

A Comparative Study of Male and Female Long-Term Westerners
(LTW) Living in Japan.

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Abstract

This paper steps away from other papers in this series which discuss hybrid identities of long-term Western foreign residents (LTW) to report significant data gathered from a questionnaire (n=306) which was originally used to perform a Pearson r correlation (O'Keefe 2016). Certain items starting with basic statistical information such as nationality, marital status, age, and education level and proceeding to a self-rated language skill score are also included in this report. Life-satisfaction results along with other significant data are also shown here in their original form. The results of items that asked respondents their opinion on certain subjects are displayed here to act as a debate for future work. Items inquire about subjects like dual citizenship, the right to vote in all elections and opinions on the Japanese school system. Respondents were also asked what their plans are for the future. Items such as this seek out the feeling of permanence rather than living a temporary life in Japan. Finally, the main focus of this data is to report on the variance recorded in female/male responses to certain items through simple cross tabulation. Significant has been designated, for the purpose of this study, at greater than an 8% variance. The data indicates that gender roles are affected by the expectations of male and female roles within the Japanese construct. The variances are broken down into two groups: personal and professional environments.

Introduction

This paper is a part of a series of papers gathering, recording and reporting empirical data on long-term Western foreign residents (LTW) living in Japan. This paper will specifically report on quantitative data collected from a nationwide survey (n=306) of LTW which will act as a comparative view of the experiences of male and female Western residents. Much of this data was used in creating factors which were implemented in

a Pearson r correlation test in a previous study (O'Keefe 2016). While performing that correlation test, it was recognized that much of the individual cross tabulation showed variance between males and females, so it was decided to distribute that information in its raw form as to open up a debate on why such results exist.

The overall criteria for this study is rather unique compared to many studies on Westerners in Japan. The respondents needed to have been consistently living in Japan for over 10 years at the time of the survey. This particular paper continues to use the same criteria in past installments of this series. For the sake of space, the full explanation of how the LTW criteria was defined can be found in the methods section of the previous paper (O'Keefe 2019) as well as why Westerners were chosen as a group to study (O'Keefe 2018). Many studies on foreign residents focus on human rights or culture shock, but the goal of this study is on the possibilities and patterns of the formation of various types of hybrid identities within a Japanese community over the long-term. LTW are just one group within the diverse list of foreign residents who need to be researched and observed because of the valuable contributions they could make to Japanese society. Questioning how they are integrating into a society which is infamous for its barriers and keeping a somewhat tight control on foreign influence is a necessary step to understanding the overall integrative process.

Methods

Questionnaire creation and implementation

The items in the survey were taken from recurring themes which arose in long interviews performed in the summer of 2013 and 2015. There were also several questions taken from discussion threads on SNS sites and blogs from Westerners living in Japan. The final form, which consisted of 93 items, some of which had multiple parts, was designed to gather information specifically about LTWs and the experiences in Japan. Debito Arudou has done extensive work on the human rights of non-Japanese from the activist standpoint. He also has written a comprehensive guidebook on human rights and legal matters for "newcomers" (Arudo and Higuchi 2012). His work is invaluable to all foreigners in Japan, but the study offered here only focuses on how LTW have found ways to integrate into a community in Japan and form an identity. Items covering

discrimination were added but it was only a small part of this study.

The items in the questionnaire used both sociological and social psychological approaches to frame the questions towards the activities and choices of the individual's actions rather than how the individual feels the community treats them. Similar topics were grouped into multiple questions utilizing different approaches, but with similar goals. This was all done with the purpose of creating composite factors that were used in a Pearson r correlation. This paper attempts to explain the process from creation to implementation and finally the basic results of the survey. The publication of raw data such as this is not normally done. Recent research trends of publishing complex statistical papers, which unfortunately do not always make their raw data available, is disconcerting. One of the most common reasons is due to the amount and the length, which is why this paper has been offered as a stand-alone project.

The long-form questionnaire took on average 20 minutes to complete. It is needless to say this researcher was thankful for all those who took part in the survey for both their time and valuable information. Many respondents also took the time to add comments at the end of their forms which allowed for a broader range of ideas to be recognized for future research. Comments ranged from complimenting the efforts of this study to pointing out flaws in the method or questions. All comments were recorded and noted.

The majority of the respondents came from a nationwide internet survey that proliferated through various SNS sites. Before the online questionnaire was released, it was tested with 50 respondents by using an interactive PDF questionnaire sent through email or by a hard copy through standard mail. The original PDF form can be found in O'Keefe (2017). The respondent's criteria for the study allowed for non-native speaking Westerners to respond to the questionnaire, so it needed to be tested to see if it would be universally understood by native and non-native English speakers. There were variances in vocabulary meanings between nationalities that required attention to specify clearly what was needed. It was sometimes as simple as writing a postal code instead of the American term "zip code". The choice of "transgender" or "other" for sex was also omitted unwittingly. This was brought up by one respondent after the questionnaire was distributed online, who stated there is a "large community" who fit that description and it should have been available on the form. Otherwise, all other respondents answered the question of being

male or female. Another hurdle of fulfilling the criteria was to find Westerners from different professional, economic, racial, and religious backgrounds. While Westerners from various professions and ethnic backgrounds were included, racial backgrounds tended to be Caucasian.

