Addendum

for *New Urban Ethnicity: The Japanese Sojourner Residency in Melbourne*

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1. Addenda to the Content

a) Insertion and Changes:

Line 1, p.67; First sentence is omitted and insert; '3.3 Four Patterns of Foreigners' Residency'

Between line 9, p.68 and line 10, p.69 are replaced by the follows: 'I am here attempting to develop a typology of settlement patterns. A two by two framework provides us with a mean by which to distinguish some leading characteristics in four basic *end results* of residency. These are *sojourner-sojourner, sojourner-migrant, migrant-sojourner*, and *migrant-migrant* (see page 63). It is admitted that there will always be some analytic uncertainty with such an approach. Strictly speaking, there is unavoidable difficulty in examining the *end-result* of any individual's residency. In reality, in order to ascertain an individual's *end-result* residency, we must ascertain his/her settlement patterns including the final stage of the settlement, as 'being a sojourner' can be a *process*. We simply can never know whether any individual settler is going to change location or become more permanent. This is because the consideration of the possibilities of future changes in an individual's residency will be concluded at the end of each person's life course and it is also at this point that theoretical analysis confronts its limit. Theorising is time-bound, just like people are.

When we look at a certain group of individuals, we can adopt the above four patterns in a more or less pragmatic manner. For instance, when considering the numbers of a certain ethnic group of individuals return to their homeland after their migration, we can conclude that this group shows sojourner characteristics in relation to the country which they do not choose to live in permanently. When any ethnic group settles in the host country permanently, this characterises the settler type (the migrant type in the category). But this is to say that the study of trends of groups of people who together display these characteristics is not prediction about whether any one individual person will fit into one or other category in either a long- or short-term sense. The categories are descriptive and indicative but it does not make any sense to read them as predictive except to predict (analytically) that these various possibilities are somewhat inherent in the *migrant-sojourner* situation to greater and lesser degrees. This point will be analysed in the next chapter by using the Australian census data regarding the numbers of permanent and long-term movements of Japan-born persons.

In this research, as for each subjects' situation in his/her settlement, the *end-result* is interpreted at the time of the research for the following reasons: The research was conducted in Melbourne and thus the *end-result* of *migrant-sojourner* samples cannot be found since such persons are in Japan (or in other countries). But potential *migrant-sojourners* are included in the sample as long as they still live in Melbourne because they are part of the local social network and it is just not possible to exclude them or fully identify them. We therefore know that they exist as a type of settler but there is no way of identifying them without studying them in the 'next stage' of their lives back in Japan. And this goes beyond the study of their Melbourne sojourn. When we think of return movements of *migrant-sojourners* who will eventually return to Japan to live there permanently, their stay in Melbourne is of course not the *end-result* of their sojourning, but it is considered in this research as a 'stopping place' (a type of end-result perhaps) and part of a *process*. To speak precisely, the actual *end-result* of each individual's residency is confirmed at the final stage of his/her life-course in which the possibility of some residential change, small or great, has always been possible. Any individual's settlement in a new place is a dynamic process, and for the purpose of this empirical research, the *end-result* is analysed by reference to past and present intentions and plans and legal residency at the time of the research. The research seeks to respect that each informant was at a certain stage of his/her life-course, enmeshed in the dynamic process which is Japanese residency in Australia.

In this Chapter, I have illustrated the sojourner by exemplifying some data on existence of various sojourners in Australian migration history with a focus on the periods from the end of the 19th century to update. In addition, in order to categorise Japanese residents in Australia, I have reviewed literature relating to the conceptualisation of the sojourner. The major theme of the discussion has been what is sojourner. Through reviewing the prevailing studies, the sojourner can be defined in contrast with the migrant or permanent settler. The above four categories are essential to clarify the characteristic patterns of Japanese residency in Australia. Before analysing data obtained by field work in Melbourne, the actual situation of Japanese visitors, including sojourners and migrants, will be overviewed in the next chapter so as to understand the types of Japanese who are living in Australia. But throughout this thesis, the major focus will be maintained the sojourner and first generation Japanese migrants since the second-generation sojourner does not exist.'

Line 2, p.92; 'The remaining 1,652 Japanese migrants were their descendants' is 'The remaining 1,652 Japanese were *Issei*'s descendants who were conceivably born in Australia.'

Lines 13-18, p.94 are replaced by follows: 'When comparing 'age cohorts' of Japan-born persons who were an Australian citizen and arrived from 1986 to 1996, only 795 Japan-born persons were naturalised (those who did not state the 'year of arrival' and 'whether or not they were Australian citizens' were excluded). Of these people, the age cohorts of '0-9' and '10-19' in particular occupied 66.3 per cent (527) and there was no significant difference between males and females. This tendency may indicate that many child migrants from Japan were naturalised, but their naturalisation was conceivably supported by their parents' decision. On the other hand, many adult migrants who arrived from 1986 to 1996 appeared to be hesitant in relation to naturalisation, as the proportion of naturalisation is small. For instance, age cohorts of '30-39' who arrived from 1986 to 1991, only 53 Japan-born persons were Australian citizens, while other citizens in the same age cohort numbered 1,539 (those who did not state the 'year of arrival' and 'whether or not they were Australian citizens' were excluded). This indicates that over five years of residency in Australia, only 3.3 per cent of Japan-born persons in this age group were naturalised as Australian citizen. Although the category of the 'other' in this table include a few people who are conceivably not Japanese citizens, it can be said that many Japan-born persons, especially those who lived in Australia for less than five years, are not interested in naturalisation.'

Line 13, p.95; '(those who did not state the 'year of arrival' and 'whether or not they were Australian citizens' were excluded)'

Lines 6-9, p.97 are replaced by follows: 'In particular, in the 1996 financial year the Japanese government data, includes 4,353 permanent settlers while according to the Australian government data, the number of settler arrivals (permanent arrivals) of Japan-born persons is only 567 (see figure 5).'

Lines 12-16, p.102 are replaced by follows: 'In contrast to the permanent arrivals, since the 1960s to date, the number of male 'long-term arrivals' has been larger than that of females, and in the 1990s, female 'long-term departures' have been larger than those of their male counterparts. In terms of overall migration, females have predominated and since the beginning of the 1960s, the proportions of female (Japan-born persons) permanent arrivals have been continuously larger than those of males. However, when we centre upon the long-term movements of Japan-born persons, males have predominated since the 1960s. This data shows that amongst Japan-born persons, by comparison, females have tended to settle permanently more than males, while males have been transitory more than females. Consequently, in the overall movements of Japan-born persons from the beginning of the 1960s to the middle of 1990s, although the number of males were actually larger, females have

appeared to be predominated in 'migration from Japan' due to their larger numbers of permanent settlers.'

Line 22, p.152; '5. Statistical Overview of Estimated Proportions of Sojourners and Migrants in the Various Sub-Categories of the Research Sample
The previous section has illustrated the Japanese residents' attitudes towards naturalisation. These naturalised migrants are considered to be in the *migrant-migrant* category. In terms of the three major criteria (the legal definition of status, concrete plans and intentions of temporary/permanent residency), more than half of migrant-respondents fall into the category of *migrant-migrant* at the time of the research. However, there are some respondents who replied 'uncertain' or 'no concrete plans'. They can therefore be classed as either *migrant-migrants* or *migrant-sojourners*. When the legal criterion is used, all the migrant-samples can be regarded as *migrant-migrants* since they were officially permitted to stay on a permanent basis. But the situation is more complex and the answer 'uncertain' may therefore indicate the likelihood of future change. From the migrant–orientation 'no concrete plan to remain permanently' possibly includes both 'plan to return' and 'uncertainty', while from the sojourner-orientation 'no concrete plan to return to Japan' can include both 'plan to remain permanently' and 'uncertain'. In the same way, from the migrant–orientation 'no intention to remain permanently' may include both 'intend to return' and 'uncertain' presumably, while from sojourner-orientation 'no firm intention to return to Japan' possibly includes both 'intend to remain permanently' and 'uncertain'.

When we focus upon the intention to remain permanently, disregarding the criteria of the plan, 69.4 per cent of the migrant-respondents are *migrant-migrants*, while 12.5 per cent are *migrant-sojourners* in this research, as they intended to return to Japan. The remaining respondents (18.1%) who indicated 'uncertain' cannot be determined for either of the above two categories, but they must still be one of the two (see table 22). On the other hand, when we take account solely of plans to remain permanently, rather than intention, 70.7 per cent of the migrant-respondents are *migrant-migrants*, while only 2.7 per cent are *migrant-sojourners* - two female migrants indicated that they had an exact plan to return to Japan (see table 21). The remaining 26.7 per cent are therefore either *migrant-migrants* or *migrant-sojourners*. Among migrant-respondents, the proportion of those who cannot or do not decide to stay permanently is smaller than those who do not have an exact plan of remaining permanently. Those individuals have permanent residency and thus they have choices in living either Australia or Japan, when socio-economic conditions permit a choice in residency. Hence, when we rely only on intentions, rather than plans, this leads us to conclude that approximately 70 per cent of migrant-respondents are *migrant-migrants*, and almost 10 per cent are *migrant-sojourners*. But 20 per cent are potential *migrant-migrants* or *migrant-sojourners*.

In contrast to the migrant-respondents, the sojourner-respondents did not have permanent residency at the time of the research and thus, in reference to the legal conditions only, they fit the sojourner category. However, when we consider the respondents' intention as criterion, and disregard their plans, the *sojourner-sojourner* category accounts for 64.7 per cent, while 32.4 per cent are potential *sojourner-migrants* (see table 22). The remaining 2.9 per cent are somewhere 'in-between' the category of *sojourner-sojourner* and *sojourner-migrant*. It seems likely that this is because the legal conditions for permanent residency are also very important for how people define themselves in questionnaires. Of the sojourner-migrant group, nearly one-third answered that 'if possible' they would like to stay. Although the expression of 'if possible' does not apply solely to the legal condition due to the existence of some other socio-economic factors, to become a *sojourner-migrant* requires the negotiation of significant legal hurdles. The research has discovered that nearly one-third expressed the desire to remain on a permanent basis, 'if possible', and therefore this implies a significant number of *reluctant returnees*.

When we consider exact plans, the larger portion of *sojourner-sojourners* (75.3 %) who planned to return to Japan. Legal conditions often become an obstacle for permanent residency and only 2.4 per cent had an exact plan of remaining permanently in Australia. This smaller group is regarded as *sojourner-migrants*. The rest, 22.4 per cent of sojourners, mentioned that they did not know when they would return to Japan. This group contains some corporate families and students who were not sure when their assignments in overseas or study-course would be complete. As mentioned previously, a relatively high proportion of *reluctant returnees* presumably exists. Most of this group (22.4 per cent of the sojourner-respondents) seem to be in the *sojourner-sojourner* rather than *sojourner-migrant* category, but possibly some will become *sojourner-migrants*.

From a careful examination of the data in terms of the above criteria, by keeping in mind that the intentions of migrants are shaped by the choices available to them in legal terms, and by noting that legal preconditions shape the exact plans of sojourners in terms of how they obtain permanent residency, the overall proportions of the four categories can be estimated as follows: over half (52%) of this research-subjects are *sojourner-sojourners* and only 2 per cent are *sojourner-migrants*. Roughly 16 per cent are either *sojourner-sojourners* or *sojourner-migrants*. When dividing this group into the above two categories equally, there are 60 per cent of *sojourner-sojourners* and 10 per cent of *sojourner-migrants*, but this is a calculated guess and exact numbers are unknown. On the other hand, 21 per cent are *migrant-migrants* and 4 per cent are *migrant-sojourners*. The remaining 5 per cent are either *migrant-sojourners* or *migrant-migrants* at least at the time of the research.

In order to provide a rough estimate of overall Japanese settlement by reference to the four patterns of residency, the data from the 'permanent and long-term movements of Japan-born persons' is analysed below. 'Permanent arrivals' came to Australia to settle permanently (see figure 3), and therefore they are regarded as migrants and when they depart permanently they are considered as *migrant-sojourners*, while when they settle in, they are *migrant-migrants*. In the same way, with respect to long-term movements (see figure 4), 'long-term arrivals' are regarded as *sojourners* when they came to Australia. If they settle permanently, they are *sojourner-migrants*, whereas the 'departures' fit the *sojourner-sojourner* category. The following table shows that the numbers of the permanent and long-term migrants in the different categories, and total of these permanent and long-term movements of Japan-born persons from 1991 to 1997.

The numbers of permanent, long-term, and total of permanent and long-term movements of Japan-born persons in 1991 - 1997

Categories of movements/ year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	Total
Permanent arrivals	571	453	391	486	585	567	469	3,522
Permanent departures	194	206	153	86	83	94	100	916
Net increase	377	247	238	400	502	473	369	2,606
Long-term arrivals	6,770	6,937	6,844	7,260	7,753	7,894	8,628	52,086
Long-term departures	4,777	4,979	5,174	5,642	6,157	6,163	6,645	39,537
Net increase	1,993	1,958	1,670	1,618	1,596	1,731	1,983	12,549
Long Term and Permanent Arrivals	7,341	7,390	7,235	7,746	8,338	8,461	9,097	55,608
Long Term and Permanent Departures	4,971	5,185	5,327	5,728	6,240	6,257	6,745	40,453
Net increase	2,370	2,205	1,908	2,018	2,098	2,204	2,352	15,155

Source: Unpublished data from ABS.

In terms of the permanent movement of Japan-born persons from 1991 to 1997, there were 3,522 arrivals and 916 departures, a net increase of 2,606. When this number is converted into the various categories, 26 per cent are *migrant-sojourners* as they left the host society of Australia, while the majority (74 per cent) were *migrant-migrants* as they have remained in Australia. However, as a rough estimate it is not an *end-result*, but an indication of an ongoing *process* of settlement. To obtain more accurate numbers of Japanese residents, we must clarify various points, including categories of Japan-born persons, the context of 'arrivals and departures,' each individual's settlement pattern from the beginning to the end, and so on. In fact, the 'arrivals' and 'departures' cannot be always the same

persons. Although there is marginality in assessing the proportions of Japanese residency, a clear trend can be seen in this period.

With respect to long-term movements, of a total of 52,086 'arrivals' there were 39,537 'departures'. When we assume these people to be *sojourner-sojourners*, we can conclude that three-quarters of 'long-term arrivals' fall into this category, while 24 per cent are *sojourner-migrants*. But the actual proportion of *sojourner-sojourners* must be much larger, when we include those arrivals who stay in Australia for less than one year (in the survey conducted by the Australian government, a category of 'long-term' refers to 'one-year or more'). When the above ratio is converted into the t ' of permanent and long-term movements, most Japan-born persons (71%) are *sojourner-sojou* s (though this must be larger when it includes all the movements of Japanese people), while 22.6 per cent are *sojourner-migrants*. *Migrant-migrants* consist of 4.7 per cent and only 1.6 per cent are *migrant-sojourners*. It is conceivable that the actual proportion of *sojourner-sojourners* is larger (70%+) in the overall movements of Japanese people, as the long-term arrivals increased every year in 1991 and 1997 and even amongst *sojourner-migrants* (22.6%) who still lived in Australia, there must have been numbers of individuals who would return to Japan. All in all, with respect to permanent and long-term movements of Japan-born persons, the vast majority have been sojourners who would return to their homeland. Although the permanent settlers have been increasing in terms of 'net increase of permanent arrivals,' they are still very small proportion (*migrant-migrants* were less than 5%) among Japanese residents in Australia. When we include those 'long-term arrivals of Japan-born persons' who decide to remain in Australia, the proportion will be slightly higher.

I have hitherto analysed the settlement patterns of Japanese people in Australia by reference to temporary/permanent residency, by clarifying the significance of sojourn-movements of Japanese arrivals. Even though the vast majority of Japanese residents are *sojourner-sojourners* who return to their homeland, their influence on the host society has become numerically greater, since the numbers of these sojourners who actually live in Australian metropolises have been increasing; in the 1990s, the numbers of 'arrivals were larger than those of 'departures' every year. They are sojourners but they will not disappear because, despite the fact that many have already returned, larger numbers of sojourners continue to arrive and thus 'take their places'. In the next chapter, the actual residency of this sojourner-oriented ethnic group will be analysed by presenting the research data regarding the characteristic patterns of Japanese residency and the respondents' views on Australian life. In order to illustrate the sojourners' character more distinctively, some data will be compared between sojourners and migrants in the research sample.'

Line 2, p.163; 'also included.' is 'also included (see table 26).' Lines 7-8, p.163; omit (see table 25).

Lines 6-10 p.164; 'Although … annual income.' is replaced by the follows: 'Although the highest income level in the census is '$78,000 or more', the Census data is not ideal because there are variations in the male Japanese sojourners' income of '$78,000 or more.' In this research, when excluding students, 62 per cent of the male sojourner-respondents had '$80,000 or more' gross annual income (see table 25).' Lines 13-14, p.164; 'There are not …female migrants.' is replaced by the follows: 'Except for the male-migrant group whose income level is considerably high, among other three groups, female sojourners, male migrants, and female migrants, there are not significant differences in the income level.'

Lines 9-10, p.188; 'between male …migrants.' is 'among female migrants, male and female sojourners, as over half of each group indicated Australian environments.'

Omit from line 8, p.190 to line 8 p.191 and insert the following sentence to line 8, p.190: 'The feeling or perception of immense societal pressure sometimes become an inducement factor for emigration (see Chapter II).'

Lines 8-9, p.195 are replaced by follows: 'As for their most *likes*, some indicated multiple elements which were introduced the above, while others mentioned only one most important element. For example, some respondents pointed out that both less societal pressure and the vast natural/physical environments or time-freedom. In overviewing their answers, the elements which related to good social climate are most significant concerns amongst Japanese residents in Australia, as more than half of the respondents mentioned this respect. In fact, many had positive views on Australian society or Australian life.'

Line 19, p.201; 'Of course, this overview of responses does not apply to all the individuals in Japanese communities in Australia. There are always some exceptions. However, it was found that Japanese residents dispersed around metropolitan Melbourne and a formation of distinct ethnic community is not based on kinship or neighbourhood. This research outcome shows that over half of the respondents chose their current residence (at the time of the research) because of either 'convenience of commuting' or 'good residential conditions', rather than being close to distinct Japanese neighbourhoods. Only 2 per cent of the respondents answered that their residential preference was related to the fact that other Japanese lived in the areas (see table 28). In terms of their problem-consultations, less than 3 per cent found their consultants from their neighbours as shown in table 30. The vast majority found their consultants or advisers from their current networks in Australia. Indeed over 60 per cent of male sojourners found such confidants among their current colleagues. The support mechanisms of Japanese community in Melbourne appears to function strongly through its organisational networks. As for disseminating information within the community, there are various print media in Japanese, including newsletters from Japanese clubs and some monthly magazines which provide events in Melbourne and news of the Japanese community. In order to identify the main features of the organisational networks within the Japanese community, the key elements of symbolic organisations of Japanese community will be analysed in the next chapter. The major focus will be placed upon the characteristic patterns of children's education in the sojourner-oriented community by describing the foundation and activities of Japanese schools in Australia.'

Line 7, p.234; 'Globalisation in business and human movement involves the emergence of various types of foreign residents, and this brings new types of international schools into existence. This chapter has illustrated the major features of Japanese schools in Australia, which are their sojourner-oriented characteristics. Japanese schools are significant institutions in Japanese communities, as they assist in the maintenance of the mother tongue for the Japanese migrant-group, while assisting in the Japanese education for the sojourner-group. The impact of this sojourner community is also found in the policy of the supplementary school in Melbourne to contribute to bilingual education in the host community. In Japanese schools the majority are still in the *sojourner-sojourner* category. But there are children from various backgrounds, including those of Japanese migrant couples, from Japanese-Australian marriages, and from sojourning families. Amongst sojourner-families, there can be some potential migrants, such as expatriate business families who decide to remain in Australia on a permanent basis. In the next concluding chapter, the character of the sojourner-oriented community is described by illustrating the mechanism of organisational network within the Japanese community.'

Line 9, p.240; 'must be naturalised.' is 'may be naturalised. If socio-political rights between permanent residents and citizens are significantly different, the larger number has to be naturalised.'

b) A list of typographical and other corrections
Line 17, p.7; and line 14, p.8; 'Mizukami 1996' is 'Mizukami 1996a'
Line 17, p.26; line 2, p.57; line 4, p.58; line 4, p.59; line 9, p.71; line 5, p.134; line 10, p.134; and line 17, p.134; 'the United States' is 'the United States of America.'
Line 18, p.28; 'Simmel (1908/1924)' is 'Simmel (1908/1950)'.
Line 20, p.47; 'Fukushima, 1991' is 'Fukushima, 1991a'.

Line 17, p.48; line 8, p.49; and line 15, p.51; 'Price 1963' is Price '1963a'.

Lines 7 and 15, p.52; 'ABS 1996/97' is 'ABS 1998'.

Line 13, p.52; 'ABS 1995/96' is 'ABS 1997'.

Line 7, p.53; 'Price, 1996' is 'ABS, 1997'.

Line 5, p.68; 'migrant-migranst' is 'migrant-migrant.'

Line 8, p.73; 'there some' is 'there were some'.

Line 8, p.78; 'program' is 'programs'.

Line 18, p.81; 'Fukushima, 1991' is 'Fukushima, 1991b'.

Line 9, p.83; 'travele' is travel'.

Line 10, p.84; 'Editor of Kokusai jinryu' is 'Kokusaijinryu Henshukyoku.'

Line 10, p.85; and line 18, p.85; 'Jain, 1996' is 'Jain, 1996a'. Line 14, p.85; and line 2, p.86; 'Jain, 1996' is 'Jain, 1996b'.

Line 20, p.94; and line 9, p.95; 'Sugiura, 1994' is 'Sugiura, 1995'.

Line 17, p.99; 'programmes' is 'programs'.

Line 8, p.102; 'see graph' is 'see figure 4'.

Line 10, p.112; 'the working holiday office' is 'MTSC (Melbourne Tour & Study Centre) office.'

Line 3, p.117; 'the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' is *'Gaimusho* (Gaimudaijin kanbo ryoji ijubu)'.

Line 15, p.133; '3 ELICOS students' is '3 students in ELICOS (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students) '.

Line 16, p.133; and l.17, p.134; 'ELICOS students' is 'students in ELICOS'. Lines 19-20, p.133; 'also some *sojourner-migrants*' is 'some potential *sojourner-migrants*'.

Line 1, p.136; 'one female married migrant' is 'two female married migrants'. Line 7, p.136; '4 out of 5 female respondents' is '4 out of 5 female migrant-respondents'.

Line 6, p.137; 'European ancestry' is 'European ancestry, or at least non-Japanese'.

Lines 3-8, p.142 are omitted.

Line 6, p.156; 'Burgess' is 'Burgess (1925).'

Line 2, p.159; 'inner city areas' is 'inner-city areas of Melbourne'.

Lines 5-6, p.169; 'Normanby ELICOS' is 'Monash University English Language Centre.'

