when Japan was in dire need of unskilled laborers to work in its manufacturing industry, the Japanese government turned to the Japanese Brazilians to fill this labor gap (Tsuda, 1999, p. 688), due to their “ethnic affinity” with the Japanese (Tsuda, 1999, p. 698). In 1990, the Japanese government revised the Japanese Immigration Control Law to omit legal and employment restrictions for only *Nikkeijin* (Japanese descendants, first through the third generation) and their spouses (Carvalho, 2003, p. 195). Therefore, due to having been brought into Japanese society as unskilled laborers to work in the factories, Japanese Brazilians commonly live in the prefectures of Aichi, Shizuoka, Kanagawa, Saitama, and Gunma, where there is a concentration of industry (Tsuda, 2003a, p. 99)

The way in which Westerners have been received into Japanese society differs markedly from the incorporation of Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Brazilians. As stated earlier, the West, in the Meiji period, was considered as the epitome of human advances in social evolutionary standards;¹¹ therefore, naturally, Japan sought to emulate the elements they perceived that made the West modernized. Several missions¹² were dispatched to Western countries, during the years leading up to and during the Meiji period, so that Japanese scholars and politicians could learn from the West. Further, considerable hiring of Westerners (French, Dutch, British, American, and German) to assist in development and foreign language instruction took place in the Bakumatsu

¹¹ E.g., Fukuzawa Yukichi’s theory was that Western civilization was the most socially evolved; therefore, the Japanese should strive to become as evolved. See Yukichi, F. (1973).

¹² E.g., Japanese Embassy to the U.S. (1860), Japanese Embassy to Europe (1862) & (1863), and Iwakura Mission (1871).

(Jones, 1974, p. 305) and Meiji periods (Gooday & Low, 1998, p. 105).

According to Conrad (2000), prior to 1945, Japan looked to European nations such as Germany, France, and England, as role models for their modernization; however, after Japan's defeat in World War II, America became the nation that represented the leading "Western model" for Japan (p. 72). Indeed the Occupation of Japan by the Allied powers, whose goal was to "demilitarize, and democratize" Japan (Gordon, 2009, p. 227), and the subsequent "Americanization" of Japanese culture, where American films, music, fashion, and diet penetrated Japanese lifestyle to create what we know today as modern Japanese culture, all point to the ways in which America, as the West, has left its mark on Japan. In fact, the mass media image of America and Europe as the "imagined West" in Japan is so strong, that Japanese youth feel compelled to visit or move to the U.S. and Europe to experience this perceived culture for themselves (Fujita, 2004).

Hence, when we examine the way in which the nationalities Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Brazilian have been positioned in Japanese society in contrast to how Westerners have been positioned, we see that Westerners have been given a privileged status (as advisors and role models), whereas, non-Western nationalities have been brought in to *serve* Japanese society (primarily as laborers). With such historical factors, it is understandable that the Americans and British are positioned in the academic sector, which directly signals prestige, and the non-Western nationalities groups are placed in the "labor intensive" industries of manufacturing, service, and business.

When applying this major contrast in positioning between non-Western nationalities and Western nationalities, it becomes evident that the nationality/ethnicity of *hafu* plays a crucial role in determining how they are perceived and treated in Japanese

society. The nationality/ethnicity of the non-Japanese parent for *hafu* also comes to determine the social environment they are born into and the resources available to them. For example, a Japanese/Filipino *hafu* child born to a Filipino mother who works as a bar hostess will not have the same class status and social resources compared to a Japanese/White *hafu* child born to a British father who is a professor in a university. The contrasting social stigma attached to the two children will affect the treatment they receive from their Japanese peers and Japanese society at large.

Hafu are still a small minority population in Japan and according to the Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare (2011a), only 1.9% of the total births in Japan were of *hafu* infants in 2011. Due to the small numbers, the way in which the Japanese media portrays *hafu* creates stereotypes that directly affect the experiences of *hafu* living in Japanese society. Further, it becomes evident that the stereotypes created of *hafu* as an “international” Japanese/White figure are directly influenced by Japan’s historical relations with the West.

Research Questions

Being a *hafu* myself, and having lived in Japan for a few years during my childhood and adolescent years, I have always been interested in the experiences of other *hafu* Japanese people living in Japan. My master’s thesis research prompted me to attend a conference in Japan in 2012 focused on *hafu* issues. In attending the conference and meeting various *hafu* individuals from a multitude of backgrounds and hearing their discussions on their experiences of being stereotyped and discriminated against in Japanese society, I noticed that much of the dialogue was contained within the sphere of the *hafu* community. Hence, I began to wonder how Japanese individuals view *hafu*

individuals. Further, I felt the urge to investigate more about just how common it is for *hafu* to be represented in the Japanese media as Japanese/Western (White) *hafu*, which signifies them as symbols of “internationalism” in Japan. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to answer the research questions:

1. How are *hafu* represented ethnically in the Japanese media?
2. How do Japanese university students perceive depictions of *hafu* in the Japanese media?
3. Do Japanese university students perceive *hafu* to be generally Japanese/White as suggested by media images?
4. How do Japanese university students perceive *hafu* individuals?

Furthermore, another aim of the current study is to examine how *hafu* individuals perceive and situate themselves in Japanese society, specifically by examining their perceptions about employment opportunities. Because *hafu* individuals who were raised in Japan are not completely foreign in ethnicity and cultural upbringing, they are in the unique position of being insiders and outsiders at the same time. Such social positioning can be both advantageous and disadvantageous with regard to employment opportunities, especially in Japan where the ideal of uniformity and homogeneity in culture and ethnicity prevails over diversity. Therefore a fifth research question I take up is:

5. What are *hafu* individuals’ perceptions of employment opportunities in Japan?

Hypothesis

With my first question, I hypothesize that *hafu* celebrities are usually of the ethnic background Japanese/White. Further, for research question three, I hypothesize that Japanese university students would identify *hafu* as being generally Japanese/White due to the influence of media representations of *hafu* as such. Finally, for the fifth research question, I hypothesize that *hafu* individuals are likely to perceive more employment opportunities existing abroad than in Japan due to discriminatory treatment in Japan.

Exploratory Questions

Research questions two and four, about Japanese university students' perceptions of *hafu* in Japanese media and in actual life, are exploratory in nature and, therefore, do not involve a hypothesis, but rather a search for emerging themes.

Table 1: Percentile Rankings of the Nationalities of Foreign Parents
(Data Source: Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare, 2011a)

Japanese Father and Foreign Mother	Japanese Mother and Foreign Father
1. China 34.8%	1. Korea 25.5%
2. Philippines 25.8%	2. USA 17%
3. Korea 18.4%	3. China 12%
4. Other 12.7%	4. Other 32.5%

Table 2: Percentile Rankings of the Nationalities of Foreign Spouses
(Data Source: Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare, 2011b)

Japanese Groom and Foreign Bride	Japanese Bride Foreign Groom
1. China 42.6%	1. Other 28.6%
2. Philippines 22.6%	2. Korea 26.6%
3. Korea 16.3%	3. USA 19.9%
4. Other 10%	4. China 12.3%
5. Thailand 5.5%	5. Brazil 4.3%
6. Brazil 1.3%	6. United Kingdom 4.2%
7. USA 1.1%	7. Philippines 1.9%
8. Peru 0.5%	8. Peru 1.5%
9. United Kingdom 0.3%	9. Thailand 0.7%

Table 3: Foreigners in Japan According to Their Employed Industry
 (Data Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2010b)

Nationality	Employed Industry By Ranking		
Chinese	1. Manufacturing	2. Hotel, Food Service	3. Wholesale, Retail
Korean	1. Wholesale, Retail	2. Hotel, Food Service	3. Manufacturing
Filipino	1. Manufacturing	2. Hotel, Food Service	3. Wholesale, Retail
Brazilian	1. Manufacturing	2. Service (not categorized)	3. Wholesale Retail
American	1. Education, Supplementary Teaching	2. Service (not categorized)	2. Academic Research, Specialist/Technical Service
British	1. Education, Supplementary Teaching	2. Academic Research, Specialist/Technical Service	3. Wholesale Retail

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review will engage in a scholarly discussion addressing: (a) the representations and conceptions of the foreign “other” in Japanese media and society, and (b) the experience of biethnic Japanese individuals living in Japan. The two focused topics are in direct relation to the research questions raised for the current research, where topic (a) provides a context for issues addressed in my first four research questions. Further, topic (b) provides the overview of research that has been conducted with the *hafu* population residing in Japan, and provides the basis for research question five. Before concentrating on topics (a) and (b), a chronological review of the terminologies used to describe biethnic Japanese people will be provided.

Terminology

The timeline of how the terms used to address biethnic Japanese people evolved, according to Sekiguchi (2003), are, in order: “Half-breed child, Mixed-blood child, Half, International child, and Double” (as cited in Takeshita, 2010, p. 371).

Terms which historically carry pejorative connotations are *ainoko*, “child of mixture,” and *konketsuji*, “mixed blood child” (Burkhardt, 1983, p. 525).¹³ “Half” is the

¹³ The terms *ainoko* and *konketsuji* were used negatively to refer to children who were born to Japanese women and U.S. soldiers during the Allied occupation of Japan, as the children were thought to be “mistakes.”

popular term used in Japan today, said to have gained popularity in the 1970s, and originally used as, “a trendy label that applied particularly to those considered phenotypically White” (Muphey-Shigematsu, 2001, p. 211). However, due to the misleading connotation of the word “half,” where some feel offended by having their ethnic identity divided into two halves, which assumes that they do not belong fully to either of their ethnicities, there are efforts to use the term “double,” signifying that the biethnic individuals are of double ethnicities rather than “half” of each ethnicity.¹⁴

Among other emerging terms is “Cross-Cultural Kids,” and is set in an international context and is defined by Van Reken and Bethel (2005) as, “a person who has lived in-or meaningfully interacted with-two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during developmental years” (as cited in Takeshita, 2010, p. 370). Further, Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) chose to use the term “biethnic individual” in their study.

Representations and Conceptions of the Foreign “Other”
in Japanese Media and Society

In looking for past research focused specifically on Japanese individuals’ perceptions of *hafu*, I was unable to find any published works in scholarly journals or books. However, among studies with a similar emphasis on representations and conceptions of the foreign “other” in Japanese media and society, Arudou (2013) examined conceptions of race and skin color in Japan through a historical and empirical approach. Beginning with an analysis of Japanese terms used to describe different ethnic peoples, and biethnic Japanese individuals, Arudou (2013) goes on to discuss Fukuzawa

¹⁴ See Life, R. (1995).

Yukichi's theory of racial hierarchy which claims that lighter skinned peoples are civilized and darker skinned peoples are uncivilized (p. 53).¹⁵ He then draws on his personal experience of being discriminated against in Japan in an incident where one of his biracial Japanese children was barred from entering a Japanese bathhouse on the grounds that she did not look Japanese (Arudou, 2013, p. 50-56). Finally, Arudou (2013) critiques the Japanese medias' attitude towards race through the phenomena of controversial books being republished in Japan such as *The Story of Little Black Sambo* and *The Five Chinese Brothers*, advertisements and commercials mocking foreigners, the depiction of a famous biracial celebrity in Japan (Crystal Kay), public notices warning about the dangers of foreign criminals, and comic strips appearing in various published materials that mock the stereotypes of foreigners (p. 56-68). Arudou (2013) concludes that foreignness and skin color are used to market products (p. 56-62), and the mere fact that foreigners are racially different from the Japanese leads to differential treatment, regardless of whether they are naturalized Japanese citizens (p. 66-67).

Although many foreigners find it difficult to become socially accepted in Japanese society, some find a place for themselves as celebrities or *tarento* (meaning celebrity in Japanese, taken from the English word "talent"). Fellezs's (2012) article traces the media reception and personality of the famous African American-Japanese *enka*¹⁶ singer Jero (Jerome Charles White Jr.). Jero has a Japanese grandmother (p.333), and his mother is *hafu* (p.343); he was raised in the U.S., and as a young adult moved to Japan in hopes of establishing himself as a professional *enka* singer (Fellezs, 2012, p. 338). In applying Prashad Vijay's (2001) theory of the "polycultural," which theorizes

¹⁵ See Yukichi, F. (2009).

¹⁶ *Enka* is a traditional and distinctively Japanese musical genre.

that the contradictions of living a multiracial/cultural life should be embraced,¹⁷ Fellezs (2012) concludes that Jero inhabits a cultural sphere not applicable to U.S. categories of race, and although he will never be viewed as a “Japanese” in Japan, he embraces his polycultural self (p. 349-352).

Multiracial/cultural celebrities in Japan, such as the example of the *enka* singer Jero, are often famous because of their unique racial/cultural background. However, Kaneko (2010) contends that it is the very acknowledgement of the uniqueness or the “international” quality of foreign or *hafu* celebrities in Japan that signifies that they are set apart from an “authentic Japaneseness.” Further, foreign celebrities are symbolic in that they appease the ideology of “Japaneseness” by speaking Japanese and conforming to Japanese cultural customs (Kaneko, 2010, p. 103). Additionally, they fulfill the younger Japanese generations’ desire “to become liberalized Westerners” while retaining “Japaneseness” or the Japanese ideology (p. 103) where although the celebrities are not ethnically Japanese (often White or half-White and half-Japanese), they speak the language and conform to Japanese culture (Kaneko, 2010, p. 103-104). Kaneko (2010) concludes that the effect is “Japanese cultural nationalism with non-Japanese actors” (p. 112).

The concept of Japanese cultural nationalism (and ethnic nationalism in this case) is also apparent in Tsuda’s (2003b) article where he writes on the television media portrayal of Japanese Brazilians (*Nikkeijin*). Tsuda (2003b) begins by conveying, through a critique of various Japanese television programs in which Japanese Brazilians appear, that Japanese Brazilians are often portrayed as having retained the Japanese language and

¹⁷ “Polyculturalism is a ferocious engagement with the political world of culture, a painful embrace of the skin and all its contradictions” (Prashad xi-xii, as cited in Fellezs, 2012, p. 349).

culture which supports popular beliefs and expectations about Japanese Brazilians when in reality many do not speak Japanese and are culturally Brazilian (p. 292-295). Portraying Japanese Brazilians to be culturally Japanese acts as a form of denial of their acculturation to Brazilian society (Tsuda, 2003b, p. 295). However, Tsuda (2003b) contends that NHK (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai or the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) portrays Japanese Brazilians, for the most part, in a realistic manner because the programs aired on NHK are not funded based on viewer ratings (p. 295). Finally, through further critique of Japanese television shows, Tsuda (2003b) argues that Japanese Brazilians are either cast as loyal to Japanese traditional values of filial piety, to convey acceptance of their presence in Japanese society, or as selfish profit seeking individuals who discard family ties, to question their presence in Japanese society (p. 298-299). Also, in critiquing a particular television show,¹⁸ Tsuda (2003b) discusses the theme of the clash between tradition and modernity, where a Japanese man who is in a romantic relationship with a Japanese Brazilian woman is forced to choose between staying in Japan with his family or migrating to Brazil to be with his romantic partner (p. 300). In the end, the Japanese man chooses to remain in Japan which implies that tradition (family ties) prevails over modern values of self-interest (Tsuda, 2003b, p. 300). Tsuda (2003b) concludes that through manipulating the image of Japanese Brazilians, Japanese television defends Japan's cultural/ethnic nationalism (p. 301).

In the given review of literature on the topic of representations and conceptions of the foreign "other" in Japanese media, the theme of establishing a foreign "other," and incorporating the foreign "other" into Japanese society only in a way convenient for the

¹⁸ "A commercial television drama about Japanese Brazilian immigrants entitled *Sayonara Nippon* (Goodbye, Japan) (NTV, October 10, 1990)" (Tsuda, 2003b, p.297).

Japanese ideal of a cultural/ethnic national identity becomes apparent.

Arudou's (2013) article discussed the way in which the Japanese media has established the foreign "other," and uses foreignness or "skin color" to market commodities; however, foreignness is also associated with danger and crime (p. 56-65). Therefore, the foreign "other," in this context, is set apart as either exotic and marketable or intruding and dangerous, and Arudou (2013) concludes that although there are foreign residents living in Japan who are naturalized citizens, they are not treated on the basis of their citizenship, but rather on the basis of their foreign appearance (p. 67); hence, they will never be considered truly "Japanese," as he remarks, "one generally has to "look Japanese" in order to be considered "a Japanese" (p .67).

In the case of Japanese Brazilians according to Tsuda (2003b), because they are ethnically Japanese, the way in which they are portrayed in the media slightly differs from the portrayal of ethnically non-Japanese foreigners. Tsuda (2003b) states, "ethnic affinity makes it easier to contain the *nikkeijin* within Japanese ethnic and cultural tradition" (p. 302). Hence, Japanese Brazilians are portrayed as either conforming to Japanese ideals (which implies that they are, after all, "Japanese"), or being a threat to "Japaneseness" when they stray from traditional Japanese values (Tsuda, 2003b, p. 298-299).

In regards to foreign or *hafu* celebrities in Japan, although they are revered for the unique taste of foreignness they bring to Japan, it is their very foreignness that sets them apart from the Japanese; hence, they can never become mere "Japanese celebrities" as witnessed in Fellezs's (2012) and Kaneko's (2010) articles.