LIKERT style scales, as well as scales using 1 (low) to 10 (high), appear on the questionnaire. Yes and no items were also used, but through the testing process, many were changed into LIKERT scales to allow for higher variance in the results. There were a few major problems discovered in the first 10 trials which required some adjustment, so the data prior to these changes was not used. After the testing was completed, the questionnaire was then transferred to an online questionnaire service (Survey Monkey). One difference between the online version and the interactive PDF was the use of required gateway questions¹ for the online form. Respondents would need to check off all the gateway questions which confirmed they fit the criteria and also gave their approval to use their answers in the study. This was all done before they were allowed to proceed onto the questionnaire. Another difference between the online version and the PDF file was the order of the questions. This was changed mostly due to formatting trouble with the online system. The online form required more pages than the PDF one, which had allowed for more creative page setups.

Once the online questionnaire was ready, the link was shared through email and networks of LTWs which was built up over the years through research connections. The preparation of this network was a crucial step and often over looked by new researchers. The creation of the survey is very challenging but for it to succeed in getting widely distributed the network needed to be well established even before it was uploaded. It was then shared on SNS networks (i.e. Facebook, Twitter). In total, over a two month period from testing to the final implementation of the online survey, 366 responses were collected from postal codes ranging from Hokkaido to Kyushu. Incomplete forms were dropped. There were also a few completed forms removed because their home country did not fit the criteria (i.e. Russia, China, and Korea). It must also be noted that the

¹ The gateway questions were as follows: 1) I fulfill the criteria written above to be a respondent for this study. 2) I understand the purpose of this research. 3) My participation in this research is voluntary. 4) I understand this survey is anonymous and I shouldn't write my name in any of the text areas. 5) I give my consent for my responses to be used for research purposes

number of items are linked to the original form (O'Keefe 2017) and marked as Q + the number of the item for easy reference.

Basic Quantitative Results

The majority of the cross tables in this paper that are displayed are only the ones that resulted in significant differences between the sexes from items 31 to 86. This section will also report the necessary results from items 11 through 30 and 87 through 93 first. The numbers that appear on the results are relevant only to the PDF version.

The breakdown of collected nationalities (Q5) ($n = 306$) was as follows: Americans 51.8%, United Kingdom 18.2%, Canada 15.0%, Australia 7.8%, New Zealand 2.6%, European 4.2% (Germany, Italy, France), Other .3%. The general frequencies were as follows. The life satisfaction (Q17) as rated on the single 1 to 10 scale was 7.4 (SD = 1.4). The years lived in Japan (Q1a,b) was 19.8 (SD=7.3), the age of respondents was 48.7 (SD=8.4) (Q4). The males were represented at $n = 184$ and the females were $n = 122$. 79.8% of respondents were married, 11.5% were single and 6.7% were divorced (Q 10). 72.1% of respondents were married to a Japanese national and 7.7% were married to a non-Japanese. (Q10b). The birth rate was measured at 2.48 (Q10c), which is high in comparison to the Japanese birth rate (measured at 1.43 in 2013²). While the final number of usable forms fell at 306, the number will vary in the cross tables and factors due to variance in specific item responses. The n will never exceed 306 and remains at 306 unless expressed otherwise.

The education level (Q9) of those who participated in the study can be reported ($n = 306$) as follows: high school graduates were at 2.9%, junior college 2.0%, university 27.1%, graduate degree 45.8%, doctoral degree 12.4%, other certificates or educational backgrounds 9.8%. This shows on average a fairly high level of education. Language skills (Q23-26) were recorded on a self-rated scale of 1 (low) to 10 (high) broken down by speaking = 7.2 (SD = 2.5), listening = 7.6 (SD = 7.6), reading = 4.9 (SD = 2.8) and writing = 3.8 (SD = 2.6). A composite of the descriptives of the four

² This was taken from a 2016 article in the Japan Times which is using 2013 data according to the World Databank. 2013 was the last year for which full data for total fertility rate (TFR) were available. Other later numbers as of 2016 are just estimates. Article title: *Japan and its birth rate: the beginning of the end or just a new beginning?*
By Olga Garnova

skills is 23.7 (SD=9.4).

The question on race was asked as an open-text question requesting the individual's ethnicity rather than race, which resulted in a plethora of various answers. When broken down into racial groups, Caucasians were predominant. The breakdown of racial groups (Q6) is as follows: Caucasian 90.7%, Black 1%, Asian 1.6%, Latino/Hispanic 1.3%, mixed White/Asian 1%, mixed Black/White 0.9%, other 1.4%. The answers for ethnicity were interesting because it revealed various ways people from the same countries identify differently with their country and nationality. One example is how British nationals wrote down they identify as Scottish, English, and Welsh and not British. This is one representation of the complexity when grouping all Westerners together. Even within the same country, ethnic boundaries are set clearly.

A question that was often asked when this information was presented is whether or not there was a variance between the life satisfaction results of those with non-Japanese spouses compared to Japanese spouses. Out of curiosity, a simple test was run. $n = 243$ (Japanese spouse =222, Non-Japanese spouse 21) represents the number of married couples. There was very little variance in the 1 to 10 scale except for the results for 6 and 7. 8.1% with a Japanese spouse scored a 6 on the life satisfaction scale while non-Japanese scored 14.3%. 23.4% of those with Japanese spouses scored a 7, followed by only 9.5% by those with a non-Japanese spouse. These are rather arbitrary numbers mostly because there are only 21 respondents with non-Japanese spouses versus 222 with Japanese ones. Another inconsistency would be whether how many of the 21 respondents recorded with a non-Japanese spouse were actually married to each other. While the concept is interesting, a more focused line of questioning and criteria are needed to arrive at a reliable result. Due to the small sample, it was decided not to continue testing with the numbers available from this survey. This may have some potential with a larger sample and could lead to some interesting data in future research.

