CHAPTER III

GLOBALIZATION AND THE NEGATIVE EFFECT OF PORN INDUSTRY

The debate over "globalization" and "globalism" has been nearly unavoidable in many countries in the late 1990s. Japan is no exception in this regard. Over the last century, Japan has been host to many debates on how external forces and technological change are forcing internal transformation. But unlike "internationalization" (*kokusaika*), which was the buzzword of the late 1980s, Japanese commentators have tended to keep the concept of globalization at arm's length. For whatever reason, there seems to be an emerging consensus in contemporary Japan that globalization is changing Japan, and not necessarily in welcome ways.

A. The Effect of Globalization

Globalization in the 1990s seems to have an economic (politically and legally) effect that is qualitatively different than international pressure in previous years. While in theory globalization can affect any or all domestic institutions and processes, some of the most severe effects of the 1990s-style globalization in Japan are economic. It has long been the case that external pressure and competitive conditions have shaped Japan's economic policy.⁷²

⁷² Calder, Kent. (1988). Japanese Foreign Economic Policy Formation: Explaining the Reactive State. In *World Politics* (vol. 40, pp. 517-541); Schoppa, Leonard. (1997). *Bargaining With Japan: What American Pressure Can and Cannot Do.* New York: Columbia University Press.

As the process of globalizing changes in the costs and benefits of different types of regulations, the impact is also inseparable into policymaking, and may even alter the calculations of power among politicians, bureaucrats, and interest groups. After decades of announcing that "the current Japanese economy is really changing," Japanese and foreign observers point out what they perceive as irreversible changes in factors that make Japan's economy unique - including lifelong employment, business relationships close to the government, and a tightly regulated financial sector whose main role is to channel money into the manufacturing industry. 7374

The effect is very surprising to many, especially those who have spent their entire career in a system much like a cocoon that has been isolated from competition and rapid innovation by the paternalistic Ministry of Finance. Since the 1980s, the significance of globalization for Japanese finance, especially banking, has changed considerably, from opportunities to constraints. This shows that there is no impact on Japan's economic globalization more clearly than in the financial sector. There, advances in telecommunications and computing, the development of operations around the world, and flexible labor markets (at least in some subsectors, such as derivatives), along with the loss of domestic market protection has reached a sector already in the midst of the most widespread and most serious postwar crisis.

In Japan the entertainment industry is unique. This industry is a big industry and mostly employs Japanese women. ⁷⁵ Most of the industry is made up of corporate-supported hostess bars and consists of young women who pour drinks, light up cigarettes for customers and make fun conversations that facilitate bonding

⁷³ Kaji, Sahoko. (1998). *The End of Japan as We Have Known It, l'Economie Politique*. Tokyo: PHP Shinsho.

⁷⁴ Eisuke, Sakakibara. (1998). *Kokunsai kin'yu no genba: Shihonshugi no kiki o koete (The Arena of International Finance: Moving Beyond the Crisis of Capitalism)*, Tokyo: PHP Shinsho.

⁷⁵ Allison, Anne. (1994). *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

between company workers and often their customers, other corporate workers. In many places, sex is not sold. Nonetheless, the sex industry is substantial.

B. The Negative Impact of Porn Industry

1. Human Trafficking

I. The History

Based on research, human trafficking has existed in Japan since the beginning of its history. In agrarian societies, the general public cannot raise children during times of food shortage, such as hunger. Selling children's services is common, especially for poor families in ancient times and seen as a "buffer" to household income. Girls will marry local soldiers, or samurai. On the other hand, boys will be employed under wealthy merchants. This service will reduce environmental tension and bring lifelong protection to farm households. Thus, the services of children are not shameful but are regarded as individual sacrifices required that are accepted by the collective Japanese family system. ⁷⁶ The origin of the entertainer returned to Sabukuro, or servant girl, who existed at the beginning of Japanese history. The female entertainer was largely derailed from the struggles of the late sixties and sold sexual services. The better-educated girls make a living entertaining at upscale social gatherings. Today, these women are known as geisha, who will perform traditional dances at special events and parties without selling sexual services. In 794, after the empire moved the capital to Heian-ky, or Kyoto, conditions that would shape Japanese geisha culture began to emerge, as the house

⁷⁶ Eisuke, Sakakibara. (1998). Kokunsai kin'yu no genba: Shihonshugi no kiki o koete (The Arena of International Finance: Moving Beyond the Crisis of Capitalism), Tokyo: PHP Shinsho.

became home to the elite who were obsessed with beauty. Skilled entertainers, like the *Shirabayashi* dancers, thrive.⁷⁷

During World War II, it was believed that women were required to win the war and, bring victory on the battlefield. Therefore, the Japanese government uses "comfort women" as part of their military strategy. So it is important to note that the Japanese have a history of human trafficking and the sex industry since World War II.