The Experience of Being Biethnic Japanese in Japan: Factors That
Affect Social-Positioning

Studies conducted in Japan examining the experience of biethnic Japanese individuals in Japanese society have been scarce (Alomte-Acosta, 2008, p. 21; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 638; Takeshita, 2010, p. 370). Further, studies that focus specifically on the perceptions of employment opportunities among *hafu* are even more scarce; however, Kamada (2010) has examined the topic of “Cultural, Symbolic, Linguistic, and Social Capital” (p. 147) in her longitudinal in depth ethnographic study of the identities of six Japanese/White adolescent girls living in Japan. Her findings revealed that the girls she interviewed valued English as linguistic capital (p. 155), and regarding employment opportunities, Kamada (2010) reports that the girls “constructed” the “notion of having more *choices* and *employment opportunities* available to them than their Japanese peers by virtue of their mixed-ethnicity” (p. 169). Additional studies addressing the various experiences of biethnic Japanese individuals living in Japan will now be summarized and critiqued in the following section.

Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) conducted an exploratory study using the method of focus groups (group discussions), interviewing a total of 13 biethnic individuals, where the ethnicity of the non-Japanese parent varied according to the individual. The participants were in the age range of 15 to 22, and were primarily raised in Japan (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007).

Oikawa and Yoshida’s (2007) three research questions were: 1) “Have you ever thought about your ethnic identity? When was the first time you were conscious about your ethnicity?” 2) “Do you appreciate the fact that you are Biethnic? Are you

comfortable with your ethnic identity?” 3) “Do you think there are more positive or negative aspects of being Biethnic in a homogenous society like Japan?” (p. 641). The theoretical framework used was Cooley’s (1902) looking-glass self theory which stipulates, according to Oikawa and Yoshida’s description (2007), “we learn about our personality by looking at the reaction of others” (p. 635).

In the context of Japan’s homogenous ideal, many of the participants felt differential treatment from their Japanese peers, and admitted to having been called a *gaijin* meaning outsider or foreigner (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 642). They were stereotyped as not knowing Japanese culture and language (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 642), and being “bilingual, athletic, and better looking” (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 643). The stereotypes forced one participant to study English in order to become bilingual, and another participant was brought up being taught by her Japanese parent to “overcompensate in her ‘Japaneseness’ [in manners and speech] to make up for her foreign appearance” (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 643).

Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) assigned three categories for the participants’ reactions to their biethnic identities. The first category they termed “Unique Me” (p. 644), where the perception of identity was not concerned with ethnicity but rather with personhood or individual uniqueness (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 644). The second category was termed “Model Biethnic” (p. 644), where identity was focused on taking advantage of the positive stereotypes of biethnic individuals in Japan, such as being “better looking and more cosmopolitan” (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 644). Finally the third category was termed “Just let me be Japanese” (p. 644), where identity was focused on wanting to be strictly Japanese and to look Japanese in appearance (Oikawa &

Yoshida, 2007, p. 644).

Analyzing what factors could affect the participants' experiences as biethnic individuals in Japan, Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) concluded that there were three main themes: "Ethnicity, Family, and Living Environment" (p. 645). The ethnicity of their non-Japanese parent determined their societal treatment, whether the parents were divorced or not determined the cultural exposure they received, and the community environment and school environment (whether they were surrounded by other biethnic individuals) influenced their comfort with their ethnicities (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 645-647). Further, whether or not they lived abroad seemed to affect their perceptions on ethnic identity (Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007, p. 647).

Cooley's (1902) looking-glass self theory was validated by the study as Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) state that "they saw themselves as Biethnic because other people saw them as Biethnic" (p. 648).

Almonte-Acosta (2008) took a phenomenological approach (using interviews and observations) in his study and conducted in depth interviews with 30 Japanese/Filipino individuals (biethnic Japanese individuals where the non-Japanese parent is Filipino) ranging in ages from 8 to 16, all of whom attended Japanese schools. The purpose of the study was to examine "the nature of ethnic identity development among Filipino-Japanese children in Japan" (Almonte-Acosta, 2008, p. 19).

He categorized his research into three subject areas: Ethnic Preference, The Colonizing Lens of the Majority, and The Interiorized Ethnic Clash/Struggle (Almonte-Acosta, 2008).

A finding under Ethnic Preference (p. 23) was that 27 of the children wished to

be identified as only Japanese and not as Japanese/Filipino (Almonte-Acosta, 2008, p. 23). Almonte-Acosta (2008) explains “They consider themselves as Japanese by virtue of being born and raised in Japan” (p. 24). Further, Almonte-Acosta (2008) described that exposure to Filipino culture did not necessarily evoke curiosity in the children to learn more about their Filipino identity (p. 25). What seemed to have been occurring was that the children were internalizing the homogenous ideal prevalent in Japan and coming to favor being only Japanese, because difference is not tolerated by the majority (Almonte-Acosta, 2008, p. 25).

When considering The Colonizing Lens of the Majority (p. 25), Almonte-Acosta (2008) indicates that the children generally engaged in “Looking through the lens of the majority” (p. 25) where judgments made by the majority about ethnic minorities in Japan became the judgments that the children held regarding their own Filipino heritage (p. 25-26). In fact, regarding their Filipino mother’s cultural differences, 25 of the children displayed unease (Almonte-Acosta, 2008, p. 26). However, Almonte-Acosta (2008) concludes that the children do not seem to have a problem with their Filipino identity when interacting with other Filipino and Japanese/Filipino children (p. 28).

In the category The Interiorized Ethnic Clash/Struggle (p. 28), Almonte-Acosta (2008) focused on how the children have been treated differently by their Japanese peers and what kind of responses the Japanese/Filipino children had to the treatment (p. 28). The main themes discussed were the children’s experiences in being called a *gaijin* (p. 28), and their negative perception of the Filipino language and, therefore, not wanting to learn it (Almonte-Acosta, 2008, p. 29). Finally, Almonte-Acosta (2008) concluded that the Japanese/Filipino children “tend to think that other individuals might be thinking that

they are foreigners although they may not be expressing it” (p. 29); therefore, the children were constantly fearful about having their “foreign” identities revealed in front of their Japanese peers (p. 29).

Takeshita (2010) conducted a qualitative study using the method of in depth interviews. She interviewed 37 married couples, where one spouse was Japanese and the other Brazilian, and 59 of their Japanese/Brazilian children; the average age of the Japanese/Brazilian children interviewed was 7 (Takeshita, 2010). Takeshita (2010) set out asking the research questions: “Are these children with diverse cultural backgrounds accepted as agents of multiculturalism in Japan?,” and “Does Japan offer an environment that promotes such acceptance?” (p. 371).

Takeshita (2010) divided her research into three categories: Language Education, The Names of CCKs [Cross-Cultural Kids], and The Passing CCKs (p. 375-380). Regarding Language Education (p. 375), English was idealized over Portuguese when parents considered having their children learn a foreign language. Further, the attitude, “As I am Japanese, I don’t want to learn Portuguese” (p. 375) prevailed among the children (Takeshita, 2010, p. 375). However, many of the parents regretted not being able to pass on the Portuguese language to their children (Takeshita, 2010, p. 375).

When considering The Names of CCKs (p. 376), Takeshita (2010) found that although some of the children had both Japanese and Brazilians names, 56 of the 59 children used only their Japanese names (p. 377). Moreover, Takeshita (2010) notes that the children identified themselves only as Japanese regardless of their dual nationality (p. 377).

In reflecting on The Passing of CCKs (p. 377), Takeshita (2010) discusses the

negative images of the Brazilians in Japan that occurs through media images, their stratification in the employment sector as unskilled laborers, and the history of Japanese emigration to Brazil (p. 379). To avoid being judged negatively, Takeshita (2010) claims that Japanese/Brazilian children try to “pass” or hide their Brazilian identities (p. 378); in this sense, the Japanese/Brazilian children are not easily able to “be a bridge between Japan and Brazil” (p. 379). Takeshita (2010) concludes that biethnic individuals should be accepted and encouraged by Japanese society to nurture and develop both of their ethnic identities (p. 381).

All three of the studies pointed to a general anxiety that biethnic children lived with in constantly having to monitor themselves to avoid drawing attention to their ethnic and cultural difference when around their Japanese peers. Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) used the phrase “overcompensate in her ‘Japaneseness’” (p. 643) to describe the phenomena of a young woman who was brought up to be well versed in the Japanese language and manners by her mother so as not to receive negative reactions for her foreign appearance (p. 643). Both Almonte-Acosta (2008) and Takeshita (2010) found that many of the children they interviewed tried to hide their non-Japanese identities when it was possible.

As a part of hiding their non-Japanese identities, Almonte-Acosta (2008) and Takeshita (2010) both described the reluctance to learn non-Japanese languages by many of the interviewed children. English was the language valued if the children were to become bilingual, as was expressed in Takeshita’s (2010) study where interviewed parents stated that they preferred their children to learn English rather than Portuguese as a foreign language (p. 375), and in Oikawa and Yoshida’s (2007) study where a young

girl went out of her way to study English in order to live up to stereotype of biethnic Japanese individuals being well versed in English (p. 643).

What seemed to have heightened the biethnic Japanese individual's sense of differential treatment was when they were called *gaijin* (foreigner) by their Japanese peers. Both Oikawa and Yoshida's (2007) and Almonte-Acosta's (2008) studies noted that participants experienced being called *gaijin*.

The social environment seemed to affect the comfort level that biethnic Japanese individuals felt with their ethnicities. Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) found that being exposed to other biethnic individuals helped the individuals to feel more comfortable with their ethnicities (p. 647), and Almonte-Acosta (2008) found that the Japanese/Filipino children he interviewed felt more accepting of their Filipino identity when interacting with other Japanese/Filipino children and Filipino individuals (p. 28).

In summary, feeling paranoid for being different, refraining from learning a non-Japanese language with the exception of English, being called a *gaijin* and feeling hurt, and feeling comfortable with their biethnicities when around other biethnic individuals or non-Japanese individuals were common experiences found among biethnic Japanese individuals in these studies.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will outline the methodologies used in this study, which took three forms: a categorization of *hafu* celebrities listed in an online data base, surveys conducted with Japanese university students, and surveys conducted with *hafu* individuals.

Database Categorization

An online database called Data House *Aiba* was used to categorize *hafu* celebrities by nationality and ethnicity. This database was chosen out of the few celebrity databases that exist for the reason that other databases did not provide as comprehensive a list as Data House *Aiba*. The database is run by an individual who has compiled an extensive list of celebrities in Japan according to topic (e.g., female celebrities, male celebrities, etc.). Presumably, the information on the celebrities was taken from what was available on the internet as there is a disclaimer stating that the creator cannot guarantee the complete accuracy of the data on the celebrities. I believe that for the most part the information provided in the database is reliable, because the data relies on commonly shared information among media consumers.

For the purposes of this study, 137 Japanese *hafu* celebrities listed under the topic of “*hafu tarento* (celebrity)” were selected. I then categorized the *hafu* celebrities according to nationality and ethnicity. In the cases of Western nationalities such as

American, Australian, Canadian, and New Zealander, I used the Yahoo Japan search engine to find images of the *hafu* celebrities, and if they appeared to have White features such as bright colored eyes, a light skin tone, and light hair colors, they were categorized as “European American” or “European Canadian” and so forth. In some cases the celebrity’s ethnicity was determined by the description provided in Wikipedia (e.g., Italian American). The results for the categorized nationalities and ethnicities were made into graphs. The lists of the categorized nationalities and ethnicities are provided in Appendix A.

Survey With Japanese University Students

The Japanese university student population that was surveyed for this study were foreign exchange students from Kansai University, located in Osaka city, who were enrolled in the English Language Institute at the University of Utah. The surveys were distributed at their orientation meeting when all 49 of the students were present. The gender ratio was 33 female respondents to 16 male respondents. The students’ mean age was 19 years old. The results were categorized into either statistical graphs or qualitative themes and analyzed accordingly. A copy of the survey, both in English and Japanese, is provided in Appendix F. The students filled out the Japanese version of the survey.

In analyzing the survey data, it is important to take note of the unique position that the university students occupy in Japanese society. Being exposed to higher education, and having an interest in studying English in the United States are factors likely to influence their views towards *hafu*. Such students gain a wider perspective of the world at large and of their own society; and the interest in living in the United States points to a different orientation than most when thinking about cultural experience.

Survey With *Hafu* Individuals

The *hafu* population surveyed for the current study were members of organization *A* (pseudonym) in the Kansai area of Japan. The organization serves as the center for the *hafu* and mixed race community living in the Kansai region and elsewhere. In October 2012, the organization hosted an academic forum to discuss various issues related to the *hafu* experience in Japan. At the forum, surveys were distributed to the *hafu* participants, and a total of 8 members filled out the surveys. The gender ratio was 5 female respondents to 3 male respondents. The mean age was 28 years old. The results were categorized into descriptive tables, and analyzed accordingly. A copy of the survey, both in English and Japanese, is provided in Appendix G. Three respondents filled out the English version of the survey, and 5 respondents filled out the Japanese version of the survey.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter will provide the findings and analysis from the two conducted surveys and the categorized data base as described in the methodology chapter. This chapter is structured into the following three sections: Through the Eyes of the Japanese Media, Through the Eyes of Japanese University Students, and Through the Eyes of *Hafu* themselves.

Through the Eyes of the Japanese Media

This section will provide the findings and analysis in the form of graphs and themes for research questions one and two. I anticipated that the first research question, “How are *hafu* ethnically represented in the Japanese media,” would show that *hafu* celebrities are likely to be Japanese/White. The second research question, “How do Japanese university students perceive depictions of *hafu* in the Japanese media,” was of an exploratory nature, therefore, I take a themed approach in presenting my findings. First, I provide the categorized national/ethnic background of *hafu* media figures¹⁹ from the database, Data House *Aiba* (*Hafu Tarento* database), followed by the results from the surveys conducted with Japanese university students.

The categorized results from Data House *Aiba* revealed that the great majority of

¹⁹ “Media figures” and “celebrities” will be used interchangeably.

hafu media figures listed are Japanese Western,²⁰ that is to say, Japanese/White. Evidenced in Figure 1, where out of 142 *hafu* media figures who were categorized according to the nationality of their non-Japanese parent, Western nationalities ranked the highest at 77%, followed by Asian nationalities at 13%, Latin American nationalities at 5%, Middle Eastern nationalities at 2%, African nationalities at 1%, and Pacific Island nationalities at 1%. The findings signify that for the *hafu* media figures listed in the database, Data House *Aiba* (*Hafu Tarento* database), most are of a Japanese/Western national background.²¹

Figure 2 shows the breakdown for the Western countries.²² America ranked the highest with 52 (37%) *hafu* celebrities. Further, the nationality “American” ranked above all of the European nationalities combined (no single European nationality came close to the ranking for “American”), and all European nationalities combined numbered 49 (35%) *hafu* celebrities.

Thinking about the figures in terms of ethnicity, Figure 3 shows the percentile rankings for the ethnic background of the *hafu* media figures’ non-Japanese parent. European ethnicities ranked the highest at 71%, followed by Asian ethnicities at 13%, African ethnicities at 5%, Latin American ethnicities at 4%, Middle Eastern ethnicities at 2%, Pacific Island ethnicities at 1%, and Other at 4%.

In the context of the categorized database, my hypothesis proposed for research question one, stating that *hafu* media figures are likely to be of a Japanese/White ethnic background, holds true. Western nationalities and the White ethnicity ranked the highest

²⁰ Throughout this thesis, I use the term “West” to signify Americans, Canadians, New Zealanders, Australians, and European nationalities.

²¹ This does not mean that they necessarily hold double nationalities, but rather it is in terms of the nationality of their parents.

²² Please see Appendix A for a complete list of the countries.

which signifies that the majority of *hafu* media figures tend to be of a Japanese/Western national background (with the nationality “American” ranking the highest for Western countries) and a Japanese/White ethnicity.

In Japan, Westerners are often admired or are the subjects of envy (*akogare*) as they symbolize *modernity*. This idealization of the West has its roots in the Meiji period when modernization was introduced to Japan by Westerners as discussed in the introduction. Therefore, the trend of *hafu* media figures being mostly of a Japanese/Western (White) background reveals the extent to which the Japanese media is willing to incorporate these nationalities in the creation of an image of the *hafu* media figure as one who harbors both traits of Japan and the West. This may be the reason why Japanese/Western (White) *hafu* who are often associated with wealth, power, and cosmopolitanism are the representative population for *hafu* in the media.

Another way to determine how *hafu* are depicted in the media ethnically is to ask media consumers about their impressions. The following is the outcome of the survey responses given by Japanese university students regarding which nationalities/ethnicities they perceive to be the most common among *hafu* celebrities.²³

Figure 4 shows the Western nationalities listed by the respondents by *number of responses*.²⁴ “(Generic) Westerner”²⁵ at 23 responses was the most common, followed

²³ In response to question #6 (section 1): When thinking about the non-Japanese ethnicity of biethnic Japanese celebrities, which ethnicities do you think are most common?

²⁴ Respondents often listed more than one nationality/ethnicity; therefore, the total number of responses for each national/ethnic category is given.

²⁵ In Japanese, generic terms that denote “Westerner” are: White (*hakujin* 白人), European type (*yōroppa kei* ヨーロッパ系), European American type (*ōbei kei* 欧米系), and Occidental/Western (*seiyōjin* 西洋人). These terms were used by the respondents. Further, the Western nationalities: American, Canadian, New Zealander, Australian and European nationalities are commonly associated with a White ethnicity. Therefore, the Western nationalities listed by the respondents will be assumed to mean “White.”

by “American” at 21 responses, “British” at 9 responses, “Australian,” “French,” “German” all at 2 responses, and “Spaniard” at 1 response.

