

〈Research Report〉

## Power Harassment Experiences of Filipino Assistant Language Teachers: An Exploratory Study

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### Abstract

This research report explores how Filipino Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) working in Japan experience, understand, and cope with workplace harassment, known locally as *power harassment* (*pawahara*). Based on data gathered from semi-structured interviews with six Filipino ALTs employed through the JET Programme and private dispatch companies, this study traces how the various forms of power harassment unfold in school settings. None of the study participants chose to file formal complaints, primarily because they viewed existing procedures as inaccessible or ineffective, feared losing their jobs or visas, or causing unwelcome disruptions in the workplace. Most turned to fellow Filipino ALTs and other networks outside of their institutions for support and validation.

The findings suggest that recent legal frameworks against workplace harassment have yet to reach foreign educators, who often remain outside Japan's protection systems. Their accounts highlight how the ideals of "internationalisation" coexist uneasily with structural hierarchies of nationality, gender, and employment status. By centering their voices, this study argues for clearer responsibility among boards of education, dispatch agencies, and schools, as well as for support mechanisms that genuinely include migrant teachers within Japan's vision of a fair and inclusive educational environment.

Keywords: power harassment, Filipino ALTs, migrant teachers, workplace precarity,  
internationalization in education

### 1. Background of the Study

Occupational stress is considered as a major health hazard in the workplace; it accounts for many physical and mental health issues experienced by workers, and is linked to various labour management problems, such as absenteeism, low productivity, high employee turnover, and increased rates of accidents on and off the job. Recent approaches to the problem examine the context of job requirements and social relationships at work as the primary source of occupational stress. In Japan, interpersonal

relationships are identified as the greatest source of occupational stress, where inappropriate communication and excessive attention and guidance often lead to workplace bullying and harassment (Irie, 2015). The strong emphasis on hierarchy and collective harmony in Japanese organisations means that interpersonal stress is oftentimes not merely psychological, but also structural. When communication becomes one-sided, and authority is used to pressure subordinates, ordinary stress may escalate into systematic mistreatment. This shift from strained relations to coercive behaviour is described in Japan by the term “power harassment.”

The Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare (MHLW) defines power harassment as language or behaviour by a person in a position of power that goes beyond the reasonable scope of their duties and harms the working environment (MHLW, 2012). This definition situates power harassment as a distinct form of workplace mistreatment rooted in the misuse of authority and differentiates it from those of a sexual nature (sexual harassment) or related to pregnancy, childbirth, or childcare leave (typically referred to collectively as “maternity harassment”).

Power harassment has become a critical concern in discussions of labour policy and relations, managerial and work culture, and mental health in Japan. By 2012, bullying and harassment accounted for 17 percent of all labour counselling cases (up from 5.8 percent in 2002), making them the most frequently reported cases at prefectural labour bureaus (MHLW, 2013). This upward trend has continued in more recent surveys, suggesting that bullying and harassment have become an increasingly visible and systemic concern in Japanese workplaces.

Since then, the government has commissioned periodic surveys every two to four years to monitor the prevalence and trends of workplace harassment and to evaluate government policies in place to address the issue.

Reports from succeeding fact-finding surveys (MHLW, 2016, 2018, 2020) indicate that while there was an increase in the number of companies that have set policies that aim to address and prevent harassment compared to the previous study, they comprise only a little over half (52.2%) of the total number of companies surveyed. In particular, the 2017 study also found that if we are to look at it based on company size, large-sized companies (1,000 employees and above) had the highest implementation proportion of anti-harassment policies and measures, and it is the lowest among small-sized companies (99 employees and below), where the implementation rate stood at a mere 26%. Power harassment continued to be the most common topic of consultation in companies (32%) in the past three years, along with mental health issues (28.1%) and problems concerning wages and working hours (18.2%). The same study indicated that only about one in four employees (25.7%) felt their companies were actively taking steps to prevent or address power harassment, while over half (51.5%) believed their workplaces were doing little or nothing at all. Smaller companies were especially lagging behind in implementation efforts. Moreover, the majority of those who have indicated that they experienced harassment in the past three years have done

nothing at all to address the situation. Among those who consulted someone, more people spoke with family members or people outside the company than with the designated in-house or external consultation desks or the internal department in charge. These findings made it clear that voluntary employer measures were insufficient, especially since similar surveys in 2012 and 2016 had shown little improvement.