Line 12, p.175; 'male migrants' is 'male migrants (52.9%)'. Line 13, p.175; 'they solve' is 'they attempt to solve'. Line 14, p.175; 'friends.' is 'their families (see table 30).' Line 18, p.175; 'respondents' is 'sojourner-respondents'. Line 19, p.175; '(46.6%)' is '(46.4%)'.

Line 4, p.176;'six per cent' is '4.8 per cent' and '16 per cent' is '15.7 per cent'. Line 5 p.176; 'male sojourners' is 'male migrants'.

Line 21, p.178; '58.8 per cent' is 'of the migrant-respondents, 58.8 per cent'.

Line 1, p.179; Omit 'migrants'.

Line 4-5, p.185; Omit 'In addition, … *dislikes?*'

Line 3, p.194; 'Language (English)' is 'English Language'. Lines 6 and 15, p.194; Omit 'Accessibility of'.

Line 8, p.197; 'Inconvenience of Transportation' is 'Inconvenient Transport'.

Line 18 p.198; 'female sojourners' is 'female migrants'.

Line 10, p.201; Omit 'an'.

Line 6, p.202; 'develop network' is 'the development of networks'.

Line 17, p.206; '1968' Is '1986'.

Line 17, p.208; Omit 'Mizukami, 1996b'.

Line 14, p.209; 'Mizukami, 1996c' is 'Mizukami, 1996b'.

Line 16, p.225; 'Mizukami, 1996b' is 'Mizukami, 1996c'.

Line 3, p.231; 'My previous' is 'My previous research'.

Line 6, p.232; 'Yomiuri Shinbun (1988 June: 5)' is 'Nagai (1988a June 8: 5)'.

Line 9, p.233; 'Yomiuri Shinbun (1988 May: 7)' is 'Nagai (1988b May 23: 7)'.

Line 18, p.237; 'They find' is 'Siu finds'.

Line 7, p.241; 'permanent residents' is 'residents'. Line 13, p.241; 'migrants' is 'settlers'.

Line 10, p.246; 'are often move' is 'often involve movements'.

Line 3, p.260; 'Instead an' is 'Instead'.

2. Footnotes

a) Insert the follows:
Line 6, p.17; 'The concepts of assimilation and integration have not been used uniformly. Johnston states that 'assimilation has been understood in many ways by many writers' (1972: 1), while Lewins warns that to understand assimilation and integration, it is crucial to recognise that these terms have not been uniformly used (1988: 858).'

Line 9, p.209; 'In response to the increasing numbers of Japanese permanent residents, a Japanese Sunday school was opened in Sydney for the purpose of offering the Japanese language education to pupils from Japanese settler families in Sydney. However, according to the *Monusho*'s report (1995), there was no supplementary school in Sydney. In other words, this school has not yet recognised as an official school by *Monbusho* and thus it was excluded from the Japanese government survey.'

b) Corrections
P.26; 'Price 1963' is Price '1963a'. P.42; 'Mitchell Library in Sydney (1985)' is 'Mitchell Library in Sydney' P.45; see Okazaki-Luff (1991). P.52; 'ABS 1996/97' is 'ABS 1998'. P.71; '17 June 1991' is '17 June 1993'. P.90 and p.91; 'Gaimusho' is 'Gaimudaijin kanbo ryoji ijyubu' P.248; 'Mizukami, 1996d' is 'Mizukami, 1996a'. P.256; 'Monbusho (Japanese Department of Education)' is 'Monbusho (1998)'.

3. Tables and Figures

a) Insert the column headings (into the left-hand side columns):
'Year/categories of arrivals and departures' to table 2 on p. 55; 'year' to table 3 on p.76; 'year/visa categories' to table 7 on p.79; 'purpose of travel' to table 8 on p.97; 'professional field' to table 13 on p.118; 'level of education' to table 16 on p.124; 'reason' to table 18 on p.129; 'age/income level' to table 26 on p.166 and to table 27 on p.167; 'reason' to table 28 on p.171; 'language' to table 31 on p.180; 'source' to table 32 in p.181; 'category of *likes*' to table 33 on p.187; and 'category of *dislikes*' to table 34 on p.197.

b) Additional Notes:
'*One female migrant did not answer to this question.' to table 10 on p.110, table 17 on p.126, table 18 on p.129, and table 19 on p.136; '*Two male migrants did not answer to this question.' to table 16 on p.124; '*One male and two female sojourners did not answer to this question.' to table 21 on p.142; '*Three male sojourners and three female migrants did not answer to this question.' to table 22 on p.143; '*135 respondents did not indicate any newspapers which they *regularly* read.' to table 31 on p.180; and '*121 respondents did not indicate any magazines which they *regularly* read.' to table 32 on p.181;

c) Correction of titles, sources, and notes:
Table 2 on p. 55: Title is 'The numbers of long-term arrivals and departures in selected years', and source is 'ABS (1998)'. Table 3 on p.76: Title is 'The numbers of Japan-born persons by sex in Australian census. Note is '*In 1986, 1991, and 1996, the numbers indicate the population in 6 Australian states and 2 Territories (Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales, Northern Territory, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia are included, but the numbers exclude Japan-born persons in other territories). The 1996 census, in particular, counts the Australian Territories of Jervis Bay, Christmas Island, and the Cocos (Keeling) Islands for a 'nineth State' (ABS, 1996: 217).' Source is 'Census data of 1947 and 1954 by the Commonwealth of Australia, of 1961, 1966 and 1971 by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, of 1976, 1981, 1986 and 1996 by ABS'.

Table 9 on p.98; Source is 'Unpublished data from DIMA.' Figure 3 on p.101, figure 4 on p.105; and figure 5 on p.106; sources are 'Unpublished data from ABS'. Table 11 on p.115; Omit 'in this data, ... to 1996' at the bottom of the table. Source of table 13 on p.118; 'Kaigai zairyu hojinsu tokei' is

'Kaigai zairyu hojinsu chosa tokei'. The second line of table 25 on p.163 is '$1 - $20,000'. Table 33 on p.187; '(a) relaxing time' is '(a) time-freedom'; (e) living expenses' is '(e) cost of expenditure'. Table 34 on p.197; '(e) foreign language' is '(e) English language'.

4. Additional Abbreviations:

DIMA (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs); EU (European Union); JCV (Japan Club of Victoria); MTSC (Melbourne Tour & Study Centre); OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development); and PALS (Primary Access to Languages via Satellite).

5. Addenda to the bibliography

a) Omissions: 'Healy, C. 1994'; 'Hofmeister, B. 1988'; 'Kuwahara, Y. 1993'; 'Miura, A. 1996.'; and 'Yomiuri Newspaper, 7 May 1987'.

b) Corrections: 'Fukushima, 1991' is 'Fukushima, 1991a'; 'Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1995-1996. *Migration, Australia*' is 'Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1997. *Migration, 1995-1996*' ; 'Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1996-1997. *Migration, Australia*' is 'Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1998. *Migration, 1996-1997*'; 'Homudaijin kanbo shiho hosei chosabu. 1995' is 'Homudaijin kanbo shiho hosei chosabu. 1997. *Dai 36 Shutsunyukoku kanri tokei nenpo* [Annual Report on Legal Migrants]. Tokyo: Okurasho.'; '*Kokusai jinryu*, 99' is '*Kokusai jinryu*, 8 (8)'; 'Mizukami, 1996a. Gaikokujin kyojusha to shien katsudo...' is 'Mizukami, T. 1996d' and 'Mizukami, T. 1996d. *Ibunkashakai tekio no riron...*' is 'Mizukami, T. 1996a'; 'Price, C. A. 1963. *Southern Europeans in Australia*' is 'Price, 1963a'; 'Price, C. A. 1963. *The Methods and Statistics of Southern Europeans in Australia*' is 'Price, 1963b'; 'Simmel, G. 1950 [1904]' is 'Simmel, Georg. 1950 [1908]; and 'Sugiura, H. 1995. p.34' is 'Sugiura, H. 1995. pp.11-47'.

c) An additional bibliographical list

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New Urban Ethnicity:

Japanese Sojourner Residency in Melbourne

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This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for

the award of any other degree or diploma in any University, and,

to the best of my knowledge, contains no material previously

published or written by another person,

except when due reference is made in the text.
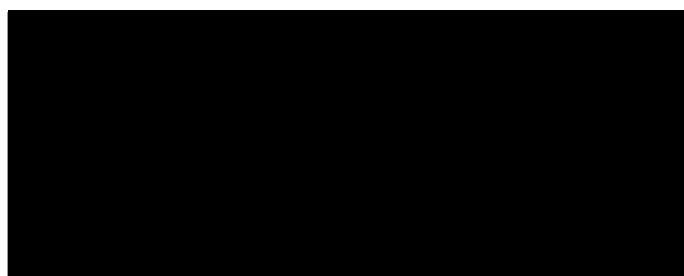
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Abstract

This thesis illustrates characteristic patterns of Japanese residency in Melbourne. It also proposes to refine the sociological meaning of sojourner by reference to a close examination of the character of foreign residency which can be either temporary or permanent. In order to refine the concept of the sojourner the analysis of a particular group of sojourners is presented by exemplifying various types of sojourners, including, indeed especially that exemplified by the case of return migration. In Australia temporary movements continue to be numerically more important than those which are permanent and most Japanese are involved, and interpret themselves to be in various forms of, temporary movement.

In this study, the residential character of Japanese individuals (either temporary or permanent) is analysed in terms of their intention to remain in Australia and their attitudes towards naturalisation. To provide a point of analytical contrast with sojourning residents, various types of emigration from Japan are described in terms of global migration patterns, and the grounds for this individualised style of migration is explained.

In post-war movement from Japan to Australia, Japanese corporate families have been the major category of Japanese residents, and permanent settlement remains very small. These Japanese tend to settle in middle-class suburbs upon arrival, but many are dispersed throughout metropolitan Melbourne. As corporate sojourners they tend to follow the residential trends of wealthy Melbournians, and take the

initiative in forming Japanese-oriented organisations, such as the Japanese clubs and schools in the Melbourne region. These Japanese sojourners, middle-class suburbanites living in inner areas and middle rings, form a definite sub-cultural group in Australia.

The fieldwork for this research was conducted in the period April 1995-July 1998 in Melbourne, by questionnaire-distribution and intensive personal interviewing. Nearly 250 questionnaires were analysed concerning residential choice and relationships with others in Australia. In order to gather information regarding Japanese residency and organisational activities, the researcher also became a member of a few Japanese organisations.

The distinctiveness of the Japanese sojourner community is elucidated by analysing their roles, and the mechanisms which maintain their community. It was found that the Japanese sojourner community does not have clear ethnic boundaries geographically, but instead is involved in the building of an organisational network and it is this which is the leading characteristic of Japanese ethnicity in Melbourne. In other words, a new type of urban ethnic community can be found in this style of organisational networking. It coincides with increasing patterns of migration among professional classes.

This thesis concludes with the refinement of the sojourner concept, identifying key aspects of the sojourner community and outlining future possibilities for sociological research.

Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIMA	Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs
CBD	Central Business District
ELICOS	English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students
ESL	English as a Second Language
Homusho	the Ministry of Justice, Japan
Gaimusho	the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
LOTE	Language other than English
Monbusho	the Ministry of Education, Japan
NESB	non-English-speaking background
RPAPSM	Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants
SLA	Statistical Local Area
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHM	Working Holiday maker

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1. Development of Global Migration

1.1 Global Migration and Post-Modernity

Massive human mobilisation and resultant settlement patterns have, it seems, always

been significant throughout human history. Studies in these areas are not newly-

established fields of anthropology and sociology, but rather, the analyses of migration

and the relations within ethnic groups serve to promote academic discussion of already

well-established historical and classical themes. In contemporary society, studies of

migration and the analysis of the relations between ethnic groups have an ongoing public

and popular appeal. Newspapers and media thrive on the discussion.[1] But even without

the intense media interest, the topic of global migration and cross-cultural contact

amongst different ethnic groups is still a controversial issue in contemporary social

science and has become even more so in this era of global migration. In this study, an

attempt has been made to theorise a new type of migration in the context of global

migration with a focus upon Japanese emigrants, which includes the category of

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[1] Healy (1997: 69-86) raises an important question concerning the analysis of Australian society. Public debate in Australia is strongly controlled by an ideology which promotes a global morality which is a mythical representation of the world as seen by dominant media and political interests.

sojourner, in Australia. As a result, it is expected to make a contribution in migration studies to the scientific examination of empirical data and hence also to the theory of globalisation.

Although the term, 'globalisation', is frequently used in an unclear manner, it tends to be theorised in an economic sense, as in the analyses of 'world markets' or the 'world-system'. Robertson and Khondker state:

> The most prominent current usage of the term 'globalization' is undoubtedly associated with the global expansion of the market form of economy (1998: 25).

Indeed, an influential theorist, Wallerstein sees world-system theory in relation to modern economic history (1984, 1991a). But can the discussion of globalisation and post-modernity remain merely ideological, and ignore the results of empirical surveys? Robertson examines the concept of globalisation in conjunction with modernity and argues that globalisation tends to fall into a specific field of sociology but lacks a focus upon "micrological or local issues" (1996: 25). It therefore lacks, he says, an empirical focus. Nevertheless, the term 'globalisation' has been widely used, especially in the mass media. Colebatch, for example, points out:

> The momentum of globalisation is so strong it is hard to guess when and where it will stop (1998, May 11).

Technological advance has fostered massive mobility of human resources around the world and this has also been manifested in worldwide migration patterns since the mid-1980s. Associated social problems have been wrestled with by social scientists with increasing intensity and interest. In fact, the emergent inter-dependence between national economies has been greatly facilitated in the last fifty or so years by massive technological advances in international transport and communications. As a result, there has been a long-term continuous growth in the international mobilisation of human resources, commodities, and capital. At the same time, exchange programs between different nations flourish in political, economic, social and cultural domains. Transoceanic migration is now a significant part of the global migration pattern more than ever before. Furthermore, the public awareness of our shrinking world, our membership of global society, may promote changes in the images of migration and may help to reduce any residual psychological barriers which might have formerly prevented some voluntary movement across national borders.

1.2 *Prospective Expansion of International Migration*

International migration and settlement have become issues of relevance to various areas of society, and to various dimensions of social policy. Some theoretical and critical commentators envisage further exponential growth in global migration for the coming century. Global migration has simply become part of the normal way of conducting business. Former complexities have been overcome with the introduction of new efficient processes across national boundaries. One writer states emphatically, "Immigration into

the industrial countries is at highest levels ever, and it is likely to rise further in the 1990s" (Martin, 1994: 46). In his analysis of Asian migrant labourers, Martin further indicates that "the number of foreign workers in virtually all fast-growing Asian nations is increasing, and most indicators point toward more rather than fewer migrants in the 21st century (Martin, 1996: 13)." Others expect migration to continue to grow through the 1990s and on into the early 21st century, indicating that "international migration has grown in volume and significance since 1945 and most particularly since the mid-1980s" (Castles and Miller 1994: 3-4).

International labour mobility has contributed to post-war economic development in many highly industrialised countries. However, in contemporary international markets, with typical post-modern forms of social instability, there are various types of human mobilisation which ranges from manual labour to highly-skilled professionals. According to the OECD,

> Worker movement, especially between certain OECD countries, applies more and more to skilled labour and over the past few years the migration of highly qualified workers has been growing in importance. These flows are related to the development of internal labour markets within multinational firms and establishment by governments of an institutional framework to facilitate the international exchange of skills (1995: 21).

The profound inter-dependence between countries has in turn become cause and consequence of renewed trade and investment coinciding with the migration of labour. In

the major world cities, branches of multinational corporations have been established attracting capital, labour forces and information. The development of the international markets is also an inducement to human mobilisation.

In this study, the residential pattern of Japanese residents living in Australia will be explained. Many are obviously living out the consequences of international markets as expatriate corporate families. However, human mobility is not always induced by the development of business links between the countries. There are other factors, which are related to the cause of emigration, will be discussed in the next section. Empirical data regarding the motivation and reasons for Japanese individuals' movements to Australia will be presented and analysed in Chapter IV.

1.3 *Four Revolutions*

International migration has been stimulated by the development of international communication and transport as well as by interactions among and between the political, economic, and cultural actors in these domains. Indeed, cross-cultural contact at the sub-national level has also developed often extending beyond national borders. In an analysis of inducement factors for international migration, I would like to emphasise the changes in the public consciousness of or the perceptions about migration, especially amongst contemporary Japanese emigrants. These changes have influenced Japanese people in their decisions to leave their homeland.

Martin considers migration networks to be a conceptual key for explaining the population movements from developing countries to highly industrialised countries and introduces the following three revolutions which further the process of human mobility on an international scale.

- Communications

  The first is the 'communication revolution'. Martin identifies two major sources: previously migrated compatriots and media. Potential migrants develop their view of opportunities in foreign places by word of mouth, as they always have done, and may receive advice and also financial support, from previous emigrants. Potential migrants now also receive information from the mass media, television programs showing lifestyles in wealthy countries in detailed and attractive (if abstract) terms (Martin, 1994: 48).

- Transport

  The second is the 'transportation revolution' which has contributed to the geometric increase in movement from place to place: low cost travel along with increased convenience have been brought about by improved technology. In time the increased frequency of flights also leads to cost reductions for companies and travellers. "Once he gets to his capital city, the international network of flights can take him anywhere within a day or two (*ibid.* 48)."

- Rights

  The third is the 'rights revolution' which refers to strengthening of "individual rights and entitlements" as most industrialised countries sign international treaties

and accept people fleeing from persecution.[2] "One effect of this rights revolution is that, once a migrant arrives in an industrial country, he or she can avoid deportation for two, three, or even four years (*ibid*. 48)."

In previous work, I have elaborated on the above three revolutions, by focusing on contemporary Japanese emigration. There I indicated that a fourth factor, which I termed the 'revolution in migration-consciousness', was active. In this thesis I wish to develop this line of argument more extensively.

- Public Consciousness

  The correlation of the above three revolutions has promulgated a social consciousness toward migration amongst Japanese people and the image of migration itself has somewhat changed in Japan. Japan's large-scale social changes in the 20th century may well have to be understood as 'world-historical' in character. These three 'revolutions' have brought about another, a profound change in the mentality of the individuals who live in Japanese society where a multitude of diverse lifestyles are rapidly being disclosed and where there has been a spectacular increase in an individual's options for living these various lifestyles (Mizukami, 1996: 34-36).

That particular thesis could only be stated in bare outline in the former work. In this thesis I test this hypothesis by reference to a particular case. In other words, I investigate how it is that these days emigration from Japan does not necessarily mean a pursuit for more attractive economic options, as certain economistic interpretations have dogmatically

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[2] However, we can find enormous reports of abuses and violence against migrants. The editors of *Asian Migrant* present latest examples of migrant labourers without 'decent living conditions and social security protection' thus 'trampling on migrant rights has become an international practice' (1992: 105).

assumed. Rather, I focus upon the spontaneity of individual social actors to change their social milieu to experience different lifestyles.

Contemporary Japanese emigration also includes those who move their country of residence because they avail themselves of the new opportunity-structure presented to them as Japanese people. Though this group may not constitute the *norm*, and may only be a fraction of the overall population of movers, nevertheless they are of great significance because they represent a social structural development of the individual's social alternatives and a significant change to the image of emigration from Japan.

Some people indeed aspire to modify their lifestyles in a foreign country rather than to pursue more attractive economic circumstances. Some migration patterns derive from job opportunities in foreign lands, which is in itself as extension of a mobilisation that begins on the domestic front. The accessibility of spatial and physical movement has altered any resistance to migration. Thus, various Japanese employment journals now often carry job advertisements that focus upon overseas employment (*ibid.* 1996: 30-34).

Both before and immediately after World War II Japanese people generally formed solid negative images of migration. Indeed, some studies of Japanese migrants argue that 'migrants' can be understood as *'kimin'* which means persons who are forsaken or thrown away. Extensive researches by Hayase (1989), and Konno and Takahashi (1993) illustrate how these emigrants were discarded by the Japanese government. Hayase, in his study of

Japanese labourers, states that those who migrated to Benguet in the Philippines during the Meiji period did so "in period of Japan's modernisation". He argues that those Japanese who left their country might have felt indebted towards people in Japan while people who remained in Japan viewed them as running away (Hayase, 1989: 259-260). He, therefore, suspects that the image of the migrant was that of a deserter or dropout from the nation, their true place of residence. On the other hand, Konno and Takahashi, argue in their study of post-war Japanese labour migration to the Dominican Republic, that although those Japanese migrants were sent under the government-to-government agreement between the two countries, in reality they were farm slaves, isolated in remote and deserted areas (Konno & Takahashi, 1993: 63).

The purpose of their study is to present migration to the Dominican Republic as *kimin,* since those involved were deceived and abandoned by the Japanese government. The English equivalent of the term *imin* is migrant(s) or migration, and used to have an implicit negative image. However, these days this negative connotation has been subverted by a change in values about individual choice. Facilitating a change in one's circumstances is now viewed highly. And at the same time the option of overseas employment has emerged on the Japanese horizon and cannot be restricted to either the class of professionals and highly skilled Japanese or unskilled manual labourers.

Now we are witnessing a change in patterns of migration. The key concept of this study is to elucidate the new forms of migration with special reference to the application of the

concept of 'sojourner' in urban communities. In prevailing migration studies, 'sojourner' has not been a major topic, but under these new historical circumstances the concept takes on a new significance. Then, I will approach my theorising of international migration in both macro- and micro- terms. The analytical framework, which I will build, should help us to clarify the mechanisms and characteristics of international human mobilisation, and develop concepts as relevant to large-scale migration as they are to individual migratory actions and the management of lifestyle and personal development.

1.4 *Permanent or Temporary Residency in a Foreign Land*

When we consider the settlement patterns of *permanent* and *temporary* migrants, which are caused by changes in a person's domicile from the country of origin to the destination, the term 'sojourner' and 'migrant' can help to illustrate the nature of settlement. The term 'sojourner' is often used for temporary residents, but it also includes potential settlers who may stay in the host country on a permanent basis. On the other hand, migrants who had initially planned to stay in the host country may reside in the host country only temporarily. Thus, when we take account on the end-result of an individual's settlement patterns, some sojourners and some migrants can demonstrate similar characteristics of residency. In the sociological usage of the term, sojourner highlights *temporariness*. On the other hand, contemporary understanding of the term 'migrant' does not exclusively mean 'permanent settler' since 'migrant' can be used for both 'permanent resident' and some kind of 'temporary resident' in the host society. It is often used for illustrating settlement as a mere change in a person's domicile. Therefore, in this respect, sojourners

and migrants can be indistinguishable, particularly when we focus upon first generation migrants. Second generation 'sojourners' cannot exist as visitors to a foreign land. But then in the context of contemporary international migration, sojourners do demonstrate a significant part of human mobility.

2. *Research Objectives*

The object of the research is to clarify the nature of Japanese residency in Australian urban communities by investigating into Japanese community in Melbourne. It is valuable to look at Japanese sojourners in terms of migration theories and also for refining the concept and theory of the 'sojourner.' The investigation of Japanese residents' personal and organisational activities involves the extensive analysis of their involvement in their host communities. A major theme for my argument is:

- The settlement pattern of contemporary Japanese people in Australia demonstrates characteristics which do not fit prevailing theory on international migration, including the mass movement of labour across national boundaries, and on migrant settlement.