For the “Other” category, as shown in Figure 5, the responses were: “(Generic) Middle Easterner” at 3 responses, “Korean” at 2 responses, and “Iranian” at 1 response. As most of the respondents listed Western countries, we can see that the majority of Japanese university students surveyed agree that *hafu* are represented most frequently as Japanese/White in the media. This lends further support to my hypothesis that *hafu* celebrities are likely to be Japanese/Western.

Examining how the university student respondents perceived the depiction of *hafu* in the media (for research question two), three general categories emerged: linguistic background, appearance, and non-Japanese personality.²⁶

Concerning the language skills of *hafu* celebrities, 3 respondents described the poor quality of Japanese speech by *hafu* celebrities or their rudeness in choosing not to use formal speech. Their responses noted:

- [They] cannot use honorifics. (Female respondent #4)
- They can speak Japanese, but since they do not use honorifics very much, in a sense, they come off as being rude (example: Rola, Triendl). (Female respondent #20)
- They are more fluent in English and are a little bad at Japanese. (female respondent #25)

There were 4 respondents who described *hafu* as being generally multilingual, for example:

²⁶ In response to question #7 (section 1): How are biethnic Japanese individuals depicted in the Japanese media?

- After all, there are many who can speak multiple languages so I think they are cool. (Female respondent #7)
- [They are] able to speak a language other than Japanese which may be their mother or father's language. (Female respondent #17)

However, 2 respondents described *hafu* as being depicted as monolingual in Japanese, for example:

- Although their faces are a bit different from the Japanese face, I have an image of them only being able to speak Japanese. (Female respondent #11)
- Although their faces are that of a foreigner, many can only speak Japanese. (Male respondent #11)

Further, 3 respondents stated that *hafu* were depicted as being able to speak English; while 1 respondent remarked that, "There are people who, although they are *hafu*, cannot speak English, and it surprises me" (Female respondent #20).

In thinking of the reason why some of the respondents had expressed that *hafu* celebrities tend to speak poor quality Japanese, they may be primarily thinking of the *hafu* celebrity named Rola who builds her celebrity persona out of not using honorifics. Whether she has the ability to speak in formal Japanese is not clear. The effect she creates is one of absurdity at times because of her overly casual manner of speech in the face of *senpai* (higher ranked) celebrities. However, her manner of speech never ceases to amuse her audience.

Furthermore, the surprise 1 respondent felt at *hafu* celebrities not being able to speak English may come from the popularity of the *hafu* celebrity named Wentz Eiji who

is Japanese/American (of German descent). Wentz does not speak English and is linguistically and culturally completely Japanese.

Seven respondents noted that *hafu* were often represented as models in the media. One respondent said, “In the media, there are overwhelmingly *hafu* models. After all, *hafu* tend to be pretty and handsome so they are suitable as models” (Female respondent #1).

Thirty-two respondents made mention of the physical characteristics of *hafu* in the media, such as handsome, pretty, and cute. In some cases, expressions unique to the Japanese cultural context were used to describe the physical characteristics of *hafu*, such as: their face is well-proportioned or literally “organized face” (*kao ga totonotte iru* 顔が整っている), well-defined facial structure, or literally “eyes and nose are clear-cut” (*mehanadachi ga hakkiri shite iru* 目鼻立ちがはっきりしている), and good physique or literally “good style” (*sutairu ga ii* スタイルが良い).

Since the majority of the respondents listed Japanese/White *hafu* as being the most visible ethnic combination among *hafu* celebrities (witnessed in the previous section), the descriptions given about the appearance of *hafu* are essentially describing Japanese/White *hafu* celebrities. For example, 1 respondent clearly explained, “Visually, those who are Westerner *hafu* stand out (because Japanese/Korean *hafu* look like us, so it is hard to tell)” (Female respondent #32). Further, the terms used to describe Japanese/White *hafu* celebrities such as “well-proportioned face,” “well-defined facial structure,” and “good physique” are terms which elevate Japanese/White *hafu* appearance from a normal Japanese appearance; this indirectly implies a sense of *akogare* for a Japanese/White *hafu* appearance. In fact, in recent years the “*hafu*” look has been trendy

in Japan, and many Japanese/White *hafu* models appear in fashion magazines and pose in advertisements. Also, there is now a popular style of make up for women called *hafu* face make up (*hafu gao meiku* ハーフ顔メイク) that tries to mimic a Japanese/White *hafu* appearance by applying makeup in certain ways. For example, to make the eyes appear large and “gorgeous,” eye shadow is applied in a particular way, often color contacts are worn, and a “nose shadow” is used to define a well-structured nose, a feature commonly associated with a White appearance.²⁷

Six respondents described *hafu* celebrities in terms of their non-Japanese personalities. Some mentioned that *hafu* have “outspoken” personalities unlike other Japanese. The following comments exemplify this:

- They are very unique, and they tend to speak out their opinions more than pure Japanese people. (Female respondent #19)
- They are more sociable than Japanese people, and they have their own opinions. Also, they have the ability to speak their own mind. (Female respondent #21)
- When compared to the Japanese, their personalities are more cheerful. (Male respondent #11)

Further, *hafu* celebrities were described in terms of their individuality (*kosei* 個性) or a strong individuality/originality (*kosei ga tsuyoi* 個性が強い) by 2 respondents, and cheerfulness (*akarui* 明るい) by 5 respondents.

The image of *hafu* being more outspoken is likely associated with the personality

²⁷ The “how to” of *hafu gao meiku*, commonly appear in fashion websites. Typing in the key words “ハーフ顔メイク (*hafu gao meiku*)” in the search engine Yahoo Japan will bring up results.

of the currently most popular *hafu* celebrities such as Becky, Rola, and Wentz Eiji, as they exhibit a very vocal persona on television. These *hafu* celebrities were among the most frequently listed in the question regarding *hafu* celebrities that the respondents knew, as we see later in this section.

The general impressions from the responses about how *hafu* are depicted in the media were that *hafu* are seen as linguistic ambiguous (they may speak only Japanese, not speak proper Japanese, may or may not speak English, and may be multilingual), admirably good-looking Japanese/White *hafu* (*akogare no hafu*), and exhibit a non-Japanese personality in terms of their outspokenness, uniqueness, and cheerfulness.

Figure 6 shows the specific *hafu* celebrities listed by the respondents, and Figure 7 lists the impressions given regarding the top four celebrities listed.²⁸

The celebrity who was listed the most was Rola, and the general impression attributed to her was that of mysteriousness and being “out of the norm” (e.g., naïve or innocent, awkward, unique, free spirited). For the next most listed celebrity Becky, the general impression was that she is Japanese in some respect, but is foreign in terms of her appearance, cheerfulness, and expressiveness. The third most listed celebrity Triendl Reina, was described as *too* good-looking and naïve. For the fourth most listed celebrity, Wentz Eiji, although he cannot speak English, there was an overwhelming expectation for him to be able to do so.

For all the celebrities, they are perceived to be out of the ordinary in some way, such as, Rola not being a “normal” character, Becky revealing “non-Japanese”

²⁸ In response to question #8 (section 1): Please list the names of biethnic Japanese celebrities in Japan that you are aware of, and the impressions you have of them. Please note: I have not included the original Japanese for the responses seen in Figure 7 in the appendix because the responses here are organized as a *figure* rather than in-text quotes.

personality traits, Triendl Reina not being “normal” in appearance, and Wentz Eiji not confirming to an expected norm of *hafu* being bilingual.

Through the Eyes of Japanese University Students

This section will provide the findings and analysis for my research questions three and four. For research question three, “Do Japanese university students perceive that *hafu* are likely to be perceived as ethnically Japanese/White due to the influence of media images. Research question four, “How do Japanese university students perceive *hafu* individuals,” was an exploratory question with no hypothesis and the results are given in themes.

Before tackling the research questions, let us see just how many of the respondents personally have *hafu* friends, as this is likely to influence their perceptions regarding *hafu*, compared to those who have only come in contact with *hafu* through media images.

The majority responded “Yes” to having *hafu* friends.²⁹ Figure 8 shows that 39 (80%) of the respondents had *hafu* friends versus 20% (10 respondents) who did not. This is a surprisingly large proportion of the respondents who personally have friends who are *hafu*. Therefore, it is likely that many of the respondents drew from their own experience in knowing *hafu* individuals in answering the survey questions about their impressions of *hafu* in general.

Unlike the responses to the question of the ethnic background of *hafu* celebrities where Japanese/White ranked the highest in responses, more students described the

²⁹ In response to the question #9 (section 1): “Do you have friends who are biethnic Japanese?”

ethnicity of *hafu* to be Japanese/Asian when considering *hafu* in general.³⁰ Figure 9 shows the *number of responses*³¹ given for the listed Asian nationalities by the respondents. “Korean” was among the highest at 23 responses, followed by “Chinese” at 17 responses, “(generic) Asian” at 10 responses, “Filipino” at 6 responses, and “Southeast Asian” at 3 responses.

Figure 10 shows the number responses given for the listed Western nationalities³² by the respondents. “American” was the highest at 20 responses, followed by “(generic) Westerner” at 7 responses, “British” 6 responses, “Australian” at 2 responses, and “German,” “French,” “Canadian,” “New Zealander” all at 1 response.

There were a few respondents who listed Latin American countries, as seen in Figure 11, where “Brazilian” was the highest at 4 responses, followed by “Peruvian” at 2 responses, and “(generic) Latino/a” at 1 response.

As the responses indicate, it appears that the respondents are well aware of the Japanese/Asian *hafu* population residing in Japan, and in a few cases, there is an awareness of the Japanese/Latino/a *hafu* population. Although there were many respondents who did list Japanese/Western *hafu* as a common ethnicity, considering that there were more responses for Japanese/Asian *hafu*, it appears that the respondents do not necessarily view all *hafu* as being Japanese/Western as suggested by Japanese media images of *hafu*. Therefore, my hypothesis stating that Japanese university students are

³⁰ In response to question #5 (section 1): When thinking about the non-Japanese ethnicity of biethnic Japanese individuals, which ethnicities do you think are most common in Japan?

³¹ Since respondents often listed more than one nationality/ethnicity, such as listing both “American” and “Korean,” the total number of responses given for each national/ethnic category is given.

³² Due to the commonly held notion in Japan of the White ethnicity being associated with Western nationalities (as they are thought to represent Western nations), survey responses that state Western nationalities will be assumed to be indicating a White ethnicity. Further, if the respondents had intended to signify a non-White ethnicity, they would have likely used words such as “African American (*kokujin*),” “Japanese American (*nikkeijin*),” etc.

likely to generalize *hafu* as being Japanese/White is not entirely supported. The outcome may be attributed to the location the respondents are from. The city of Osaka where the respondents are from, has a large *zainichi* Korean community (as discussed in the introduction), and it is likely that the respondents have met or are friends with *zainichi* Korean or Korean residents residing in the area, and perhaps have friends who are Japanese/Korean *hafu*.

Concerning the general impressions of *hafu* held by Japanese university students (for research question four), three categories emerged: linguistic and cultural background, appearance, and envy and desire.³³

Regarding the comments given about the linguistic background of *hafu*, 22 respondents said that *hafu* tended to be bilingual or multilingual: “many can speak two languages” (Female respondent #9) and “my impression is that they may speak several languages” (Female respondent #25). Further, 3 respondents mentioned that they thought *hafu* could specifically speak English.

In terms of impressions held towards the cultural background of *hafu*, 9 respondents expressed that *hafu* were either multicultural or had the ability to understand different cultures. One respondent remarked, “they are living a cultural lifestyle where both of their parents’ cultures have combined to form a new culture” (Female respondent #13). There were respondents who described the positive outcome of multiculturalism for *hafu* being the expansion of their intellectual consciousness: “They have a broad outlook (due to being in contact with two cultures)” (Female respondent #21), and:

- Because they grow up feeling two cultures, they have a tremendous

³³ In response to question #4: What are some of the impressions you have regarding biethnic Japanese individuals?

ability to understand those from other countries and those from their own country. I have the impression that, even in regard to their own country, they are able to see things from various angles. (Female respondent #17)

- They have a wide repertoire in their sense and thinking (due to their parents being of different nationalities, they have the opportunity to come into contact with various things). (Female respondent #32)

Regarding the impressions of the linguistic background of *hafu*, there does not seem to be a bias in which languages *hafu* are bilingual or multilingual in because the general terms “bilingual” and “multilingual” were used as opposed to stating specific languages. However, in Japan, English is often associated with bilingualism and internationalism,³⁴ therefore, there is the possibility that the respondents do have English in mind when they are replying “bilingual” or “multilingual.”

There seems to be a general *expectation* for *hafu* to be bilingual. For example, 1 respondent said, “Due to the parents having their different individual mother tongues, I have the image that *hafu* can speak more than two languages” (Male respondent #1). Additionally, the expectation of *hafu* being bilingual was strong for 1 female respondent as she claimed, “They seem like they can speak two languages, but they surprisingly can’t” (Female respondent #31). The fact that she feels surprised when *hafu* are not bilingual expresses her strong expectation for *hafu* to be bilingual. Another respondent expressed his expectation for them to be bilingual as he remarked, “If I must say an impression, I wonder if they are bilingual, and I expect it” (Male respondent #12).

³⁴ See Kubota (1998) for a discussion on *kokusaika* (internationalism) and its link to the English language (p. 300-302).

Regarding the cultural background of *hafu*, there was a sense of *hafu* as dwelling in an in between space (Female respondent #13), and a sense of *hafu* as having a wider repertoire of knowledge and understanding than other Japanese due to their multicultural experiences (Female respondents #21, #17, and #32).

However, the assumption of *hafu* being bilingual/multilingual or bicultural is based on the assumption that the *hafu* individual was raised by both their mother and father and received a bilingual/multilingual education or upbringing which can be a faulty assumption. For example, among the 8 *hafu* individuals surveyed for this study, half of the respondents came from single parent households.³⁵ Therefore, the stereotype of *hafu* being multilingual and multicultural may be incorrect.

Many respondents pointed to the physical features of *hafu*, as 26 respondents mentioned that they thought *hafu* were generally good-looking, as in being handsome, pretty, or cute. Furthermore, 9 respondents placed an emphasis on the foreign appearance of *hafu* such as:

- Visually without pointing to any particular aspect, they look like a foreigner. (Female respondent #6)
- [B]ecause they have facial features of a foreigner, when they are fluent in Japanese, I feel surprised. (Male respondent #6)

Among the 9 respondents there were those who described *hafu* in terms of their “Western” appearance:

- For Japanese *hafu* who are Japanese/Western *hafu*, their facial structure is well defined and they are attractive. (Female respondent

³⁵ Please see Appendix D.

#14)

- For example, those who are Japanese/American or European *hafu*, regarding their appearance, their face is Japanese, but their nose is well structured and they have blond hair. (Male respondent #3)

Others described the foreign appearance of *hafu* in terms of hair color, eye color, and physical characteristics:

- I have a female friend who is *hafu*, and she has a different eye and hair color than us Japanese, so I am very jealous. Just with a little difference, she stands out amongst Japanese people, so she says that it is unfavorable. I do not think it is an unfavorable thing to stand out. (Female respondent #2)
- Appearance wise, they are different from pure Japanese in that their hair might not be black, and their eyes might be brown, and I have the image that they have long arms and legs. (Female respondent #11)
- Appearance wise, they are different from Japanese, but I feel that they understand Japan...when I notice that someone's eye or hair color is different, I wonder if they are *hafu* (Female respondent #33).

Such an emphasis on the foreign appearance of *hafu* implies that the respondents are not referring to Japanese/Asian *hafu*, but most likely to those who are Japanese/White given the way in which physical features are described such as different hair and eye color. In some cases they specifically made reference to Japanese/White *hafu*. There was only 1 respondent who described not being able to distinguish a difference between

Japanese and *hafu* individuals in terms of appearance, as he wrote:

It is not easy to tell if they are *hafu* at a glance, and it is only when I am told that they are *hafu* that I realize they are, so I don't consciously think to myself they are *hafu* when I interact with them. (Male respondent #12)

The respondent may be referring to Japanese/Asian *hafu* since they are not able to be distinguished physically from Japanese people. When considering that more than half of the respondents made mention of the distinct difference in the physical attributes of *hafu* such as handsome, pretty, and cute, it is likely that they had in mind those who would be physically distinguishable from Japanese people, not Japanese/Asian *hafu*. Therefore, although the results of the question regarding the ethnicity of *hafu* showed more responses for Japanese/Asian ethnicities, it is safe to say that there is still a general impression of *hafu* being Japanese/White as well. Therefore, media images of *hafu* do seem to have an impact on how *hafu* are perceived ethnically by the students.

As another general impression, 7 respondents expressed that they were envious of *hafu*. There were those who described being envious of the bilingual abilities of *hafu*: “*Hafu* may speak two or more languages, such that there are many bilinguals, and I feel jealous” (Female respondent #3) and “They are international and speak two languages, of which I am envious” (Female respondent #14). One respondent claimed to be jealous of those who were half American: “When I think that in your body you have Japanese and American blood flowing, I feel jealous” (Male respondent #2). Another respondent expressed, “They are able to expand their thinking and outlook, so I think it is good. I am jealous” (Female respondent #18). Other respondents stated being *generally* envious of *hafu* without pointing to any particular aspects.