Cultural history of female entertainers in Japan is unique. It seems that the Japanese care and attention to sexual pleasure for men, while the ideal wife is the mother and manager of simple home. In Confucianism, love is very important. For sexual pleasure and romantic attachment, it is not taboo for anyone to turn to prostitutes, not their wives. This comfort woman is also quite sophisticated and educated in music, poetry, dance, and art. The comforter lady is the exclusive right of the rich.⁷⁸

At the beginning of the 15th century, a new government was established in Edo, or Tokyo. The Edo period lasted for 400 years and managed to focus all local state power for the first time. The government mandates that all soldiers serve in Edo every three years, to minimize its influence elsewhere in the capital. Because of this human capital flow, Edo grew in size and eventually a brothel began to grow. During this period, the income gap begins to widen and large amounts of debt can be released when parents or relatives sell the young girls to the broker. Today, this

⁷⁸ Allison, Anne. (1994). *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁷⁷ Allison, Anne. (1994). *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

brothel is known as "Soap Land", although the modern government prohibits prostitution by law.⁷⁹

Members of transnational organized crime syndicates with various origins in Japan such as the Yakuza, have historically made money in gambling and prostitution but have recently also been involved in drug trafficking and financial operations involving extortion. The yakuza are believed to "play an important role in human trafficking in Japan, either directly or indirectly". Many businesses in human trafficking are owned, controlled, or taxed by the Yakuza. ⁸⁰ Yakuza has been involved in international business since the late 1960s. Around this time, the tourism industry in Japan is growing as the yen strengthens and Japanese citizens have been getting an increase in the amount of cash. ⁸¹ Increased tourism, however, is mostly for prostitution in East Asia. Japanese men will go to cheap overseas prostitutes where the Yakuza will introduce them to local pimps or take them to local clubs, financed by Yakuza. In the 1970s and 1980s, sex tourism was a significant business, with major Japanese companies arranging for their workers to do this tour. For example, in 1979, Casio Company held a banquet at Hotel Manila for the top 200 salesmen where they offered 200 hostesses for one night. ⁸²

In the 1980s, foreign Christian women's organizations began to make the opposite movement to Japanese male sex tourism to East and Southeast Asia. To end national shame caused by the attention of the women's group, four major Japanese labor organizations called on the Japanese to end the sex tour. Also around that time, rising oil prices, an increase in the cost of sending Japanese men abroad

⁷⁹ Eisuke, Sakakibara. (1998). Kokunsai kin'yu no genba: Shihonshugi no kiki o koete (The Arena of International Finance: Moving Beyond the Crisis of Capitalism), Tokyo: PHP Shinsho.

⁸⁰ http://www.humantrafficking.org/countries/japan/, September 10, 2016

⁸¹ Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232).

⁸² Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 236).

for sex tourism in China and Southeast Asian countries to these factors combined with a state of long-standing economic stagnation and a decline in the value of the yen reversed the sex industry trade. Instead of exporting Japanese men, yakuza then started importing foreign women.

In its development when yakuza started importing women, brokers became increasingly crucial. Usually, as elsewhere in Asian countries, brokers find work and influence through nepotism. Brokers supply women from small villages to brothels in developing districts. As the government focuses on monitoring it, hundreds of brokers take girls from one place to another and trafficking them on foot.

The International Labor Organizations (ILO) states that trafficking in human is a form of slavery affecting almost all the regions in the world. This practice has grown since the 1980s to become one of the most lucrative businesses of international criminal organizations. Estimates suggest that it accounts for 2-14% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Southeast Asian countries and about 1-3% of Japanese GDP in 2009.