From an empirical point of view, this research will describe new types of urban community residency (ways of being) by reference to characteristic residential patterns of Japanese people living in Melbourne. To date, no extensive sociological research into Japanese residency in Australia has been undertaken, though there have been many studies of the settlement of immigrants from other countries.

2.1 *Insufficient Attention to Sojourner Communities in Australian Metropolises*

In recent years, there has been a wealth of studies on Australian ethnic relations in conjunction with urban development. There has been at least one significant omission in

these studies - sojourners, those who do not remain in the host society on a permanent basis. Such people have been largely ignored.

When we seek to identify sojourners among the data of Australian migration studies, we find two basic types: one is the 'return migrant' who had migrated to Australia but did not become a permanent settler; the other is the long-term temporary resident, including those from expatriate corporate families, overseas students or researchers who do not intend to stay in the host Australian society permanently. The former is found in several studies on returning migrants from Britain, New Zealand, Italy and Greece, those who did not stay in the host society on a permanent basis despite the fact that many of them had the right of permanent residence. However, the latter, the expatriate sojourner, has been of little concern to the study of assimilation and integration. This exclusion from studies of migrants' settlement might be a form of institutional blindness in migration studies and the concept of permanence/non-permanence of residency will therefore have to be defined more clearly.

Migration studies have generally examined the adjustment patterns of new settlers to the host societies, relating these to ethnicity, but insufficient attention is paid to sojourning inhabitants in the host community. de Lepervanche argues:

> Not only do the North Americans, Japanese and French tend not to associate themselves with other ethnics, or to be associated with them by the host society, but compared with the volumes written on southern Europeans and Mediterranean

in Australia - and their problems - almost nothing has appeared on French, Japanese or American immigrants (1984: 186).

Many of the North Americans, French, and Japanese who fit the sojourner type, namely members from corporate families are not present in the literature analysing assimilation or integration. Although contemporary Australian metropolitan areas have embraced a considerable number of sojourners, there has been no exploration of their lifestyles. Of particular significance is the fact that among Japanese residents in Australia the number who do not intend to remain on a permanent basis is larger than the permanent residents. With respect to ethnic schools in urban communities, it is the Japanese sojourners who are more influential in establishing and managing them rather than their migrant counterparts (see Chapter VI). This contrasts significantly with other migrant-groups in Australia.

Studies of post-war migration to Australia have shown how various minority groups have settled in the host community. However, the study of Japanese migrants in Australia is seriously limited: while there are some studies on early Japanese migrants to Australia, there is no extensive research into post-war Japanese migrants to Australia.

Contemporary Japanese migrants to Australia conceivably demonstrate important differences when compared with previous and other ethnic minorities. Current Japanese migrants to Australia tend to settle in middle-class suburbs upon arrival. As part of their participation in a highly developed economic system, corporate employees can stay in

foreign countries for extended periods of overseas assignment. Depending upon the economic requirements of their employers and their own economic needs, a significant number do extend their period of stay. Japanese sojourners, especially corporate expatriates, tend to choose their domicile in middle-class suburbs which are relatively close to the city centre, which seems like a logical choice since most will commute to inner city areas. Corporate families live in detached houses or flats, owned or rented by the organisations to which they belong. When they have completed the overseas assignment - generally a three- to five-year period - their positions will be taken by newcomers, employees of the same firm. Some will even live in the same house, others living in a similar one in nearby suburbs. In this way sojourner-communities replace themselves, are always of the same generation, and continue as an ongoing presence in Australian metropolitan areas.

The research elucidates the characteristic patterns of Japanese residents' settlement in Australian urban communities. The orientation is built on an assumption of 'living together'. I also investigate the social relations, such as the nature of their relationships with neighbours, that pertain between Japanese residents and local community members. Although the subjects for the research include both temporary and permanent Japanese residents, for the most part, this study deals with Japanese-sojourner communities. These Japanese communities do not necessarily mean that the communities are formed explicitly by sojourning Japanese but that the sojourners are conceivably an influential group. The sojourning Japanese families tend to live in Australian middle-class suburbs, instead of

congregating in an inner city ethnic enclave. Although, in some sense, these communities may not differ from a geographically based ethnic-enclave type which have been found in metropolitan inner areas, they are obviously not residentially segregated. They have developed their own networks in Australian metropolitan areas the details of which will be explained in subsequent chapters. Japanese residents are defined as one of the ethnic groups in Australia, even if they are very much smaller in numerical terms.

Traditional ethnic community studies focus upon the following three basic categories:

- Permanence,
- Geographic area, and
- Forms of social relations.

In these studies, *permanence* and *geographic territory* tend to be prerequisite conditions. In terms of geographical territory, some migration studies have shown the importance of network linkages, between the country of origin and the host country and compatriots' networks in the host community, which are necessary to establish ethnic communities. By adopting a critical perspective to the concepts of permanence and geographic territory in ethnic community studies, we can, with the concept of sojourner, provide a new perspective which incorporates empirically the vacillation in the migrant's sense of *permanence* into our account of migration patterns. Migration is complex, and there have always been various types of migrants who are not permanent settlers. In the present study we find that the vast majority of Japanese corporate families reside in Australian

metropolitan areas for three to five years yet definable Japanese communities continue to persist in recognisable form before and after. They have a life beyond that of the membership of any person or group of persons.

Although ethnic community studies will focus on permanent settlers, sometimes the changes in multiple-generation communities are examined in terms of assimilation or integration and explained by reference to a concept of (sub-) cultural change. But in this study I note the significant fact that the major Japanese clubs have been set up, and maintained, by sojourners who do not intend to remain in Australia.

In order to analyse the characteristics of such community life; the researchers' concerns have gravitated toward residential areas and typical neighbourhood relations in any given territory. Traditional community studies tend to direct researchers to find their informants' identities within residential spaces and do so by emphasising the importance of locality and social location. However, the new approach to understanding community directs researchers to look for primary ties, many of which go beyond residential neighbourhoods. In particular, the Japanese residency in Melbourne is dispersed throughout the greater Melbourne area, though there are only a few areas, among a large number of possibilities, in which Japanese people will settle.

Sojourners are basically temporary residents and, in this regard, they contrast with permanent settlers. Further details of the conceptualisation of 'sojourner' are found in

Chapter II. Some migration studies have related to sojourning residents when considering the case of return migrants or transient workers and this will be discussed in Chapter III. When we draw attention to sojourning foreign residents, we recognise that various types of sojourners have been disclosed in historical and current migration studies. But as I have said, sojourners sometimes become permanent residents, and this fact gives a basis to many studies of a migrants' adjustment to the host society even as these same studies disregard the sojourner concept itself.

Focusing upon the end-result - the 'migrant' - ignores the undeniable reality of the 'sojourner'. The situation is more complex and subtler than *end-result* analysis can provide. With respect to current Japanese residents in Australia, apart from some sojourners deciding to stay in host Australian communities on a permanent basis, there are other kinds of Japanese sojourners who are replaced by new arrivals once their overseas assignment have been completed. In this way that the Japanese sojourner community is sustained in Australian middle-class residential zones. This research will outline the characteristics of Japanese communities in Australia with special reference to metropolitan Melbourne by exploring:

- the residential patterns, and the cause of residential character. In this research, the 'sojourner' represents a key *actor* in the Japanese community.

In Melbourne, as a rule, Japanese residents tend to follow the residential patterns of the more wealthy Melburnians. Although Japanese residents numerically constitute a definable minority group, the residential characteristics and financial position, generally follow the mainstream middle-class suburbanite pattern (as described in Chapter V). The research then has to confront an important question: Are sojourners to be interpreted as new elite of Australian suburbia or equal-status strangers?

2.2 Sojourners in Migration Studies

Global migration now involves continuing large-scale movement of sojourners. The study of this group living in urban communities is thus long overdue. Previous migration studies have pointed to the fact that many migrants did not initially migrate with the purpose of remaining in the host country on a permanent basis (see Chapter II). They considered themselves to be transient workers, but in time decided to live the host community on a permanent basis.

There have been two basic types of post-war transient workers who take up permanent residence in a host country: To give an example from Australian experience, some migrants from European countries, such as from Italy and Greece, had permanent residency in spite of the fact that some of them regarded themselves more as sojourners. Hence, post-war studies of migration, including the study of return migrants, assumed that the migrant had become a permanent resident.

To give a contrasting example from Japan, many contemporary migrant workers - 'newcomers'[3] in Japan - do not have permanent residency and some are, or are viewed as, visa over-stayers. Even though a few of them may have a Japanese partner, this does not automatically provide permanent residency in the host community (Mizukami, 1998: 363-364).

We can surmise therefore that along with massive worldwide migration changes, which have much to do with how people work, there has also been a significant change in the way migrant's settlement has been studied: in former studies, the approach tended to be based upon a preconceived and limiting idea centred on the legal possession of permanent residency; in the more recent approach the essential question is whether or not migrants see themselves as permanent residents.

When international migration is viewed in terms of individual settlement patterns, it is not difficult to find some cases in which those who gain the right of permanent residence later decide to return to their home country, or move on to a third country. Of course, it is not always possible to draw a rigid demarcation line between permanent and temporary migration. To repeat: migratory movement is complex and diverse in nature. However, we can say that with global migration continuing to grow, the character of our 'living

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[3] Since the middle of 1980s, Japan has experienced massive inflow of foreign labourers, including settlers and long-term temporary residents, mainly from neighbouring Asian countries. They are generally categorised as 'newcomers' in contrast with 'old-timers' who chiefly consist of Koreans who include forced migrants from the period of Imperial Japan's colonisation.

together' continues to be an important concept needing clarification in theories which seek to account for increasing numbers of sojourners. So another purpose for this research is:

- the refinement of the concept of 'sojourner' through the investigation of Japanese communities in Melbourne.

In this study, as the refinement of the sojourner conception takes its course, there will also be two other analytical foci:

- the mechanisms and the motivation of migratory action which will be explained through a review of relevant literature relating to sojourner;
- the characteristics of residential mobility from Japan to Australia;
- Japanese residential trend; and
- the settlement patterns as they emerge from within national groups after their arrival in the host (Australian) community in terms of which the study will illustrate Japanese residents' approach to ethnically-formed.

Chapter II

STUDIES AND CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE SOJOURNER

This chapter is divided into two sections: In the first section, some arguments on the concept of *sojourner* are discussed to identify am approprociate sociological meaning for the term. In the second section, in order to introduce the *sojourner*-type of foreigner, relevant studies of *sojourners* will be reviewed. Thus, the second section deals with foreigner's settlement issues relating to studies of the *sojourner* by presenting certain tendencies within these studies.

1. *Sociological Discussion about the Sojourner*

1.1 *Lack of the Consideration of Sojourners in a Sociological Context in Australia*

When the sociological study of immigration focuses upon patterns of assimilation and integration, researchers will typically examine the cultural change of an individual or group through the examination of accounts of first-hand continuous cross-cultural contact. Australia is one of the major migrant-receiving countries in the world. In Australia, various migrant groups, including a large number of refugees, have played an important role in promoting post-war ethnic diversity. In terms of immigration policy, Australia

stands out in encouraging a large number of immigrants as permanent settlers rather than as guest workers.

Initial post-war immigration policy had two fundamental strategies: the defence of the continent and economic development. As a result of recognising the insufficient size of the total population, massive migrant intake was encouraged and thus labour was recruited from overseas. The post-war Australian governments encouraged permanent settlers and studies of migration have attempted to classify and clarify the patterns which new arrivals follow in adjusting to the host community. Such studies have tended to neglect the types and kinds of migration. Thus, the focus has been upon ethnic groups of permanent settlers, tending to ignore the sojourning foreigners who stay in Australia for extended periods, though, admittedly there have been several studies on overseas students' or expatriate business people's adjustment and cross-cultural experiences.

Migrant ethnic groups are generally recognised as sub-cultural groups within the host community and it is in these terms that they become a focus for this kind of research. However, not all sub-cultural groups can be ethnic groups and not all sub-cultural ethnic groups consist of migrants who have become permanent settlers. There are long-term temporary residents who sometimes make up significant sub-cultural groups in the host community. So when we study assimilation and integration we include, not only migrants, but also sojourners who have the continuous first-hand experience of cross-

cultural contact with the host community for an extended period. Especially, in the era of global migration, the growing significance of sojourning foreigners should not be ignored.

In sociological studies of migrants' adjustment to the host community, the outstanding conceptual framework until the late 1950s or early 1960s was that of 'assimilation'. Later it has been replaced by 'integration.' Indeed, various scholars (e.g. Wilton and Bosworth, 1984; Galvin, and West, 1988; Lewins, 1988; and Castles, *et al*. 1988) discuss the changes from assimilation to integration. However, these studies do not refer to sojourning foreigners as they centre upon migrants as permanent settlers. The question of settlement patterns, permanent, semi-permanent or non-permanent, has thus not been a major issue. Consequently, in sociological studies of post-war migration to Australia, the concept of the sojourner has never been a major focus, partly because the Australian government has encouraged permanent settlers and the sociologists have tended to focus upon settlement patterns of permanent settlers to analyse the results of Government policies.

In addition, although problems which post-war migrants faced have been discussed in various studies, sojourners (most of whom are expatriate business people) have not been viewed in terms of the serious problems they confront in the host community. In the 1960s many social-welfare workers and schoolteachers pointed out the lack of sufficient social services for immigrants from non-English-speaking background.[4]   A better

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[4] The first serious public debate over institutional responses to the presence of migrants emerged in relation to the problems teachers and school officials were finding due to lack of educational resources for migrant children (Martin, 1978: 34). Furthermore, Ronald Henderson's research, published in 1969, disclosed that

understanding of these problems has led to changes in, and the expansion of, such services for migrants.[5] However, the problems which Japanese residents or sojourning non-English speakers encountered have not been systematically examined, especially in relation to the development of these services.

With respect to sojourners' cross-cultural contact with the host communities, these studies have gravitated around 'cultural shock,' rather than 'settlement' as Rohrlich and Martin suggest:

> While studies [of a sojourn abroad] have explored some facets of the sojourn experience, little empirical support has been found for claims regarding the impact of a study abroad experience (1991: 163).

Empirical studies of sojourners have tended to examine the culture shock experienced by foreign students or business families, and studies of assimilation and integration have not considered the settlement patterns of sojourners. Even if in a few studies in migration and cross-cultural adjustment the term 'sojourner' is present, a clear definition has not been elaborated. However, we can say that in general the term usually refers to temporary residents in foreign countries.

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certain non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups had extremely high rates of poverty. Accordingly, there had been an implicit understanding of the existence of socially disadvantaged groups before the official promotion of multi-culturalism addressed cultural diversity in relation to poverty in the 1980s. Castles *et al.* point out that "through growing awareness of multi-ethnic migration, community activists, social workers, bureaucrats, and politicians started to take consideration of migrants' experiences" (1988: 44).

1.2 Conceptualisation of the Sojourner

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish exactly between 'sojourner' and 'settler'. Those classified as 'permanent settlers' sometimes return to their homeland, while 'visitors' may occasionally decide to remain in the host country for an extended sojourn. Surveys of return migrants might not relate directly to sojourners, but the migrant settlement patterns which use 'permanent' or 'temporary' categories do provide data which is relevant for the analysis of sojourners. Return migration highlights the idea of 'transit points' in migration movement. Among permanent settlers, some utilise third countries as transit points between their countries of origin and their subsequent destinations. In addition, there are some return migrants to their country of origin, whom may re-migrate to the destination again.[6] There are various types of human mobilisation, involuntary and voluntary movements, which may sometimes also be transit points before settling in the final 'country of destination'. In terms of refugee inflow to Australia, the 'air people' always pass through transfer points in transit.[7]

The experience of living in foreign lands is obviously important to a person's decision to migrate to another country. In my previous research in Brisbane in 1990, one respondent explained that his experience in living in the United States for a few years motivated his family's migration to Australia (Mizukami, 1993: 47-48). There continue to be cases where tentative settlement in one country leads to emigration to another country.

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[5] See Jupp, 1991; and Jordens 1997.

[6] Price (1963: 105-106) points out the importance of transit countries between Australia and country of origin for migrants to Australia by noting that between 1890 and 1940, 'probably ... no more than 15 per cent of total immigration' were 'second- or third- time migrants from other countries.'

Indeed, acts of migration cannot be defined simply as a process associated with a state of mind about the countries of origin and destination. Some individuals *sojourn* at various 'transfer points' between the country of origin and destination.[8] For·instance, 'returned movements' are also very common: even though they may not have transfer points, their stay in the host country was temporary which again brings us to the concept of the sojourner.

The term 'sojourner' has its own distinct meaning: A sojourner is a temporary resident and may not be *on the way* to becoming a permanent resident in terms of legal or citizenship criteria. Sociology has been very concerned with the policies of permanent residency and it is possible to conclude that this is why the concept of sojourner has not been sufficiently discussed.

Siu (1952) in the early 1950s established the 'sojourner' as a sociological concept. In his research into Chinese laundry-men in Chicago, he identified a deviant type or different type of foreign resident. He did so by reference to Park's concept of the 'marginal man' (Park 1928). Park described the Jewish immigrants in the United States in terms of the emergence of a 'new type of personality.' Such a person is one who lives on the margin of two different cultures and societies;

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[7] See Takeda (1991: 92-93)

[8] Indochinese refugees to Japan, started arriving in 1978, but approximately seventy per cent of them then immigrated to North America, Europe and Australia (Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1990: 50).

a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now seeks to find a place (*ibid*. 892).

Siu takes this to mean that although the 'sojourner' has many aspects in common with 'marginal man', there is at least one striking difference between the two categories (*op. cit.*, 34). The marginal man is recognised in terms of a bicultural complex between the country of origin and the host society, but the 'sojourner' is characterised by an inherent attachment to his/her ethnicity. Furthermore, the 'sojourner' is not willing to become a permanent settler in the country where he/she presently lives. Siu states; "the sojourner lives his mental life in China; his purpose is to make a fortune as soon as possible so that he can join his fellows at home" (1987: 298). If the sojourner settles permanently, then he/she may indeed become marginal (*ibid.*). It is in these terms such as these that Siu makes a sharp distinction between 'sojourner' and 'marginal man'.

When we consider the temporariness of foreign residents, there is yet another concept we can consider with profit: the 'stranger.' Simmel depicts a 'stranger', in his analysis of typical phenomena which occur in conditions shaped by contact between different racial groups, "a person who comes today and stays tomorrow" (Simmel, 1908/1924). The stranger is a 'potential wanderer' but not exactly the same as 'wanderer' who "comes today and goes tomorrow" (*ibid*. 402). Siu defines the 'sojourner' as a stranger who

spends many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated by it (1952: 34).

The typical types cited as examples are "Chinese laundry men in the United States and the American missionary in China." Siu describes the main characteristics of sojourners as their insider's orientation toward their own ethnic group, and their lack of desire to fully participate in the host community.

There are diverse aims and motives of sojourners driving them to stay in the host country. These can involve:

> religious mission, a commercial interest, an economic adventure, a military company, an academic degree, a journalist assignment, a political refuge, or what not but they yet have common purpose - to do a particular job (*ibid.* 35).

Sojourners therefore have a clear intention of living in a foreign country. Siu's categorisation implies that even though sojourners have stayed in the foreign country for an extended period, they cannot or do not stay there with the purpose of becoming assimilated. In this regard, Uriely (1994) identifies similarities between 'sojourner' and 'marginal man' and 'stranger'. One common attribute of the three categories is that they lack full-membership in the host community. This may derive from perceptions held by members of the host society, but it is also quite often the case that the sojourner, 'marginal man' and 'stranger', remain so because they prefer to perceive themselves in

these terms. The crucial difference between 'stranger' and 'marginal man' is that while the former does not necessarily intend to be assimilated into the host society, the latter, even if he/she wishes to be assimilated, is just not quite socially acceptable (Uriely, 1994: 432).

Sojourners therefore have a 'definite aim'. Their sojourning has a time-limit; a 'sunset clause' built into it. One day they will complete their overseas assignment. Sojourners never lose their tie to the country of origin and they tend to maintain strong ties with their ethnic organisations while living in the foreign country.

Uriely defines the 'sojourner' more accurately than Siu, identifying the following two criteria as fundamental: foreigners who have no intention of remaining in the host country; and who have a 'concrete plan' to return to their homeland. Indeed, these two elements help us identify a clear difference by which sojourners can be unequivocally distinguished from settlers. Bonacich points out that the characteristic orientation of the 'sojourner' is to be found in in-group solidarity alongside an 'avoidance of involvement in surrounding host communities' (1973: 586). In referring to Bonacich's analysis of the patterns of 'middleman minority's orientation' Uriely establishes a new category - the 'permanent sojourner'. This category he identified in his fieldwork of Israeli immigrants in Chicago.

Uriely's typology involves an examination of three types of ethnic settlement derived by the application of two basic criteria (Uriely, 1994: 435):

> (a) the presence or absence of general intentions of returning to the country of origin; and (b) the presence or absence of concrete plans of returning to the country of origin.

His in-depth interviews analysed the positive or negative responses to the two criteria from of 36 informants. He constructed the following typology:

> His definition of a 'sojourner' orientation indicates that the above two conditions are both positive [*yes/yes* pattern]; people have (a) the general intentions and (b) concrete plans of returning to the country of origin. A 'permanent sojourner' orientation is characterised by the presence of general intentions and absence of concrete plans [*yes/no* pattern]. A 'settler' is defined by the absence of general intentions and concrete plans of returning [*no/no* pattern] (*ibid*. 435).

However, Uriely's study does not refer to any cases which are characterised by the absence of general intentions of returning to the country of origin and the presence of concrete plans to return to the homeland - a '*no/yes* pattern' which Uriely did not mention. There are some sojourners who involuntarily return home. For example, in my previous survey of Japanese residents in Brisbane, one female Japanese resident intended to remain on a permanent basis, but she stated that, under the Australian immigration policy at that time it was virtually impossible for her to reside permanently (Mizukami,

1993: 17). In spite of her wish, the social conditions did not allow her to become a 'settler.' By quoting Uriely's three-type-model (A Typology of Orientations towards Place of Residence), the following typology can be constructed by adding another type - the 'no/yes pattern':

Table 1 A typology of orientations towards place of residence*

	General Intentions to Return to the Homeland	Concrete plans to Return to the Homeland
Sojourner	yes	yes
Permanent Sojourner	yes	no
Settler	no	no
Reluctant Returnee	no	yes

*This model modifies Uriely (1994: 435).

In addition to this example in which social conditions prevent a sojourner from becoming a 'settler' despite his/her wishes, the no/yes pattern is not conclusive because obviously such a sojourner in one's country of origin longs to return to the land of emigration. However, some sojourners may later obtain permanent residency and transfer to permanent settler status. On the other hand, we may say that within returned migration, there is also some 'sojourning' in their countries of origin.