Envy here can also be interpreted in terms of yearning (*akogare* 憧れ) which is

an expression used in the Japanese cultural context to describe something you long to be, have, or do. The characteristics of *hafu* that the respondents pointed to when describing their feelings of envy such as bilingualism, being American, and having a broad outlook are those associated with internationalism.

In Japan, the term internationalism has taken on a meaning of its own. It is very “cool” to be international and English is almost always behind that image. There are “international” schools in Japan that cater to the American expatriate community, other foreign residents, and in some cases to Japanese parents who wish to take an alternative approach to schooling their children in bilingual education (English and Japanese).³⁶ Therefore, the sense of jealousy or *akogare* described by the respondents can be interpreted as being directed towards the international qualities that they assume *hafu* to have.

The responses reflect the general assumptions of *hafu* being multilingual and multicultural, and good-looking (for their foreign physical characteristics). They also reflect envy of *hafu* because it is assumed that *hafu* are more international with broader perspectives and other desired characteristics.

Thus far, I have examined the university student respondents’ perceptions about *hafu*, of how they are depicted in the media and their personal impressions of *hafu*. In general, the impressions have been positive as *hafu* are as seen as having admirable qualities, but to what extent are the respondents willing to receive *hafu* into Japanese society? The best way to determine this question is to ask the respondents directly about the degree to which they would accept an increase in the rate for international marriage.³⁷

³⁶ For a discussion on international schools in Japan, see MacKenzie (2009).

³⁷ In response to questions #1 and #2 (section 2): “I am open to marrying a non-Japanese individual”

In terms of their willingness to marry a non-Japanese person, Figure 12 shows that 55% of the respondents replied “Agree,” followed by “Somewhat Agree” at 31%, “Neutral” at 6%, “Somewhat Disagree” at 4%, and “Disagree” at 4%.

The acceptance level for an increase in international marriage rates displayed in Figure 13 paralleled their willingness to marry a non-Japanese person. Again, 55% replied “Agree,” followed by “Somewhat Agree” at 35%, “Neutral” at 10%, and both “Somewhat Disagree” and “Disagree” at 0%.

On the whole, the respondents seem to share an open mindedness when it comes to international marriages. However, the figures cannot be taken at face value, because there is always the issue of theory versus practice. Respondents may be open to the idea of marrying a non-Japanese person or having the international marriage rate increase in Japan, however, they may find it very difficult to actually marry a non-Japanese person. They may only accept a minimal increase in the rate of international marriages when confronted with the situation in their personal lives.

For example, 1 male respondent wrote in a side note, after he marked the response “Somewhat Agree” regarding an increase in the international marriage rate, that he was “concerned about the treatment towards *hafu* in Japanese society” (Male respondent #3). In a different section of the survey,³⁸ 1 respondent wrote that she has “an image that discrimination towards them [*hafu*] might still linger” (Female respondent #27). These comments reflect an awareness of the issues of discrimination towards *hafu* which signifies that reality is often different from theory. Supporting international marriage does not always mean that one perceives it to be practical given Japan’s societal

and “I am not opposed to the international marriage rate increasing in Japan.”

³⁸ Survey question #7 (the original Japanese response is not provided in the appendix).

constraints. In another case, 1 respondent said that, “lately there has been a rapid increase in *hafu*, so I don’t think it’s good if there are too many” (Female respondent #24).³⁹ Although the respondent did not give her reasons why she did not support the idea of the *hafu* population increasing in Japan, her attitude reveals the less welcoming position held by some.

Moreover, due to the nature of the survey as a formal medium of communication, respondents may be answering positively out of politeness (*tatemae*) or trying to give the responses they think the researcher expects or wants, while their real opinions (*honno*) may be different. However, if the respondents are answering the way they actually feel, the results show a great willingness on the part of those surveyed to embrace international marriages, both in their personal lives and in Japanese society as a whole.

Through the Eyes of *Hafu* Themselves

Finally we arrive at the last question I am investigating about which is research question five that asks, “What are *hafu* individuals’ perceptions of employment opportunities in Japan?” I hypothesized that *hafu* will perceive more opportunities for employment abroad than in Japan because of discriminatory treatment in Japanese society towards *hafu*.

Table 4 lists the profiles of the 8 *hafu* individuals who were surveyed. The *hafu* respondents came from diverse ethnic backgrounds, but “Japanese/American *hafu*” comprised half of the respondents. Their ages ranged from their early twenties to mid-thirties. In terms of gender, 5 respondents were female and 3 respondents were male. Five of the respondents held Japanese citizenships. With regard to language abilities, 6

³⁹ Also under question #7 in the survey (the original Japanese response is not provided in the appendix).

respondents had advanced competency in English, and 5 had advanced competency in Japanese. The education level of the respondents was high, ranging from an undergraduate student to a Ph.D. graduate. Finally, half of the respondents had grown up outside of Japan while the other half had spent most of their lives in Japan.

Regarding the perceptions of employment opportunities among the respondents, as revealed in Table 5, those respondents who had spent a majority of their lives in Japan, tended to think they had more employment opportunities in Japan than abroad. Those who had spent a majority of their lives outside of Japan tended to view more employment opportunities abroad than in Japan. In addition to the number of years spent in Japan, holding Japanese citizenship and having sufficient Japanese language skills also seemed to be factors that influenced the perception of employment opportunities. Specifically, among the 4 respondents who had spent a majority of their lives outside of Japan, 3 did not have Japanese citizenships, and 1 respondent had no proficiency in the Japanese language. Two of the respondents were still only at the intermediate level in their Japanese language skills.

What these findings mean in terms of my hypothesis, stating that *hafu* individuals will generally perceive more employment opportunities outside of Japan because of discriminatory treatment towards *hafu* individuals in Japanese society, is that the hypothesis is not supported.

Those who grew up in Japan may perceive more opportunities for employment because their *social capital* (Bourdieu, 1986) has been established in Japan, while those who grew up outside of Japan perceive more opportunities for employment outside of Japan because their *social capital* has been established outside of Japan.

One trend that emerged for respondents as a whole, regardless of their length of stay in Japan, evidenced in Table 5, was the perception that there were more opportunities for employment in Japan in jobs that require bilingualism as a skill set.

Given that the previous survey with Japanese university students revealed that they expect *hafu* to be bilingual or multilingual, the *hafu* respondents may be conforming to this common expectation in Japanese society by *socially positioning* (Philogene 2012; Van Langenhove & Harre 1995) themselves in the Japanese job sector as bilinguals/multilinguals (a position not expected of Japanese people) because they perceive this to be the most effective strategy to increase their chances of employment in Japan. Therefore, in some respect, this act signifies a reaction to potential discrimination towards *hafu* as they are expected to be more than *just* “Japanese.”

An important point to note regarding the nature of the *hafu* respondents’ educational and linguistic background, both of which are key determinants of class status in Japanese society, is that all of the respondents have received a university education and the majority are bilingual. Had the respondents come from a lower educational background, for instance, having only a junior high school or high school degree and spoke only Japanese, their employment options would be severely limited because of their low educational status, and they would not have the option of positioning themselves as bilinguals in the Japanese job market. Therefore, the elevated position that the *hafu* respondents occupy within Japanese society needs to be taken into account.

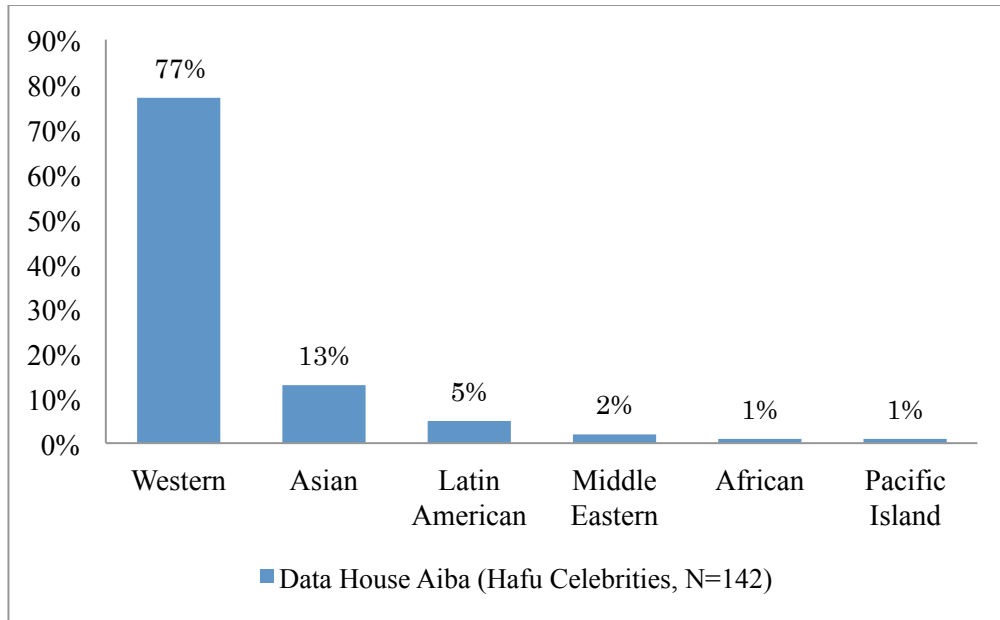


Figure 1: *Hafu* Celebrities: Nationality of Their Non-Japanese Parent (By Percentage)

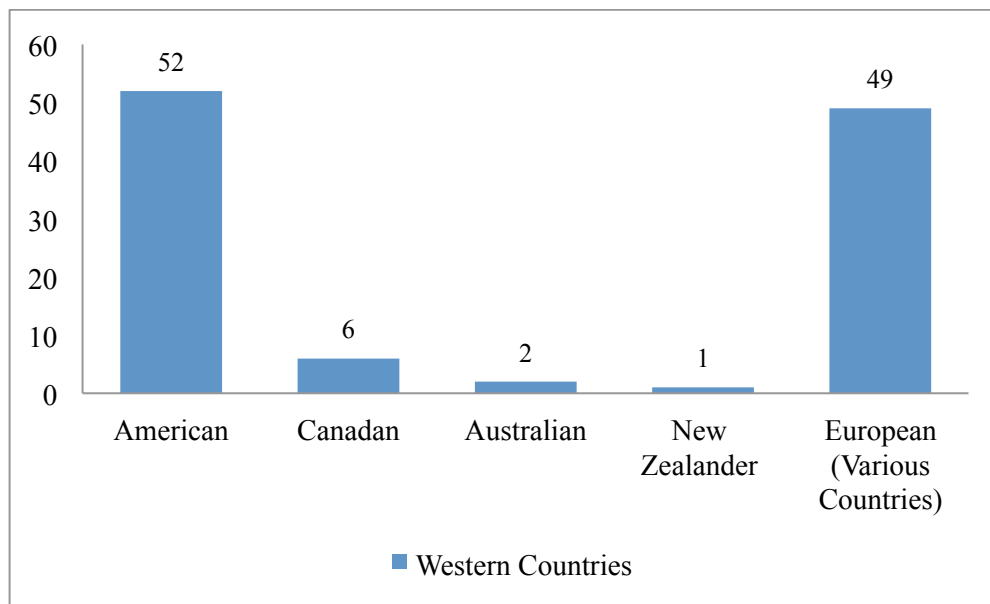


Figure 2: *Hafu* Celebrities: Western Nationality by Country (By Number of Celebrities)

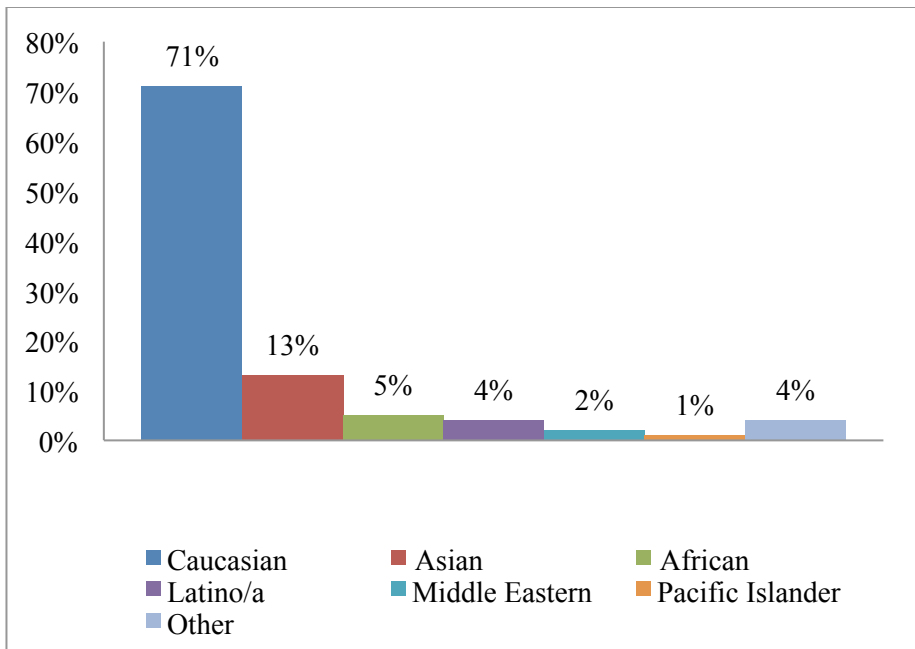


Figure 3: *Hafu* Celebrities: Ethnicity of Their Non-Japanese Parent

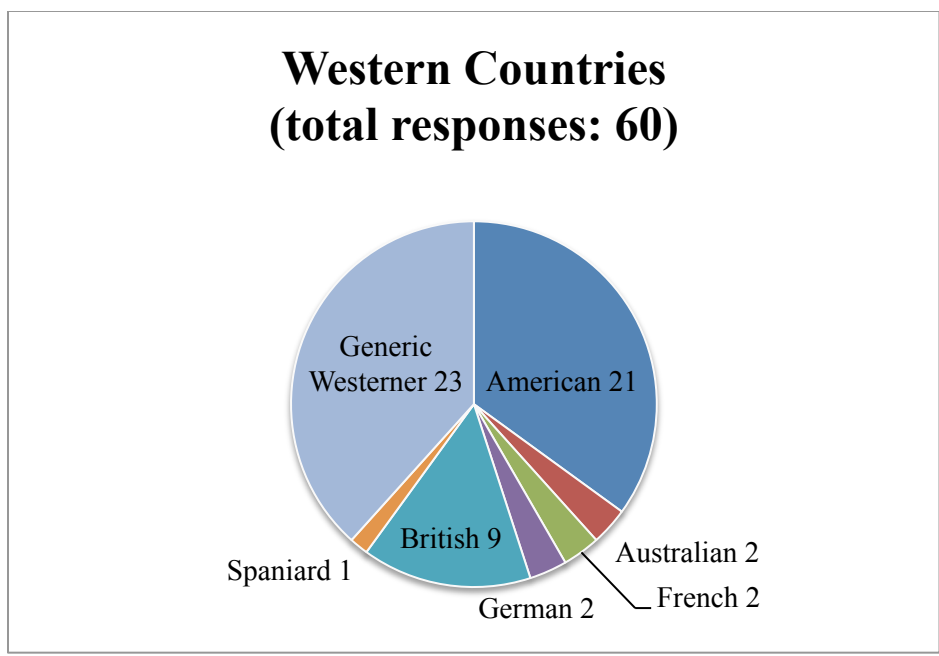


Figure 4: *Hafu* Celebrities: Nationality of Their Non-Japanese Parent, Western Countries Listed by Japanese University Students (By Number of Responses)

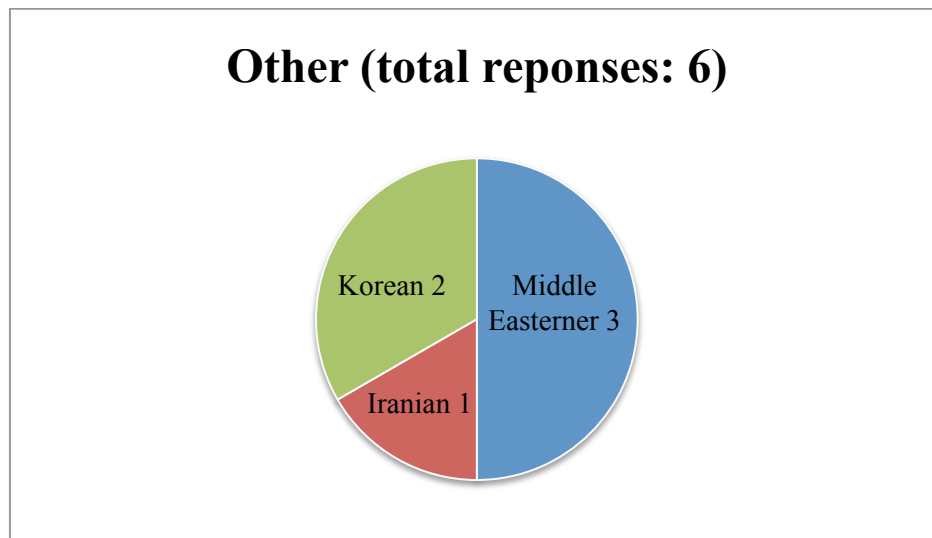


Figure 5: *Hafu* Celebrities: Nationality of Their Non-Japanese Parent, Other Nationalities Listed By Japanese University Students (By Number of Responses)

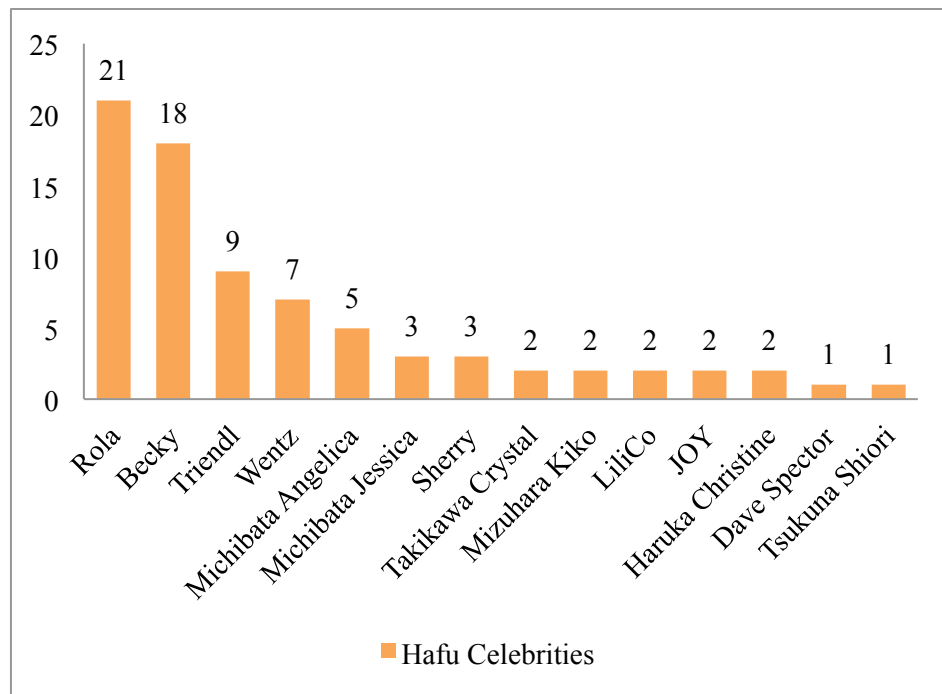


Figure 6: *Hafu* Celebrities Listed by Japanese University Students (By Number of Responses)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Although Dave Spector was listed by one of the respondents, he is an American and is known in Japan as a *gaijin tarento* (a celebrity who is a foreigner). Therefore, it is curious that 1 of the respondents identified him as a *hafu*.