It has been stated in earlier work that the reasons LTW came to Japan sets them apart from other immigrant and migrant groups (Komai 2001). Items Q13 and Q14 of the survey dealt with respondents' reasons for coming to Japan followed by their reasons for staying. They were allowed to give three choices from the list provided so answers will vary. Item Q13 asked why respondents first came to Japan. The choices were as follows: work related, self-actualization, family, marriage, adventure, fun, language

study, study culture. There was also a choice for “other”. The top three responses were: work-related: n = 186 (males = 104, females = 82); adventure: n = 127 (males = 84, females = 43); fun: n = 82 (males = 56, females = 26); study culture was a close fourth: n = 78 (males = 44, females = 34). Q14 was a follow-up question to Q13. It asks why respondents have stayed in Japan for the long-term. The choices were work, business, study, enjoyment, quality of life and family. A choice for “other” was also given. The top three choices were: work: n = 224 (males = 145, females = 79); family: n = 215 (males = 125, females = 90); quality of life: n = 177 (males = 121, females = 56). Work remained the highest in importance, but the second and third choices became family and quality of life.

The next group of questions were yes/no items. The idea was to get a clear indication of where LTWs stand on certain topics. Q27 and Q28 dealt with the Japanese national healthcare and pension schemes. One respondent suggested I should have asked about private healthcare systems because according to one individual not everyone is in the national health plan. This is evidence that even some long-termers do not know that foreign residents who have been in Japan for longer than one year are required by law to pay into the national or public health schemes. Q27 asked about paying into the national healthcare system and were recorded as: All respondents n = 305, yes = 263 (86.2%), no = 42 (13.8%); males n = 183, yes = 156 (85.2%), no = 27 (14.8%); females n = 122, yes = 107 (87.7%), no = 15 (12.3%). Q28 covered the national pension scheme. The results were recorded as: All respondents n = 301, yes = 216 (71.8%), no = 85 (28.2%); males n = 180, yes = 126 (70%), no = 54 (30%); females n = 121, yes = 90 (74.4%), no = 31 (25.6%).

Q29 and Q30 asked if respondents would be interested in dual citizenship and the right to vote in all elections. These are both yes or no items. Q29 inquired about dual citizenship. The answers were recorded as: All n = 301, yes = 231 (76.5%), no = 71 (23.5%); males n = 181, yes = 137 (75.7%), no = 44 (24.3%); females n = 121, yes = 94 (77.7%), no = 27 (22.3%). Q 30 asked about their interest in gaining voting rights in all elections. The results are recorded as: All n = 300, yes = 234 (78%), no = 66 (22%); males n = 181, yes = 139(76.8%), no = 42 (23.2%); females n = 119, no = 24 (20.2%), yes = 95 (79.8%). These questions may be looked at as successive. Dual citizenship could be the first step followed by the right to vote in all elections, which seems more reasonable than giving non-citizens the right to vote. Currently, foreigners are only allowed to vote in all elections if they

renounce their current citizenship and become a Japanese national.

The respondents' opinion of the Japanese education system was the target of Q87. Many LTWs have children who have gone through various forms of the education system in Japan. Many of the respondents are also educators. This gives them a distinct insight into the system. This item was broken into four parts. Respondents were asked to rate Japanese elementary, junior high school, high school, and university to the best of their knowledge from 1 (low) to 10 (high). While elementary schools scored high, the rating got progressively worse as it progressed to the university level: elementary school: $n = 300$, mean = 7.6; junior high school: $n = 297$, mean = 6.1; high school: $n = 291$, mean = 5.8; university $n = 288$, mean = 4.9. Many of the respondents classify themselves in education or a profession connected to education. These ratings could be an interesting focus for future research into why the numbers moved progressively into the negative.

Q88a, b, and c furthered the questioning of respondents' contact with the Japanese school system. The item asked if they had children, did they send them to a Japanese or international school. One part of the question asked if their children were enrolled in the Japanese system and whether or not they personally take part in school activities. For Q88a 71.3% answered "yes" that their children attend Japanese schools, while "no" received 3.9%. 24.8% were labeled as not applicable. Q88b asked if parents take part in school activities. They were given five choices: never, rarely, sometimes, often and always. The results showed women participating in school activities more than men. When combining the choice of "often" and "always" males ($n = 118$) scored 33.1% while females ($n = 81$) resulted in 51.9%. On the opposite end, when combining "never" and "rarely" the males scored 31.3% and females resulted in 11.1%. Q88c asked if parents sent their children to international school. Only 11.7% of respondents sent their children to international school, while 71.8% did not and 16.5% were N/A. The high tuition rates of international schools can be a deterrent for many who do not fulfill scholarship requirements.