II. The Country where Trafficked Women Came From

a. Philippines

The Philippines is a source country of migrant workers. Recruitment agencies and placement firms arrange migrant workers' travel and employment, however, not all of these agencies and firms operate within the law. The trafficking process, originating in the Philippines, has been 'very creative'. Trafficked ⁸³

the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

⁸³ There is considerable debate about the meaning and appropriate definition of the terms 'trafficking in persons', 'human smuggling' and 'organised crime group'. This report uses those definitions provided by the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the supporting UN Protocols, the Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children and the Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air, both supplementing

Filipinos include those who were 'legitimately' recruited, promised high-paying jobs, but ended up as prostitutes, those who left as tourists and ended up as domestic helpers, exotic dancers, or bar girls, and women who were willing or coerced victims of the mail-order bride trade.⁸⁴

Often there is a continuum between smuggling and trafficking as victims who depart the Philippines undocumented (or with forged documents) is trafficked upon reaching the country of destination. By placing herself in the hands of smugglers, albeit voluntarily, an individual has already ceded control of her fate and is therefore vulnerable to situations in which migrant smuggling can degenerate into trafficking of persons. Many trafficking victims fall prey to this practice because they seek a better life or enhanced economic opportunities. They are, therefore, vulnerable to false promises of good jobs and higher wages. Reference to the promises of good jobs and higher wages.

Japan is a key destination country for women from the Philippines for a number of reasons; firstly, even though the yen is weak compared to its previous performance, it remains strong when compared to most of the world's currencies, and there is a high level of disposable income in Japan. The prospect of significant financial gain is an attraction for trafficking organizers, brokers and recruiters, and for those in Japan who manage trafficked women. In addition, this economic reality is a lure for women seeking work, which can also act as a form of leverage in making potential recruits more vulnerable to deception. Secondly, there is an absence of significant alternative legal routes for immigrant employment into Japan: for example, there is not a tradition of domestic help in Japan, and generally

⁸⁴ Paredes-Maceda, Catherine. (2000). Prevention of Trafficking, Protection, and Rehabilitation of Victims. [Presentation]. *Paper presented at Symposium on Trafficking in Persons in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, Asia-Pacific.* (p. 29).

⁸⁵ International Organization for Migration, Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe – A Review of the Evidence, International Organization for Migration. Advance Copy.

⁸⁶ US Department of State. (2001, October). *Trafficking in Persons Report, US Department of State, July 2001*. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov. Accessed on September 21, 2016

employment visas are not granted for casual work. For the third, there is a thriving and largely self-regulated adult entertainment and prostitution industry that generates huge revenue (and is connected to organized crime⁸⁷). The authorities largely tolerate these activities, which allow a significant space within which traffickers can operate. The last is the concept of 'victimhood' and coercion is not fully accepted in Japan amongst public authorities⁸⁸: women working in the adult entertainment industry are generally regarded as voluntary participants, whatever their circumstances. The definition of trafficking is narrow in many official circles and investigation into, and combating of, trafficking is not as rigorous as it could be. Traffickers take full advantage of this.

b. Colombia

Colombia is another source country of migrant sex workers. In Colombia, women and children are subject of sex trafficking around the world, especially in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, Western Europe and Japan. This latter, is a destination, source and transit country for men and women subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking and it also has a hyper thriving sex industry amounting to \$3 billion a year ⁸⁹. Most foreign persons in the Japanese sex industry are Asian nationals, but the large numbers of victims are from Latin America and the Caribbean; approximately 1,700 women are trafficked each year from these regions to Japan. ⁹⁰

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⁸⁷ Wolferen, Karel van. (1993). *The Enigma of Japanese Power*. Tokyo: Tuttle Company. (pp.132-140).

⁸⁸ Except for the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, which funds one NGO assisting victims of trafficking, there is no government support for NGOs working with trafficked persons in Japan. Victims are often treated as criminals (prostitutes or illegal aliens) by the legal system because the Government does not consider people who willingly enter for illegal work as trafficking victims.

Hepburn, Stephanie & Simon R. (2013). Human Trafficking around the World: Hidden in Plain Sight. Columbia University Press.
Hepburn, Stephanie & Simon R. (2013). Human Trafficking around the World: Hidden in Plain

⁹⁰ Hepburn, Stephanie & Simon R. (2013). *Human Trafficking around the World: Hidden in Plain Sight*. Columbia University Press.