Rola (Japanese-Russian/Bangladeshi)

- stupid cute because she's Rola. (Female respondent #8)
- cool model. (Female respondent #12)
- free spirited character. (Female respondent #14)
- she is very unique. (Female respondent #19)
- Rola & Triendl: Even though they use casual speech, they have a lovable quality so that they can be forgiven. (Female respondent #20)
- Rola: her face is not Japanese (Female respondent #29)
- Rola: She is always encompassed in a mysterious aura. (Male respondent #2)
- Rola: [She] seems to act like an idiot for her character, but in reality she seems like she is smart. (Male respondent #5)
- Rola: she is always foolish, a mysterious image. (Male respondent #6)
- Rola: Cheerful and lively, but she is socially awkward. (Male respondent #11)
- Rola (a bit off/naïve). (male respondent 16)

Becky (Japanese/British)

- Is good at both Japanese and English. (Female respondent #10)
- Becky: Aspects which make me think she is *hafu* are her face which is different from a Japanese face, her cheerfulness, and her sociability. But she seems kind and it makes me think she is Japanese after all. (Female respondent #11)
- Becky: well structured nose, pale skin, black hair. (Male respondent #3)
- Becky: her appearance is very much like a foreigner, but after all, her personality is Japanese like. Sometimes she exaggerates and is talkative, and in that respect I think the foreign side of her is coming out. (Male respondent# 9)

Triendl (Japanese/Australian(German descent))

- Triendl: A face too well proportioned. (laugh). (Female respondent #3)
- Triendl: cute, a bit off (naïve). (Female respondent #7)

Wentz (Japanese/American (German descent))

- Wentz: Although he is *hafu*, he cannot speak English. (Female respondent #20)
- Wentz: handsome/cool, comes off as being serious, but cannot speak English. (Male respondent #11)
- Wentz Eiji...even though his face and Japanese accent are more Japanese than foreigners, he can't speak a foreign language which disappoints me (Male respondent #12)
- Wentz (comedic). (Male respondent #16)

Figure 7: Impressions of the Top Four Listed *Hafu* Celebrities
Given by Japanese University Students

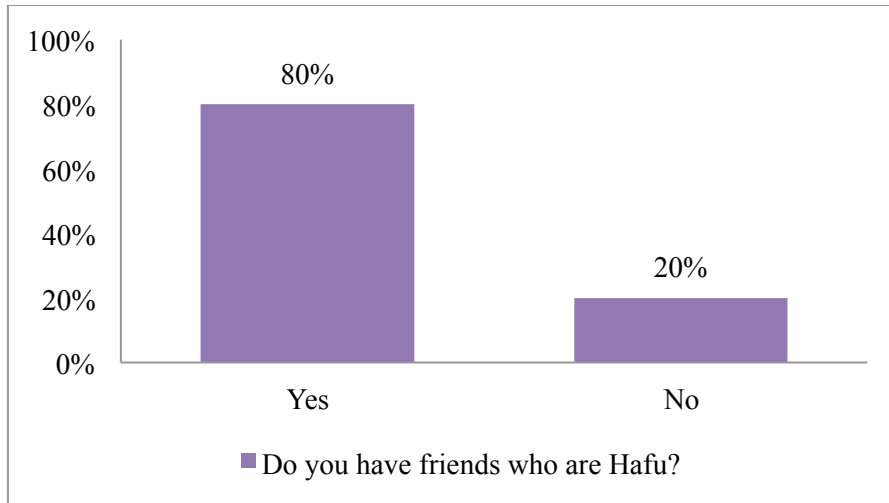


Figure 8: Japanese University Students' Yes/No Responses to Having Friends who are *Hafu* (By Percentage)

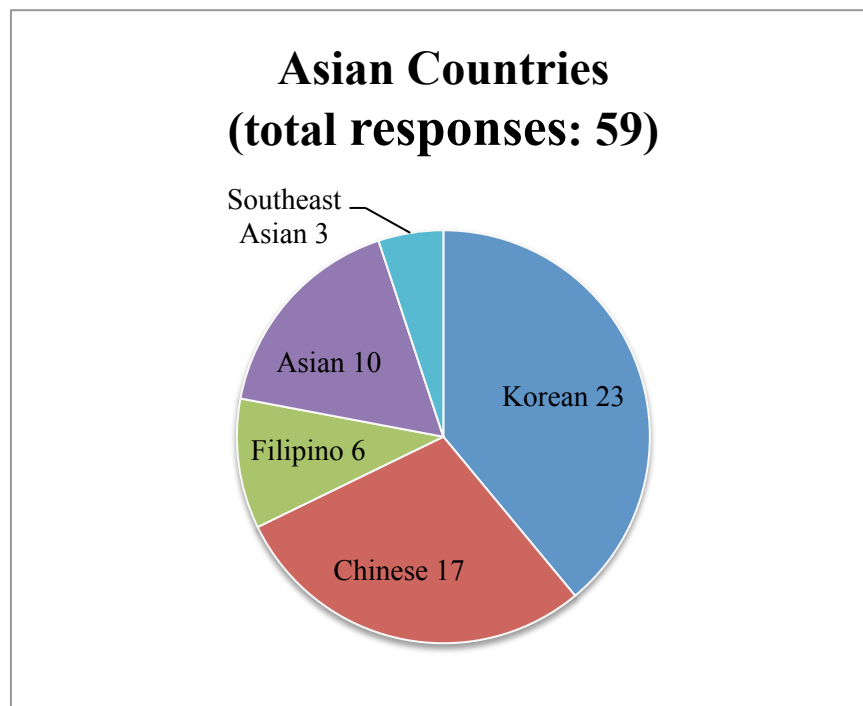


Figure 9: *Hafu* Individuals: Nationality of Their Non-Japanese Parent, Asian Nationalities Listed by Japanese University Students (By Number of Responses)

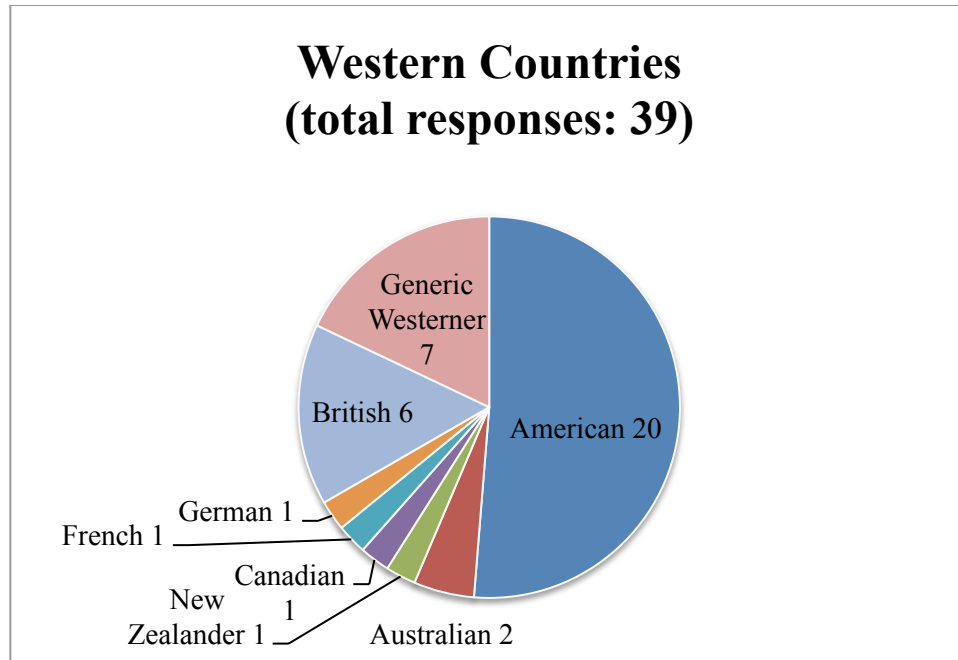


Figure 10: *Hafu* Individuals: Nationality of Their Non-Japanese Parent, Western Nationalities Listed by Japanese University Students (By Number of Responses)

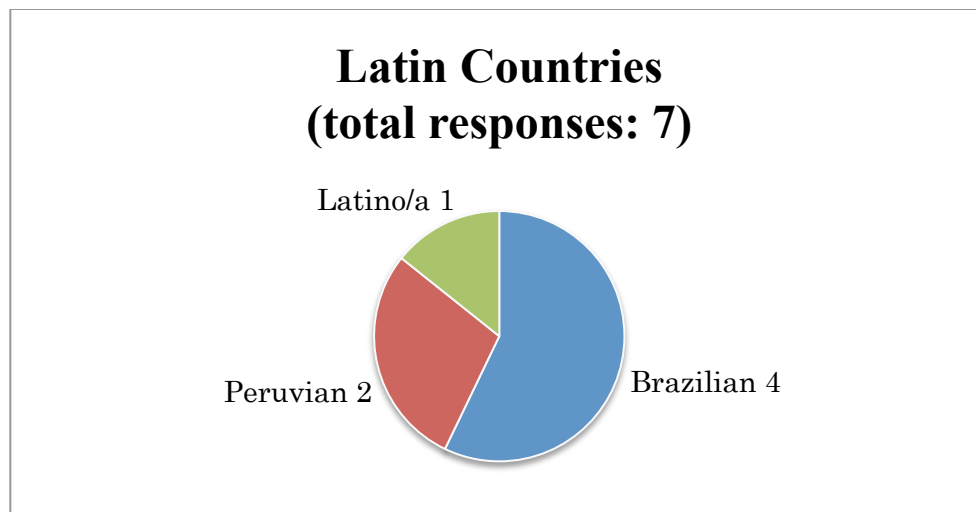


Figure 11: *Hafu* Individuals: Nationality of Their Non-Japanese Parent, Latin American Nationalities Listed by Japanese University Students (By Number of Responses)

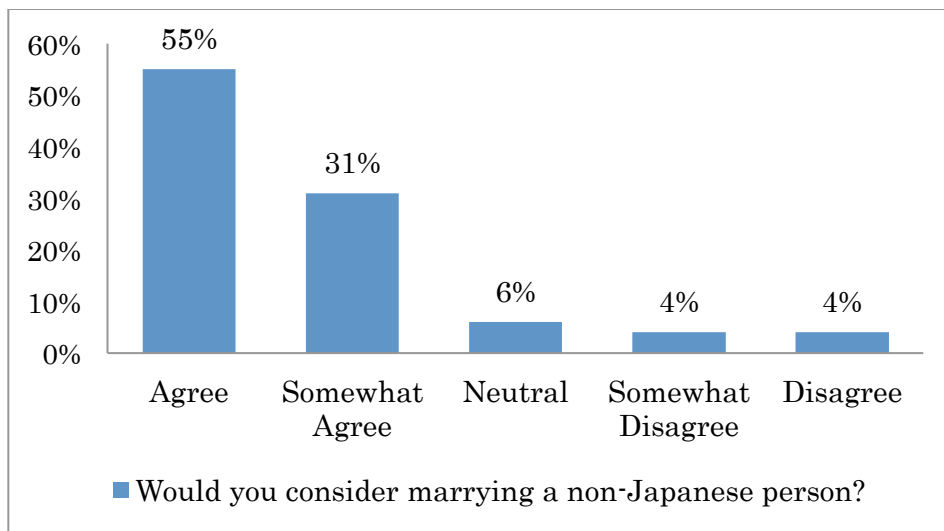


Figure 12: Japanese University Students' Level of Willingness to Marry a Non-Japanese Person (By Percentage)

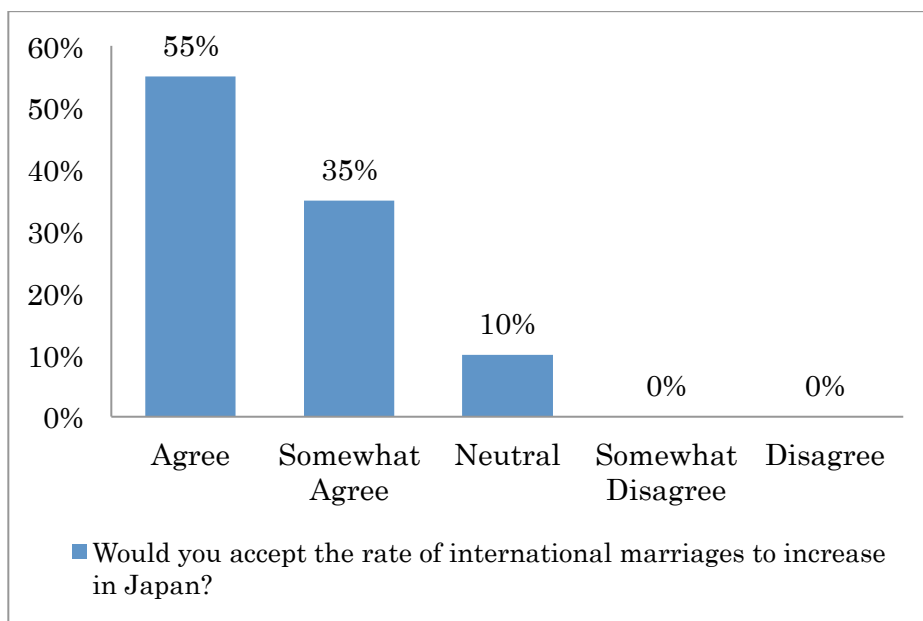


Figure 13: Japanese University Students' Level of Acceptance to Have the International Marriage Rate Increase in Japan (By Percentage)

Table 4: Profile of the 8 Hafu respondents

Ethnicity/Gender	Age	Japanese Citizenship	Japanese	English	Years Abroad	Education
Japanese/American- Chilean Male	35	Yes	Advanced	Advanced	7 years (United States and Chile)	Ph.D. Attained
Japanese/Algerian Female	29	Yes	Advanced	Intermediate to Advanced	2 years (United States, and England)	Masters Attained
Japanese/American Female	25	Yes	Advanced	Advanced	5 years (United States)	Masters Student
Japanese/Columbian Female	21	Yes	Advanced	Advanced	0 years	Under- graduate Student
Japanese/Filipino Male	33	No	Not Proficient	Advanced	32 years and 11 months (Philippines)	Masters Student
Japanese/American Male	27	Yes	Intermediate	Advanced	26 years (United States)	Masters Attained
Japanese/American Female	29	No	Intermediate	Advanced	25 years (United States)	Masters Student
Japanese/Brazilian Female	27	No	Advanced	Competence in reading and writing, not confident in speech	26 years (Brazil)	Masters Student

Table 5: Perception of Employment Opportunities Among the 8 *Hafu* Respondents

Ethnicity	Generally More Opportunities for Employment in Japan	Generally More Opportunities for Employment Abroad	More Opportunities in Japan for Jobs That Require Bilingualism as a Skill Set
Japanese/American-Chilean	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Neutral
Japanese/Algerian	Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree
Japanese/American	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral
Japanese/Columbian	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Agree
Japanese/Filipino	Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree
Japanese/American	Disagree	Agree	Agree
Japanese/American	Disagree	Agree	Somewhat Agree
Japanese/Brazilian	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND SYNTHESIS

The research questions the current study set out to examine took three different perspectives in looking at perceptions of *hafu*. First, I looked at the representations of *hafu* in the Japanese media to determine how they are represented ethnically. Then, I turned to how Japanese university students perceive those media depictions. Specifically, I examined how they perceive the ethnic representation of *hafu* celebrities in the Japanese media, and I looked at their impressions of the representative ethnicities for *hafu* in the general population. Further, I surveyed the students on their impressions of the characteristics of *hafu* celebrities and *hafu* in general. Finally, I looked at how *hafu* themselves perceive their own situation by surveying *hafu* individuals on their perceptions of employment opportunities in Japan. The following three sections: Through the Eyes of the Japanese Media, Through the Eyes of Japanese University Students, and Through the Eyes of *Hafu* Themselves will summarize and synthesize my findings.