1.3 Expatriates

When we define a 'sojourner' as one who has the intention and plan of returning to their home country, there is a similar category for explaining their residency overseas. E. Cohen defines an 'expatriate' as a specific type of sojourner. He mentions that, although the term 'expatriate' originally referred to a person who was deported from his/her country of residence, or who abandons his/her citizenship in the country of origin, it is the

former usage which is more widely used in contemporary society. According to his definition, the term 'expatriate,' refers to one who is mostly from an affluent country, and thus means that voluntary temporary migrants have one or more of the following specific purposes:

> (1) Business - private entrepreneurs, representatives, managers and employees of foreign and multinational firms, foreign employees of local firms, professionals practising abroad. (2) Mission - diplomatic and other governmental representatives, foreign aid personnel, representatives of foreign non-profit-making organizations, military stationed abroad, missionaries. (3) Teaching, research and culture - academics, scientists (e.g. archaeologists, anthropologists, etc.) and artists. (4) Leisure - owners of second homes abroad, the wealthy, the retired living abroad and other 'permanent tourists', bohemians and drop-outs (1977: 6).

The current census criteria do not usually distinguish between expatriates and other types of foreign citizens, including foreign students and migrant labourers, but in Cohen's definition, the term 'expatriate' excludes migrant labourers and foreign students (*ibid.* 15). As expatriates are generally not regarded as full-members of the host community, there are some similarities between expatriates and the 'marginal man' or 'stranger'. Even though expatriates have a different cultural background to their host majority and are numerically inferior to the host, unlike unskilled migrant labourers, they are not always subject to subordinate class identification in the host society. For example, Gullahorn and Gullahorn introduce the 'equal-status stranger' who officially has equal status with the staff of the host (1960: 414-417). The concept was used to analyse the

status of foreign academic visitors, especially Fullbright scholars, in foreign universities. Those visiting scholars are not permanent members of the host university and they are not serious competitors with local staff in the host system. However, they are fully accepted in the host university in terms of formal criteria, accessibility to the facilities and inter-relationships with the host members (*ibid.* 417).

Although the 'equal-status stranger' of Gullahorn and Gullahorn refers to visiting academics of foreign universities, a similar situation exists more broadly among other types of expatriates. Some expatriates with legal permission to stay and work in the host country have secure positions in terms of social environments including financial positions and employment. There are some common attributes among expatriates and 'marginal man' or 'stranger' in terms of *non-full-membership* of the host society.

However, this expatriate type of sojourner does not necessarily face the problems of exclusion from the host activities and differs from the deviant type of 'stranger'. Cohen emphasises, in his categorisation, that expatriates are usually from an affluent country (Cohen, 1977). Outstanding examples can be found amongst Japanese corporate families in Australia, as the vast majority live in the middle-class suburbs in the host community, and as business people automatically participate in the host business world from the initial stage of their settlement. These sojourning Japanese are concentrated within the metropolitan areas. In the next Chapter, the number of these Japanese residents will be

estimated from the Australian and Japanese census data as I seek to formulate the basic framework in which my empirical examination will take place.

1.4 *Memberships of the Host Society*

On the one hand, Cohen analyses the foreigners' settlement patterns by illustrating an intermediate type between tourists and permanent settlers. On the other hand, Uriely presents a new concept of 'permanent sojourner,' one with an intermediate type of settlement pattern, and this is illustrated by considering residence as either transient or permanent. The interesting point is that Uriely describes an intermediate type of settlement pattern. The foreigner is neither fully settler nor fully sojourner. In other words, Uriely characterises a 'permanent sojourner' as intermediate the median between two antipodal characteristics of settlement; one pole is transient residency, the other is permanence. Uriely found some Israeli immigrants who had neither a definite aim nor a specific finite duration for living in the United States, but yet they expressed their desire to return to their countries of origin. Hence, in terms of their attitudes and mentality, they cannot be regarded as full-members of the host society. Nor can they consider themselves as full-members of the country of origin. Uriely labels first generation Israeli immigrants of this type as having formed a 'rhetorical ethnicity.' This

> involves a strong commitment to the country of origin at the symbolic levels,
> but with almost no manifestations of ethnicity in terms of community
> activities, membership in ethnic organisations or ethnic neighbourhoods
> (Uriely, *op.cit.* 441).

Symbolic commitment to Israel is also explained by the following attitudes:

> discussing the political situation in Israel at home with friends, expressing the longing to return to Israel, sending the children to an Israeli Sunday School, eating Israeli food, listening to Israeli music and participating in a few organised cultural activities, such as Israeli folk dancing and joining reading groups of Israeli literature (*ibid*. 441).

Apart from their attachment to ethnicity in this regard, and in terms of activities in ethnic organisations and neighbourhood relationships, they are not segregated into ethnic enclaves. They tend to live in mixed neighbourhoods with a relatively high concentration of other Jews, but it is not a segregated Israeli neighbourhood. Additionally,

> most of them are not affiliated with voluntary Israeli organisations, and they do not tend to get services, such as health or insurance, from other members of their ethnic group (*ibid*. 442).

In this respect, it can be argued that, although they are integrated into the host community, their internal assimilation does not occur. This Chicago-Israeli group shows the formation of an 'internal ethnic solidarity' which emerges during their stay in the different culture, and it is in many ways similar to the 'marginal man' in terms of the internal conflict of cultural values that it implies (*ibid*. 443).

In analysing the sojourner, Siu and Uriely set up 'temporary residency' as a key element. But their major focus was long-term temporary residents who appeared to settle in the host community, making a living there, even though they had strong ties with their countries of origin. Hence, the samples of sojourners in the researches conducted by Siu and Uriely differ from transient workers. Bailey explains a typical example of transient workers in his analysis of temporary migrants in the United States as follows:

> The "bird of passage" is a male. He may be married or single, but as far as this country concerned he is single (Bailley1912: 396).

In terms of seasonal migration, similar temporary migration can be found in domestic movements in various countries, such as research into the 'Hobo' conducted by Anderson (1923). When compared to those transient workers, the sojourner-subjects studied by Siu and Uriely were close to migrants in terms of their actual lives in the host community. However, when our focus is 'temporariness', transient workers must also be included. More broadly, tourists may have to be included in studies of the sojourner, as they are also able to fit the criteria. With regard to 'temporary residency', there are basically two types of sojourners. One is involved in transit or a visit to the host country, and this includes tourists and seasonal workers. The other involves a long-term temporary residency in the host community. At times it is difficult to distinguish these two types. Prevailing studies of sojourners have dealt with the latter type of sojourners as these studies have been

concerned with settlement patterns, such as the characteristic pattern of individual's adjustment to the host society.

2. Review of Relevant Literature of the Sojourners

2.1 Historical Surveys on Sojourners in Australia

Although there are only a few studies concerning the conceptualisation and definition of

the sojourner, we can find various studies which are related to the consideration and

observation of the sojourner in society. In Australia, the study of the sojourner is found

nowadays in surveys of settler departures, or 're-migration' from Australia. But we

should not ignore migration histories of minority groups, including many Chinese and

some Japanese, particularly in the 19th century. For example, Chinese settlers in the

1850s, some of whom were indentured male labourers, demonstrated their sojourner

characteristics by not intending to remain in Australia. They perceived themselves as

transient workers whose hope was "to make enough money to improve the conditions of

their families in China and then to return home" (Loh, 1985: 5). Nagayama attributes

massive Chinese inflow in the middle of 19th century to the discoveries of gold in New

South Wales and Victoria, and explains that those Chinese were "sojourners rather than

settlers" (1986: 173).

Rolls' extensive research into early Chinese visitors' relationship with Australia

highlights Australian government policies and public sentiment towards the Chinese

workers in the 19th century. Although he does not provide a clear sociological definition,

he presents the experiences of these sojourners as gold diggers and the 'coolies',

including workers in sugar plantation and shepherds. He related these work experiences to the host community's attitudes towards the Chinese. Emphasising the Australian colonial governments imposition of poll taxes and anti-Chinese laws in the 1880s, Rolls concludes: "The coolie class [of Chinese] went home when they could afford it, the merchants consolidated themselves" (1992: 508). As for citizenship, Rolls states; "no one asked what opportunity [relating to citizenship] they [Chinese] were given" (*ibid*. 474) and for explaining the situation in the late 19th century, he adds "not even naturalised Chinese had the full rights of citizens" (1996: 2).

In the late 19th century, Japanese sojourners in Australia experienced a similar situation to that of the Chinese in the restrictions applied to their residency. There were a very small number of Japanese settlers who remained permanently; indentured labourers were basically transients.

Early Japanese migration to Australia provides an interesting case in Australian migration history. Australian immigration policy, particularly in the post-World-War-Two period, encouraged a large number of immigrants to become permanent residents, rather than as 'guest workers'. However, in the pre-war period, most Japanese sugar cane plantation workers[9] and pearl divers[10] were indentured labourers who were not expected to settle in

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[9] From the 1890s to 1901, the Japanese population in Queensland gradually increased, most of whom were involved in the sugar cane industry: Although there is no official record of the exact number of such Japanese people, in the late 1890s, over two-thirds of the entire Japanese population in Queensland were estimated to have been indentured labourers in sugar cane plantations (Armstrong, 1973: 3).

the land permanently, their 'sojourner' status being the rule. Some were not even permitted to land on Australian soil. Early Japanese settlement in Australia in the late 19th century was characterised by their occupational profile: most of the males were pearl divers or labourers, and there was a number 'Karayuki-san.'[11] According to Nakaoka, in order to accumulate foreign currency, the Meiji government tacitly permitted this and other kinds of emigration(1991: 201).

Rolls' *"Sojourners"* presents various examples of Chinese who were prohibited from landing in the colonies. Japanese workers in the pearl fishing industry were also prohibited from landing, but were allowed to work on ships or in the Ocean, and this has been the case in the immediate post-war period, too. A contract system for migrant workers prevailed and Japanese labourers were one of the few ethnic groups who were involved in this system. There were other migrant workers such as Kanakans and

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[10] Konno and Fujisaki point out that in 1883 the first Japanese received permission from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to engage in pearl diving in the Torres Strait (1985: 165-166). This was the inception of the Japanese settlers' influx to Australia as a labour force. In fact, in the 1890s the number of Japanese arriving in Australia, most of whom engaged in the pearl shelling industry, expanded with the establishment of Japan's emigration companies. Yoshiza Migration Company, which dealt with labour migrants from Japan to Australia, was founded in 1892, and in that year, that company sent 50 Japanese to sugar cane fields in Queensland. In the next year, another 520 labourers were sent and in 1894, some 425 indentured Japanese labourers were added (Konno & Fujisaki, 1985: 171).

[11] The majority of Karayuki-san travelled through Southeast Asia as prostitutes and some arrived in India, Australia and New Guinea. Kurahashi (1989) remarks that Karayuki-san was dispersed as far as Siberia, Manchuria, North and South America, Europe and Oceania. According to the Queensland police, in 1897 there were 116 Japanese women in colonial Queensland, and except for one consul's wife, all of them were prostitutes (Sissons 1988: 637). With reference to Sydney consul's report, in 1901 there were 59 Japanese women in the area of Albany-Geraldton-Cue-Kalgoorlie, fifty-eight of them were also prostitutes (*ibid.* 637). According to the diary of Iheiji Muraoka, who ran a worldwide prostitution business with head office in Singapore, since 1891, every month he sent almost 20 prostitutes to Bombay and Calcutta and between 20 and 30 to Australia (Kawai, 1960: 86-87).

Chinese.[12] These Japanese visitors were only officially permitted to stay in Australia temporarily. They were forced to be 'sojourners' by the host government's policy.

When the new federal government introduced the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, there were 3,554 Japanese people (3,143 males and 411 females) in Australia and the vast majority of them (88%) lived in Queensland and Western Australia (Sissons, 1988: 636). Although in the 1890s the establishment of migration companies fostered Japanese migration, at the turn of the century the number of Japanese visitors declined and their residency in Australia was restricted. However, ironically, it is easy to imagine that many 'Karayuki-san'[13] and pearl divers eventually became permanent settlers because they died in Australia before going back to Japan.

2.2 Surveys on Current Japanese Sojourner

In terms of temporary residency, there are two types of sojourners dwellers in a foreign country: 'return migrants' and other 'long-term temporary residents' such as expatriate families, overseas students and researchers. Research about the former group can be found in migration studies in Australia such as those of Italian and Dutch return migrants (which will be reviewed in the next section). However, there is very little such research into the Japanese.

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[12] As for the conditions of the contract, Chaliand and Rageau refer to *Twenty One Original Contracts Signed by J.P.Simpson, Contractor, and Chinese Laborers* from Mitchell Library in Sydney (1985): In Australia in 1851, Duration; 5 years, Monthly wage; 3 dollars, Monthly deduction to reimburse cost of fare; 0.5 dollars, Monthly rations; 1 lb. of sugar, 10 lbs. of rice, 8 lbs. of meat, and 2 oz of tea, and Nature of Work; shepherd, farmer, servant, and farm labourer (1995: 128).

[13] In 1886 some 200 'Karayuki-san', entered Australia (Sissons 1977: 32). These people joined the pearl divers, plantation workers and other artisans, tradesmen and businessmen already residing, either temporarily or permanently, in Australia.

Studies of Japanese sojourners abroad have tended to be related to the issues of cultural shock or the difficulty in cross-cultural communication. These studies have been exclusively concerned with expatriate families or students. Okazaki-Luff reviews studies of sojourner-experiences and has found that a major focus for studies of Japanese sojourners is the search for an explanation of communication and interpersonal interaction problems (1991: 98). One notable study on Japanese sojourners has been conducted by a Japanese medical doctor. Inamura (1980, 1987) provides case studies of Japanese overseas, most of his informants were business expatriate families and some were students, who were maladjusted to the host country. He states that during the process of adjusting to the environmental change, Japanese sojourners frequently find themselves in bewildering conditions of uncertainty and sometimes these difficulties induce psychological trouble. According to his research, the main difficulty in adjusting to a non-Japanese society was attributed to their lack of competence in a foreign language (Inamura, 1980).

More recently, a few extensive studies on Japanese sojourners have been conducted, in which informants are corporate families and students located in foreign countries. In 1996, 'Genki no deru kai[14]' (1997) published results of research conducted into Japanese corporate wives in Singapore. An association was formed by twelve wives of Japanese expatriate businessmen to promote mutual aid in response to an increase in the number of Japanese residents in Singapore. Most of the Japanese residents (approximately 30,000)

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[14] It literally means an association for cheering up or for encouragement.

were from corporate families, occupying nearly one per cent of the entire population. This survey shows the major characteristics of Japanese corporate wives in Singapore: the vast majority of them expressed satisfaction with their lives and their relationships, which were mainly with other Japanese in Singapore.[15] This tendency indicates that the sojourner tends to adhere to relationships of an ethnic character, sometimes which can be seen with Japanese in other countries. It has been argued that it is the major characteristic of the sojourner (e.g. Siu, 1952; and Uriely, 1994).

2.3 Studies on Japanese-Sojourners in Australia and Contemporary Emigration

There have been only a few extensive empirical surveys of contemporary Japanese sojourners in Australia. Suzuki (1988), and Andressen and Kumagai (1996) undertook extensive questionnaire surveys. Suzuki conducted mail research into Japanese images of Australia from late 1982 to the beginning of 1983. Data was collected from 122 Japanese respondents who were both sojourners and immigrants residing in the Queensland district. Although Suzuki did not distinguish sojourners and migrants, the vast majority of male respondents can be considered to have been 'sojourners.' In his sample of 24 male Japanese respondents, 19 (79.2%) came to Australia for their 'work including job transfer' (Suzuki, 1988: 30-31). On the other hand, of a total of 98 female respondents, 60 (61.2%) came to Australia for marriage (*ibid.* 30-31). In this survey, Suzuki offers

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[15] According to this survey, almost 85 per cent of Japanese corporate wives were satisfied with their lives and 85 per cent of respondents' relationships were mainly with other Japanese (29 per cent of the respondents said that their relationships were only with Japanese while the other 56 per cent were mostly with Japanese people. Although the research outcome presents a high percentage of the respondents' satisfaction, it discloses some problems experienced by sojourning corporate wives: for example, over half

data about the perception of Japanese people living in Queensland. He concluded that Japanese tend to form images of Australians which are kind, generous, leisure-oriented and so on (*ibid*. 75). However, he provides neither conceptual framework for 'Japanese sojourner' and 'Japanese migrant' nor any sociological discussion about the respondents' identities or activities in Australia.

In my previous research, fieldwork was conducted in Brisbane from the beginning of 1989 to early 1990 in order to collate information relating to the personal histories, lifestyles and personal associations of Japanese sojourners and immigrants. Although I described the integration pattern of a sample of Japanese individuals by comparing sojourners and immigrants, discussion and categorisation of the sojourner and migrant were not sufficiently developed. However, in this study, sociological concepts relating to categorisation of 'sojourner' and 'migrant' are discussed more fully in the subsequent section.

When we look at studies of contemporary Japanese sojourners, we can detect a tendency to focus on 'cultural shock' or communication-problems. These studies are not directly related to understanding the concept of sojourner and give little consideration to the patterns of migration in a global migration context. As indicated earlier, the study of Japanese sojourners has tended to collect data about expatriate business families and students.

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of the above respondents whose relationships were mainly Japanese had afflictions from their personal

Andressen and Kumagai (1996) also took account of the huge numbers (434 questionnaires were returned) of Japanese students in Australia and this is a significant data resource for understanding patterns and attitudes among the numbers and types of Japanese students. They point out that some young Japanese repudiate the Japanese labour market system, by which companies recruit youth with conventional educational backgrounds and conclude:

> Young men in Australia are generally those who cannot succeed in the Japanese educational system, while the high achievers will account for a very small portion of the total number of Japanese studying abroad. This is particularly true of Australia, given the perception of this country as a tourist rather than a study destination (*ibid.* 89)

In their data analysis from the questionnaire survey, they find a striking distinction between male and female students in their motivation to come to Australia. According to their typology of Japanese students in Australia;

> 'Wanderers', drop-outs from the Japanese system, consisted mainly of males, while 'Escapees', those who were not satisfied with the current situation and hoped to improve their career prospects, were mostly females. 'Achievers', who aim to improve their careers and have clear goals, include both males and females (*ibid.* 83-86)

relationships and over 60 per cent of the respondents expressed anxiety about communicating in English).

Indeed, in recent years, women in their late 20s and early 30s in particular have been conspicuous in their demand for overseas employment. To move to foreign lands for employment cannot be merely regarded as migration but recognised as one of the options in a change of profession (Mizukami, 1994). The reason that these women decide to work in foreign lands is their attempt to improve their skills rather than for exclusively financial reasons. However, when we overview contemporary Japanese emigration, 'escapees' cannot be found exclusively among the female emigrants.

Sugimoto presents an interesting perspective on Japanese emigration. He indicates the lack of perspectives of 'refugee outflows' from Japan by introducing the following three 'refugee' types:

> (1)'corporate refugees' who are fed up with long-hours of work and strict hierarchical structure in Japanese companies and decide to leave Japan; (2)'educational refugees' who are discontented with Japanese school life and decide to study abroad; and (3)'residentially related refugees' who go overseas and have extended their periods of residency. One example presented is Korean-Japanese who faced difficulties in the Japanese social system (Sugimoto, 1990: 66-70).

Some Japanese immigrants to Australia have demonstrated that 'push factors' which propelled them out of the country of origin were non-monetary in nature. For instance, Fukushima (1991) argues for the existence of 'educational refugees' from Japan. He refers to a few Japanese immigrant families to Australia as evidence. The sample

expressed sharp criticism of the Japanese school system, citing fierce competition in entrance examinations and overzealousness in school regulation. Consequently, the parents' decision was intended to obtain better educational opportunities for their children. The existence of Japanese corporate refugees reflects strains in Japanese society. Ishikawa (1991) presents a few cases of those who immigrated to Australia to escape an asphyxiating society. In fact, although it cannot be a large number, there are some Japanese who decide to emigrate due to their feelings or perceptions of immense societal pressure. Indeed, Japanese individuals' attempts to extricate themselves from Japanese society are conceivably an important inducement factor in contemporary emigration. The research findings relating to the motivation of contemporary Japanese human mobilisation to Australia will be discussed in Chapter IV.

2.4 *Studies on Re-Migration*

Surveys of the settler departures are also related to the subject of the sojourner, though as I have point out they do not discuss the conceptualisation of the sojourner. Return movements are made up of samples of long-term *stayers* in a foreign country. The outstanding research in emigration from Australia in the pre-World-War-Two period was conducted by Price (1963), who drew attention to migrants returning to their country of origin. He analysed migrants who left Australia. For example, he reports that between 1929 and 1930, the numbers of departures of some migrant groups were larger than the number of arrivals. For example, in that period, the numbers of Italian arrivals were 4,171 while the departures were 4,288; 764 Yugoslavs arrived and 1,045 departed; among

Greeks, there were 712 arrivals and 991 departures; and 269 arrivals and 477 departures among the Maltese (*ibid*. 93).

Their main reason for leaving was that Australia had become economically unattractive (*ibid*. 93), particularly in the period of the Great Depression of 1929-34. According to Price:

> Between 1922 and 1940 about 30 per cent of Italian, 37 per cent of Yugoslav adult male immigrants later left Australia and did not return; the proportion before 1920 seems even higher (Price, 1963: 101-102).

His research has disclosed that there have been many re-migrants (to the country of origin,) that the pattern of migration was often not permanent movement, and that *the end-result* was apparently only a temporary movement. It clarifies the types of population movement in Australia by noting that the comparatively high levels of re-migration existed.

There has been research which indicates the significance of settler departure movements. In terms of settler departure, there are two fundamental types: One is permanent departure from the host country, while the other is temporary departures which involves a return to the host country. By distinguishing the above two types, the Immigration Advisory Council Committee on Social Patterns (1973) gave the following data:

Settler arrivals for the 1966 calendar year totalled 141,033 people. A scrutiny of passenger cards indicated that 31,263 or 21.17% were no longer in Australia on 31 December 1971. Of these 69.2% had stated, when completing outgoing cards, that they were leaving permanently. However, three-quarters of the remaining 30.8%, who said they were leaving temporarily, had overstayed their stated period of intended absence abroad (Immigration Advisory Council, Committee on Social Patterns, 1973: 5).

So they went away for a longer period than they had indicated. There are complex reasons to explain settler departures. But one of the major reasons for migrants leaving, who intended to settle permanently in Australia, is ascribed to the fact that "they were personally unsuited to life in a new country or they struck social or economic difficulties in Australia (*ibid*. 26)."

Harvey analyses return migration among settlers from the Netherlands who left Australia for their homeland in the 1970s. The Dutch National Opinion Poll shows that 32.5 percent of people in 1948 expressed that they 'want to leave' the country, but a "further 15 percent did think of emigrating although they didn't 'want to leave' (Harvey, 1978: 6)." The evidence that these migrants did not wish to leave their home country, but migrated to Australia anyway, might help explain influenced their decision to return to their home country. The above cases can be regarded as sojourners rather than migrants in terms of permanence of their residency in the host country.