In response to these findings, the MHLW and the Labour Policy Council (労働政策審議会) began discussions to establish a legal framework for power harassment prevention. The report (MHLW, 2018) explicitly cited the survey data and called for clear definitions of power harassment, mandatory employer measures, and national guidelines for handling workplace harassment. This led directly to the 2019 amendment of the Comprehensive Promotion of Labor Policies Act (労働実施総合推進法), enacted in May 2019, and enforced starting June 1, 2020. Anti-harassment measures in the workplace became mandatory for large companies. On April 1, 2022, law was amended, which now requires small and medium-sized companies as well to set similar measures.

There is a growing body of literature that investigate the problem of power harassment in Japan. For example, a quantitative survey conducted by Yamaoka et al. (2022) examined the effects of harassment on organisations and individual employees, confirming that it has a significant negative relationship with workers' mental health and greatly increases the likelihood of employee resignations. Similar quantitative studies have also been conducted in the educational sector, many of which are focused on university settings, such as harassment against teacher trainees (Uchimizaki, Tanaka, & Yoshioka, 2019), or academic harassment against graduate students (Otabe, Maruno, & Masuda, 2010). Moreover, MEXT (2020) has released a case study report on five universities, examining in great detail the anti-harassment policies they have formulated and, more importantly, the official guidelines and procedures set in place for investigating, resolving, and preventing harassment cases. In terms of primary and secondary educational institutions, MEXT also releases statistics on faculty and staff in both public and private schools who have received sanctions for physical or sexual assault. While these give us an idea of the number of cases resolved and the consequences faced by the perpetrators, they do not report the specific nature and target of these offences. Moreover, the most recent report also reveals that not all municipalities have established systems to consult on and address harassment-related incidents, and that only a little over 60% of all municipal schools nationwide conduct anti-harassment training sessions (MEXT, 2022), despite directives from MHLW and MEXT to do so.

The administrative and scholarly research conducted to date provides us with helpful statistics and a macro-level understanding of the current situation. However, there is a need to better understand the structures and relationships of oppression that are inherent in power harassment, which cannot be addressed by the predominantly quantitative approach in the majority of local research. By examining the narratives of injured parties' lived experiences of harassment, we would gain a more nuanced understanding of the various socio-cultural structures in which workers are embedded and identify how

these structures could either promote or hinder the resolution of the problem.

Moreover, traditional models of harassment have regarded the issue as resulting from power differentials based on one's location within an organisational structure or socio-cultural status. Current studies on harassment in the country have mainly focused on Japanese people's experiences and have focused on a specific social category, typically age, gender, and employment status. While such an approach and framework still largely assume that the Japanese workforce is a cultural and ethnic monolith, and obscure experiences of harassment that fall into other categories or are multi-layered, such as ethnic minorities (Moon, 2021), Japanese of mixed ethnic heritage, or the country's steadily-increasing migrant worker population, even as the country's foreign worker population reached a record high as of October 2024 (MHLW, 2025). In other words, identifying and examining such cases, though relatively uncommon, is necessary because they raise crucial questions about workers' institutional responsibility, regardless of gender, nationality, or employment status.

Since the start of the millennium, "intersectionality" has been used as an analytical framework to highlight the limitations of single-axis conceptualisations of harassment. Developed by Black feminist scholars and activists (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Collins, 2000), intersectionality acknowledges the overlapping nature of social categorisations that shape individual experience: that power relations of class, gender, and race, among others, are not discrete or mutually exclusive, but build upon one another. These intersecting relations are often invisible yet affect all aspects of the social world. Intersectionality thus reminds us that attempts to address social problems using simplistic categories such as "women" or "foreigners" risk reproducing, rather than dismantling, existing systems of inequality (Harris & Leonardo, 2018). Hence, this proposed research aims to provide an intersectional reframing of harassment discourse in Japan by investigating migrant workers' experiences of harassment, particularly those of Filipinos.

Filipinos currently comprise the third-largest group of migrant workers in the country, accounting for 10.7% of the roughly 2.3 million migrant workers as of October 2024 (MHLW, 2025). Recent scholarship has turned its attention to the growing number of Filipino English teachers in the country. However, literature on Filipino teachers of English is extremely limited; while current studies touch on prejudices they face in their professional lives, such as native-speakerism (Balgoa, 2019) or isolation and stigma as foreigners during the COVID-19 pandemic (Fermin & Zulueta, 2023), a more comprehensive study on the extent and dynamics of harassment experienced by Filipino teachers of English in Japan has yet to be conducted.