Through the Eyes of the Japanese Media

The findings for how *hafu* are depicted ethnically in the Japanese media revealed that *hafu* are represented as Japanese/Western (White). My student respondents saw *hafu* in the media as linguistically ambiguous (as opinions varied among the respondents), good-looking and subjects of envy (*akogare*) for their Japanese/White appearance, and

exhibiting non-Japanese personality traits. A theme that emerged when looking at the impressions given for specific *hafu* celebrities was that they are not “normal” Japanese.

The depiction of *hafu* as being Japanese/Western (White) and being praised for their good looks relates to Arudou’s (2013) argument that in Japan foreignness is used to market commodities (p. 56-62), as in this case, the “international” feel that *hafu* celebrities radiate, described by Kaneko (2010), becomes the marketable image or commodity (*hafu* celebrities appear on many television commercials in Japan, and as celebrities, they are “commodities” in television). Kaneko (2010) also states that *hafu* celebrities satisfy Japanese youths’ desire “to become liberalized Westerners” while retaining a Japanese identity (p. 103), which could explain the reason why there was an expectation for Wentz Eiji to be more than just Japanese (there was great expectation for him to speak English), and the way in which Becky was described as being both Japanese and non-Japanese regardless of her native competency in the Japanese language and culture and her stronger orientation towards her Japanese side. This shows the kind of idealization that Kaneko (2010) is referring to of *hafu* celebrities being both Japanese and Western.

Therefore, advertisement agencies and media producers are likely to promote the Japanese/White *hafu* image as being exotic enough but yet leave room for familiarity in order to create the image of “Japan meets West.” The example of *hafu* face makeup is an instance where this “exotic yet attainable” quality of the ideal *hafu* is most apparent, because by applying makeup in a certain way Japanese women are able to achieve the ideal Japanese/White *hafu* appearance.

Interestingly, in recalling Tsuda’s (2003b) analysis of the depiction of Japanese

Brazilian (*Nikkeijin*) in the Japanese media, where he found that Japanese Brazilians tended to be portrayed as either Japanese or non-Japanese, in the case of *hafu* celebrities, in the context of the current study, they seem to always be pointed out for their foreignness and never accepted as merely Japanese regardless of their competency in the language and culture. This difference, in the expectation placed on *Nikkeijin* and *hafu*, shows that appearance is a major factor in being defined as a Japanese person in Japan.

Through the Eyes of Japanese University Students

Regarding Japanese University students' perceptions of *hafu*, findings showed that the ethnicity of *hafu* was generally thought to be Japanese/Asian. This finding did not support my hypothesis; however, the secondly most cited response was for Japanese/White *hafu*. Therefore, the students still seem to perceive *hafu* in general to be Japanese/White as well. In terms of the impressions towards *hafu*, there was a general expectation for them to be bilingual/multilingual, good-looking with foreign physical features, and harboring traits of “internationalism.”

Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) also found that the *hafu* respondents they interviewed felt that they were expected by their Japanese peers to be “bilingual, athletic, and better looking” (p. 643). Further, Takeshita (2010) found in his interview that parents of Japanese/Brazilian *hafu* children preferred English to Portuguese as a foreign language for their child to learn (p. 375). This may arise from the expectation of *hafu* to be “international” multilinguals, which often means English speaking, an expectation also found in the current study.

There was a general gap between the identification of the ethnicity of *hafu* versus the description of their characteristics, where, although respondents generally

identified *hafu* to be Japanese/Asian, the characteristics they associated with *hafu* were the same characteristics as the ones associated with Japanese/White *hafu* celebrities. This trend can be interpreted as the respondents not feeling a particular difference between themselves and Japanese/Asian *hafu*, because Japanese/Asian *hafu* (especially Korean and Chinese *hafu*) are able to “pass” more easily than *hafu* of other ethnicities. Therefore, in order to think of characteristics that set *hafu* apart from themselves, the respondents could have drawn on the media images of *hafu*, which clearly portrays the stereotype of *hafu* being bilingual, good-looking due to their foreign physical features, and “international.”

Another reason why the respondents referred to Japanese/White *hafu* characteristics rather than Japanese/Korean *hafu* characteristics in describing *hafu* could be due to the social stigmatization of Koreans as being completely foreign, even if they are Japanese/Korean *hafu*. For example, *zainichi* Koreans are not thought of as being Japanese even if they have been in Japan for several generations. Further, Japanese/Korean *hafu* children, regardless of having one Japanese parent are in some cases identified as being Korean rather than *hafu* due to the negative stigmatization and discrimination placed on Koreans that lingers from the time when Korea was a colony of Imperial Japan.

Through the Eyes of *Hafu* Themselves

For the issue of social positioning of *hafu* through employment opportunities, the findings revealed that *hafu* individuals who had spent a majority of their lives in Japan tended to perceive more employment opportunities in Japan than abroad, and *hafu* individuals who had spent a majority of their lives outside of Japan tended to perceive

more employment opportunities abroad than in Japan. This finding did not support my hypothesis.

Both of those who had grown up in Japan and those who did not generally perceived more opportunities for employment in Japan, specifically in jobs that require bilingualism as a skill set.

The phenomena of *hafu* individuals who grew up in Japan perceiving more employment opportunities in Japan than abroad will now be discussed in light of Bourdieu's (1986) theory of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as:

[T]he aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition...which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (p. 21)

In other words, for Bourdieu (1986), social capital is the process by which resources are provided to an individual by the social group that they are a part of; therefore, the social network or connection itself is of value, or is *capital*.

For *hafu* who have grown up in Japan, there are various forms of social groups of which they are a part of such as family, network of friends, organizations, etc. which are essentially their social capital. Such social capital acts as a strong force in providing economic, physical, and psychological security. Further, by utilizing such social networks, employment opportunities may also be gained. Therefore, when weighing the level of investment towards their social capital in Japan versus abroad, it is clear that they have more social capital in Japan. This may be the reason why those respondents who grew up in Japan perceive more employment opportunities in Japan than abroad. The same reasoning can be applied to those respondents that grew up outside of Japan and replied

that they perceive more employment opportunities abroad than in Japan; it is because of the different levels of social capital they have abroad versus in Japan.

In terms of the social positioning of *hafu* in Japanese society, it was evidenced that the majority of respondents perceived more opportunities for employment in Japan in jobs which require bilingualism as a skill set. Therefore, Van Langenhove and Harre's (1995) positioning theory will be used to interpret this finding. Philogene (2012) interprets Van Langenhove and Harre's (1995) positioning theory in the following:

The confluence of social categories provides individuals with their social position in their respective society and culture. In other words, these categories place the person in a social field that is structured (e.g. by occupation, race, nationality) and hierarchized. Depending on the prevailing constellation of intersecting categories, the individual concerned positions him- or herself socially within that structure. (p. 39)

Rephrased, positioning is an act by which an individual positions him/herself in society's constructed social categories. For the *hafu* respondents, perceiving more chances of employment in Japan using their bilingual skills means that social positioning is taking place, where they are positioning themselves in a social category of bilingual *hafu*, who have an advantage over nonbilingual *hafu* and nonbilingual Japanese when seeking jobs that value bilingualism.

The fact that the *hafu* respondents perceive more employment opportunities as bilinguals, in reverse, means that they do not perceive many employment opportunities in so called "mainstream" job sectors which do not require bilingualism as a skill set and where they must compete with Japanese people. Therefore, such social positioning on the part of the *hafu* respondents indirectly suggests a sense of discrimination felt in the Japanese job market precisely because they are *hafu*.

Larger Implications

In understanding what being “*hafu*” means in Japanese society, it is important to identify how the three examined topics, Through the Eyes of the Japanese Media, Through the Eyes of Japanese University Students, and Through the Eyes of *Hafu* Themselves, relate to one another.

As the current study confirms, the depiction of *hafu* in the Japanese media is based on a narrow image of *hafu* being ethnically Japanese/White, which symbolizes *hafu* as having traits of Japanese and Western culture, or in other words, being “international.” This image creates a strong stereotype of *hafu* in Japanese society, or rather comes to define *hafu* as being an “international” Japanese/White figure.

It is interesting to note that it is only in recent decades that the image of *hafu* has been conceptualized as desirable, as in the post-World War II years, *hafu* were seen as “unwanted” children born to Japanese women and U.S. soldiers out of wedlock and were subject to strong discriminatory treatment. However, with the “Americanization” of Japan after World War II, the popularity of the Japanese/White *hafu* gradually gained momentum precisely because of the marketable quality of their image given the popularity of Western things and the desirability of the English language. Therefore, mass media naturally seeks to incorporate Japanese/White *hafu* for their image as opposed to other *hafu* ethnicities, whose images are not seen in the same desirable manner.

Indeed, the views of the Japanese university students regarding what they perceive to be the characteristics common to *hafu*, confirms an internalization of the media image of the Japanese/White *hafu*. Further, when there is consensus in Japanese

society for *hafu* to represent a certain ideal, that of Japan meets West, such expectation, when felt by *hafu* themselves, influences how they position themselves within Japanese society. For example, Japanese/White *hafu* will find it advantageous to establish themselves as bilingual candidates in the employment sector (or to further perpetuate such a stereotype by becoming celebrities themselves), and Japanese/Asian *hafu* may find it better to conceal their “*hafu*-ness,” by passing as purely Japanese. The way in which the *hafu* individuals surveyed for the current study positioned themselves as bilinguals in the Japanese employment sector could be taken as evidence of the effect of such media stereotypes.

As discussed in the Introduction, there is a historical reason for why Japanese/White *hafu* are given a more privileged status in Japanese society (by being depicted favorably and more frequently in the media) when compared to non-White *hafu*. In recent years, there has been effort to portray a more realistic image of *hafu* in Japanese society, where organizations such as organization *A* in Kansai have made an effort to open dialogue and create a space where *hafu* from various ethnic, cultural, and class backgrounds can meet and have their voices heard. The hope for the current study is to contribute to this dialogue by explicitly bringing to light the narrow media made image of *hafu*, and how such stereotypes affect both the Japanese and *hafu* individuals. As a recommendation, further effort in Japanese society to bring about a more holistic portrayal of *hafu* in the Japanese media, for example, through such mediums as documentaries, films, and news reports is called for.

Limitations and Future Research

Although the current study has used a variety of methodological means to capture the *hafu* experience in Japanese society, as with any study, limitations are abound. One of the major limitations for the study is the utilized database. Due to the nature of the database, Data House *Aiba*, not being an officially sponsored site such as a government database or a database created by an organization, the information compiled on the website is strictly based on commonly accessed information on the internet, in other words, popular perception. Therefore, the reliability of the information posted comes into question. Nonetheless, because this study's aim is to understand "perceptions" regarding *hafu*, the commonly disclosed information on the internet regarding the nationality and ethnicity of *hafu* celebrities plays on the same string of "perceptions." Hence, the utilized database is, in this sense, appropriate for the current study.

Another limitation of this study is in the depth of data collected. The nature of the study is qualitative; however, in depth interviews were not conducted. This opens the possibility for future research to conduct a study focusing on specific conversations with Japanese and *hafu* individuals with the same agenda of understanding how *hafu* are perceived, and how *hafu* position themselves in Japanese society due to this perception. Also, I believe the current study can be further enhanced by interviewing or surveying Japanese university students on the specific backgrounds of their *hafu* friends and how they relate to or perceive their *hafu* friends, because a majority of the respondents answered that they have friends who are *hafu*.

Future studies on the subject of *hafu* are likely to benefit from delving deeper into the issue of the social construction of ethnicity in Japan where the ideology of

“bloodline purity” to maintain the Japanese race is emphasized regardless of the fact that “Japanese ethnicity” itself is mixed with other Asian and Pacific Islander ethnicities. Although such an ideology has been politically grounded in an imperialistic and fundamentalist ideology of the “purity of the Japanese race,” on the social level, the primary reason for concern in maintaining homogeneity in Japan may be due to the fear that with increased diversity there is likely to be dramatic changes in Japanese culture and lifestyle due to the amalgamation of various cultures that would come to form the foundation of Japanese society. However, in our world today, globalization increasingly creates opportunities for mixed marriages, and in a country such as Japan where homogeneity in ethnicity is maintained as the ideal, conflict arises when confronted with the values particular to globalization, those of “cosmopolitanism” and “diversity.” Therefore, by examining the perceptions and treatment of biethnic Japanese individuals in Japan, we can begin to see how Japanese society is dealing with or intends to deal with the opposing values of homogeneity and diversity.

APPENDIX A

DATA HOUSE *AIBA* (*HAFU TARENTO* DATABASE): CATEGORIZED

NATIONALITY AND ETHNICITY OF LISTED

HAFU CELEBRITIES

Hafu Celebrities (N=142): By Nationality of the Non-Japanese Parent

Western Countries

American 52
 Australian 2
 Canadian 6
 French 11
 British 10
 Russian 2
 Hollander 3
 Italian 2
 Danish 1
 German 4
 Romanian 2
 Swiss 2
 Spaniard 2
 Austrian 3
 Serbian 1
 Belgian 1
 Ukrainian 1
 New Zealander 1
 Norwegian 1
 Hungarian 1
 Swedish 2
Total: 110 (77%)

Asian Countries

Filipino 5
 Chinese 4
 Taiwanese 4
 Thai 1
 Vietnamese 1
 Indian 2
 Pakistani 2
Total: 19 (13%)

Latin American Countries

Brazilian 3
 Cuban 1
 Mexican 1
 Columbian 2
Total: 7 (5%)

Middle-Eastern Countries

Iranian 2
 Egyptian 1
Total: 3 (2%)

African Countries

Gambian 1
 Ghanaian 1
Total: 2 (1%)

Pacific Island Countries

Samoan 1
Total: 1 (1%)

Hafu Celebrities (N=142): By Ethnicity of the Non-Japanese Parent

European Ethnicities

European-American 43
 European-Australian 1
 European-Canadian 6
 French 10
 British 10
 Russian 2
 Hollander 3
 Italian 2
 Danish 1
 German 4
 Romanian 2
 Swiss 2
 Spaniard 2
 Spaniard-Mexican 1
 Austrian 3
 Serbian 1
 Belgian 1
 Ukrainian 1
 New Zealander 1
 Norwegian 1
 Hungarian 1
 Swedish 2
 Greek-Egyptian 1
Total: 101 (71%)

Asian Ethnicities

Filipino 5
 Chinese 4
 Taiwanese 4
 Thai 1
 Vietnamese 1
 Indian 2
 Pakistani 2
Total: 19 (13%)

African Ethnicities

Gambian 1
 Ghanaian 1
 African American 5
Total: 7 (5%)

Latin American Ethnicities

Brazilian 3
 Cuban 1
 Columbian 2
Total: 6 (4%)

Middle-Eastern Ethnicities

Iranian 2
 Algerian-French 1
Total: 3 (2%)

Pacific Island Ethnicities

Samoan 1
Total: 1 (1%)

Other

Unknown 5
Total: 5 (4%)

APPENDIX B

SURVEY FINDINGS: JAPANESE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS
ON HOW *HAFU* ARE DEPICTED IN THE
JAPANESE MEDIA

Survey Findings: Japanese University Students' Perceptions on How
Hafu Are Depicted in the Japanese Media

Appearance

Hafu as Models

Female Respondents: 1, 8, 12,

Male Respondents: 4, 5, 7, 8

Physical Characteristics of Hafu

Female Respondents: 1,2,3,4,9,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,20,22,24,25,26,28,30,31,33

Male Respondents: 1,2,4,5,7,8,10,12,14,15,16

Non-Japanese Personality

Non-Japanese Personality

Female Respondents: 19, 21,

Male Respondents: 2, 3, 11, 16

Kosei (Uniqueness)

Female Respondents: 19, 28

Akarui (Cheerful)

Female Respondents: 7,15,30,32,

Male Respondent: 11

Linguistic Background

Poor Quality of Japanese

Female Respondents: 4,20,25

Multilingual

Female Respondents: 7,10,17,

Male Respondent: 12

Monolingual in Japanese

Female Respondent: 11,

Male Respondent: 11

Speaks English

Female Respondents: 15,25,

Male Respondent: 7

Cannot Speak English

Female Respondent: 20

APPENDIX C

SURVEY FINDINGS: IMPRESSIONS OF *HAFU*

Survey Findings: Impressions of *Hafu*

Linguistic and Cultural Background

Multilingual

Female Respondents: 1,3,6,9,13,14,15,19,20,21,23,24,25

Male Respondents: 1,3,4,5,8,9,11,12,13,14

Speaks English

Female Respondents: 4,8,12

Multicultural

Female Respondents: 10,13,17,21,23,32

Male Respondents: 5,9,14

Appearance

Good-Looking

Female Respondents: 1,3,4,7,8,9,12,14,15,19,20,24,26,27,28,30,33

Male Respondents: 4,6,7,8,10,11,14,15,16

Foreign Appearance

Female Respondents: 2,6,11,14,25,33

Male Respondents: 3,6,7

Envy and Desire

Jealous

Female Respondents: 3,7,14,18,24

Male Respondents: 2,13

APPENDIX D

PARENTAL BACKGROUND OF THE 8

HAFU RESPONDENTS

Table 6: Parental Background of the 8 *Hafu* Respondents

Ethnicity	Japanese Parent	Single Parent Household
Japanese/American-Chilean	Father	No
Japanese/Algerian	Mother	No
Japanese/American	Mother	Yes: Raised by mother
Japanese/Columbian	Father	No
Japanese/Filipino	Father	Yes: Raised by mother
Japanese/American	Father	Yes: Raised by mother
Japanese/American	Father	Yes/No: Raised by mother and father, both at different times
Japanese/Brazilian	Father	No