Another extensive study, into returned movement of Italians from Australia, was conducted by Thompson who illustrates patterns of returned migration by referring to an individual's social background in Australia, which he in turn links that with life in Italian villages. Thompson showed that some people regarded themselves as guest workers, whose intention was to secure a better life in Italy after several years of hard work in Australia. Many respondents in her research expressed their social in Australia isolation and she concluded:

> In many cases, lack of acceptance within the Australian community was an important factor influencing decisions taken to resettle in Italy. This lack of acceptance, which culminated from time to time in acts of overt hostility and discrimination, heightened the isolation of the Italians who, in response, tended to opt out of direct competition with Australians by working for Italian companies and living separately (Thompson, 1980: 229-230).

In fact, there are some return migrants who change their mind and go back to the country to which (Price, 1963: 101-102); once they immigrated. In these cases, the *end-result* is re-migration to the country of origin, in which case migration must be classified as a temporary movement. Although the above studies do not refer to the concept of the sojourner, they do offer invaluable insights into the nature of residency and types of migration relating to the conceptualisation of the sojourner.

2.5 Current Return Migration from Australia

Return migration provides a way to understand the sojourner. Returned migrants to the country of origin are in fact non-permanent residents in the host country. In Australia, return migration movements have played an important part in the overall pattern of migration. When we look at the migration movement to any country, there are naturally two patterns: inflow and outflow. In terms of settler arrivals in Australia,[16] in the 1996/1997 financial year, the number was 85,752, while permanent departures numbered 29,857. Thus, the net migration was counted as 55,895 (ABS, 1996-1997). Of the above permanent departures, 46 per cent (13,766) were former settlers.

Permanent departures from Australia are basically divided into two types: one is emigration from Australia on a permanent basis while the other is the departure of former settlers who were first generation migrants to Australia.[17] Within the permanent departure movements of former settlers, almost three-quarters of people returned to their country of birth (ABS 1995/96). In last two decades, of the former settlers who left Australia permanently, an average of 80 percent returned to their country of birth (ABS, 1996/97: 9). This group of people initially intended to stay in Australia on a permanent

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[16] According the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'settler arrivals' comprise persons arriving in Australia who hold permanent visas, regardless of stated intended period of stay, New Zealand citizens who indicate an intention to settle, and those who are otherwise eligible to settle (e.g., overseas born children of Australian citizens).

[17] The Australian Bureau of Statistics defines migration categories related to departure movements as follows: 'Former settlers' are Australian residents, born overseas, who state on their departure card that they intended to settle permanently in Australia. 'Other residents' are Australian residents who were born in Australia plus Australian residents born overseas who state on their departure card that they did not intend to settle permanently in Australia.

basis as first generation migrants, however, they became 'return migrants'. Thus at the *end-result*, they did not become sojourners, rather than settlers.

Price gives some reasons for this return movement;

> ...with many voluntary migrations, up to 20 per cent of new settlers leave within two to four years of arrival, either because they find conditions in their new country not up to expectation or because nostalgia, family duties, better social services or some such pull them back to their old country (Price, 1996: 6).

In 1996/97, Australian-born people constituted the largest number of permanent departures. In terms of former settler departures, New Zealand-born persons numbered 4,235 or 31 per cent, followed by the United Kingdom-born persons' 2,928 (21%). The reasons for New Zealand-born persons being most mobile group were ascribed to the free circulation between the two countries. The above data shows that when compared with settler arrivals, the number of permanent departures is much lower. Even among the permanent settlers, there have been significant emigration movements, including many Australians who emigrate and those who become 'return migrants'.

When we look at the long-term movements,[18] the number of persons moving is much larger than permanent movements and there is a different pattern in terms of their country

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[18] Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996/97) classifies non-permanent arrivals into the following two categories:

> 'Short-term arrivals' comprise overseas visitors whose intended period of stay in Australia is less than 12 months and Australian residents returning after an absence of less than 12 months overseas.

of birth. In 1996/97, there were 175,249 long-term arrivals (80,170 arrivals of Australians and 95,079 arrivals of overseas visitors) and 136,748 long-term departures (73,777 departures of Australians and 62,971 departures of overseas visitors). Thus, the net gain of long-term migration numbered 38,501. The numerical increases in this category have become an important factor in migration policy around the world and its number has also been increasing in Australia. Over the last two decades, the number of long-term overseas visitors to Australia has increased more than threefold from 26,133 in 1976/77 to 95,079 in 1996/97. With respect to the numbers of this long-term departures in the same period, it increased more than four times from 19,724 to 62,971 (ABS, 1998: 49).

'Long-term arrivals' comprise overseas visitors who intend to stay in Australia for 12 months or more (but not permanently) and Australian residents returning after an absence of 12 months or more overseas.

Table 2 The numbers of long-term arrivals and departures

	Arrivals of Australian residents	Arrivals of overseas visitors	Total long-term arrivals	Departures of Australian residents	Departures of overseas visitors	Total long-term departures
Year ended 30 June						... .
1977	59,194	26,133	85,327	68,792	19,724	88,516
1982	57,856	34,764	92,620	46,496	20,312	66,808
1987	53,597	37,325	90,922	48,854	26,540	75,394
1992	62,920	63,861	126,781	67,191	47,971	115,162
1997	80,170	95,079	175,249	73,777	62,971	136,748

Source: ABS

The above overseas visitors are classified as *sojourners* in this research as they have neither permanent residency nor the intention of remaining in Australia on a permanent basis. When the above group is classified by their birth place, we can see that in 1996/97 there were seven major source countries - the United Kingdom (9,950), Japan (8,397), Indonesia (8,274), Malaysia (7,546), USA (6,444), Hong Kong (6,313), and Singapore (6,041). The expansion in the numbers of long-term arrivals from some Asian countries is ascribed to the fact that the majority (77%) of long-term visitors from Asian regions came to Australia for education (ABS, 1998: 12). For example, in 1996/97, almost 90 per cent of long-term arrivals from Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong were students.

Japan did not follow the above trend: the proportion who were students was only 29 per cent of the total of long-term arrivals. Although the number of students has constantly been increasing, business expatriates and their families are still the major source of migration to Australia for extended periods without permanent residency. In terms of

migrants' intentions to settle or to re-migrate, there is clearly a complex interplay between positive and negative factors. Indeed, when we look at the migratory movements, we see various types of voluntary and involuntary migration, even among sojourning residents. The next section develops this idea by introducing some cases of conversion from sojourner to settler with reference to early Japanese migration.

2.6 *Conversion from Sojourner to Settler*

In general, a 'sojourner,' can be distinguished from a 'settler.' However, migration is a complex phenomenon: A sojourner may become a settler while a settler may return to his or her homeland or go to a third country. Temporary residents, such as members of expatriate business families, may decide to stay in a host country during the time of their overseas assignment.[19] But it is not the major contemporary migration trend.

Studies of Japanese-Americans provide typical examples of conversion from *sojourner* to *settler*. Studies on Japanese-Australian migration are marginal, but there are a good number of extensive surveys on Japanese-Americans. In addition, there have only been a very small number of pre-war Japanese migrants to Australia, and from the Meiji restoration to the early 1940s (1868-1942), the United States was the most popular destination for these migrants. Some 338,459 Japanese have settled, including 231,206 in Hawaii (Kokusai Kyoryoku Jigyodan 1993: 126-127). The first generation Japanese

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[19] See Mizukami, 1993 and Sato, 1993

immigrants to America are called *Issei* and are generally categorised as the group of Japanese immigrants who went as labourers to the United States from the 1890s to 1924.

Hosokawa and Wilson depict the characteristic patterns of Japanese immigrants to the United States as follows: the vast majority of *Issei* (first generation Japanese-immigrants) were young male bachelors who came from agrarian families (1980: 44). Many *Issei* were transient workers whose main intention was to save in order to obtain a secure life back in Japan because they were second or third sons who did not have prospects of inheriting lands at home. Other research conducted by Yamamoto (1996) mentions that many first sons were also involved in the massive emigration because they were responsible for supporting their families. Iwata indicates that most *Issei* were unmarried males under thirty-five and that their motivation to leave their homeland was a desire to obtain better economic conditions (1962: 27). Initially, *Issei* were transient workers with clear intentions, but they could not return to Japan because their new social conditions did not enable them to save the necessary money. In spite of their desire to return to Japan, they stayed in the United States with the knowledge that only a few of them achieved their initial economic objectives. These migrants followed the labour migration pattern and chain migration took place when they called their relatives and neighbours to join them in the new land.

The studies of Japanese-Americans do not refer to the definition or categories of 'sojourners,' but the extensive research does reveal the existence of sojourners and the

changes that occur during the process from sojourning to permanent settlement. Indeed, several studies of Japanese-Americans (e.g., Kitano 1976; Yamamoto 1978; and Wilson & Hosokawa 1980) present information about an *Issei's* ambivalence about staying in the United States. At the first stage of immigration, *Issei* were transient workers with no intention of residing in America permanently.

Uriely's category of the 'permanent sojourner' demonstrates some similarity with some migrants' settlement patterns, including those of Japanese-Americans. As mentioned previously, several studies of Japanese-Americans (e.g., Kitano, 1976; Yamamoto, 1978; and Wilson & Hosokawa, 1980) point to the maintenance of Japanese ethnic practices and the persistence of their intention to return to their homeland. Indeed, in the stage of their initial settlement, many did not intend to remain in the United States on a permanent basis and thus should be categorised as sojourners. However, some abandoned their idea of returning to Japan when they realised that they could not accumulate the desired savings. Additionally, there were some *Issei* who remained firm in their intention to return to Japan, though they did not have any concrete plans for going home. These *Issei* tended to adhere to Japanese traditions and congregate in ethnic neighbourhoods where a mutual aid system developed. Yamamoto points out that *Issei* formed their own compatriot congregations to counter the swell of anti-Japanese sentiment (1996: 20-21).

In this regard, *Issei* differ from the 'permanent sojourner' who do not concentrate in ethnic enclaves, but rather mix in local neighbourhoods. However, in terms of the two

fundamental criteria for the 'permanent sojourner' as one having firm intentions of returning to the homeland, but having no concrete plans to do so, some *Issei* fit the same category.

Although Uriely, as I have discussed, considered Israeli migrants in the United States in similar terms, he did not refer to voluntary and involuntary or active and passive migratory action. In the case of the *Issei*, migratory action had taken place as a result of their aspiration and dreams of obtaining a better quality of life. Therefore, their change of domicile from Japan to America was conceivably undertaken on the basis of their 'voluntary action.' However, there were many *Issei* who were *reluctant settlers* as they resigned themselves to not returning to their homeland and remained in America involuntarily. In these cases, the change in their settlement pattern from sojourners to permanent settlers was induced by social conditions and, to some extent, by their passive action (Mizukami, 1996a: 72-73). This characteristic is opposite to that of *reluctant returnees* who would like to stay but cannot due to the societal conditions. In addition to return migration including *reluctant returnees*, we have found that there were many involuntary stayers who remained in the host society, whereas in contemporary Japanese migration to Australia, we can find some *reluctant returnees*. There are different types of migration movement from the country of origin to country destination and they may be active or passive in nature (though there can be some people who are close to being both active and passive). Return movements from the host country to the homeland show the same tendency.

Various studies of Japanese-Americans (e.g., Kitano, 1976; Yamamoto, 1978; Wilson and Hosokawa, 1980; and Yamamoto, T. 1996) highlight typical examples of changes in settlement patterns of the first generation of migrants who changed their nature of stay from *sojourners* to *permanent settlers*. However, such migration research does not typically explicitly refer to the concept of *sojourner*. Generally speaking it is the migrants' adjustment to the host society which is the focus, and the first generation of immigrants like the *Issei* are categorised as *migrant* with the result that sufficient attention has not been paid to the sojourner-status, the transitional state of mind and lifestyle.

With the various kinds of human mobilisation and settlement patterns, it becomes possible to focus upon the differences between *sojourners* and *permanent settlers*, highlighting their different patterns of settlement and gaining a more accurate view. For instance, some *migrants* during their 'settling in' period in the host society, change their plan and intention and go back to the country of origin, or settle in a third country. On the other hand, some *sojourners'* positions may change. In the course of sojourners' stay in the host society, some extend the period of their residency, and others become permanent residents or nationalised citizens. It is the *transitions*, which helps us understand the inner dynamics of migration and *sojourner* is an inherently transitory form of migration, albeit an historical category for sociological analysis.

3. Basic Categories for This Research Project

3.1 *Sojourner vis-à-vis Migrants by their Process and End-Result of Residency*

In understanding the concept of the *sojourner*, the definition of the migrants, (especially of *permanent settlers*) become essential, as these two terms are often antithetical. Both *migrants* and *sojourners* emerge by their residential shift from the origin to the destination. After changing destination, one stays temporarily; he/she can be regarded as a *sojourner* whereas one who stays permanently can be regarded as a *migrant*.

But we need to take into account the *end-result* of their respective stays, and the difference between *sojourner* and *migrant* is analytic, a logical distinction we need in our sociological study of migration. The differences can only be delimited over time. However, when we focus on the *process* of the individual's settlement patterns, it is often difficult to distinguish between *sojourner* and *migrant*. In contemporary usage of the term, migrants include some sojourners when we focus upon the movement of persons from one place to another. In Australia usage, migrants include various types of sojourners, and even tourists are sometimes included in the term. However, the traditional definition of migrant is related to their stay on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. According to Lee (1966: 49),

> Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the

voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external and internal nature of the act.

This emphasises the permanence (or semi-permanence) of the residency. On the other hand, the concept of *sojourner* is defined by comparison with migrants as permanent residents. However, can this be applied when we are considering the *processes* indicated by settlement patterns? Siu and Uriely have identified *sojourners vis-à-vis* migrants by referring to the nature of residency as permanent or temporary. Sojourners can be defined as temporary residency when compared to migrants, while migrants can be permanent residents when compared with sojourners. In this regard, the concept of the *'sojourner'* has been understood almost exclusively in terms of migrants who are becoming permanent settlers. However, the line which demarcates migrant *vis-à-vis* sojourner has sometimes become unclear in contemporary migration patterns in which global means of transport are available to all classes. In addition, the contemporary usage of the term migrant also includes some temporary and local movement.

However, in terms of the definition and characteristics of sojourner, Siu, Bonacich, and Uriely do not refer to the exact length of sojourners' stay in the host country, though they mention *sojourners* as non-permanent settlers. Sojourners are distinguished from migrants by the *end-result* of their return to homeland, sooner or later. Uriely's indicators for a sojourner are of one's intention and plan to return to homeland. These elements are predictions of the sojourner rather than actual *end-result* when we consider that some

individuals may change their mind. However, when we focus upon the *process* of settlement patterns, Uriely's model provides an effective method for depicting the characteristics of the residency.

With respect to the *end-result* of an individual's settlement in the host society, there can be four fundamental patterns as follows.

- An initially temporary resident who has returned to the homeland or has moved out is *sojourner-sojourner*;
- An initially temporary resident who has settled permanently in the host country is *sojourner-migrant*;
- A migrant who initially intended to be a permanent resident but has returned to the homeland or has moved out is *migrant-sojourner*; and
- A migrant who had become a permanent resident has remained permanently in the host country is *migrant-migrant*.

3.2 Conditions of Migration: Regulation and Control of Migration

With respect to an individual's temporary or permanent residency, individual subjective interpretations can be distinguished from the host community's expectations. From the host community's point of view, an individual's legal status relating to their permanent residency must be an important factor for distinguishing a sojourner as a temporary resident from a migrant as a permanent resident. If we define individuals who are officially and legally permitted to stay in the host community on a permanent basis as migrants, there can be only two fundamental types people who have permanent residency.

One stays in the host community permanently, and the other does not stay in host community permanently. To define it more clearly, there are three basic criteria:

(1) the legal status of permanent residency/non-permanent residency,
(2) the intention to stay permanently/temporarily, and
(3) the exact plan or the lack thereof to move out.

In this study, a migrant who has permanent residency and willingly remains in the host country, and has concrete plans in this respect is regarded as the *migrant-migrant*. Some Japanese war brides and other Japanese migrants in Australia are included in this category. Some return migrants who held permanent residency but have returned to the homeland or at least have left the host country can be the *migrant-sojourner*. In a similar way, there can be two different types of sojourners. One is the *sojourner-migrant* who did not have permanent residency but remains in the host country on a permanent basis because he/she obtained permanent residency during their stay in the host country, which is different from their initial plan.

With respect to Japanese residents in Australia, a few expatriate business people and their families became permanent residents while on overseas assignment for an extended period. At the initial stages of migration, they regarded themselves to be transient workers sent by their companies, but in time decided to seek permanent status. However, most corporate families are categorised as the other type, *sojourner-sojourner* as they are granted temporary permission to stay in the host country and have the intention and plan

to return to Japan. For sociological research, it makes a great difference if we focus on an individual's intention to remain or the concrete action of returning. This study takes both into account.

International migration within the European Union, or between Australia and New Zealand, now downplays the need for official permission for permanent residency. In ordinary circumstances such people do not need to apply for permanent residency. However, in terms of human movement between Australia and Japan, because of the immigration regulations of each country, those who hold permanent visas are limited. There have been several individuals, who can be recognised as *reluctant returnees*, who would like to stay in the host country on a permanent basis, but it is not permitted due to official limitation placed upon them. Neither Siu nor Uriely mentions *reluctant returnees*. Not even the study of return migration from Australia (which will be introduced in the subsequent section) refers to the legal status of such people or the official permission which is needed for permanent residency. However, this is a significant part of identifying the sojourner *vis-à-vis* the migrant.

Reluctant returnees can be involuntary return migrants. Some migrants may wish to remain in the host society, but have to involuntarily return home when they do not have permanent residency in the host country. In fact, the regulations of each nation control and regulate entry and settlement policies for migrants, though a number of

undocumented migrants, including illegal entries and visa over-stayers, exist in various countries in violation of government policies.

There might well be large-scale international migration even if there were no socio-political barriers by which each nation-state attempts to regulate and control immigration. But these controls play a vital role in determining the nature of immigration as we have come to know it. It is conceivable that there are many latent migrants, including those who are considering the option of changing their domicile, whose number must be much larger than the actual number of successful migrants.

Government policies towards migration vary from country to country. Migration policies can be divided into two domains: one is the regulation and control of entrees; the other is related to settlement issues for migrants. It is well-known that free circulation exists in the European Union (EU), but within the Union regulations yet exclude citizens from non-EU countries. In fact, there have been some exceptional cases which have established considerably liberalised free human mobilisation between certain countries such as within EU and between Australia and New Zealand. Although the socio-political barriers, which exist, indicate the possibility of many undocumented migrants, including visa-overstayers and illegal entrants, we note that expatriate business people may have a favoured status in their foreign domicile. In the population movements of white-collar technocrats, we find that certain expatriate types to possess many social rights which look like the privileges of citizenship.

In terms of the *end-result* of settlement patterns, *reluctant returnees* can be included in the category of *sojourner-sojourner*. When we set permanent residency as a primary criterion they cannot be viewed as permanent residents from their initial settlement to the end. However, if we place more weight upon their *desire* to stay permanently or on their future plan for migrating to the host community, they can be categorised as the *sojourner-migrant* or in-between the *sojourner-migrant* and the *sojourner-sojourner*. To become a *sojourner-migrant* or *migrant-sojourner*, some changes in an individual's residency from temporary to permanent or permanent to temporary are required, which is different from a focus upon the initial plan for their residency (see figure 1). Additionally, when we centre upon the *process* of settlement, the above categories may change because of one's future migration plan. The following (two by two) framework illustrates the basic patterns of foreigner's residency by combinations between one's initial status of official residency regarding permanency or non-permanency and the end-result of his/her residency.

An initial permission for settlement

temporary residents

sojourner-migrant

sojourner-sojourner

The end-result of the residency

permanent movement

non-permanent
movement

migrant-migrant

migrant-sojourner

permanent residents
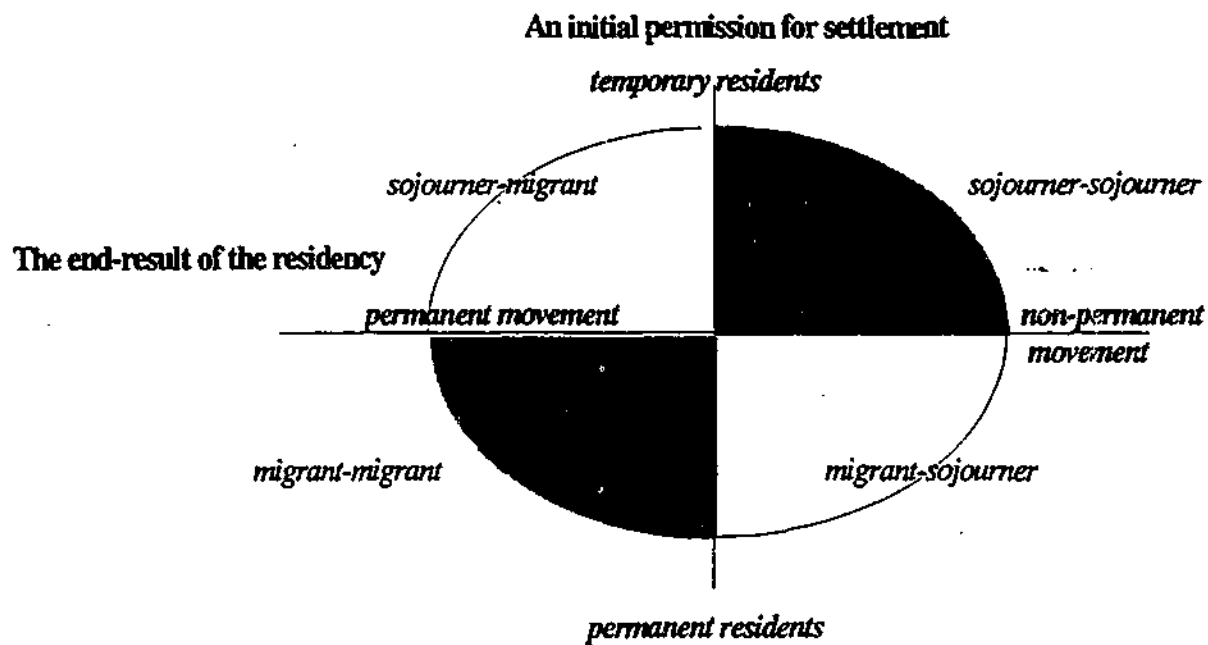
Figure 1 Basic patterns of foreigner's residency

In terms of the end-result of one's residency, the sojourner group consists of *sojourner-sojourner* and *migrant-sojourner* while the migrant group consists of *sojourner-migrants* and *migrant-migrants.* Temporary residents include *sojourner-sojourner* and these in the initial stages of *sojourner-migrants* who have not yet obtained permanent residency, while permanent residents include *migrant-migranst* and *migrant-sojourners* who have not yet moved out of the host country. With non-permanent movements, there are two types of persons: one is sojourners or migrants who returned to their homeland while the other is transients who had stayed in the particular host country, but have gone to a third country.

In this research 'Japanese sojourner' is defined by non-permanent residency *vis-à-vis* 'Japanese migrant' who has permanent residency. There can be a variety of types in each of those categories. In addition, the focus of my research include many expatriate

families. With reference to Uriely's criteria for the sojourner, these people generally have the intention and concrete plan to go back to Japan.