Q89 ($n = 301$: males = 181, females = 120) asked respondents if they planned to stay in Japan. This was followed by an open-ended question asking if they do plan to leave Japan, to please state the date of when they plan to leave. This was asked to research respondents who wish to leave but do not know when they are leaving. They do not see a future in Japan, but a solid plan to leave is not in place. This feeling of impermanence could

add to a frustrating situation, but there are also those who plan to retire in their home country. Without further inquiry, the reason for the “no” answers without a plan is hearsay and subjective. The absence of a plan after a minimum of 10 years in Japan is a rather significant result. Someone who is always planning to leave but never actively moving towards such a goal acts as an example of cognitive dissonance. The “yes” replies showed 83.8% (males = 85.8%, females = 80.8%). “No” was scored at a total of 16.2% (males = 14.2%, females = 19.2%).

Q91 through Q93 inquired about friendship with Japanese nationals. Respondents were first asked if they have Japanese friends of the same sex as themselves. This came up several times during interviews performed previously. This was especially true with the Western men stating they have difficulty maintaining friendships with Japanese men. Overall the respondents answered 66.2% for “yes” (males = 55.7%, females = 82%) and 33.8% for “no” (males = 44.2%, females = 18%) for Q91 (n = 305, males = 183, females = 122). Western females were clearly more likely to maintain friendships with Japanese women. Q92 (n = 300, males = 181, females = 119) continued this trend by asking how many Japanese friends they have without specifying sex. Respondents were given five choices: 0-1, 2-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-more. The largest overall percentage was observed with 46% of all respondents for 2-3 friends. Males scored at 42.5% for 2-3 friends while the result for the same amount of Japanese friends for females was 51.3%. The jump in the score for men possibly reflects they are likely to have Japanese female friends rather than Japanese male friends.

The next item covers the use of language. Q93 (n = 306: males = 184, females = 122) requested which language respondents use when speaking with Japanese friends. The results show 35% (males = 31%, females = 41%) use more Japanese than English, while 59.2% (males = 63% , females = 53.3%) stated they use more English. This item was unclear and should have covered more options for mixed conversations. The original goal was to observe what percentages of Western foreigners are using mostly Japanese in their daily life. A few stated in the comment section that they use a 50/50 mix of Japanese and English. While this is statistically unlikely for someone to be using each language at an equal level, this may be a way some respondents simplify complex language environments which may include code-switching. Those who answered 50/50 also answered in the average or low range for the self-rated language scale in the first half of the questionnaire.

One of the items covered a question that often arose during past formal and informal interviews. It was about the phenomenon of when the seat next to the non-Japanese person on the train was always the last one empty. This would technically be labeled as a “microaggression”, but was added to the survey out of curiosity and lightheartedness. Some respondents expressed they were offended by the question. No harm was meant by it. It was rather self-indulgent to do so, and I apologize for bothering my fellow long-termers with such questioning. Q90 (n = 301, males = 181, females =120) was a “yes” or “no” question about whether or not respondents had experienced “the empty seat syndrome” or not. 73.1% of respondents said they had experienced it. 77.9% of males and 65.8% of females answered “yes”. This is open to many interpretations, which this paper does not attempt to do because of the lack of proper data. Respondents wrote in the comment section that while they answered “yes”, they by no means are bothered by it, and one respondent said he even enjoys having the extra space. The goal was to discuss the existence of it, not the reasons for it or how people feel. A researcher has to have a little fun sometimes.

Significant results between males and females

This section will cover the significant results between the sexes of individual items gathered from the questionnaire. Significance in this section is defined as having a difference of 8% or more between sexes found in a cross table result. The results will be reported in the order they appear in the questionnaire.

A recurring theme discovered while performing the interviews was some respondents said they felt living in Japan had made them more patient compared to their counterparts in their home country. This is why respondents were asked in Q41 if they would consider themselves more patient after living in Japan over the long-term (Table 1). This also had a clear positive result of 38.7% for “agree” and 31.5% for “strongly agree”. There was an interesting split for males and females for both of the top two choices. While men answered “agree” slightly more than females, females answered “strongly agree” at 38%, which results in a 10.8% variance compared to the males at 27.2%.

Table 1: Q41 You consider yourself more patient after coming to Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	5	21	33	75	50	184
		% within Sex	2.7%	11.4%	17.9%	40.8%	27.2%	100.0%
	female	Count	0	12	20	43	46	121
		% within Sex	.0%	9.9%	16.5%	35.5%	38.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	33	53	118	96	305
		% within Item	1.6%	10.8%	17.4%	38.7%	31.5%	100.0%

Personality has been shown to be a factor when entering a host culture (Ward and Leong 2004). Some personalities fit better than others, which is the basis of the culture fit concept discussed in past papers of this series (O’Keefe 2018). Q42 (Table 2) directly asked respondents if they feel their personality fits into the Japanese construct. Many of the LTWs stated “agree” at 48.2%, followed by 19.1% who “strongly agree” that their personality is suitable for Japan. There was a significant split between males and females for “agree”. Males answered 52.5% while females responded at 41.7% with the other remaining choices showing closer results.

Table 2: Q42 Your personality is suitable for Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	3	9	42	96	33	183
		% within Sex	1.6%	4.9%	23.0%	52.5%	18.0%	100.0%
	female	Count	3	12	30	50	25	120
		% within Sex	2.5%	10.0%	25.0%	41.7%	20.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	21	72	146	58	303
		% within Item	2.0%	6.9%	23.8%	48.2%	19.1%	100.0%

The topic changes as Q44 (Table 3) covers whether respondents feel they have job security. It was a fairly flat response with every choice scoring over 15%, although “agree” was the highest response with 25.8%. When broken down between the sexes this number shows more significance. Males answered at 30.8% for “agree” while females answered with 18.3%, which is a significant split of 12.5%. Employment or income security could be considered a key factor when rating life satisfaction.