APPENDIX E

TRANSLATED RESPONSES FOR THE SURVEY
CONDUCTED WITH JAPANESE
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Translated Responses For the Survey Conducted With Japanese University Students

Survey question #4: What are some of the impressions you have regarding biethnic Japanese individuals? (Please explain)

あなたはハーフの人についてどんな印象がありますか？（説明して下さい）

<Female Respondents>

- 1) 日本語以外にも違う言語を話せそう。かっこいい。かわいい。
They seem to be able to speak another language in addition to Japanese. They are cool/handsome. They are cute.
- 2) 私の友達にハーフの女性がいますが、私達日本人と違う目の色や髪色を持ってるので、とてもうらやましく思います。ちょっと違うだけで、日本人の中いるととても目立ってしまうので嫌だと彼女は言っていました。私は目立つことが嫌なことだとは思いません。
I have a female friend who is *hafu*, and she has a different eye and hair color as us Japanese, so I am very jealous. Just with a little difference, she stands out amongst Japanese people, so she says that it is unfavorable. I do not think it is an unfavorable thing to stand out.
- 3) ハーフの人は、2言語以上話せたり、バイリンガルの人が多く、うらやましく思う。また、顔が整っている人が多いイメージ。
Hafu may speak two or more languages, such that there are many bilinguals, and I feel jealous. Further, I have the image that their faces are well proportioned.
- 4) かわいい、かっこよくて英語が話せる。
Cute, cool/handsome and can speak English.
- 5) 自分自身がハーフなのですが、印象としては、小学校など低学年のときに、同級生に理解してもらえない。
I am personally *hafu*, so my impression is that, during the early years of schooling, for example in elementary school, my classmates did not understand.
- 6) 見た目がどことなく外国人風で人によっては2ヶ国語が話せる。
Visually, without pointing to any particular aspect, they look like a foreigner. Depending on the person, they can speak two languages.
- 7) 見た目としてはかわいかったりかっこいいイメージ。性格は日本人と一緒に人それぞれだと思う。うらやましい。
Visually, their image is cute or cool/handsome. But like Japanese people, their personalities vary from person to person. I am jealous of them.
- 8) キレイ！モデルみたい。英語がしゃべれる（もしくはその国の言葉）

Pretty! Like a model. Can speak English or the language of their country.

- 9) 2か国語がはなせて、キレイな人かっこいい人が多い。

Many can speak two languages and are pretty and handsome.

- 10) かっこいい。異なった文化の違いをより知れる。個性がある。

Cool. They can know the differences between different cultures. They are unique.

- 11) 外見は、純日本人と違って黒髪でなかったり、目の色が茶色だったり、手足がながいというイメージがある。

Appearance wise, they are different from pure Japanese in that their hair might not be black, and their eyes might be brown, and I have the image that they have long arms and legs.

- 12) かわいい。キレイ。英語が話せそう。

Cute. Pretty. Seems like they can speak English.

- 13) バイリンガル、親の2つの文化が合わさって新しい文化の中で生活している

Bilingual, They are living a cultural lifestyle where both of their parents' cultures have combined to form a new culture.

- 14) 国際的で2ヶ国語を話せて、うらやましい。日本人のハーフの場合、欧米とのハーフは目鼻立ちがはっきりした顔なのでモテる。

They are international and speak two languages, of which I am envious. For Japanese *hafu* who are Japanese/Westerner *hafu*, their facial structure is well defined and they are attractive.

- 15) (両親の母国語が異なる場合) 2ヶ国語以上の言語を話す。目鼻立ちがはっきりしている。

(When the mother tongue of the parents are different) they can speak more than two languages. They have a well-defined facial structure.

- 16) 少し周りとは雰囲気の違い、関わると自国とは違うものを感じる

Their aura is a little different, and when interacting with them I feel something different from Japaneseness .

- 17) 二つの文化を感じながら育つので、他の国の人や自国の人に対して多様な理解力を持っていると思う。自身の国についても様々な観点から、見ることができるという印象がある。

Because they grow up feeling two cultures, they have a tremendous ability to understand those from other countries and those from their own country. I have the impression that, even in regard to their own country, they are able to see things from various angles.

- 18) 考え方や視野を広げることができるので、とてもいいと思う。うらやましい。

They are able to expand their thinking and outlook, so I think it is good. I am jealous.

- 19) 親の良いところを受け取りやすく、かわいかったり、かっこよかったりする人が

多い。例外な人もいるが、たいてい二ヶ国語は話すことができる。(父の言語、母の言語)

They are receptive to inheriting the good qualities of their parents. There are many who tend to be cute and handsome. Although there are exceptions, most can speak two languages (father's language, mother's language).

- 20) バイリンガルである。とてもキュートな顔立ち。

They are bilingual. A very cute face.

- 21) 視野が広い (二つの文化に関わっているため)。二ヶ国語が話せる。

They have a wide outlook (due to being in contact with two cultures). They can speak two languages.

- 22) 日本では、ハーフの人はあまり多くないので、珍しいという印象があります。しかし決して悪い印象はなく、実際に今日本のテレビなどで多くのハーフのタレントが活躍していて人気もあります。

Since there are not many *hafu* in Japan, I have the impression that they are rare. However, I do not have any negative impressions towards them, and in reality, there are many *hafu* who are active as celebrities, who air on Japanese television.

- 23) 2つ以上の言語や文化に身近にあり、国際色豊かである

They are close to two languages and cultures, and they are international

- 24) 私の印象としては、ハーフの子は可愛いというイメージがある。また2ヶ国語話せる人が多くいるから、とてもかっこいいと思う。ハーフの人について私はうらやましい点がたくさんあり、良いイメージを持っている。

My impression is that, I have an image of *hafu* as being cute. Also, since there are many who can speak two languages, I think it's cool. There are many aspects of *hafu* that I am jealous about, and I have a good image of them.

- 25) 何ヶ国語も話せたり、容姿が日本人ぽくない印象。良いイメージがある。外国のいろんな所に行ったことがあるとか住んでいたとか。

My impression is that, they may speak several languages, and their appearance is not Japanese like. I have a good image of them. For example, they have been to various places abroad or lived abroad.

- 26) スタイルが良い、かわいい、かっこいい、頭がいい、明るい、にぎやか

Good physique, cute, handsome, smart, cheerful, lively

- 27) とてもかわいしい、かっこいい。できればハーフで生まれたかった。かわいから。

Very cute and handsome. If it was possible, I would have wanted to have been born a *hafu*. Because they are cute.

- 28) 美男美女が多い

There are many handsome and pretty people

- 29) どちらの特徴も、持ち合わせている

They have the attributes of both sides

- 30) 背が高め、綺麗、積極的

Their height is on the taller side, pretty, self-starter/initiative

- 31) 2ヶ国語話せそうで意外と話せない。国籍を2つの内から選びやすいので、少しお得な感じがする。

They seem like they can speak two languages, but they surprisingly can't. They are more able to choose between two nationalities, so I feel they have a slight advantage.

- 32) 感覚・考え方の幅が広い（両親の国籍が違うことで、いろいろなことに触れるから）

They have a wide repertoire in their sense and thinking (due to their parents being of different nationalities, they have the opportunity to come into contact with various things)

- 33) 外見的に日本人とは違っているが、日本のことを分かっているという感じ。顔がキレイ・整っている・鼻が高い・目や髪の色が違くとハーフかなーと思う。

Appearance wise they are different from the Japanese, but I feel that they understand Japan. Their face is pretty/well-proportioned/their nose is well structured/when I notice that someone's eye or hair color is different, I wonder if they are *hafu*.

<Male Respondents>

- 1) 両親がそれぞれの母語を持っているため、2ヶ国語以上話すことができるイメージ。

Due to the parents having their different individual mother tongues, I have the image that *hafu* can speak more than two languages.

- 2) めったにいないからカッコいい。自分の中に日本とアメリカのように2つの血がかよっていると考えるとうらやましい。本当に憧れる。

Because they are rare, I think they are cool. When I think that in your body you have Japanese and American blood flowing, I feel jealous. I really admire them.

- 3) 例えば、アメリカやヨーロッパ系の人と純日本人のハーフだと、顔は日本人だけど、鼻が高くブロンドヘアといった見た目。2ヶ国語以上（親の両方の言語）が話せるかもしれない？と思う事がある。日本とのハーフだと20才の時の国籍を決める時、難しそうだと思うのと、決める理由はどんなだろうか？という事を考える事が多い。

For example, those who are Japanese/American or European *hafu*, regarding their appearance, their face is Japanese, but their nose is well structured and they have blond

hair. I think at times, they might be able to speak more than two languages (both parents' languages). Those *hafu* who are of Japanese descent, when they are 20 years old and must decide their nationality, I think it must be difficult. I often wonder what their reasoning is when they decide.

- 4) 両親の出身が違う、おおむね、美形が多い。多国語に通じている場合がある。
Their parents' birth countries are different. Generally there are many good-looking people. In certain cases, they are in touch with multiple languages.
- 5) 異なった国の言語に触れる可能性が高い分、それからの言語を修得する可能性も高い。異文化を理解することにたけていそう（上手そう）。
Since they are more likely to be exposed to the languages of the different countries, they are more likely to acquire those languages. They seem like they are exceptional in understanding different cultures.
- 6) 日本人から見ると、ハーフの人は顔が整っていてモテるイメージがあります。また、外国人の顔つきをしているので、日本語がペラペラだとびっくりします。
From the view of Japanese people, *hafu* have a well-proportioned face, and there is an image that they are attractive. Also, because they have facial features of a foreigner, when they are fluent in Japanese, I feel surprised.
- 7) 日本人と比べて（両親共に日本人という意味ですゴメンナサイ）リアクションが大きく、社会性があり基本的に明るいという印象。また、体格などが良いという印象。
Compared to Japanese people (I mean where the parents are both Japanese, sorry) their reaction is more exaggerated, they have social skills, and generally they are cheerful, that is my impression. Also, they have a good physical build, that is my impression.
- 8) 2ヶ国語以上の言語を話すことができる。顔立ちが整っている。
They are able to speak more than two languages. Their facial appearance is well-proportioned.
- 9) 二カ国の文化の知識や言語を知っている、あるいは二重国籍を持っている。
They know the cultures and languages of two countries, or they hold two nationalities.
- 10) 顔つき見た目がとてもよい印象がある
I have an impression of them having a nice face and appearance
- 11) 生まれながらのバイリンガルチャーで、顔つきがイケメンな印象
My impression is that they are born bilinguals or bilingual children, and their face is that of a cool/handsome guy.
- 12) パット見ただけではハーフだとわからない、言われて初めて着付くのであまり意識して接することはなく、特に強い印象はない。あえて言うならば、bilingualなのかな？と期待する

It is not easy to tell if they are *hafu* at a glance, and it is only when I am told that they are *hafu* that I realize they are, so I don't consciously think to myself they are *hafu* when I interact with them; therefore, I don't have any special impressions of them. If I must say an impression, I wonder if they are bilingual, and I expect it.

- 13) 純粋なその国の人間だけど自分たちにはないものを生まれつきから持っていて、どうしようもないけど時々うらやましかったりする。例えば生まれた時から違う国の出身の両親の元で育っているから自然と2ヶ国語が話せたり、特殊なものを備えているイメージがある。

They are authentically from that country (Japan), but they are born with something we (Japanese) do not have, and they can't do anything about it, but I sometimes feel jealous. For example, since from birth they are raised by parents born in different countries so they naturally acquire two languages. I have an image of them being blessed with something unique.

- 14) それぞれ違う文化をもつ人を親としているため、異文化理解に長けたいる。2ヶ国語喋れる。イケメン・美人

Since they have parents who are from different cultures, their understanding towards different cultures is exceptional. They can speak two languages. Cool guy/pretty girl.

- 15) ハーフといえば、日本人と欧米系の白人との間に生まれた人というイメージが大きい。かわいい。かっこいい。明るい。

When thinking about *hafu*, I have a big image of them being someone born to a Japanese and a Westerner. Cute. Handsome. Cheerful.

- 16) 第一印象として、メディアに登場しているようなきれいな人が思いうかびます。しかし、そういうメディアの印象から、必ずしもその人が2ヶ国語話せるわけではないんだなと思っています。

My first impression is that I imagine the pretty people who appear in the media. But taking from those media impressions, I don't necessarily think that that person can necessarily speak two languages.

Survey question #7: How are biethnic Japanese individuals depicted in the Japanese media?

(Please explain)

日本のメディアで取り上げられるハーフの人のイメージはどんなイメージですか？
(説明して下さい)

<Female Respondents>

- 1) メディアの中だと圧倒的に、モデルが多いと思います。やはり、ハーフの人はキレイだったり、かっこよかったりするのでモデルには適していると思います。

In the media, there are overwhelmingly *hafu* models. After all, *hafu* tend to be pretty and handsome so they are suitable as models.

- 2) キレイでかわいい！テレビにでるだけあってかわいい。
Pretty and cute! They are cute enough to be on TV.
- 3) 芸能人等の顔立ちの整った人がとり上げられているイメージ。
Celebrities etc., whose faces are well proportioned, *that* image is depicted.
- 4) かわいい、かっこいい。敬語が使えない。
Cute, cool/handsome. Cannot use honorifics.
- 5) 頭が良く、話がおもしろい。ハーフの国に関わらず、英語が得意
- 6) 見た目が外国人っぽい
Visually, they somewhat look like a foreigner
- 7) 全体的に明るくて元気だなーと思う。やっぱり何ヶ国語が話せる人が多いからかっこいいと思う。
Generally, I think they are cheerful and energetic. After all, there are many who can speak multiple languages so I think they are cool.
- 8) ハーフと言えばモデルというのが私の中で強いイメージです。
When I think of *hafu*, the image of them being models strongly resonates with me.
- 9) プラスないいイメージ。きれいな人ばかり。
A plus, good image. Majority are pretty.
- 10) さまざまな言語を話す。日本語がとても上手。日本人よりも日本のことを知っている。
They can speak various languages. They are good at Japanese. They know more about Japan than Japanese people.
- 11) 顔が日本人離れしているが、日本語しか話せない人というイメージ。
Although their faces are a bit different from the Japanese face, I have an image of them only being able to speak Japanese.
- 12) かわいい、キレイなモデルさん
Cute, pretty model
- 13) 顔が整っている。
Their face is well proportioned.
- 14) 美人で手足が長く、開放的
Pretty and has long arms and legs. Free spirited.
- 15) 英語が話せる。顔がととのっている。マルチタレント。明るい。スタイルが良い。
Can Speak English. Well-proportioned face. Multitalented. Cheerful. They are physically well proportioned.
- 16) 外見がかawaii・かっこいい。そしてスタイルが良いイメージ。

Their appearance is cute/handsome. Also I have an image of their physique being well proportioned

- 17) 美人で日本語以外の母方または父方の言語をしゃべれる。

Pretty and able to speak a language other than Japanese which may be their mother or father's language

- 18) 賢い、かわいい、顔が整っている。マイナスのイメージはない。

Intelligent, cute, and has a well-proportioned face. I do not have any negative images.

- 19) 個性が強く、純日本人よりも自分の意見をハキハキと言う。

The are very unique, and they tend to speak out their opinions more than pure Japanese people.

- 20) 日本語は喋れるけれど、敬語をあまり使わないため少し失礼な感じもあるが、ハーフだから許されるという感じ (ex. ローラ、トリンドル)。とても可愛い。ハーフなのに英語をあまり喋れない人もいて驚く。

They can speak Japanese, but since they do not use honorifics very much, in a sense, they come off as being rude (example: Rola, Triendl). Very cute. There are people who, although they are *hafu*, cannot speak English, and it surprises me.

- 21) 日本人より社交的で自分の意見を持っている。また、自分の意見を伝えられる。

They are more sociable than Japanese people, and they have their own opinions. Also, they have the ability to speak their own mind.

- 22) 日本ではハーフのタレントが最近よく活躍しており、たいていハーフの人は美人が多いというような良いイメージが与えられています。

In Japan, recently there are many active *hafu* celebrities, and they are portrayed as being mostly good-looking.

- 23) 人数も少なく、special であると、とらえられ、どんな分野においても脚光をあびている

Since there are few *hafu*, they are seen as being special, and in whatever field they are active in, they receive the spotlight

- 24) みんな可愛くもあり、かっこよくもあり、おもしろくもあり、非常いいイメージがある。しかし、最近是非常に増えてきているので多すぎるのもよくないと思う。

I consider them to be cute, handsome, funny, and I have a very good image of them. However, lately there has been a rapid increase in *hafu*, so I don't think its good if there are too many.

- 25) 日本人より顔立ちがはっきりしていてキレイ。足が長い、顔が小さいなどスタイルがいい。日本人よりも全体的に優れているイメージ。英語の方がペラペラで、日本語は少し苦手。

Their facial structure is more defined than Japanese, so their pretty. Their physique is

nice such as having long legs and a small face. They are more fluent in English and are a little bad at Japanese.