In the process of settlement, the variety and potential for change of residential status cannot be clearly defined, but legally, there are two basic types: *sojourners* who are temporary residents in terms of their visa while migrants are legal permanent residents. If *sojourner* is to be defined as 'foreigners who stay in the host country temporarily', then the application of the concept cannot be made until we find the *end-result*. But the meaning of *temporariness* be determined by empirical research. So, in this study, *sojourner* is distinguished from permanent resident. In this regard, it is based on a legal condition.

Chapter III

JAPANESE PEOPLE OVERSEAS WITH FOCI ON AUSTRALIA

This chapter clarifies the actual situation of the sojourner and discusses the situation of Japanese nationals living in Australia. The previous chapter dealt with the theoretical issue of permanence or temporariness. In this chapter, I focus upon the *population movements* of Japanese people as a particular case. The characteristics of contemporary Japanese migrants and sojourners in Australia, and the grounds for their movement to Australia, will be described. In order to understand the main features of Japanese residency in Australia, some relevant literature, including the official Australian and Japanese government census data regarding the number of Japanese living in Australia, are reviewed. In the first section, the trends of Japanese arrivals in Australia after the second World War are examined with special attention to the post-war settler movements. More recent migration movements will be described in the second section - the number of Japanese setter arrivals has dramatically increased since the 1980s. In the last section, the focus is on the returned movements of Japanese residents from Australia.

1. *An Overview: The Characteristics of Japanese Visitors to Australia*

1.1 *Japanese Emigration in Pre- and Post-War Periods*

Currently, Japanese residents in Australia's major coastal cities form a somewhat visible sub-class of wealthy expatriate business people. Japanese emigrants to whatever destination in pre-war and immediate post-war periods can however be characterised by the 'economic refugee' type. Japan's flimsy economy promoted massive numbers of these 'economic refugees'. Their main purpose was to accumulate capital to ensure a secure life back home in Japan (some examples were presented in the chapter II, such as early Japanese emigrants to the United States). M:... had no option but to leave their homes to keep bread on the table for themselves ar ... families.[20] However, the improved living standard and general satisfaction with their new living conditions promoted the emergence of new and different kind of emigrant. In sociographic terms they are, by and large, characterised by their own *individual movements,* which now includes career-oriented and professionally-motivated movements.[21]

Contemporary Japanese migrantion to Australia contrasts sharply with earlier Japanese migration particularly in terms of financial position and professional motivations. They

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[20] See Yamazaki, 1975; Suzuki, 1992; Yano, 1975; Kurahashi, 1989 & 1990; and Wilson & Hosokawa, 1980.

[21] Nihon Keizai Shinbun (17 June 1991) reports that the major destinations for Japanese emigrants have shifted from South-central America to Canada and Australia and the characteristics of contemporary migration are of techno-professional type.

participate in local activities of the host community more readily than the previous 'economic refugee' type of migrant. But, it is well to keep in mind that the recent Japanese emigration of permanent settlers to foreign lands is not a mass phenomenon and their numbers are small.

1.2 *War Brides: First Post-War Japanese Settlers in Australia*

The analysis of current Japanese settler movements is often related to the range of choices available to the individual. But immediately after the war, Japanese persons were not permitted to obtain citizenship and it was difficult for them to stay in Australia permanently. The military threat from Japan influenced the formulation of the Australian post-war migration policy in terms of defending the continent, and it is well to keep in mind that Japan is the only country to have ever bombed Australia in a military attack. This wartime experience of Japan as the enemy provoked deep-seated anti-Japanese sentiments which have lasted a long time.

When the war ended all Japanese were deported, except for the 80 persons of Japanese descent born in Australia and another 74 Japanese nationals who were spouses or parents of Australian citizens and too old to travel (Sissons 1988: 6:6). On the other hand, some Australians had experienced service in a foreign country for the first time.[22] Many Australian soldiers had formed close associations with Asians during and immediately after the war, particularly with women, and later some of these ex-servicemen were

committed to marrying Japanese brides.[23] In 1948 the Australian Ex-Servicemen's Association publicly complained about this tendency saying in effect that it was a matter of living with the enemy and therefore unworthy of Australian military personnel.[24] The Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, proclaimed these Japanese women, along with most other Japanese, to be permanently undesirable migrants. Furthermore, Australian-Japanese marriages were actively dissuaded by the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (B.C.O.F.) and under the new Japanese law. Marriage between Australian servicemen and Japanese girls was discouraged, but there some Australians who "stuck to their guns" and maintained personal contact with Japanese people, thereby contributing to the increase in the number of Japanese who later emigrated to Australia.

According to Australian Census data, the number of Japan-born persons in Australia has constantly increased since 1947 (see Table 3). In 1947, the number of Japan-born persons was only 330 and in 1954 it was still less than 1,000. The effective wholesale ban on Japanese immigration remained in force and wives and their children of the servicemen were still not admitted into Australia under the Australian immigration policy. But in

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[22] The Australian main troop of the B.C.O.F was stationed in Hiroshima prefecture in Japan which had a large available port (Hopkins, 1954: 95).

[23] According to Endo (1989: 244-245), 'war brides' are divided into two types. One is a Japanese woman who married a serviceman who was just about to leave for active service overseas during the war. The other type is a Japanese woman who married a foreign soldier during the servicemen's occupation in Japan. The latter had to apply for the entrance of the husband's home country to the government or the military authorities in the country of destination. After approving her application, she was designated a 'war bride'. These Japanese women are sometimes distinguished from other ordinary international marriage Japanese.

[24] The president of the Association recommended that the 23 per cent of the 8,000 Australian soldiers involved in the post-war occupation of Japan from 1946 until 1948 who had Japanese partners be censured (Carter 1965: 56).

1952, the exclusionary immigration policy towards Japanese war brides was modified,[25] and the Australian government decided to admit Japanese wives of Australian servicemen under permits valid initially for f've years (Department of Immigration, Australia, 1974: 13). Between 1952 and 1954, approximately 200 Japanese wives entered Australia (Sissons 1988: 637).[26] Although they were exempted from the dictation test (which was abolished in 1958) for their first years of residence, the government still retained the power to deport them (Markus 1994: 167). These Japanese women designated as 'war brides' were the first post-war Japanese migrants in Australia, but they were not fully settlers in terms of their residential rights in the host society. With respect to post-war histories of migration, these Japanese war brides demonstrate interesting features from both Australian and Japanese viewpoints as this migration was dominated by females.[27]

1.3 Business Inflows

Let us now consider the development of Japanese associations within Australia particularly after Japan's economic development from the late 1950s. Since the late 1950s the number of corporate business people living in foreign countries has increased all

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[25] Australia strictly restricted Asian immigration since the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. Only temporary Japanese residents who had the following purposes were accepted:
> (a) Pearl shelling divers and seamen (Japanese employees were prohibited to land Australia and when they could not renew a contract, they were deported); and (b) business people related to international trade (which permission was renewed each year). Although there were exceptional cases — e.g., entrepreneurs running important business to export Australian products — it was rare for the period of residency in Australia to be extended three or four years (Sissons, 1986).

[26] Watts (15 Jun 1972: 3) introduced the first Japanese war bride, Mrs. Cherry Parker, who arrived at her Australian home on July 9 1952, after 6 years of waiting since they had met in 1946.

[27] According to Asahi newspaper (24 May 1997: 21), almost 200 war brides visited Japan to participate in the congress for exchanges in international married people on 18 and 19 May 1997. Additionally, an academic research has commenced in 1996 for evaluating the historical importance in those war brides who emerged in the post-war confusion.

around the world. The majority of Japanese sojourners in foreign countries can be characterised almost completely by their economic affluence. When compared to Japanese emigrants in the pre- and immediate-post-war periods, the current Japanese visitors, including the class of corporate sojourner, are financially secure through the companies to which they belong.

Australia has also been involved in this expansion of Japanese businesses overseas and this can be seen in the concentration of Japanese corporate sojourners in major metropolitan areas. Indeed, post-war Japanese visitors to Australia from the late 1950s largely came for business-related purposes. In 1957 Japanese residents established their own club in Sydney and in 1958 they formed the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry Sydney Inc. According to Trumbull (1968), by the end of the 1960s, Japanese corporate people created a 'transient Japanese community' in Sydney at the time when Japan's economic achievements in Australia were regarded as 'dangerously dominant'.

Following the development of Japan's business abroad, the number grew to over 2,000 by 1961. In the early 1970s the number was nearly 5,000. In the 1970s and early 1980s, Japanese populations grew more rapidly and concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne. According to Sissons (1988: 637) most of these Japanese stayed for a few years.

Table 3 The numbers of Japan-born persons by sex in Australia

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1947	186	56.4	144	43.6	330	100.0
1954	458	47.4	508	52.6	966	100.0
1961	1,230	53.3	1,076	46.7	2,306	100.0
1966	1,686	54.0	1,438	46.0	3,124	100.0
1971	2,633	53.4	2,296	46.6	4,929	100.0
1976	2,995	47.9	3,260	52.1	6,255	100.0
1981	3,862	47.9	4,198	52.1	8,060	100.0
*1986	4,279	44.0	5,442	56.0	9,721	100.0
*1991	7,918	42.8	10,566	57.2	18,484	100.0
*1996	9,082	39.5	13,931	60.5	23,013	100.0

*In 1986, 1991, and 1996, the numbers indicate the population in 8 Australian states (Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales, Northern Territory, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia are included, but the numbers exclude Japan-born persons in other territories).
Source: ABS

The number of Japan-born persons has constantly increased since 1947, and the number more rapidly increased since the mid-1980s. Since the mid-1970s the proportion of female Japanese residents has been exceeded to their male counterparts (See table 3). According to the Japanese government, over half of the sojourners who stay in a foreign country for an extended period are those belonging to 'businessmen and their families.' The examination of recent yearly trends shows that a proportion of those who are engaged in education, including researchers, teachers, students and their family members, has grown, but still corporate families account for over 50 per cent of Japanese sojourners (see Chapter IV).

In recent years, the business segment of the Japanese population overseas has included employees of relatively small organisations, and the vast majority of these sojourners live in the Australian metropolitan areas for an extended period. Despite the fact that these

Japanese are actually Australian community residents, these expatriate business families have been excluded from studies of migrant settlement in Australia. The above census data regarding the numbers of Japan-born persons in Australian does not distinguish between settlers and sojourners, but in the next Chapter the occupational profile of Japanese sojourners, including a more detailed analysis of Japanese residency, will be discussed.

2. *The Growing Interaction between Australia and Japan in the 1980s*

Apart from the close economic links between both countries, the interaction between Australia and Japan has been fostered in many other areas, and this also encourages the expansion and maintenance of population movement from Japan to Australia. In fact, since the 1980s, there has been a growing interest in various domains for international exchange program between both countries. One of the outstanding projects for cultural exchange, the 'Working Holiday Program' commenced in December 1980. It is obvious that cultural exchange program have fostered the expansion of sojourning Japanese in Australia and promoted direct contacts between them. Although permanent movements have grown, especially since the 1980s, temporary movements have been as great if not more significant. The expanding opportunities for Australians and Japanese to have first-hand contact through such exchange programs have sometimes led to an increase in the number of Japanese settlers. In the 1980s, changes in Australian migration programs also had an effect which can be noted in the new types of Japanese settlers.

2.1 *Business and Family Migration*

In the mid-1980s, the Australian government's immigration policy was in part directed at encouraging business migration; at those who could contribute to the Australian economy. A few Japanese people were involved in business migration to Australia. The program of business migration to Australia was adopted for individuals who had business experience

and applicants must possess a specified amount of capital, depending on their age. Accordingly, those who were highly qualified and skilled, and whose business did not compete with the existing businesses in Australia, were readily accepted. Since 1987, the numbers of business migrants from Japan have increased. Between 1987 and 1992, the number of visas to Japan-born persons, related to business, including the 'business migration program' (284 persons) and the 'employer nomination scheme' (321 persons) increased as well. In 1988 in particular, visas issued under the above two categories (144 persons) outnumbered family migration (136 persons).

Table 4 **Permanent migration visa issued to Japan-born persons**

	Business Migration Program	Business Skills	Employer Nomination Scheme	*Family Migration	*Concessional	Independent	Special Talent	Others	Total
1986	7	0	38	132	6	29	0	2	214
1987	30	0	59	115	4	42	1	6	257
1988	56	0	88	136	9	64	0	2	355
1989	68	0	82	166	3	19	0	6	344
1990	44	C	46	186	5	31	1	3	316
1991	57	0	24	205	7	33	0	8	334
1992	29	0	22	238	3	13	0	4	309
1993	5	0	18	297	1	8	1	5	335
1994	1	7	14	325	3	17	0	3	370
1995	1	11	13	347	2	43	1	6	424
1996	0	9	9	346	5	21	0	8	398
1997	0	6	8	316	6	25	0	2	363
Total	298	33	421	2,809	54	345	4	55	4,019

* Category of the Family Migration includes a spouse (who expected to marry is included), and a dependent child or parent, while the category of Concession includes a brother or sister and non-dependent child.
Source: Unpublished data from DIMA

However, the Australian government amended the business migration program in February 1992: 'business skills' replaced 'business migration program' with some differences in the requirements. Since then, the number of Japanese business migrants

has dramatically decreased. A large drop in Japanese migrants under the business migration program has been sustained since 1992 when the numbers were 29 (down from 57 in 1991) to 5 in 1993 and 1 for both 1994 and 1995, none in 1996 and 1997. These people had applied under this program and obtained a visa after its abolition. On the other hand, the number of family migration visas to Japan-born persons has been constantly growing. Since the beginning of the 1990s, most migration visas issued to Japan-born persons have been predominantly under the category of family migration. Indeed, compared to the numbers of corporate families, the business migrant programs involved only a few incoming Japanese.

In terms of permanent movements, family migration in this category has been the most significant in the 1990s, and every year since 1994, the number has been upward of 300 persons. Since 1993, almost 85 per cent of the permanent visas issued to Japanese were under the family migration category. Family migration is also related to the international marriages between Australians and Japanese. For example, there are some Japanese female working holiday-makers who have married persons with a permanent visa in Australia, and the term, 'working-holiday bride', recalling the former 'war bride', has thus appeared in the attempts to explain this trend.[28] Additionally, the increase in the number of Japanese students in Australia may also be related to the settler movement. In fact, some sojourning Japanese become permanent settlers in Australia by their personal contacts with local people. However, local people with permanent residency in Australia

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[28] See Sato, 1993: 148-153.

are sometimes simply Japanese 'ethnics' (*ibid.*). After arriving in Australia, some working holiday-makers found a partner and then returned to Japan to prepare to come back to Australia as a permanent settler.

2.2 *Optimistic Views of Australia and Pensioner Migrants*

In addition to the business and family union migration, although the number was even smaller. Japanese pensioner migration emerged in the mid-1980s. This was related to the Japanese people's positive and optimistic view of Australian society. The optimistic view of some foreign lands including Australia encouraged the Ministry of International Trade and Industry to set forth a plan in 1986, which was designated 'Silver Columbia.' It encouraged retired Japanese to live in foreign countries with a mild climate such as Southern Europe, New Zealand and Australia. The Asahi newspaper (1st May 1987) reported that Australia was selected for its temperate climate and advantageous housing conditions. This destination was chosen for Japanese pensioners because there they would relish the environmental and living conditions which they could not enjoy in Japan.

In another Asahi newspaper article (21st January 1988), the suggestion was made, under the title of 'Take your silver life in Australia', that retired Japanese could get their new life on the grander continent. Before the plan was discredited, Japanese pensioner migration to Australia had already commenced from 1985. According to Fukushima (1991, 18 January: 18), this migration program was adopted for those aged fifty-five and over, holding a minimum amount of fifty-thousand Australian dollars in savings. Although the

program was abolished in December 1988, between 1985 and 1988, fifty-nine Japanese people migrated under this program.

This Japanese government plan was dismissed in the Spring of 1988 after criticism that 'Silver Columbia' implied that elderly Japanese were a burden and should be dispensed with by thrusting them upon foreign lands. However, the conception of Australia as an appropriate health resort has been retained to a large extent. In fact, the Japanese perception of Australian society has remained positive and optimistic and this has also influenced it as a popular destination choice of tourists. All this should be seen in the context of the fact that Japanese settler arrivals have peaked and the numbers are now abating. It has not been at all large compared with some other Asian groups.

2.3 *Working Holiday-Makers*

In terms of sojourner inflows, the 'Working Holiday program' cannot be ignored. This program has been an outstanding project for cultural exchange, after it was agreed upon between the Fraser and Ohira governments, commencing in 1980. Under the program, aimed at increased understanding of each other's culture and way of life, Japanese youngsters are able to stay in Australia from six months to one year, and at the same time are permitted to find employment. Reciprocally, the same applies to young Australians.[29] The visa category of 'working holiday' is, therefore, different from that of tourist, student and work visas. This exchange program obviously has encouraged first-hand contacts

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[29] As for current detailed information, see home page: http://www.mmjp.or.jp/jawhm

between youth in the two countries. Many Japanese youth have obtained an opportunity to reside in Australia for an extended period and this also occasionally can be seen to be related to the increase in migration figures.

This program was later extended to New Zealand in 1985 and to Canada in 1986. Furthermore, such government-to-government agreements have now also been made between Japan and Korea in October 1998, and Japan and France in January 1999. Still, Australia remains the most popular destination for Japanese youth. In 1996, 14,390 working holiday-maker' visas were issued for Japanese to visit Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The largest portion of 7,494 (52%) were to travele to Australia (see Table 5).

Table 5 The number of issues of Working Holiday visa in 1981-1996

	Australia		New Zealand		Canada		Total	
	Australians	Japanese	New Zealanders	Japanese	Canadians	Japanese	Non-Japanese	Japanese
1981	227	884	0	0	0	0	227	884
1982	303	1,325	0	0	0	0	303	1,325
1983	365	1,163	0	0	0	0	365	1,163
1984	350	1,254	0	0	0	0	350	1,254
1985	422	1,670	50	110	0	0	472	1,780
1986	561	2,169	147	469	172	236	880	2,874
1987	629	3,552	220	595	501	743	1,350	4,890
1988	869	4,934	253	771	640	1,315	1,762	7,020
1989	1,126	5,166	401	954	899	2,153	2,426	8,273
1990	1,660	5,029	565	950	1,356	2,995	3,581	8,974
1991	2,477	5,042	972	1,195	1,521	3,590	4,970	9,827
1992	3,049	5,166	1,037	1,336	1,381	4,000	5,467	10,502
1993	2,658	5,004	786	1,377	1,082	4,000	4,526	10,381
1994	2,156	5,523	607	1,658	1,026	3,500	3,789	10,681
1995	1,176	6,514	591	2,079	896	3,500	2,663	12,093
1996	1,252	7,494	526	3,396	935	3,500	2,713	14,390
Total	19,280	61,889	6,155	14,890	10,409	29,532	35,844	106,311

Source: Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai (Association for Working Holiday Makers in Japan), *Wakingu horide biza no hakkyusu to hakkyu jyoken no aramashi* (The number of issues of Working Holiday Visa and a summary of conditions for the visa), Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai (Association for Working Holiday Makers in Japan), Tokyo, 1997.

From the beginning of this program in 1980 to the end of 1996, of a total of 106,311 Japanese working holiday-makers (WHMs), 60 per cent (61,889) of them chose Australia. The increased number of Japanese WHMs is related to the recent tendency of Japanese youth to seek opportunities from overseas, and information on this program is now widespread in Japan. According to the Australian Embassy, from the inception of this program, the proportion of female applicants has comprise of nearly 60 per cent of Japanese applications (Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai, 1994: 10). There has been the criticism that these WHMs as mostly working in Japanese restaurants, for tour-guide agencies, and in souvenir shops for Japanese customers; they therefore tend not to communicate with local people (Editor of Kokusai jinryu, 1995: 7). However, research by the Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai shows that over 90 per cent of Japanese WHMs made non-Japanese friends and 86 per cent of them maintained their friendships afterwards.[30] In the open-ended questions asked by Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai, one of the respondents who was in Australia mentioned that many Japanese girls on the program had local boyfriends and were intending to apply for permanent resident visas (Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai, 1994: 81).

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[30] Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai (Association for Working Holiday Makers in Japan) undertook questionnaire survey into 193 ex-working holiday makers from October 1991 to May 1992. According to the survey, 41 per cent (51 % of male and 31.4% of female) of the respondents answered that they had many non-Japanese friends and 51 per cent (male 38.8%; female 62 %) had some friends. Although 8.0 per cent (10.9% of males and 5.9 %of females) responded that they could not make many friends, no one answered that they have no non-Japanese friends (Nihon Wakingu Horide Kyokai, 1994: 46-80).

2.4 *Local Governments' Programs*

In addition to the working holiday program, there have also been other projects since the 1980s, which have fostered direct contact between Australians and Japanese. Responding to the swell of Japan's internationalisation in the 1980s, Japanese local municipalities have been involved in cultural exchange activities with foreign countries, establishing affiliation with foreign cities and states. Japanese local municipality's sister city relationship started in 1955, and by 1970 those affiliations grew to 165 in number. The number of sister city (state) relationships between Japanese local governments and foreign cities or states has increased dramatically since the middle of the 1980s: the number of affiliations was 569 in 1985, and this increased to 1,092 in 1995 (Jain, 1996: 73-74).

The first sister city relationship between an Australian city and a Japanese local government commenced in 1963, when Yamato-Takada City (in Nara) signed an agreement with Lismore City (in NSW). By 1975 there were six such agreements. By 1985 the number had grown to 29 and by 1995 it grew again to 73 (Jain, 1996: 172). Indeed, these local-government-to-local-government relationships between Australia and Japan have been particularly expanded since the late 1980s. The number of such agreement with Australian cities and states (73) was a third place, after the United States (339) and China (197) in 1995 (*ibid*. 74).

In 1980s, the sister city affiliation between Australia and Japan were characterised by cultural exchanges, while in the 1990s, economic ties have become more prominent. Due

to Australian local municipality commercial interest, various Australian local governments founded offices in Japan (Jain, 1996: 175). The Australia-Japan interactions at sub-national level were advanced by the above mentioned affiliations. Although these affiliations do not directly induce Japanese immigration, they encourage personal exchanges and assist mutual understanding between Australians and Japanese.

Furthermore, the Japanese government has inaugurated the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) program as part of policy for improving international understanding. The program, which invites foreign youth to Japan from several countries, including Australia, is divided into two categories: One is Coordinators of International Relations (CIR) where foreign participants work in the international section of municipal offices. The other is called Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) for participants to help foreign language education mainly at junior and senior high schools. Those programs and activities have impacted on the interactions between the two countries at the grass roots level, involving official exchanges, and cultural exchange programs.

The development of the above programs has naturally encouraged human mobilisation between the countries as many Australian youth are participating in Japan's local community activities, but as yet the major movement has been from Japan to Australia. Indeed, the promotion of the cultural exchange programs has encouraged first-hand contact between Australians and Japanese and this grass-roots interaction has sometimes

become an inducement-factor for Japanese emigration. However, of the Japanese residents in Australia, most are considered to be sojourners.