The development of this research project was prompted by a case of sexual harassment committed against a former Filipino Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) by her own students (Fermin, 2022). The study combined a qualitative case study based on an online interview with a former JET ALT (March 2, 2021) with a policy materials analysis of the anti-harassment guidance, policies, and complaint procedures made available to ALTs. It applied intersectionality to explain how multiple, mutually

reinforcing positionings, i.e. being a foreign worker, an institutional “outsider,” and structurally subordinate to the Japanese teacher of English (JTE), can erode ALTs’ practical authority even while they are labelled “teachers.” The article then demonstrated how the policy environment fails this category of case: key details about harassment policies/procedures are not transparently provided to participants, with guidance often routed through supervisors, and some documentation is restricted in access. In other words, the analysis demonstrates a structural limit: policy designs and “school sexual harassment” models centered on adult-to-student or teacher-to-student dynamics do not adequately anticipate student-to-ALT harassment within these layered power relations.

The said study raised the question of how intersectional power relations shape the vulnerability of foreign women teachers within Japan’s education system and what these dynamics reveal about the structural limits of current anti-harassment policies. By situating the incident within the broader context of transnational educational labour, it demonstrated how gender, nationality, race, and institutional status intersect to produce a form of vulnerability that conventional models of school sexual harassment (i.e., adult-to-student or teacher-to-student) fail to capture.

## 2. Research Objectives and Method

The purpose of this project is to provide a more nuanced understanding of workplace harassment in Japan by investigating the experiences and perceptions of Filipino English teachers in Japan, specifically ALTs, and the effects these experiences have on their career trajectories.

Hence, the key research questions this study aims to answer are as follows:

- (1) What forms of workplace harassment, if any, do Filipino ALTs report experiencing?
- (2) When workplace harassment is reported, who are the alleged perpetrators (e.g. students, colleagues, supervisors, others)?
- (3) How do Filipino ALTs respond to workplace harassment (e.g. coping strategies, reporting, seeking support), and what factors shape those choices?

## 3. Data Collection and Analysis Methods

To address these questions, the study employs a qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews with 6 Filipino ALTs working in schools in Japan. The interviews were conducted with respondents from a survey study conducted between December 2023 and March 2024 who reported experiencing workplace harassment and consented to be interviewed about their experiences. While the survey results are not discussed in this report, the survey served as the basis for identifying potential interview participants. From the pool of survey respondents, prospective interviewees were selected based on their

provision of contact information and expressed willingness to participate in the interview phase. Table 1 summarises the participants' profiles in terms of age, sex, years of experience teaching both in the Philippines and as ALTs, and their employers at the time of the reported harassment incidents.

The researcher collected narratives and followed up on answers provided in the said survey. An interview guide was prepared to ensure that all interviews would cover the following basic points: (1) their understanding of harassment, (2) experiences of the different types of harassment, (3) responses to and negotiations engaged in relation to these experiences. Interviews were conducted in Filipino, English, and Japanese to allow participants to code-switch.

Table 1

*Summary of Interview Participants Profiles*

Participant	Sex	Age	Educational attainment	Years of work experience in the Philippines	Years of ALT work	Employer at time of incident
A	Female	Early 40s	Master of Arts	19	6	JET
B	Female	Mid-30s	Master of Arts	10	6	JET
C	Male	Late 20s	Bachelor of Arts	4	4	JET
D	Female	Mid-30s	Master of Arts	9	5	JET
E	Male	Late 30s	Master of Arts	13	5	JET
F	Male	Late 40s	Bachelor of Arts	12	13	Dispatch company

*Note.* ALT = assistant language teacher; JET = Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme; Philippines is abbreviated as PH in the text (spelled out in the table for clarity).

All interviews were recorded and transcribed in clean verbatim format, omitting only fillers and false starts. Thematic coding followed a general inductive approach, which allows for patterns and meanings to emerge organically from the data rather than from pre-imposed hypotheses. This approach enables the researcher to identify key themes and interconnections between categories grounded in participants' own narratives and perspectives.