Table 3: Q44 You have job security.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	24	34	35	56	33	182
		% within Sex	13.2%	18.7%	19.2%	30.8%	18.1%	100.0%
	female	Count	24	19	31	22	24	120
		% within Sex	20.0%	15.8%	25.8%	18.3%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	48	53	66	78	57	302	
	% within Item	15.9%	17.5%	21.9%	25.8%	18.9%	100.0%	

Both Q51 (Table 4) and Q52 (Table 5) showed a variance between the sexes, which is understandable due to the nature of the question. Q51 asked if respondents thought women had a harder time than men in social environments. The responses showed a fairly strong response with a combined score of “agree” and “strongly agree” at 58.6% and 26.3% and 32.3% when broken down in their respective scores. The split between the

Table 4: Q51 Foreign women have a harder time than foreign men in social settings in Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	5	36	46	65	28	180
		% within Sex	2.8%	20.0%	25.6%	36.1%	15.6%	100.0%
	female	Count	2	31	33	32	22	120
		% within Sex	1.7%	25.8%	27.5%	26.7%	18.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	7	67	79	97	50	300	
	% within Item	2.3%	22.3%	26.3%	32.3%	16.7%	100.0%	

Table 5: Q52 Foreign women have a harder time than foreign men in a Japanese work environment.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	6	20	47	80	30	183
		% within Sex	3.3%	10.9%	25.7%	43.7%	16.4%	100.0%
	female	Count	3	15	22	48	31	119
		% within Sex	2.5%	12.6%	18.5%	40.3%	26.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	9	35	69	128	61	302	
	% within Item	3.0%	11.6%	22.8%	42.4%	20.2%	100.0%	

sexes showed males agreed at 36.1% with the statement while only 26.7% of females agreed, while on the opposite end of the scale 25.8% of females disagreed compared to 20% of males. This trend continued in Q52. When asked if respondents thought Western women have it harder than Western men in a Japanese work environment, males answered 42.5% for “agree” and females replied with a significantly less result of 31.4%. The score for all respondents was 38.1% (agreed) and 20.1% (strongly agreed) for the top two choices. Studies have been done on Western women in the Japanese workplace but only with a limited sample size (Volkmar and Westbrook 2005).

Throughout this study, the higher level of social connectedness of Western females compared to males seems to be fairly evident in both past interview results as well as the survey. Q58 (Table 6) adds to this conclusion. Respondents were asked if they feel down after a cultural mishap. While the overall trend reflects a negatively skewed response, the female “agree” response resulted in 29.2%. This is 11% higher than the male response of 18.2% which could be considered a significant difference.

Q61 (Table 7) inquired if respondents were satisfied with their professional performance in Japan which is considered a connection to life satisfaction. While a combined score for “agree” (42.4%) and “strongly agree” (20.2%) fell at 62.6%, showing a 10% difference between the sexes. 26.1% of females said they strongly agreed while 16.4% of males answered the same resulting in a 9.7% difference.

A long stay in Japan does not necessarily mean respondents feel they have stopped learning about their adopted country. Q62 (Table 8) and Q63 (Table 9) are somewhat related items. Their relation is one of progress and their ability to have accomplished a level of comfort while still feeling open to parts of Japan they haven’t learned about yet. Q62 asked if they still feel they have more to learn about Japan. This resulted in 37.7% agreeing and 23% strongly agreeing with the statement. Females agreed 11.4% more than males (males 33.2%, females 44.6%) and males strongly agreed 6.5% more than females (males 25.5%, females 19%). Q63 was a general question asking if they felt comfortable living in Japan. There was a strong positive response with “agree” receiving 53.5% and “strongly agree” receiving 29.6%. This is consistent with other similar questions in past interviews on the topic of satisfaction and quality of life.

Q67 (Table 10) and Q68 (Table 11) both reflect the interactions of Westerners with Japanese nationals in different contextual situations. Q67

Table 6: Q58 You feel down after you experience a cultural mishap.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	9	61	69	33	9	181
		% within Sex	5.0%	33.7%	38.1%	18.2%	5.0%	100.0%
	female	Count	3	37	37	35	8	120
		% within Sex	2.5%	30.8%	30.8%	29.2%	6.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	12	98	106	68	17	301	
	% within Item	4.0%	32.6%	35.2%	22.6%	5.6%	100.0%	

Table 7: Q61 You are satisfied with your performance in your professional life in Japan

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	6	20	47	80	30	183
		% within Sex	3.3%	10.9%	25.7%	43.7%	16.4%	100.0%
	female	Count	3	15	22	48	31	119
		% within Sex	2.5%	12.6%	18.5%	40.3%	26.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	9	35	69	128	61	302	
	% within Item	3.0%	11.6%	22.8%	42.4%	20.2%	100.0%	

Table 8: Q62 You feel you still have a lot to learn about Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	1	23	52	61	47	184
		% within Sex	.5%	12.5%	28.3%	33.2%	25.5%	100.0%
	female	Count	2	10	32	54	23	121
		% within Sex	1.7%	8.3%	26.4%	44.6%	19.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	3	33	84	115	70	305	
	% within Item	1.0%	10.8%	27.5%	37.7%	23.0%	100.0%	