3. The Numbers of Permanent and Temporary Residents

3.1 *The Numbers of Japanese Permanent and Long-term Temporary Residents in Australia*

Although we can consider the Australian census data which provides the number of Japan-born persons, the Japanese government conducts a survey of the numbers of Japanese nationals who live in foreign countries on a permanent and a long-term temporary basis on the 1st of October every year. In this government survey, people of Japanese origin who took out foreign citizenship are excluded. (Analysis of the number of Japanese who were naturalised Australians having abandoned Japanese citizenship will be presented in the subsequent section.)

Japanese regulations require that Japanese nationals who stay in foreign countries for three months or more are obliged to be registered with certain Japanese government agencies, namely the Japanese Embassies and Consulates General abroad. The category of the 'long-term temporary residents' designates those Japanese who are staying, or who are going to stay, in a foreign country for three months or more. However, not all Japanese comply with the registration and some travel further within a foreign country after registration. Japanese government officers told the researcher that in Australia some people travelled inter-state or returned to Japan after registering with the Japanese government agencies. Thus, the data does not exactly specify the number of Japanese

people in Australia and the number has tended to be larger than Australian government census data on Japan-born persons.

In response to the researcher's question about the difference in the numbers between Japanese government reports and the Australian census, the officer in the Melbourne Consulate General suggested that if we need the exact number of these people, it is better to consult the Australian census. However, *Gaimusho*'s annual survey provides data which made it possible to identify the tendencies in Japanese nationals' residency in Australia on an year-by-year basis. According to these reports, in 1996 there were 12,111 Japanese nationals (4,598 males and 7,513 females) who possessed a permanent-resident visa for Australia, while there were 13,577 temporary residents (6,248 males and 7,329 females). The discernible tendency is for the number of Japanese arriving as permanent residents to increase year by year. From 1990 to 1995, the number almost doubled, as shown in the figure 2.

Due to the constant increase in permanent residents, this group has gradually become proportionally greater. It may not be a massive number, yet it is a constant trend with potential migrants located amongst Japanese expatriates, WHMs and students. However, in the 1990s there have been even larger numbers of long-term temporary residents and the majority of Japanese nationals actually living in Australia shows clear and definable sojourner-oriented characteristics. Even among permanent-resident visa holders, some

have returned to Japan or intend to return to Japan. The detail of these returned

movements will be explained in the subsequent section.

Figure 2 The number of Japanese nationals in Australia 1990-1996
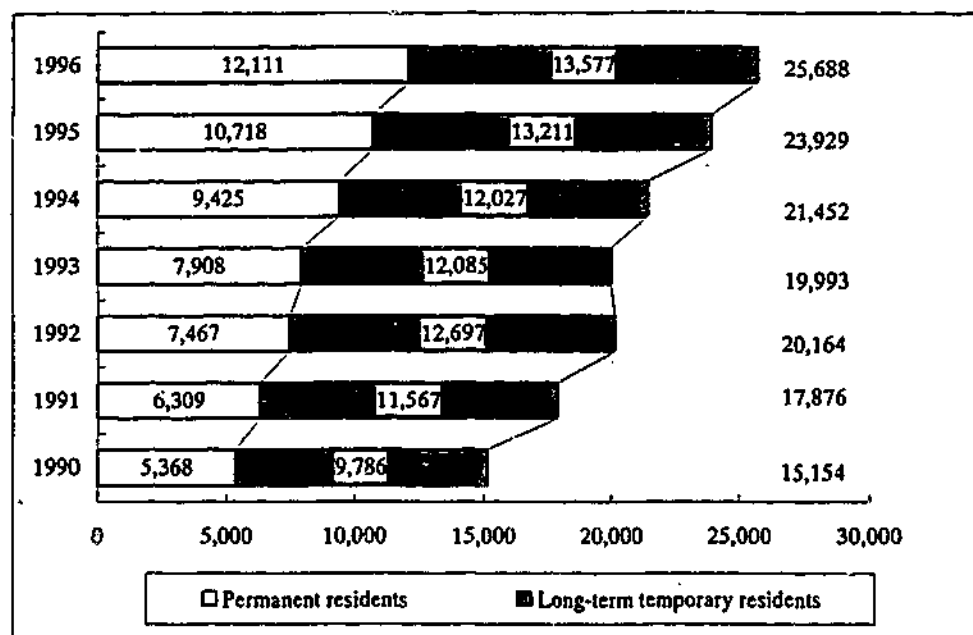
Sources: Gaimudaijin kanbo ryoji ijubu (Consular and Migration Division, Consular and Migration Affairs Department), 1991-1997, *Kaigai zairyuhojinsu chosa tokei (A Report on the Number of Japanese Overseas)*, Okurasho: Tokyo.

3.2 The Number of Japanese Australians by Citizenship

In Australia, the number of Japanese people who were naturalised Australian citizens has

been relatively small and many can generally be classified as sojourning residents. In

1986 *Gaimusho* conducted research into the number of Japanese people who were

naturalised in foreign countries and found that there were 3,007 Japanese people who had

Australian citizenship.[31] These immigrants were divided into three categories: *Issei* (first

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[31] This figure was presumably given even though it was virtually impossible to obtain an exact number for this kind of Japanese immigrant. According to *Gaimusho*, the data for the statistical survey came from the census together with information obtained from Japanese Embassies and Consulates as well as from the other organisations such as the Japanese clubs and Chambers of Commerce and Industry. According to this

generation immigrants) were born in Japan and abandoned Japanese citizenship for naturalisation in a foreign country. *Nisei* (second generation) was where at least one or both parents were *Issei*. In a similar way, *Sansei* (third generation) who had both *Nisei* parents or had a parent, either mother or father, who was *Nisei*. Descendants of the *Sansei* were also included in the last category.[32] It is also clear that these people may return or have children who will return to Japan.

Since this survey, the Japanese government has conducted no further research into former Japanese citizens. Although they did not ascertain any information regarding the educational and occupational backgrounds, age and sex distribution, of these former citizens and immigrants, the survey did provide useful data, as of 1986, on the population distribution of the Japanese immigrants by generation in Australian states as shown below (Table 6).

research (Gaimusho, 1997: 224-226), in 1986 there were 1,395,409 Japanese migrants in foreign countries, who included a few generations of Japanese migrants. Asahi newspaper (14 November 1993) indicates that the number of those migrants was considered to have grown to upward of 2,500,000 in 1993.

[32] As many of the early Japanese migrants form the late 19th century to first quarter of the 20th century, settled in the United States, there were of the 671,661 Japanese population who includes *Issei, Nisei, Sansei* and their descendants, and this number indicates that over half of the entire Japanese emigrants resided in the United according the Japanese government. In fact, approximately a half of Japanese emigrants before the Second World War did settle in North America and one-third in South America, namely Brazil (Kawamura 1986: 15). In Brazil the majority of the Japanese residents are permanent settlers, including many Japanese descendants (although in the last decade, some have become returned migrants, searching for employment in Japan). Popular countries of destination for previous Japanese emigration have embraced a larger number of permanent residents (if we include naturalised citizens) than temporary residents.

Table 6 Population distribution of Japanese immigrants by generation in Australian states in 1986

	Issei	Nisei	Sansei and their descendants,	Total
Capital Territory	27	42	8	77
New South Wales	190	250	20	460
Northern Territory	16	24	8	48
West Australia	76	150	0	226
Queensland	546	800	100	1,446
Victoria* South Australia* Tasmania*	500	225	25	750
Total	1,355	1,491	161	3,007

*Because there are not any embassy and consulate-general of Japan in South Australia and Tasmania, the consulate-general of Japan in Melbourne covers three Australian states; Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. Hence, these three states are in the same category in this research.
Source: Gaimudaijin kanboryoji ijubu (Consular and Migration Division, Consular and Migration Affairs Department), 1987, *Kaigai nikkeijinsu chosa hokokusho (A Report on the Number of Ex-Japanese Nationals Overseas)*, Tokyo: Gaimusho.

In 1986, the number of first generation Japanese migrants who were granted Australian citizenship was 1,355. The remaining 1,652 Japanese migrants were their descendants. Although for our purposes the Japanese government provides no more data on Japanese persons who have been naturalised as Australian citizens since 1986, the Australian census does show the number of Japan-born persons who have been granted Australian citizenship as shown in table 7.

Table 7 Year of arrival by citizenship by sex by age, Japan-born persons until 1996

Year of arrival		Arrived before 1986			Arrived 1986-1990			Arrived 1991-1996			Not stated		
Citizenship	Age	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Australian	0-9	0	0	0	30	34	64	135	127	262	12	14	26
Australian	10-19	85	90	175	69	80	149	25	27	52	5	4	9
Australian	20-29	120	101	221	13	14	27	9	27	36	0	0	0
Australian	30-39	71	83	154	17	36	53	11	14	25	0	4	4
Australian	40-49	249	359	608	17	21	38	7	11	18	3	6	9
Australian	50-59	71	193	264	16	11	27	3	7	10	0	6	6
Australian	60-69	61	418	479	8	5	13	3	4	7	0	11	11
Australian	70 and over	29	177	206	3	8	11	0	3	3	0	5	5
Australian	Total	686	1,421	2,107	173	209	382	193	220	413	20	50	70
Other	0-9	0	0	0	47	40	87	450	430	880	11	22	33
Other	10-19	62	64	126	185	170	355	750	965	1,715	46	69	115
Other	20-29	75	85	160	199	303	502	1,649	3,005	4,654	38	62	100
Other	30-39	178	360	538	481	1,058	1,539	946	1,575	2,521	20	33	53
Other	40-49	368	581	949	274	371	645	613	605	1,218	13	19	32
Other	50-59	113	235	348	122	119	241	222	156	378	7	7	14
Other	60-69	47	79	126	74	64	138	87	77	164	6	5	11
Other	70 and over	13	34	47	39	49	88	45	55	100	4	0	4
Other	Total	856	1,438	2,294	1,421	2,174	3,595	4,762	6,868	11,630	145	217	362
Not stated	0-9	0	0	0	3	3	6	13	8	21	0	0	0
Not stated	10-19	7	4	11	4	5	9	13	12	25	6	4	10
Not stated	20-29	0	6	6	3	4	7	16	39	55	5	10	15
Not stated	30-39	0	6	6	4	12	16	5	12	17	0	3	3
Not stated	40-49	4	11	15	3	5	8	3	6	9	0	0	0
Not stated	50-59	4	8	12	3	3	6	3	4	7	0	3	3
Not stated	60-69	3	7	10	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
Not stated	70 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	7
Not stated	Total	18	42	60	20	32	52	56	81	137	14	24	38

Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data.
In this table, vertically, first category of 'Australian' indicates the Japan-born persons who were granted Australian citizenship. The second category, 'Other', means non-Australian citizens of Japan-born persons and thus the overwhelming majority of this group is Japanese citizens. The third category, 'not stated' includes that those Japan-born persons who did not state whether or not they were Australian citizens. At the horizontal level, the last category, 'not stated' indicates those Japan-born persons who did not state the year of their arrival.
Source: unpublished Census data from ABS.

This Australian Census deals basically with *Issei* since the respondents mainly were born in Japan and it reports that by 1996 at least 2,972 Japan-born persons were granted citizenship. Although the census data does reveal some persons born in Japan by Australian parents and other non-Japanese parents, we can see a clear trend from this data.

In the age cohort of '70 and over' who arrived before 1986, there was a striking difference in the numbers between males (29) and females (177). The reason why female Japan-born persons accounted for nearly 86 per cent of the total is ascribed to the fact that post-war Japanese migration to Australia was commenced effectively by females, the 'war brides', as we have already noted. According to the *Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics of 1982*, no Japanese were granted citizenship after the Second World War until 1957 when 25 Japanese became naturalised Australians twelve years after the end of the war. Most of these people are presumed to be 'war-brides'. This female predominated pattern in Japan-born naturalisation has been maintained to date. From 1986 to 1996, except for the age group of '0-9', the number of females was larger than that of males in all the age cohorts. Due to the larger number of female Japanese settlers, the proportion of females in the Japan-born persons category is naturally much higher.

During the period from 1986 to 1996, only 795 Japan-born persons were naturalised. Of these people, the age cohorts of '0-9' and '10-19' in particular occupied 66.3 per cent (527) and there was no significant difference between males and females. This tendency indicates that many child migrants from Japan were naturalised, but their naturalisation was conceivably supported by their parents' decision. On the other hand, many adult migrants were hesitant in relation to naturalisation, as the number is small.

All in all, the rate of naturalisation among Japan-born persons is quite low. Research conducted by Sugiura (1994: 11-14) ascertained that in 1986 the Japan-born group

demonstrated one of the lowest rates of naturalisation. His data excluded those who lived

in Australia for less than two years due to their lack of eligibility for naturalisation.

Among the more than 50 countries represented, the percentage of Japan-born persons who

have been naturalised (38.2%) was third smallest, after those born in New Zealand

(30.7%) and in the United States (34.5%). Migrants from non-English speaking countries

are generally more likely to be naturalised in Australia than those from English speaking

countries (MacNamara and Coughlan, 1997: 306-307). Even among those from Asian

countries or other NESB countries, Japan-born persons demonstrated the lowest rate of

naturalisation (Sugiura, 1994: 12). Sugiura suggests that Japanese people started to think

of naturalisation after having lived in Australia for 10 years. The above table corroborates

his opinion.

When we compare the categories of 'Australian' citizens (2,107) and 'other' citizens

(2,294) who arrived before 1986, it shows a ratio of 48 to 52 persons respectively. The

'other' categories included some corporate families, but the number of expatriates should

not be large because foreign assignments of Japanese businessmen are generally three to

five years. In particular, the number of the naturalised Australians between 50-59 years of

age was larger than that of the 'other' category. However, even among Japan-born persons

who had lived in Australia for over 10 years, the number of non-Australian citizens was

larger. By the end of 1996, there were at least 2,972 Japan-born persons, comprising of

1,900 females and 1,072 males, who had Australian citizenship. However, as has been

pointed out continually in this discussion, there appear to be larger numbers of Japanese

settlers, at least permanent-resident visa holders, without Australian citizenship. (The reason why these Japanese do not tend to become naturalised Australians will be explained in Chapter VI.)

3.3 *Reasons for Travelling to Australia*

Although the number of Japanese arriving as permanent residents has been constantly increasing year by year, the overall movement from Japan to Australia is characterised by short-term travel. The vast majority of Japanese visitors to Australia are apparently tourists. According to the Japanese government's travel data,[33] in 1996 some 773,910 Japanese nationals, consisting of 367,874 males and 406,036 females, travelled to Australia. The main reason for their travel was derived from statements on outgoing passenger cards. The following table illustrates that the vast majority (93.2%) of trips were for tourism. In this government category, trips by working holiday-makers were also included.

The end of Japan's bubble economy and the resultant recession in the early 1990s appeared to discourage any further increase in the numbers of Japanese visitors to Australia. Even so, the high value of the yen has reduced the gap between the cost of travelling abroad and travelling in Japan. This has also fostered Japanese interest and led

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[33] The survey by the Judicial System and Research Department of Japan shows the number of Japanese departures and analyses the main reason for the journey. The data are derived from collation of Japanese travellers' card from airports and ports and the total number includes multiple arrivals and departures by the same person. Every Japanese is required to complete a questionnaire in the form of an outgoing passenger's

to the popularity of overseas trips. Australian tourism, in particular, has attracted Japanese visitors because of its genial climate, perceived tranquillity in national character and public order. Travel for tourism was far ahead of the next category - short-term business visit (3.9%).

Table 8 The number of Japanese going to Australia classified by purpose of travel in 1996

	Number	Per cent
Diplomat official missions	1,489	0.2%
Short-term business (private sector)	33,942	3.9%
Overseas assignments (private sector)	874	0.1%
Academic research	6,761	0.7%
Study/Technical Training	10,616	1.1%
Employment in Australian Sector	410	0%
Permanent Settlement	4,353	0.5%
Family-reunion	1,608	0.3%
Tourism	713,857	93.2%
Total	773,910	100%

Source: Homudaijin kanbo shiho hosei chosabu (Judicial System and Research Department, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Justice) (ed.), 1997. *Dai 36 Shutsunyukoku kanri tokei nenpo (Annual Report on Legal Migrants)*, Okurasho, Tokyo. pp.154-155.

There are some differences between several of the categories used by the Japanese and Australian Government agencies in their respective efforts at data collection. In particular, in the 1996 financial year the Japanese government data, includes 4,353 permanent settlers while according to the Australian government data, the number of settler arrivals from Japan is only 593 (see Table 10).[34] The officer of the Judicial System and Research Department of Japan explained the reason for this difference as follows:

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card, when they depart from Japan (but when they arrive back, they only submit the disembarkation card for Japanese). Hence, the estimated number is the aggregation of their statements.

[34] Although the Japanese government provides data from January to December in 1995, this Australian data is derived from July 1995 to June 1996. However, the number of this category is still quite different.

'the total number in this survey includes multiple exits by the same person. Additionally, as the data was derived from the travellers' statements, it perhaps includes some Japanese who indicated the 'permanent settlement' or 'family-reunion' though their visas were 'expatriate dependant' or so.'

Concerning the number of non-settlers from Japan, according to Australian government statistics, in the 1996 financial year some 813,812 Japan-born persons stayed in Australia for less than one year. The vast majority of 738,529 (90.7%) stayed less than two weeks (see Table 9).

Table 9 Japanese visitors' actual duration of stay in Australia in financial year 1996

Under 1 week	1 week & under 2 weeks	2 weeks & under 3 weeks	3 weeks & under 1 month	1 month & under 2 months	2 months & under 3 months	3 months & under 6 months	6 months & under 9 months	9 months & under 12 months	Total Under 12 months
412,366	326,163	27,711	13,137	9,212	4,450	7,995	4,905	7,874	813,812

Source: DIMA.

Although there were some differences in the numbers between the Japanese-government report and the Australian Census, the apparent trend was for the majority of Japanese visitors to be tourists and short-term stayers (under two weeks). Indeed, the overwhelming majority of Japanese visitors have been short-term temporary residents. In this study, temporary residents are basically categorised as sojourners, but the sample of the subjects for this research consists of both temporary-resident for longer period of stay (at least one month) and migrants who are considered to be community residents in Australia in terms of actual living situations. Even among migrants with permanent visas, some may show sojourner characteristics.

4. *Return Movements*

4.1 *Permanent Movements*

When we look at the data regarding permanent arrivals, since the early 1960s, the number

of female Japanese migrants who arrived in Australia has been larger than that of males

(In the 1940s and 1950s, the Australian government did not distinguish between settlers

and long-term visitors). Figure 3 below shows that the numbers of Japanese permanent

arrivals in Australia by gender in selected years.

As I have indicated in the discussion thus far, since the post-war arrival of war brides,

Japanese immigration ever since has been predominantly females. This data shows that,

since the early 1960s to date, the number of female settler arrivals has been larger than for

males, but there is no significant difference in the numbers of settler departures between

males and females. Thus, the proportion of female Japanese settlers has been increasing.

Moreover, the number of female settler arrivals has grown since the beginning of the

1980s, and the numbers in the mid-1990s were twice as large as for their male

counterparts. The numbers of Japanese, who immigrated to Australia as permanent

settlers, is still statistically in favour of females, most of whom came to Australia under

the family migration programmes (See the former section). However, as the total Asian

population expanded, Japanese permanent settlers occupied only a minor portion of the

total. Indeed, in terms of the numbers of arrivals of Japanese people, sojourning

movements have been much more significant than permanent movements.
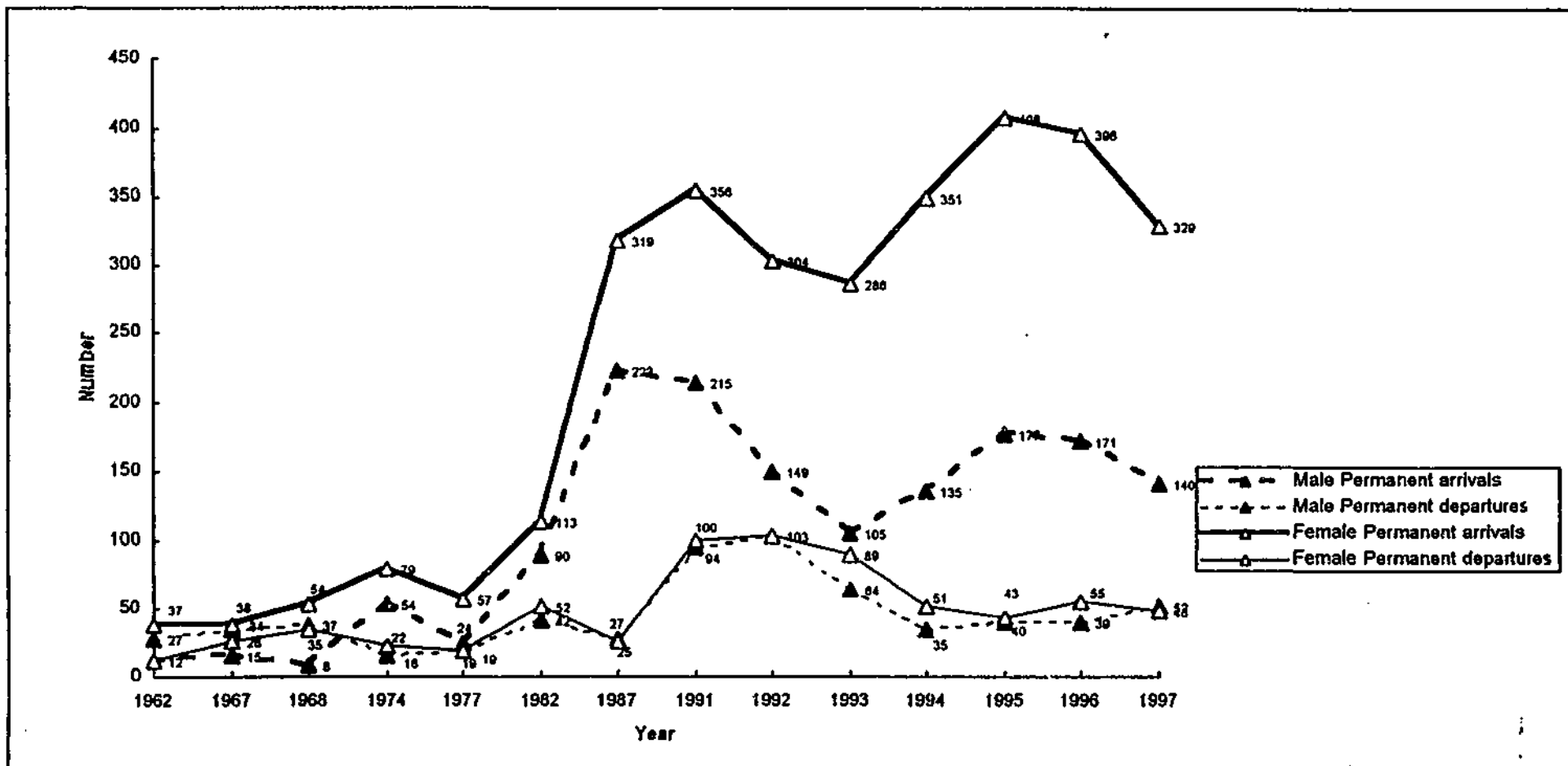
Figure 3 The numbers of permanent arrivals and departures of Japan-born persons by sex in selected years

4.2 *Long-term Movements*

In the Australian census, 'long-term arrivals' are categorised as those who stay in Australia for more than twelve months. The numbers of male Japanese arrivals have been larger than those of females from the 1960s to date, partly because the majority of Japan-born persons in this category are from corporate families, including some single-family businessmen, and a few have left their families in Japan. In the 1980s, the number of long-term arrivals dramatically increased, but there also have been significant numbers of departures (See graph). Since the beginning of the 1990s, the number of arrivals has not grown significantly; when compared with the 1980s. This has been due to the fact that Japan's domestic recession discouraged an increased movement of corporate business families.