According to Colombian authorities, the Yakuza established themselves in Colombia in the mid-80s and took on their centers of operation in the country's central and southwestern region, including the departments of Antioquia, Caldas, Risaralda and Valle del Cauca. In the beginning, members of the Yakuza arrived in Colombia as businessmen who were interested in hiring Colombian women for various jobs in Japan. Others were interested in finding "wives" by catalog. In these ways they recruited most of the Colombian women who were later forced to engage in prostitution against their will⁹¹. Later, the Yakuza enters into business with Colombian organizations that take over recruiting the women and in charge of taking punishments against the women who escape, as well as their families thus maintaining full control over the victims.

The Yakuza are responsible for some trafficking in Japan directly and indirectly. Furthermore, many experts state that the Yakuza networks play a significant role in the smuggling and trafficking of Colombian women for forced prostitution in Japan but determining the exact extent of Yakuza involvement is difficult because of the covert nature of the sex industry⁹². Theses crime networks get money from the victim when they arrive to Japan; they are forced to prostitution and they face debts upon commencement of their contracts and most are required to pay employers additional fees for living expenses, medical care, and other necessities. They also face "fines" for misbehavior which are added to victim's original debt⁹³. Even though Japan is recognized for its cautiousness in migration policies, the majority of women trafficked to Japan appears to be adult women,

⁹¹ Molina, Fanny. (2000). *Japan, The Mecca for Trafficking in Colombian Women.* (p. 3).

⁹² Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld. California: University of California Press. (p. 232-235)

http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2013/. Accessed on September 26, 2016

there is some evidence that some are under 18 years of age and probably travelling on forged passports.

2. Abuse of Human Rights

For a long time the trafficked women had never been aware of the fact that the work they were going through, they were even very little informed of the truth that the salary they received in Japan was much lower than in the Philippines for a similar job, even sadly they are promised to work as singers (as shown by the entertainer certification given to them by the Philippine Government)⁹⁴, as cashiers, as housemaids, and as hostesses. The reality they are facing, they are forced to sell and manage drugs, accompany customers, be cast in pornographic videos and prostitution. The responsible agents who recruited them were involved in a number of practices to make an impact such as remove passport, intimidation, threatening and committing acts of violence, pay for the salary at the end of the contract, threatening to stop paying benefits to their families. Agents are also threatening to report to the police and immigration so they are deported. Once caught in the system, the immigrant women who work as entertainers in the Japanese state find it difficult to escape until they can actually pay off their debts and the duration of their employment contract is over.

The recruitment process, eventually known as a highly terrorized human trade, is an informal recruitment activity or process, some women being introduced by families, friends or close friends or acquaintances. ⁹⁵ The lack of formal or covert process is actually already widely known by the Japanese community for jobs in clubs in japan. It is possible for recruiters to obtain convenience through informal

⁹⁴ In the Philippines, the Philippine Government has instigated a strict system of auditions (as a singer or dancer) for accreditation before an entertainer visa could be issued.

⁹⁵ International Organization for Migration, Trafficking in Women to Japan for Sexual Exploitation – A Survey on the Case of Filipino Women, International Organization for Migration. (1997). (p. 32).

networks to carry out their illegal actions in accordance with their own will. This can be seen from the process of moving and placing them from one club to another without the consent of the woman worker.

Many of them enter Japan using entertainment visas and using valid papers, some of them entering Japan using visas as tourists. In most cases, passports are forged for these workers or immigrants. In other cases they use a passport from an unknown person who is the result of fraud by using a valid passport to bring a Filipino woman in and out of Japan. ⁹⁶ From interviews with some of the victims, they do not know and understand the extent to which false documents have contributed to their exploitation.

There appears to be three debt bondage systems that control and exploit Filipino women trafficked to Japan for the purpose of working in the entertainment and sex industries. A woman will be part of the first system; A large debt (A very large amount with arbitrary rules, since it is not based on actual 'costs' or 'lender' fees), and the woman must work to pay the debt, or the second system; Debt is minimal or no debt at all and the woman must work to pay for it while earning a very small salary.⁹⁷

In both cases, the worker receives far less income than when she works in the same kind of job as a freelancer. The third system is with the payment of 'down payment' for their family in the Philippines. This may operate in conjunction with the first system or the second system. 98 It is difficult to estimate the actual income

⁹⁷ Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232-234).