Table 9: Q63 You feel comfortable living in Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	0	11	21	94	56	182
		% within Sex	.0%	6.0%	11.5%	51.6%	30.8%	100.0%
	female	Count	1	4	14	67	33	119
		% within Sex	.8%	3.4%	11.8%	56.3%	27.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	1	15	35	161	89	301	
	% within Item	.3%	5.0%	11.6%	53.5%	29.6%	100.0%	

showed a 10.3% split between males and females when asked if they can express their feelings to Japanese friends. The general score for “agree” was 36.8. Males replied at 40.9% and females at 30.6% for agree. Fewer females agree that they can freely express themselves with a Japanese friend. As a total, Q68 revealed a slightly negative skew with 35.5% of respondents answering in the middle of the scale and 28.6% replied with “disagree”. The difference in genders was seen in the “agree” response with 25.3% of males and 16.8% of females expressing they feel free to express their feelings to Japanese co-workers.

Table 10: Q67 You feel free to express your feelings around Japanese friends.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	7	31	57	74	12	181
		% within Sex	3.9%	17.1%	31.5%	40.9%	6.6%	100.0%
	female	Count	7	21	46	37	10	121
		% within Sex	5.8%	17.4%	38.0%	30.6%	8.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	14	52	103	111	22	302
		% within Item	4.6%	17.2%	34.1%	36.8%	7.3%	100.0%

Table 11: Q68 You feel free to express your feelings around Japanese co-workers.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	15	49	65	46	7	182
		% within Sex	8.2%	26.9%	35.7%	25.3%	3.8%	100.0%
	female	Count	18	37	42	20	2	119
		% within Sex	15.1%	31.1%	35.3%	16.8%	1.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	33	86	107	66	9	301
		% within Item	11.0%	28.6%	35.5%	21.9%	3.0%	100.0%

Q69 (Table 12) and Q70 (Table 13) were theme related items from different perspectives. Q69 showed some interesting results with a break between females and males when it came to whether or not they had experienced a cultural difficulty that made them want to leave Japan. While a large majority replied with 21.1% and 40.5% for “strongly disagree” and “disagree” respectively, 25.8% of males and 13.9% of females answered they “strongly disagree”. There was also a difference with the replies for “agree”. 11% of males and 21.3% of females answered “agree”. It can be

clearly observed some women perceive more cultural difficulties than males within the Japanese construct which may be observed due to their higher level of connectivity to social spheres within a Japanese community. An interesting follow-up to the previous question is whether or not respondents have a support group to deal with such cultural difficulties. The general responses for Q70 were 36.9% and 17.3% for the top two answers (agree and strongly agree), but males replied lower on the scale with 17.2% and only 7.4% of females answering “disagree”. This is contrasted by only 10% of males but 28.1% of females stated they “strongly agree”. Females are almost three times more likely to have a support group.

Table 12: Q69 You have experienced a cultural difficulty that has made you want to leave Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	47	73	28	20	14	182
		% within Sex	25.8%	40.1%	15.4%	11.0%	7.7%	100.0%
	female	Count	17	50	18	26	11	122
		% within Sex	13.9%	41.0%	14.8%	21.3%	9.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	123	46	46	25	304
		% within Item	21.1%	40.5%	15.1%	15.1%	8.2%	100.0%

Table 13: Q70 You have a support network around you.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	3	31	61	67	18	180
		% within Sex	1.7%	17.2%	33.9%	37.2%	10.0%	100.0%
	female	Count	1	9	33	44	34	121
		% within Sex	.8%	7.4%	27.3%	36.4%	28.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	4	40	94	111	52	301
		% within Item	1.3%	13.3%	31.2%	36.9%	17.3%	100.0%

During the first set of interviews, several of the respondents mentioned how they had been told they are more Japanese than Japanese. This was not connected to language ability because this was stated by both those who rated themselves high and low on the language scales. Q71 (Table 14) attempts to ask if respondents had been told this by native

Japanese. While 29.9% and 22% answered “agree” and “strongly agree”, the bigger difference was found in the space between the sexes. Males answered 18% while females responded with 28.1% for “strongly agree”.

Table 14: Q71 You have been told you are more Japanese than Japanese.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	32	37	24	57	33	183
		% within Sex	17.5%	20.2%	13.1%	31.1%	18.0%	100.0%
	female	Count	12	20	21	34	34	121
		% within Sex	9.9%	16.5%	17.4%	28.1%	28.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	44	57	45	91	67	304
		% within item	14.5%	18.8%	14.8%	29.9%	22.0%	100.0%

Q73 (Table 15) asks whether Westerner foreigners can live a functional life in Japan without Japanese language ability. Respondents replied with 31.8% and 20.3% for “agree” and “strongly agree” respectively. There was also a strong showing for the middle ground at 29.2%. When split into male and female answers for “disagree”, the results are 23.5% and 37.7% respectively. Language focused items often resulted in variance between the sexes. The basic definition of “functional life” may vary from person to person and gender to gender.