#### 4. Preliminary Results and Analysis

The data and analysis presented here are preliminary and should be understood as part of the study's exploratory phase. At this stage, the findings are based on an initial set of interviews with selected participants and aim to identify emerging themes rather than draw definitive conclusions. A more comprehensive analysis incorporating additional interviews and survey data will be presented in subsequent publications.

#### 4. 1 Forms and Sources of Power Harassment

The MHLW identifies six types of behaviours that, under the law, are considered harassment:

- (a) *Physical assault*. This type of power harassment involves acts such as hitting, kicking, or otherwise causing physical harm to an employee, as well as throwing objects at them to intimidate or force compliance.
- (b) *Psychological attack*. This involves speech or behaviour that threatens a worker, insults or denies their personality, constitutes defamation and involves severe verbal abuse. The guidelines explicitly state that such acts would include remarks related to their sexual orientation or gender identity, as well as insulting remarks related to other personal attributes of a worker.
- (c) *Isolation from human relationships*. This category includes behaviour that alienates an individual, such as removing a worker from their duties, isolating them, or deliberately excluding them from the group.
- (d) *Excessive Work Demands*. This type of power harassment involves forcing a worker to perform tasks that are clearly unnecessary or impossible within their duties, or when their work is deliberately obstructed to make it difficult for them to successfully complete it.
- (e) *Insufficient Work Demands*. The opposite of “Excessive Demands,” this type of power harassment, on the other hand, involves the assignment of work that is far below the ability or experience level of a worker without any reasonable business justification. It also includes refusing to assign an individual work at all.
- (f) *Invasion of Privacy*. Acts that excessively intrude into an individual’s personal matters fall under this type of power harassment. Examples include continuously monitoring a worker outside the workplace, photographing their personal belongings or revealing sensitive personal information, such as sexual orientation, gender identity, or medical history. Sharing such information during meetings with a supervisor without the individual’s consent is considered invasion of privacy as stated in the MHLW guidelines.

#### 4. 2 Nature and Details of ALTs’ Power Harassment Experiences

Narratives of harassment experiences collected during the qualitative interviews were organised according to the types of power harassment as outlined by the MHLW, and the perpetrator of such acts was identified in order to identify any recurring patterns that would help us better understand the nature and circumstances of harassment experienced by Filipino ALTs. Table 2 (see the next page) shows a summary of the compiled interview data:

Table 2

*Summary of Power Harassment Incidents Reported by Interview Participants*

Type of power harassment	Details of experiences	Perpetrator	Participant
Psychological abuse	Yelled at in front of other people.	Academic head (female)	A
Psychological abuse	Yelled at in front of other people; belittled ALT work experience as “not teaching experience”; put on the spot in front of students.	Senior JTE (female)	B
Psychological abuse	Incivility during class.	Students	C
Psychological abuse	Consistently spoken to in a condescending manner.	Junior JTE (male)	D
Psychological abuse	Scolded in front of other people; consistently given instructions that contradicted those of the principal.	Vice-principal (female)	E
Isolation from human relationships	Gossiping about her personal life with coworkers; ignoring her at work and not giving feedback during evaluation sessions; encouraging others to ignore her.	Academic head (female)	A
Excessive work demands	Asked to teach entire class sessions alone despite this being against the rules; regularly asked for major last-minute changes in lesson plans with insufficient preparation time.	Junior JTE (male)	D
Insufficient work demands	JTE consulted only native-speaker colleagues about grammar and lesson planning questions despite the participant being more available or qualified.	Senior JTE (male)	E
Insufficient work demands	Asked to do janitorial and maintenance work not stipulated in his dispatch-company work contract.	Vice-principal (female)	F
Invasion of privacy	Supervisor insisted on entering her apartment and collecting the room key despite their work and housing contract not yet being finished.	JET supervisor (female)	B
Invasion of privacy	Attempted outing of one’s gender identity and sexual orientation by a coworker.	Junior JTE (male)	F

*Note.* ALT = assistant language teacher; JET = Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme; JTE = Japanese teacher of English.

The above summary of preliminary interview data already reveals distinct yet interconnected forms of workplace harassment experienced by ALTs. The data above show that the incidents reported during the interview span the entire range of harassment behaviours, except for physical assault. This highlights both the structural and relational aspects of power harassment in educational institutions. Rather than isolated acts, the interviewees’ experiences of point to patterned interactions shaped by institutional hierarchy, employment precarity, and cultural expectations of subordination.