- 26) 顔立ちが良くて、スタイルも良い。独特のおもしろさがある。

A well-defined face, and good physique. Has a unique sense of humor.

- 27) まだ差別が残ってそうなイメージ

An image that discrimination towards them might still linger

- 28) 美しい、個性が強い

Beautiful, a strong uniqueness

- 29) 見た目は外人でも日本語がペラペラだったり、ギャップがある。

Visually, they may look like a foreigner but their Japanese might be fluent. There is a gap.

- 30) 美人というイメージ? 又は、明るくて積極的 (ベッキーとか?)

The image of them being pretty? Or cheerful and initiative (like Becky?)

- 31) 目鼻立ちがしっかりしてて、かわいい、かっこいい。でも、面白さを売りにしている人もいる。

Their facial structure is well defined, they are cute, handsome. Although, there are those who sell their humor.

- 32) 見た目は西洋系とのハーフの人が目立つ (日本+韓国ハーフは似ているため分かりづらいから)。みんな明るい、すごくオープンなイメージ

Visually, those who are Westerner *hafu* stand out (because Japanese/Korean *hafu* look like us, so it is hard to tell). Everyone is cheerful, and my image is that they are very open.

- 33) 男性よりも女性の方が多く取り上げられているというイメージ。かつ、モデルや芸能人という枠組でハーフの女性たちはスタイルが良いという感じ。

I feel that there are more *hafu* females than males depicted in the media. In terms of *hafu* models and celebrities, I feel the *hafu* females have a good physique.

<Male Respondents>

- 1) 顔の整った人が多いと思う。でもそれは芸能人だからではないかと思う。

I think there are many with well-proportioned faces. But I think, isn't it because they are celebrities.

- 2) 見た目がとってもかっこいい (or かわいい)。普通の人にはない不思議なオーラがある。

Visually, they are very cool/handsome (or cute). They carry a mysterious aura unlike normal people.

- 3) 日本のメディアで取り上げられている事を見た事がないのでよくわからないが、

たぶん “特別”とか “少し違う”という感じで、自分たち（日本人）と同じだとは思っていない。

I haven't seen them being depicted in the Japanese media so I can't really say, but perhaps the impression is that they are “special” and “a bit different,” so it is not thought that they are the same as us (Japanese).

- 4) かっこいい、かわいい、きれい、モデルのようなイメージ

Handsome, cute, pretty, the image is like a model

- 5) スタイルがよくて、きれいで、モデルに多い

Good physique and pretty, there are a lot of *hafu* amongst models

- 6) やはり、テレビだと視聴率が大事になってくるので、おもしろくしようとしているので、すごくフレンドリーでおもしろい人たちだなあというイメージがあります。また、政治家や法律家としてもニュースなどでよく見かけるのですごく頭の良いイメージもあります。

Sure enough, with television, viewership rates become important so they try to make it interesting, therefore, the image I have is of them being friendly and funny people. Also, since I see them often as politicians, lawyers, and in the news I have an image of them being intelligent.

- 7) 英語などの外国語が上手く、モデルや女優などが多いのでキレイだったりカッコ良い人が多いというイメージ

They are good at foreign languages such as English, and there are many amongst models and actresses so the image is that there are many who are pretty and handsome.

- 8) モデルや俳優などのキレイな顔立ちをしている人たちについて取り上げている。
例) 期待のハーフモデル

They are depicted in the sense that they are people who have a pretty facial appearance, such as models and actors. Example) expected to be models.

- 9) No Response Given

- 10) 見た目がすごくきれいだったり、かっこよかったりする人が多いように思う

It seems to me that there are many who are pretty or handsome in appearance

- 11) 顔は外国人なのに、日本語しか話せない人が多く、性格が日本人に比べて明るい。

Although their faces are that of a foreigner, many can only speak Japanese, and when compared to the Japanese, their personalities are more cheerful.

- 12) イケメン・美女・多くの言語を使いこなせる。特に外見を気にしてメディアに取り上げられているイメージをもちます。

Cool guy, pretty woman, they can use multiple languages. The image of them in the media focuses on their appearance.

- 13) 両方の文化に精通している。

They are well acquainted with both of their cultures

14) すごいかっこいい、もしくは美人で、賢い。

Really handsome/cool, or pretty, smart.

15) 容姿が美しい。

Their looks are beautiful.

16) 顔だちが整っていて、面白い、天然など一般的な日本人より浮いているイメージです。

Their face is well-proportioned, they are funny, they are a bit off (naïve). I have an image of them standing out when compared to the average Japanese person.

APPENDIX F

SURVEY: IMAGES OF BIETHNIC JAPANESE INDIVIDUALS

Survey: Images of Biethnic Japanese Individuals

<Section 1>

Please answer to the following questions:

1. Gender: Male Female
2. Age: ()

<Questions Regarding Biethnic Japanese Individuals>

3. Who does the term “*hafu*” refer to?
4. What are some of the impressions you have regarding biethnic Japanese individuals?
(Please explain)
5. When thinking about the non-Japanese ethnicity of biethnic Japanese individuals, which ethnicities do you think are most common in Japan?
6. When thinking about the non-Japanese ethnicity of biethnic Japanese celebrities, which ethnicities do you think are most common?
7. How are biethnic Japanese individuals depicted in the Japanese media? (Please explain)
8. Please list the names of biethnic Japanese celebrities in Japan that you are aware of, and the impressions you have of them:
9. Do you have friends who are biethnic Japanese?

Yes No

<Section 2>

Questions Regarding International Marriage

1. I am open to marrying a non-Japanese individual:
Agree Somewhat agree Neutral Somewhat disagree Disagree
2. I am not opposed to the international marriage rate increasing in Japan:
Agree Somewhat agree Neutral Somewhat disagree Disagree

「ハーフ」のイメージについての調査アンケート

<その1>

以下の質問に答えて下さい。

1. 性別 男性 女性
2. 年齢 () 歳

<ハーフについて>

3. あなたにとって「ハーフ」という言葉ははどんな人のことを示しますか？
4. あなたはハーフの人についてどんな印象がありますか？（説明して下さい）
5. 日本では一般的に日本人とどの人種、民族、または国籍とのハーフの人が多いと思いますか？
6. 芸能界では日本人とどの人種、民族、または国籍とのハーフの人が多いと思いますか？
7. 日本のメディアで取り上げられるハーフの人のイメージはどんなイメージですか？（説明して下さい）
8. あなたの知っている日本で有名なハーフ芸能人の名前と印象を書いて下さい：
9. あなたにはハーフの友達はいますか？

はい いいえ

<その2>

国際結婚について

1. あなたは日本人以外の人種、民族、または国籍の人と結婚したい、またはしてもいい、と思いますか？

同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない
2. 日本での国際結婚の率は増えてもいいと思いますか？

同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない

APPENDIX G

SURVEY: THE PERCEPTIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

OPPORTUNITIES AMONG BIETHNIC

JAPANESE INDIVIDUALS

LIVING IN JAPAN

Survey: The Perceptions of Employment Opportunities Among
Biethnic Japanese Individuals Living in Japan

<Section 1>

1. Gender Male Female

2. How old are you?

3. What is your ethnic background?

Japanese and _____

Is your mother or father Japanese? Mother Father

4. Did you grow up in a single parent household? Yes No

If YES, were you raised by your mother or father? Mother Father

5. Do you hold a Japanese nationality Yes No

6. Are you proficient in Japanese Yes No

If YES, what is the level of your Japanese proficiency (please check the box for the level which applies to you)

Beginning = Able to form and understand simple sentences, reading and writing at an elementary school level

Intermediate = Basic conversation skills, with the ability to read and write at a junior high school level

Advanced = Have full mastery in speaking, reading and writing at an average adult level

If you feel the above categories do not describe your Japanese proficiency, please

explain your level of Japanese proficiency:

7. Are you proficient in English Yes No

If YES, what is the level of your English proficiency (please circle the level which applies to you):

Beginning = Able to form and understand simple sentences, reading and writing at an elementary school level

Intermediate = Basic conversation skills, with the ability to read and write at a junior high school level

Advanced = Have full mastery in speaking, reading and writing at an average adult level

If you feel the above categories do not describe your English proficiency, please explain your level of English proficiency:

8. How many languages total do you have proficiency in at an advanced level (advanced level means you have full mastery in speaking, reading and writing at an average adult level)

1 2 3 4 5 or more

9. What is your current level of education

Attained a High School Diploma Currently an undergraduate student

Attained a Bachelor's Degree Currently a master's student

Attained a Master's Degree Currently a Ph.D. student

Attained a Doctor of Philosophy

10. For your education, did you at some point attend an international school or a private school where the curriculum was taught in English or a language other than Japanese? Yes No

If YES, how many years total did you attend the international school or private

school?

_____years _____months

11. Have you ever lived outside of Japan Yes No

If YES, how many years or months have you lived outside of Japan in total?

_____years _____months

Please list the country/countries have you lived in outside of Japan:

<Section 2>

Please check the box for one answer which applies to you from the scale: Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neutral, Somewhat Disagree, and Disagree

12. I am satisfied with the employment opportunities available to me in Japan
 Agree Somewhat Agree Neutral Somewhat Disagree
 Disagree
13. I think there are more employment opportunities for me in JAPAN than
 ABROAD
 Agree Somewhat Agree Neutral Somewhat Disagree
 Disagree
14. I think there are more employment opportunities for me ABROAD than in
 JAPAN
 Agree Somewhat Agree Neutral Somewhat Disagree
 Disagree
15. I plan to move abroad in the future for employment opportunities
 Agree Somewhat Agree Neutral Somewhat Disagree
 Disagree

If you answered *Agree* or *Somewhat Agree*, please list the country or countries you plan to move to for employment opportunities:

16. Do you feel that there are more opportunities for employment for you in JAPAN
 which require you to be bilingual?
 Agree Somewhat Agree Neutral Somewhat Disagree
 Disagree

17. Do you feel that there are more opportunities for employment for you in JAPAN which require you to travel internationally?

- Agree Somewhat Agree Neutral Somewhat Disagree
 Disagree

<Section 3>

18. Please check ALL of the boxes which apply regarding the type of employment opportunities you perceive to be available to you in JAPAN

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education/Teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Language Teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> Business Owner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative/Clerical | <input type="checkbox"/> Retail/Sales | <input type="checkbox"/> Construction |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Automotive | <input type="checkbox"/> Factory | <input type="checkbox"/> Health Care |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Non-Profit Organization | <input type="checkbox"/> Government | <input type="checkbox"/> IT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Engineering | <input type="checkbox"/> Finance | <input type="checkbox"/> Business |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art/Design | <input type="checkbox"/> Customer Service | <input type="checkbox"/> Editorial |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Law/Legal | <input type="checkbox"/> Sales/Retail | <input type="checkbox"/> Maintenance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Security | <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising | <input type="checkbox"/> Aeronautics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Agriculture/Fishing | <input type="checkbox"/> Food Service | <input type="checkbox"/> Insurance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Telecommunication | <input type="checkbox"/> Transportation | <input type="checkbox"/> Real Estate |

If there is a field or fields not listed above, please write them down:

19. Please circles ALL of the fields which apply regarding the type of employment opportunities you perceive to be available to you ABROAD

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education/Teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Language Teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> Business Owner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative/Clerical | <input type="checkbox"/> Retail/Sales | <input type="checkbox"/> Construction |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Automotive | <input type="checkbox"/> Factory | <input type="checkbox"/> Health Care |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Non-Profit Organization | <input type="checkbox"/> Government | <input type="checkbox"/> IT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Engineering | <input type="checkbox"/> Finance | <input type="checkbox"/> Business |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art/Design | <input type="checkbox"/> Customer Service | <input type="checkbox"/> Editorial |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Law/Legal | <input type="checkbox"/> Sales/Retail | <input type="checkbox"/> Maintenance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Security | <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising | <input type="checkbox"/> Aeronautics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Agriculture/Fishing | <input type="checkbox"/> Food Service | <input type="checkbox"/> Insurance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Telecommunication | <input type="checkbox"/> Transportation | <input type="checkbox"/> Real Estate |

If there is a field or fields not listed above, please write them down:

アンケート調査：日本に住むハーフの背景を持つ人々が

就職機会に対して持っている認識

<その1>

以下の質問に答えて下さい。当てはまる項目の箱に×印をして下さい。また項目の質問に答えて（ ）の中に記入して下さい。

1. 性別 男性 女性

2. 年齢 () 歳

3. あなたの民族背景は何ですか？

日本人と ()

あなたの両親のどちらが日本人ですか？

母親 父親

4. あなたは片親家族の出身ですか？

はい いいえ

はい と答えた人は以下の箱に×印をして下さい。

母子家庭 父子家庭

5. あなたは日本人の国籍をもっていますか？

はい いいえ

6. 日本語は知っていますか？

はい いいえ

はい と答えた人は次のあてはまるレベルを選んでください。

初級 小学校程度のかんたんな文を作ったり理解したり、読んだり書いたりできる。

中級 中学校程度の読み書きができ、基本的な会話もできる。

上級 社会人程度の読み書きができ、会話も不自由なくできる。

上のレベルにあてはまらない場合は、どの程度の日本語ができるか説明して下さい。

7. 英語は知っていますか？

- はい いいえ

はい と答えた人は次のあてはまるレベルを選んで下さい。

- 初級 小学校程度のかんたんな文を作ったり理解したり、読んだり書いたりできる。
- 中級 中学校程度の読み書きができ、基本的な会話もできる。
- 上級 社会人程度の読み書きができ、会話も不自由なくできる。

上のレベルにあてはまらない場合は、どの程度の英語ができるか説明して下さい。

8. 全部でいくつの言語を、上級レベルで読み書きができ、話すことができますか？
(上級レベルとは社会人程度の読み書きができ、会話も不自由なくできることです。)

- 1 2 3 4 5またはそれ以上

9. あなたの現在の学歴についてあてはまる項目を選んで下さい。

- 中学校卒業 高校卒業 大学生 大学卒業 大学院生
- 大学院卒業 博士課程の学生 博士課程卒業

10. あなたの学校教育で、今までに英語または日本語以外の言語で教える
インターナショナル・スクールや私立の学校に通った経験がありますか？

- はい いいえ

はい と答えた人は次の質問に答えて下さい。

何年通いましたか？ (年 ヶ月)

11. 日本以外の国に住んだことがありますか？

- はい いいえ

はい と答えた人は次の質問に答えて下さい。

全体で何年滞在しましたか？ (年 ヶ月)

滞在した国名をすべて記入して下さい。

<その2>

就職機会についての質問です。以下の項目について、同意の度合いを選んで下さい。

12. 日本での自分の就職の機会について、その状況に満足している。

- 同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない

- あまり同意しない 同意しない
- 1 3. 日本での自分の就職の機会は、外国よりももっと多い。
 同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない
- 1 4. 自分の就職の機会は、日本よりも外国のほうがもっと多い。
 同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない
- 1 5. 将来は外国で就職する予定だ。
 同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない

同意またはだいたい同意 と答えた人は、行こうとしているすべての国名を記入して下さい。

- 1 6. 自分にとって日本での就職の機会は、二ヶ国語を話せることが条件の仕事でもっと多いと感じる。
 同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない
- 1 7. 自分にとって日本での就職の機会は、海外出張することを条件とする仕事でもっと多いと感じる。
 同意 だいたい同意 どちらでもない
 あまり同意しない 同意しない

<その3>

- 1 8. 日本で就職が可能だと思える職種について、あてはまる項目にすべて×印をして下さい。
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 教育関係／教職 | <input type="checkbox"/> 外国語の教師 | <input type="checkbox"/> 自営業 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 事務／管理職 | <input type="checkbox"/> 小売販売 | <input type="checkbox"/> 建設 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 自動車関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 工場 | <input type="checkbox"/> 健康医療 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 非営利の社会事業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 政府公務員 | <input type="checkbox"/> 情報テクノロジー |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 工学技術 | <input type="checkbox"/> 金融機関 | <input type="checkbox"/> 商業 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 美術デザイナー | <input type="checkbox"/> サービス業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 編集 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 法律関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> セールス業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 運営管理 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 警備 | <input type="checkbox"/> 広告関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 航空業 |

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 農業、漁業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 食品関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 保険会社 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 不動産業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 通信関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 交通関係 |

上記以外の職種については以下に記入して下さい。

19. 外国で就職が可能だと思える職種について、あてはまる項目にすべて×印をして下さい。

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 教育関係／教職 | <input type="checkbox"/> 外国語の教師 | <input type="checkbox"/> 自営業 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 事務／管理職 | <input type="checkbox"/> 小売販売 | <input type="checkbox"/> 建設 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 自動車関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 工場 | <input type="checkbox"/> 健康医療 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 非営利の社会事業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 政府公務員 | <input type="checkbox"/> 情報テクノロジー |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 工学技術 | <input type="checkbox"/> 金融機関 | <input type="checkbox"/> 商業 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 美術デザイナー | <input type="checkbox"/> サービス業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 編集 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 法律関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> セールス業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 運営管理 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 警備 | <input type="checkbox"/> 広告関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 航空業 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 農業、漁業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 食品関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 保険会社 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 不動産業 | <input type="checkbox"/> 通信関係 | <input type="checkbox"/> 交通関係 |

上記以外の職種については以下に記入して下さい。

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