Table 15: Q73 Long-term residents can live a functional life without speaking Japanese.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	22	43	65	39	14	183
		% within Sex	12.0%	23.5%	35.5%	21.3%	7.7%	100.0%
	female	Count	18	46	32	23	3	122
		% within Sex	14.8%	37.7%	26.2%	18.9%	2.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	40	89	97	62	17	305
		% within item	13.1%	29.2%	31.8%	20.3%	5.6%	100.0%

Past studies have discussed the interconnectedness between language and understanding the culture of a country (Kramsch 1998). Q75 (Table 16) directly inquired if the Japanese language was needed to understand the host culture. The responses were 36% and 27.7% for “agree” and “strongly agree”.

agree” respectively. There was little variance between males and females. The question of whether Japanese employers value Japanese language skills of workers were observed. Bilingual employees have a highly unusual skill, but their skills are not always reflected in compensation or interest by many employers of Western foreigners in Japan. It was reported that Peruvian immigrants working in factories were not compensated any differently whether they spoke the language or not (Moorehead 2010). This is also true for the Western foreign group. Language skills tend to become more pertinent after receiving employment rather than being a prerequisite of initial employment. Q76 (Table 17) asked if respondents used Japanese at their place of employment. 34.6% and 33.9% for “agree” and “strongly agree” with a combined 68.5% saying they use Japanese for their job or business, with 16.3% in the middle. 41.2% of females agreed with this statement compared to 30.2% for males. While this question is inquiring whether or not they use Japanese at their job, the level to which they use it was not specified.

The final group of questions focuses on discrimination and microaggressions. Out of the several items on discrimination Q83 (Table 18) was the most representative of a divide between sexes. Q83 asked respondents if they have been discriminated against by their in-laws (if applicable). Females answered 18.1% for “agree” followed by 9.1% of males. The trend was observed on the opposite side with 35.4% of males stating they “disagree” along with 25.5% of females. Total scores of 30.6% and 31.8% for “strongly disagree” and “disagree” respectively were observed. Western females who marry Japanese nationals are more likely than their male counterparts to experience unfair treatment by the Japanese in-laws.

Table 16: Q75 Japanese ability is necessary to understand the culture.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	5	22	40	63	53	183
		% within Sex	2.7%	12.0%	21.9%	34.4%	29.0%	100.0%
	female	Count	1	17	25	46	31	120
		% within Sex	.8%	14.2%	20.8%	38.3%	25.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	39	65	109	84	303
		% within Item	2.0%	12.9%	21.5%	36.0%	27.7%	100.0%

Table 17: Q76 You need to use Japanese for your current work or business.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	5	25	33	55	64	182
		% within Sex	2.7%	13.7%	18.1%	30.2%	35.2%	100.0%
	female	Count	3	13	16	49	38	119
		% within Sex	2.5%	10.9%	13.4%	41.2%	31.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	38	49	104	102	301
		% within Item	2.7%	12.6%	16.3%	34.6%	33.9%	100.0%

Table 18: Q83 You have been discriminated against by your in-laws. (if applicable)

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	53	58	28	15	10	164
		% within Sex	32.3%	35.4%	17.1%	9.1%	6.1%	100.0%
	female	Count	26	24	15	17	12	94
		% within Sex	27.7%	25.5%	16.0%	18.1%	12.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	79	82	43	32	22	258
		% within Item	30.6%	31.8%	16.7%	12.4%	8.5%	100.0%

Q85 (Table 19) and Q86 (Table 20) cover the topic of microaggressions. This topic was brought into discussion in Japan several years prior to this study by Arudou Debito³. At the end of his article, he mentioned he hoped social scientists try to quantify how microaggressions affect non-Japanese. The research offered in this dissertation does not cover all non-Japanese, but it is a start. This topic also arose several times in interviews which resulted in these two basic items. Q85 showed a large majority believe microaggressions exist in Japan. While microaggressions most likely exist in every country, data showing the argument of whether the group in question experiences such encounters in Japan is crucial to even have the discussion in the first place. The combination of “agree” (34.9%) and “strongly agree” (34.2%) resulted in 69.1% answering on the positive side of the item with 24.9% in the middle. A variance between males and females

³ This is a reference to a 2012 article on microaggressions in Japan written by Debito Arudo. Title: *Yes, I can use chopsticks: the everyday 'microaggressions' that grind us down*. Can be found at: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2012/05/01/issues/yes-i-can-use-chopsticks-the-everyday-microaggressions-that-grind-us-down/#.V2chUtr95Id>

for “strongly agree” was 28.7% and 42.5% respectively. This is a strong observable difference between the sexes which was also mirrored in Q86.

When respondents were asked if they had experienced microaggressions in Q86, 34.6% answered “agree” followed by 31.5% answering “strongly agree” to create a combined score of 66.1%. 21.8% chose the middle response. An observed difference between males and females was again present for the “strongly agree” choice at 26% for males and 39.7% for females. More research would be needed to determine why these differences occur. Any inferences made from the results of these final two items would be subjective at best.

Table 19: Q85 You think microaggressions exist against foreigners in Japan.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	5	11	49	64	52	181
		% within Sex	2.8%	6.1%	27.1%	35.4%	28.7%	100.0%
	female	Count	0	2	26	41	51	120
		% within Sex	.0%	1.7%	21.7%	34.2%	42.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	13	75	105	103	301
		% within Item	1.7%	4.3%	24.9%	34.9%	34.2%	100.0%

Table 20: Q86 You have experienced microaggressions.