⁹⁶ International Organization for Migration, Trafficking in Women to Japan for Sexual Exploitation – A Survey on the Case of Filipino Women, International Organization for Migration. (1997). (p. 19).

⁹⁸ Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232-234).

of these women workers. One woman stated that her basic salary was Y30,000 (\$ 233) but her actual income was Y50,000 (\$ 388) to Y60,000 (\$ 465). Another claimed that his basic salary was Y30,000 (\$ 233) but the actual income was between Y30,000 (\$ 233) and Y200,000 (\$ 1550). A third woman estimates her income is Y30,000 but actual income is between Y60,000 (\$ 465) and Y80,000 (\$ 620). Two women estimate their earnings at Y200,000 (\$ 1550), though they do not provide details of 'basic salary'. 99

Economic motivation is one of the driving forces for trafficked women to remain in Japan. However, the desire is not directly proportional to the wishes of their agents forcing a secret agreement between trafficked women and reducing the risk of responsibility for the organized criminal groups involved. The women are deceived about a number of things. They are deceived about the nature of the work they have to do, about the conditions of the job, and about the area in which they are required to work. They are also subject to different levels of control. They have no freedom of movement and communication, are told not to talk to anyone, are beaten if known to have talked to anyone about their background, and could only go with a companion.

C. Further Analysis

The Japanese government and non-governmental organizations are well aware of Yakuza's involvement in the sex industry in Japan. However, this trade is widely tolerated by institutions dominated by men. The industry and the sex trade have been protected and supported by politicians, police, armed forces and corrupt

⁹⁹ International Organization for Migration, Trafficking in Women to Japan for Sexual Exploitation -A Survey on the Case of Filipino Women, International Organization for Migration. (1997).

¹⁰⁰ Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232-234).

civil servants.¹⁰¹ This official accepts bribes, asks for sexual assistance, or becomes a customer. And also, these women usually enter Japan as "entertainers" so that they are considered guests and are therefore not covered by the Japanese labor law.¹⁰² In addition, it is important to note that Japanese laws or regulations for engaging in the sex industry are lighter than involvement in arms and drug trafficking.

The veiled conditions in the sex industry make it very difficult to determine the actual size. For example, families sell their daughters for about \$ 300 to a recruiter who then turns around and sells the woman to a broker costing around \$ 1000. 103 Estimates suggest that it accounts for 2-14% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Southeast Asian countries and about 1-3% of Japanese GDP in 2009.

Prostitution services, unlike drugs and weapons, can be sold repeatedly. Changing views of sexuality and the occurrence of natural disasters, such as the 2008 earthquake, has increased the supply of women into the sex industry, but the price paid for these services has decreased. The operating costs incurred are also less than that of other professions in the service and service industry, primarily because business owners are not obligated to provide welfare benefits to their employees. In addition, this business does not have high research and development costs, because innovation is very unnecessary. As long as there is human capital, it is quite easy to start and close a business. In addition, the job requires no experience or higher education. Although, the owner will provide innovative education and ideas to the workers to improve service and maximize efficiency. Female workers in this industry sell their personal charms to lure men. All these reasons prove that

¹⁰¹ Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232).

¹⁰² Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232).

¹⁰³ Kaplan, David & Dubro Alec. (2012). *Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld*. California: University of California Press. (p. 232-234).

running a business hostesses and prostitutes can be more profitable than any service profession, albeit on a small scale.

In addition to the sex industry is a low cost industry with high profits, there is also a high demand that constant to the industry and this service. The demand is due to a sex drive, which will not decrease at this present time. Assuming the prospect is male; the business owner can expect at least half of the population to continue to demand their services without having to look for other alternatives. Nowadays, it is not hard to find pictures of naked women on the streets, in magazines and in sports newspapers. Some places upload photos of women on websites and let customers "make reservations" to allow the women they want to be available to make this activity accessible to all men who want to get this service.

Japanese government, sometimes and even justify the sex trade as a means to obtain state revenues from the tourism sector. Not only the sex industry, but all the simple jobs associated with young women in Japan is a huge source of income, and this legally supports the national budget. In addition, this can be called as a form of redistribution of state assets.