Three of the six participants (A, B, and F) recalled being yelled at, scolded, or belittled in front of students or colleagues—most often by Japanese coworkers or administrators. In several cases, their professional backgrounds were openly dismissed. One teacher, Participant B, described how, when asked about her teaching experience, her team-teaching partner interrupted her in front of their students and remarked that ALT work “does not count as teaching experience.” Such public remarks do more than sting; they strip legitimacy from one’s professional identity. They send the message that ALTs, particularly foreign ones, are not true educators but temporary assistants whose expertise is secondary. In Japanese labour studies, this type of humiliation is classified as “mental duress,” yet here it also intersects with racialised and contractual hierarchies: Filipino ALTs, working under short-term or dispatch contracts, are kept permanently junior regardless of ability or years of service.

Isolation was another recurring theme. Participant A reported being often ignored by colleagues, gossiped about, and denied feedback during evaluation sessions—treatment reportedly encouraged by a senior academic head. Such exclusion becomes a quiet form of punishment, one that relies less on confrontation than on absence. It reflects a familiar pattern of social ostracism in Japanese workplaces, where maintaining harmony can sometimes mean pushing dissenting voices to the margins. For migrant educators, however, this exclusion carries sharper consequences: without informal networks or local allies, silence can become a condition for survival.

Participants also reported being trapped between contradictory expectations. Some were made to teach entire classes on their own, despite MEXT regulations stating that ALTs are to work in a supporting capacity. Others, by contrast, were systematically left out of meetings or lesson planning, as though their input were neither needed nor trusted. These opposite forms of treatment (overburdening and underutilization) share the same effect of eroding professional confidence and reinforcing subservience. Overload signals expendability, while exclusion signals disposability. Both thrive in an environment where responsibility is fragmented among dispatch companies, boards of education, and host schools, leaving no clear path to accountability.

Two cases went beyond the professional sphere altogether. Participant B recounted that her supervisor attempted to enter her apartment and reclaim the key before her housing contract officially ended. Participant F described how a coworker attempted to disclose his gender identity and sexual orientation to others without consent. These incidents blur the line between work and private life, revealing how administrative authority over housing or documentation can enable deeply personal intrusions. They also highlight the absence of reliable mechanisms to protect ALTs’ privacy and dignity when employment, residence, and status are all tied to a single institution.

Across these examples, perpetrators were primarily Japanese colleagues or supervisors, both male and female, showing that the issue is not confined to individual behaviour but rooted in institutional culture. Interestingly, many of the aggressors were women in supervisory roles, echoing what Nagatomo (2016)

calls the “gendered hierarchy” of Japan’s feminised teaching profession. Within this system, power harassment crosses lines of gender but remains stratified by nationality and contract type. Filipino ALTs occupy the intersection of these divides, making resistance risky and protection uncertain.

#### 4.3 Courses of Action Taken

When harassment occurred, most participants reported having nowhere obvious to turn. None pursued a formal complaint. Many had already concluded that official procedures were either too complicated or rarely enforced, and that submitting a formal complaint might bring more risk than resolution. Several feared being labelled uncooperative or jeopardising contract renewal. This pattern mirrors the results of previously discussed national surveys, showing that most Japanese workers who experience power harassment choose not to report it. The cultural weight of restraint and harmony also discourages confrontation, shaping how both Japanese and foreign staff handle conflict (Ogasawara, 1998). Kawakami and Tsutsumi (2016) likewise document how workplace stress interventions in Japan frequently stop at assessment and verbal reassurance, with limited follow-through at the organisational level. Ultimately, politeness displaced accountability.

Those who kept their experiences within peer circles found more genuine support. Fellow Filipino ALTs, church groups, and families, whether in Japan or at home, became their main emotional anchors. Through shared language and background, these networks provided comfort and validation that were missing within the institution. Liu-Farrer (2020) has shown that such co-ethnic or faith communities often serve as informal safety nets for migrants in Japan. For the participants here, they were lifelines, but ones built outside the system, thereby shifting the emotional burden from the workplace to the private sphere.

For several, departure became the only realistic way to recover. Three ended their contracts early, worn down by stress and the sense that nothing would change; another moved to a different dispatch company. One teacher attempted to document her case in a resignation letter so the JET Programme might learn from their negative experiences, but administrators insisted she remove those passages. Their actions echo Hirschman’s (1970) notion of “exit”: leaving when “voice” brings only risk, and quiet resignation remains a socially acceptable escape from unresolved conflict.