			1	2	3	4	5	Total
Sex	male	Count	11	19	43	58	46	177
		% within Sex	6.2%	10.7%	24.3%	32.8%	26.0%	100.0%
	female	Count	0	6	22	45	48	121
		% within Sex	.0%	5.0%	18.2%	37.2%	39.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	11	25	65	103	94	298
		% within Item	3.7%	8.4%	21.8%	34.6%	31.5%	100.0%

Methodological limitations

This study has some limitations due to the sample not being random. While many of the respondents were not connected directly to the researcher, in many cases they were connected one or two separations from the researcher. This research does offer many interesting questions

for future research. The results shown in the cross tables are significant but the reasons behind those results would be considered subjective without more research. Further research would allow a wider view of how certain LTW personalities and different roles may affect how an individual responds to their surroundings in the Japanese context.

Another limitation was how the questionnaire used for this research was an attempt at creating an original survey especially for LTW in Japan. This opened up many channels for error. In my case, I was lucky to have access to several mentors who helped me prepare the questionnaire, but nothing replaces the application of personal knowledge and ability, both of which were still in their early stages during this research. In hindsight, there are items that may have performed better if worded slightly differently. This was brought to light by comments at the end of the survey. One example is several people asked why homeschooling was not offered as a choice. While not a common practice, it came into the discussion as a viable choice for some foreign parents especially because many of their jobs are connected with education. This was not covered in the survey at any point. Japanese would most likely never even entertain the concept of homeschooling. The choice to homeschool for families whose parents are both non-Japanese seems to be more common. This was also observed in a past study of long interviews with LTW (O'Keefe 2013). Another topic brought to my attention by one individual was the lack of choice for transgender individuals or couples, but in the case of this survey, all but one person selected male or female. The topic for homeschooling was more prominent. Both of these suggestions will be considered in future work.

Conclusion

This paper offers a glimpse into the significant raw quantitative data collected from the 2015 survey on LTW. It hopes to spark a discussion about why the numbers fell the way they did, but it also offers no reasons for why. The clear distinction made between the sexes in the cross tables were significant and could become a meaningful part of future studies. The results showed variance in mainly two different areas: personal and professional. Both of these areas have both positive and negative results to offer.

The first set of results can be observed in personal relationships and

how they vary between the sexes. Female respondents revealed to have experienced more discrimination with their in-laws. As seen in past interviews, women are traditionally expected to be the primary caregiver when raising children in Japan. This is one reason why many families may react poorly if a bride-to-be is a Westerner who does not speak the language. They worry about whether or not the language skills are sufficient enough to raise children in an all Japanese environment. Some with the economic means may choose to send their children to the international school in their area, but this is only for those who are economically capable. Western males, on the other hand, are given a pass by Japanese in-laws if they have a job that allows them to earn money to raise a family, but may not speak the language. In such cases, Japanese wives would often be in charge of the social connectivity of the children which allows more flexibility in the minds of the in-laws.

Another social challenge Western women face is microaggressions. 39.7% of females expressed strong agreement that they experience microaggressions which is 13.7% more than males. The reaction to microaggressions may also be rooted in the lack of cultural fit which would be more recognized by those who interact with a host-culture based community. Females also displayed more cultural sensitivity in items pertaining to mistakes and misunderstanding within cultural exchanges. When combining the scores of agree and strongly agree, females (35.9%) were 12.7% more likely to feel down after a cultural misunderstanding than males were. This trend continued when females⁴ expressed they had experienced a cultural mishap that made them want to leave Japan 11.6% more than males. This is a subjective opinion, but this could be reflected in other items as well. One example may be when asked about interaction with host culture members. Females (30.6%) also agreed they have 10.3% less freedom expressing themselves to Japanese friends than males (40.9%). On the positive side, women strongly agreed (28.1%) to have access to a support group almost 3 times more so than their male (10%) counterparts with an 18.1% variance. Female respondents also recognized not only the value of language skills but the need for them. When asked if an L.T.W can live a functional life in Japan without Japanese, females disagreed⁵ at 52.5% which was 17% higher than males.

⁴ combined score strongly agreed and agree at 30.3%.

⁵ combined score of strongly disagree and disagree.

The second set of results are related to work or to the respondent's professional environment. Different components of work-life were observed in the results of specific items. After years of living in Japan, a large majority of LTW respondents answered they feel their personality is suitable for living in Japan. Although men (70.5%) answered 8% more than women (62.5%) on that particular item⁶. When asked if they used Japanese at their current job, males agreed at 30.2% which was 11% less than females. This item did not account for how much Japanese they use. Job security was also covered. Half of all males (48.9)⁷ stated they have some level of job security which was observed at 10.6% more than women. Although, females were recorded as having more satisfaction with their professional performance than men. Females strongly agreed at 26.1% that they were satisfied with their own professional performance which is 9.7% higher than males.

LTWs as a whole also displayed an overall satisfaction with their life in Japan with little variance answering at 83.1% agreeing on some level that they are comfortable living in Japan. Males and females also express similar interest in earning the right to vote in all elections as well as being allowed dual citizenship. Dual citizenship is seen as one of the best ways to allow foreign residents to vote and receive equal employment rights, but the restraints that Japan puts on it makes it more of a dream than a reality. However, with the march to globalization, Japan may want to rethink dual citizenship by starting with selected countries only. They could possibly allow a small group of selected allied countries so as to perfect the program before implementing a full-blown change.

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⁶ combined score of strongly agree and agree.

⁷ combined score of strongly agree and agree.

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