An eighteen-year-old girl for example, with no work experience can pour alcohol to entertain business people. This young woman now has the income if she wants to buy luxury items, such as branded handbags that she sees in magazines and commercials. Another example is a single mother who spends the night with a man and now has enough money to buy food and clothing for her child. Income from urban workers goes to rural areas through remittances. This is a process of compensation due to the lack of social welfare. Thus, through this industry, the two women in this example distribute money to the economy to an entirely different economic sector. In particular, sales of luxury brand goods have increased year by

year despite Japan suffering from stagnation and declining birth rates. The more women earn money, the more foreign capital companies will invest in this country.

The complexity of the economic impact of the sex industry is a major complication in solving this problem. This is a big business with millions of people who depend on the industry for their livelihood. In addition to the direct participants: prostitutes, pimps, recruiters and intermediaries, there are also those involved in the tourism industry and luxury brand goods. Hotel owners, cleaners, servants, foreign branded goods and cashiers all benefit from this industry. Tourism agents, airlines, club owners, immigration helpers, translators, medical practitioners, restaurants in the area, cigarette and liquor suppliers, and public officials accepting bribes are beneficiaries of the industry. For Japan, most importantly, local tax revenues from this industry are high enough to prevent the government from enacting stricter laws against the industry. The industry is closely related to national and international economies.

The problem of human trafficking in Japan is due to the cultural view of the industry, which in general in Asian countries, is considered taboo and inappropriate for discussing sexual topics in public. Therefore, this discussion is only held in households and schools because it is taboo. However, the truth is most parents hesitate to send their daughters to this industry. In short, the women's entertainment industry is in fact legal, but less publicly discussed. Not only is there a huge amount of ignorance surrounding this topic for aspiring girls and young consumers, but there is also a deep complexity.

The biggest negative factor is the lack of transparency. This can cause consumers and workers to engage in crime without realizing it. It is often said that all working women in Japan work on the will of their own freedom, regardless of

their nationality. However, women who earn only 50 dollars a day serving nearly ten customers per day seem to lack of some important information about the conditions of this work. It is hard to say that she is willing to work without getting the right rewards. Foreign workers who are unable to speak tend to be in a worse state than indigenous women. Traffickers hide behind this culture, which frees the sex industry, and are behind the government's attitude, which is less interested in improving transparency.

In Japan alone, human trafficking victims have not been fully established. Non-governmental activists (NGOs) already exist, such as Polaris Japan, Human Rights Watch and Save the Children, but few organizations get subsidies. At this point the government only subsidizes NGOs that assist victims of domestic violence; however, this does not include women who are injured in the sex industry. Japanese authorities strictly distinguish between those who are "forced" and those who "choose" to be there. The trafficked woman will be required to be deported once the authorities find her in Japan illegally because she should predict herself in danger before work. So if her lawyer cannot find evidence that she is being forced, it means she will be turned on trial.

D. Conclusion of the Chapter

In this chapter we can see that sex industry in Japan has a long, intricate history. Sex work has been demanded in Japan since its early agrarian history and has become more intricate with the involvement of the Yakuza. As the Yakuza brought their business international, they have reached as far as Colombia and Philippine, working with organized crime organizations to deceive mostly young, unwed mothers to work in Japan's sex industry. Though prostitution and human

trafficking is internationally condemned, how is such a huge transnational crime network able to operate? There are legal, economic, and cultural factors that enable this business to persist.

Many have been trafficked into Japan by organized crime groups, as a source of cheap, exploitable labor. Many do not fit a stereotypical media image of a trafficked woman. None were abducted, but all were coerced and/or deceived. Many travelled in groups, large and small, of other trafficked persons. A number were brought into Japan by small groups or by individuals' who later were revealed to have Yakuza links and who forced the women into the sex industry through their networks. These women were trafficked.

Officially, non-penetrative sex was made illegal in Japan in 1956. Although prostitution is officially illegal, the sex industry continues to flourish. These laws, however, are ambiguous. The border between illegal and legal acts brings confusion when judgments are needed. Nobody knows what is happening in locked rooms. As long as the laws have power to prosecute women for these actions, they will not be able to ask for help from the police when they feel threatened. This ambiguousness also works against her when she testifies after being exposed to violence. This particularly true for foreign sex workers. Since the Japanese government takes a strict attitude against immigrants, to report her tragic occurrence to the police or embassy only enhances her deportation risk. So it is easy to imagine a victim to accept violence with resignation.