Across these accounts, structural issues stand out more than individual weakness. Ambiguous chains of command, the pressure to maintain harmony, and the precarious nature of dispatch employment combine to limit foreign educators’ agency. Informal coping mechanisms can ease distress but cannot repair systemic inequality. As Nagatomo (2016) argues, non-Japanese teachers in Japan often navigate overlapping hierarchies—such as nationality, gender, and employment status—that constrain their ability to contest unfair treatment. The experiences of Filipino ALTs make that tension visible: schools may celebrate internationalisation, yet the people who embody it may still lack reliable access to workplace protections, reporting pathways, and institutional support when harassment occurs.

## 5. Conclusion

This study set out to understand how Filipino Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japan experience and respond to workplace harassment. The stories collected so far point to more than individual cases of mistreatment. They reveal how harassment takes shape within overlapping systems of hierarchy, nationality, gender, and employment status. Filipino ALTs are often placed at the lower edge of Japan's educational order as temporary staff, as non-native speakers, and as foreigners. In turn, they find themselves exposed to a range of coercive or dismissive behaviours that go beyond simple misunderstanding. What appears at first as personal conflict often turns out to be structured by unequal power relations built into everyday school life.

Although Japan's Comprehensive Promotion of Labour Policies Act now requires institutions to take concrete measures, these early findings suggest that the law's reach has not yet extended to foreign educators. Many ALTs stand outside the systems meant to protect regular employees. They are hired through dispatch companies or the JET Programme, and their participation in staff training or consultation mechanisms remains limited. In practice, this means that preventive policies exist on paper but rarely touch those who need them most. The gap between legal promise and lived experience remains wide.

Participants described a few safe channels for addressing the issue. Some quietly consulted principals or programme supervisors, who listened politely but avoided further involvement. Others chose not to speak up at all, turning instead to fellow Filipinos, church communities, or family abroad for strength. These choices, while often read as passivity, are in fact signs of constrained agency. For many migrant teachers, complaining poses risks to their work contract or visa; staying silent is a way of surviving. Their restraint mirrors broader Japanese workplace norms of restraint and keeping harmony. However, for foreigners, the costs are greater, as they come with isolation, stress, and a sense of invisibility.

The experiences recounted here point to a simple but serious problem—foreign educators are rarely included in the moral or legal imagination of workplace safety. While boards of education and schools promote internationalisation, their protection frameworks have yet to keep pace. Clearer lines of accountability are needed between dispatch companies, boards, and host schools, as well as multilingual consultation desks that foreign staff can actually use. Without such reforms, the goal of inclusive education remains incomplete.

## ANNOTATION

- 1 The full official name of this law is 労働施策の総合的な推進並びに労働者の雇用の安定及び職業生活の充実等に関する法律, translated in English as the “Act on Comprehensive Promotion of Labor Policies, Stabilization of Employment of Workers, and Enrichment of Their Vocational Lives.”

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# Power Harassment Experiences of Filipino Assistant Language Teachers: An Exploratory Study

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## Abstract

This research report explores how Filipino Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) working in Japan experience, understand, and cope with workplace harassment, known locally as *power harassment* (*pawahara*). Based on data gathered from semi-structured interviews with six Filipino ALTs employed through the JET Programme and private dispatch companies, this study traces how the various forms of power harassment unfold in school settings. None of the study participants chose to file formal complaints, primarily because they viewed existing procedures as inaccessible or ineffective, feared losing their jobs or visas, or causing unwelcome disruptions in the workplace. Most turned to fellow Filipino ALTs and other networks outside of their institutions for support and validation.

The findings suggest that recent legal frameworks against workplace harassment have yet to reach foreign educators, who often remain outside Japan's protection systems. Their accounts highlight how the ideals of "internationalisation" coexist uneasily with structural hierarchies of nationality, gender, and employment status. By centering their voices, this study argues for clearer responsibility among boards of education, dispatch agencies, and schools, as well as for support mechanisms that genuinely include migrant teachers within Japan's vision of a fair and inclusive educational environment.

**Keywords:** power harassment, Filipino ALTs, migrant teachers, workplace precarity,  
internationalization in education