In contrast to the permanent arrivals, since the 1960s to date, the number of males has been larger than females, and in the 1990s, female long-term departures have been larger than those of males. Thus, the proportion of male long-term residents has gradually become higher in recent years, but in terms of overall migration, females have predominated.

4.3 *An Overview on Total Movements: Arrivals and Departures*

In terms of either the permanent or temporary nature of their residency, there is a clear difference by sex in the Japanese residency statistics in Australia. Until the end of the

1960s, the difference in the numbers between long-term visitors and permanent settlers was not great. From the early 1960s to the late 1970s, the net increase in Japanese residents was less than 500 for each year. Since the mid-1980s, as long-term arrivals increased dramatically, the proportion of settler arrivals in the overall movements has gradually become smaller. The following graph shows the number of Japanese settlers and long-term visitors as well as each of their departures in selected years.

Since the 1980s, apart from the corporate families, various types of Japanese people have stayed in Australia. As noted, the development of various exchange programs between Australia and Japan has brought about a variation and overall increase in the population movements between both countries. The number of the long-term Japanese arrivals dramatically increased in the 1980s and in the early 1990s; over 6,500 Japanese arrived on a long-term basis. By 1997, it had grown to 8,600 persons. In every year, the number of long-term arrivals was larger than departures, but the return movements (though there have been a few cases who did not return and went to a third country) cannot be ignored. When the arrivals increase, the departures also increase, and due to the large numbers of departures, the net migration of long-term residents has still not reached 2,000.

In terms of permanent settler net migration, Japanese migrants have been very small in number, though it has increased slightly since the beginning of 1960s. In 1995, the largest net increase in permanent arrivals was recorded, but it was still only 502 persons. Permanent settlers who have returned to Japan can be categorised as *migrant-sojourners*

who were permanent settlers, but who have since returned to their homeland. In terms of the *end-result* of these movements, many *migrant-sojourners* exist. Indeed, the large numbers in the departures indicate the existence of a large percentage Japanese sojourners among the Japanese population of Australia.
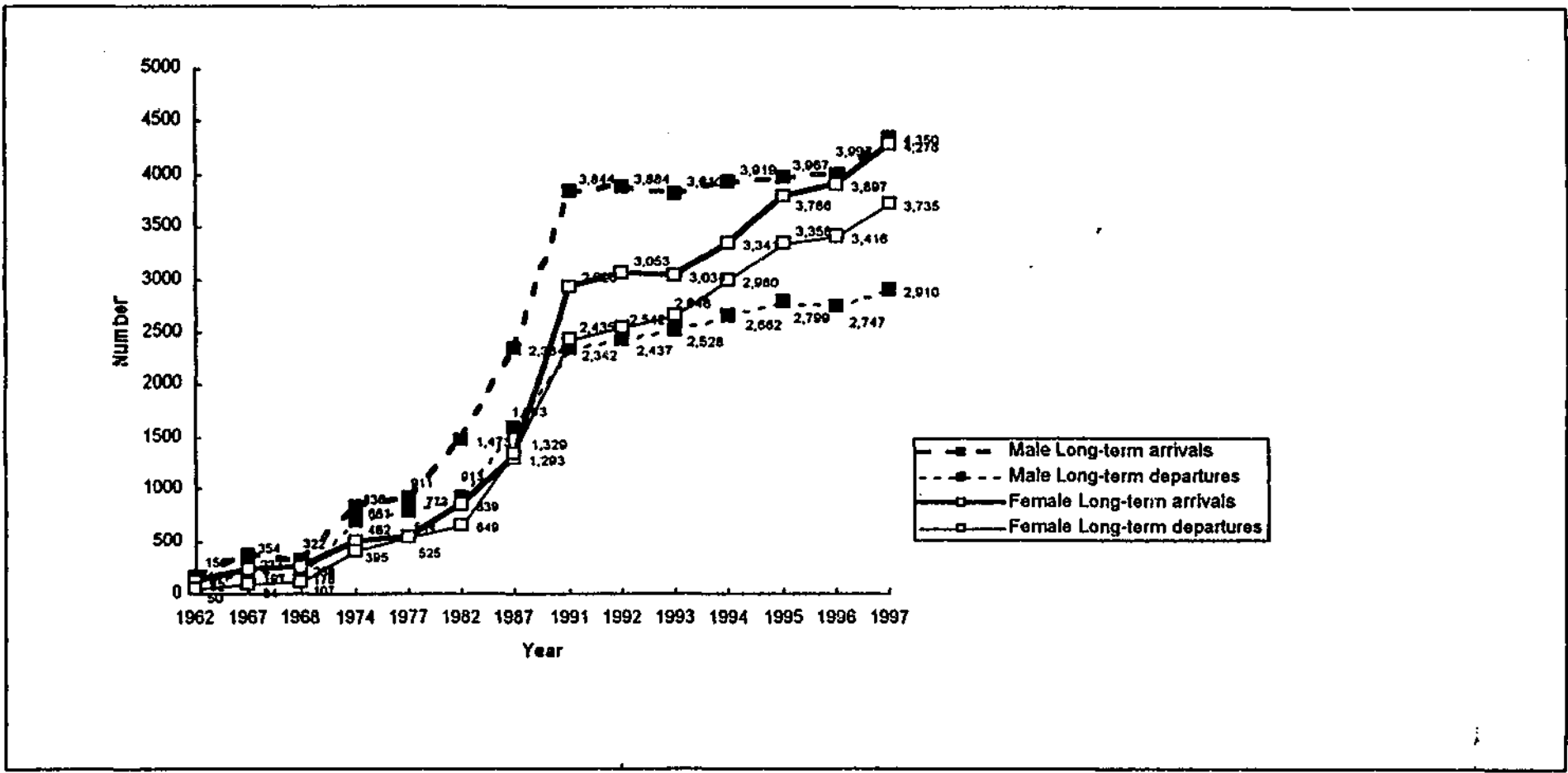
Figure 4 The numbers of long-term arrivals and departures of Japan-born persons by sex in selected years
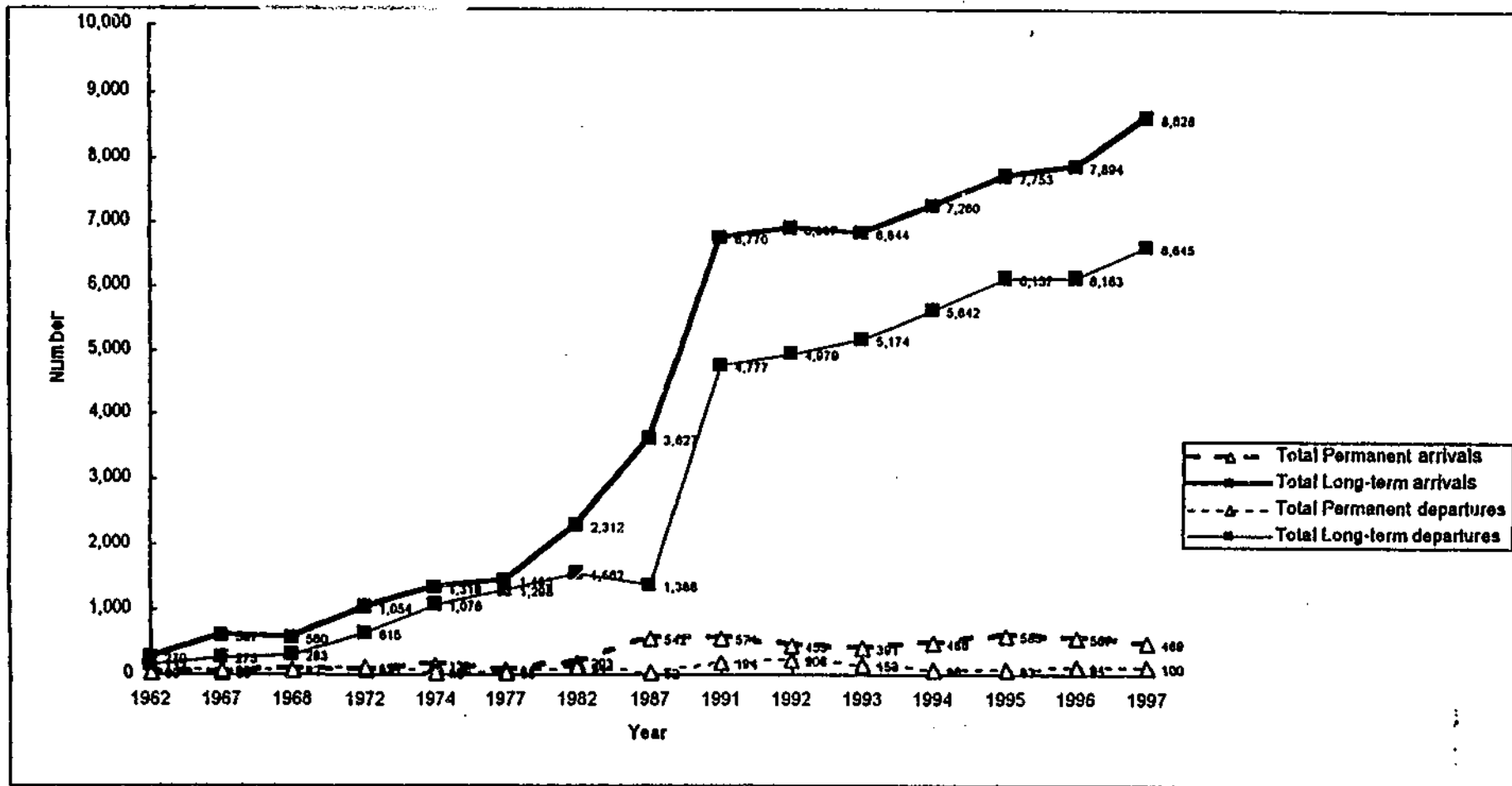
Figure 5 The numbers of permanent and long-term movements of Japan-born persons in selected years

In the mobilisation of people between Australia and Japan there is one outstanding feature. Even excluding short-term travellers (tourism, short-term business or short-course of study), the long-term movements have been numerically more significant than permanent movements. In other words, returned movements from Australia to Japan have played an important role in Japanese migration from the beginning to the present. Many of the Japanese visitors to Australia have been sojourning residents. The number of Japanese nationals living in Australia may not be large compared with some other ethnic groups. However, as will be shown in this thesis, the numbers are large enough to develop significant social cohesion, both for the Japanese people themselves as well as for the development of Australian-Japanese relations on the wider international front.

Chapter IV

A PROFILE OF JAPANESE RESIDENCY IN AUSTRALIA WITH SPECIAL

REFERENCE TO MELBOURNE

In previous chapters, I have reviewed the relevant literature for this research, including theories of migration, concepts of the sojourner, and overviews of the characteristics of Japanese sojourners and migrants in Australia. In this chapter, some findings of my questionnaire research are presented. As I mentioned in the first chapter, there are two fundamental stages in migration studies: one is at the pre-migratory stage and is related to migrants' decision-making processes. The other is the post-migratory stage when settlement patterns can be analysed. In this chapter, I discuss the characteristics of Japanese social life in Melbourne and give reasons why these Japanese people should have come to Australia. More precisely, the grounds of their preference to reside in Melbourne are explained. Firstly, some basic attributes of a sample of Japanese residents are presented. Then, the focus turns to their pre-migration conditions to identify their motivations in migrating to Australia. After illustrating the informants' basic attributes and reasons for coming to Australia, their attitudes towards naturalisation in Australia will also be analysed.

1. *Fieldwork and Subject Profile*

1.1 *Research Methods and Subjects-Classification*

In this study, all of the respondents in the questionnaire survey are first generation Japanese migrants or sojourners. In other words, this research is concerned with Japanese adults who were socialised in Japan, that is, those who were raised and completed their basic education in Japan. This investigation assumes that they have imbibed a regular 'set' of Japanese values through associating with other Japanese. In addition, the Japanese sampled are currently (at the time of the research) living in Melbourne. Initially, the individuals under investigation were chosen according to the following two criteria:

- They must have lived in Australia for more than one month.
- Before coming to Australia, they must have completed the Japanese compulsory education.

For clarification, it should be noted that in the course of analysing the returned questionnaires 19 sojourner-respondents reported that they have lived in Australia for less than three months but intended to live for more than three months. Initially, I had developed my categories by reference to *Gaimusho*'s definition of [Japanese] long-term temporary residents in foreign countries, which includes those who stay overseas for three months or more. However, sojourners who came to Australia with student and business-internship visa categories would stay usually for one month or thereabouts. Therefore the

subjects of this research include some informants who stayed in Australia for less than three months; all of the informants intended to stay in Australia for at least three months and the majority are longer stayers (see Table 10).

Table 10 Periods of the residence

	sojourners		migrants		Total
Length of stay	male	female	male	female	
Less than 3 months	9	10	-	-	19
(%)	10.5	11.5	-	-	7.7
3 months to less than 12 months	16	32	-	-	48
	18.6	36.8	-		19.4
1 year to less than 3 years	34	29	-	3	66
	39.5	33.3	-	5.3	26.7
3 years to less than 5 years	19	10	1	5	35
	22.1	11.5	5.9	8.8	14.2
5 years to less than 10 years	8	6	7	18	39
	9.3	6.9	41.2	31.6	15.8
10 years to less than 20 years	-	-	9	21	30
	-	-	52.9	36.8	12.1
Over 20 years	-	-	-	10	10
	-	-	-	17.5	4
Total	86	87	17	57	247
(%)					100

Apart from the overview of Japanese residency in Melbourne, the major concern of this study is to identify the major features of Japanese sojourners. In order to delineate the distinctive characteristics of sojourners, migrant-samples are included. With respect to concept of the sojourner *vis-à-vis* migrants, any strict classification of their residency as temporary or permanent will be closely related to the *end-result* of residency. With respect to the categories in this research, *sojourner-sojourner*, *sojourner-migrant*, *migrant-sojourner*, and *migrant-migrant* have to be defined in terms of such *end-results*. Most of the business migrants and family reunion migrants are considered to be *migrant-*

migrant if they settled in the host country on a permanent basis, while if they have returned to Japan, they are *migrant-sojourner* as explained in the chapter II.

Since this research is particularly concerned with Japanese residency in Melbourne, *migrant-sojourner* subjects are not included because, when the end-result of their residency is considered, they presently are found to be living in Japan. However, there is still room for potential *migrant-sojourners* in this research because they have permanent residency but intend to return to Japan. As there has been some returned migration it is sometimes difficult to categorise individuals as either 'sojourner' or 'migrant', except for the purposes of migration regulations which distinguish temporary and permanent residents in terms of their visa categories.

1.2 *Fieldwork including Questionnaire Distribution*

The fieldwork for this research was conducted in the period of April 1995-July 1998 in Melbourne. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used: questionnaire-distribution and intensive personal interviewing. The respondents' basic attributes, such as age and sex distribution, visa status, educational backgrounds, and length of stay in Australia are presented in this chapter. Other details of the sample, namely, marital status, current occupation and family composition, source of information regarding Australian life, and what they like and dislike about Australia, are discussed in subsequent chapters.

In order to gather information regarding Japanese residency and their activities in Melbourne, the researcher joined several Japanese clubs and societies. These were the Japanese Society of Melbourne, the Japan Club of Victoria, the Australia-Japan Society of Victoria, and a university alumni association. Additionally, the researcher has participated in various Japanese gatherings including festivals, Japanese religious services and cultural events. Various other places were visited, as well as the offices of the above organisations. Other offices included the Japanese Consulate General of Melbourne, the Melbourne International School of Japanese (Saturday school), the Japanese School of Melbourne (full-time School), several companies, and the editorial offices of Japanese newspapers in Melbourne, the working holiday office and Japanese religious services at the Canterbury Christian Church. With the permission and co-operation of these organisations, interviews were conducted with Japanese residents regarding their residency and activities in Melbourne, and questionnaires were distributed.

Pre-testing for the questionnaire took place with 10 respondents from the middle to end of April 1997, and the questionnaire-distribution started on 10th of May and finished on 22nd October 1997. A total of 842 questionnaires were distributed (see appendix 1). Many were distributed through teachers at the above two Japanese schools, and also through the offices of several Japanese companies. For the rest, the researcher aided by a few personal friends, handed out further questionnaires. In order to protect the informants' privacy and anonymity, these completed questionnaires were sent directly to the researcher by mail. They remained anonymous.

The following procedure was followed to avoid distributing the questionnaire more than once to the same person: The initial step was to distribute the questionnaires via Japanese schools to teachers and parents of pupils. Then, the researcher arranged distribution through several company managers who employed Japanese workers, most of whom were expatriate business people, but including a few permanent residents as well. The ....ers' assistance consisted of distributing the questionnaires to those who were not ..... their children to either the Japanese School of Melbourne or the Melbourne ....rnational School of Japanese. In this way, questionnaire distribution avoid the possibility of one person completing it twice. A similar exclusion procedure occurred when the researcher delivered questionnaires to staff at the Japanese Consulate General and the Japan Club of Victoria. The number of returned questionnaire was 253. In five questionnaires over half of the questions were not completed and so 248 were regarded as valid.

According to the Australian 1996 census, there were 3,624 Japan-born persons in Melbourne and the number of over 20 years of age was almost 2,700. There is one-year difference between the time of the questionnaire survey was conducted in 1997 and the 1996 census. Therefore, in 1997 the number is considered to be slightly larger than that in 1996. However, the 1996 data also included tourists. Excluding short-term stayers, the questionnaires can be said to have been distributed to at least one quarter of the adult Japanese population living in Melbourne and the proportion of returned questionnaires is

estimated at almost 10 per cent of the entire Japanese population of Melbourne.

Because the availability of the research subjects for this study are also determined by the characteristics of Japanese people which we are here studying, then it is appropriate to outline some characteristics of those people living in Melbourne before presenting the data analysis. One of the main objectives of this study is to ascertain the underlying pattern of Japanese residency in Melbourne and the main features of Japanese residency are closely related to their preference of particular areas of residence. In the next section, in order to highlight the main tendencies in Japanese residence in Australia, the population distribution of the Japanese nationals in Australia and their occupational profiles will be surveyed in terms of the Japanese government's data.

1.3 The Number of Japanese Residents by States and Cities

Japanese people prefer metropolitan areas for their residency. According to the Australian census data, the numbers of Japan-born persons in each state have increased each year from 1986 to 1996. In the mid-1980s, over half of Japan-born persons in Australia lived in New South Wales, with almost a quarter living in Victoria. Since then the proportions have declined to 44 per cent for NSW and 17 per cent for Victoria (1996 figures). On the other hand, the number in Queensland increased fourfold between 1986 and 1991; the main increases being of Japanese in Brisbane and on the Gold Coast.

Table 11 The number of Japan-born persons in each state in 1986, 1991 and 1996

Year	1986			1991			1996		
States	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
New South Wales	2,173	2,722	4,895	3,656	4,795	8,451	4,032	. . 6,074	10,106
Victoria	1,083	1,396	2,479	1,419	1,966	3,385	1,597	2,365	3,962
Queensland	361	548	909	1,737	2,196	3,933	2,181	3,330	5,511
South Australia	124	186	310	250	359	609	289	493	782
Western Australia	367	336	703	629	866	1,495	696	1,146	1,842
Tasmania	30	49	79	57	90	147	60	129	189
Northern Territory	26	39	65	37	57	94	45	94	139
Australian Capital Territory	115	166	281	133	237	370	182	300	482
Total	4,279	5,442	9,721	7,918	10,566	18,484	9,082	13,931	23,013

Source: Unpublished data from ABS. In this data, statistical divisions of 1986 and 1991 have adjusted to 1996.

The continual increase in the Japanese population on the Gold Coast area is worthy of note. The 1986 Census shows only 138 Japanese in this area, and by 1996 the number was augmented more than fifteen times (2,161). However, to use 1996 figures over 90 per cent of Japanese persons living in NSW (9,165) lived in Sydney. This constitutes 40 per cent of all those living in all the states. Melbourne following the national demographic pattern is the second largest city for Japan-born persons (3,624) which is more than 90 per cent of the Japan-born population living in that State. The Gold Coast figures indicate a notable exception to the overall trend of Japanese residence in Australia.

Japanese nationals in large cities have established their own networks and share some institutions such as the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry and other Japanese clubs. According to the Australian census data, in 1996 in area, there were over 1,000 Japan-born persons, including numbers of expatriate corporate families. In Sydney, Melbourne, the Gold Coast, Brisbane and Perth where the threshold of 1000 Japan-born

persons has been reached, Japanese people have established the Japanese Chambers of Commerce and Industry and other Japanese clubs. These clubs, with the support of the Japanese Chambers of Commerce and Industry, organise schools for supplementing Japanese education programmes, giving attention to the anticipated difficulties which their children will face in re-adjusting to the Japanese school system when they return home. In Sydney and Melbourne, in particular, there are both full-time and supplementary Japanese schools.

Table 12 The number of Japan-born persons in major cities in 1986, 1991 and 1996

Year	1986			1991			1996		
City	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Sydney	1,998	2,491	4,489	3,427	4,439	7,866	3,684	5,481	9,165
Melbourne	909	1,207	2,116	1,340	1,811	3,151	1,461	2,163	3,624
Gold coast*	57	81	138	799	895	1,694	910	1,251	2,161
Brisbane	188	319	507	574	864	1,438	751	1,184	1,935
Perth	253	303	556	552	800	1,352	647	1,071	1,718
Adelaide	112	166	278	234	321	555	273	462	735
Greater Hobart	16	27	43	38	64	102	37	86	123
Darwin	19	28	47	13	29	42	25	56	81

Source: Unpublished data from ABS. *The statistical district of Gold Coast is from "Gold Coast-Tweed' which includes some areas of NSW.

1.4 *Occupational Profile of the Long-term Temporary Residents in Australia with Foci on Melbourne*

In considering the characteristics of Japanese sojourners in Australia, the Japanese government provides data on the occupational profile of the sojourning Japanese nationals (who stay in Australia for more than three months). Although it does not provide any information regarding the occupational profile of naturalised foreign citizens and

permanent residents, these sojourners are classified into sub-categories by their occupation. In the Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs defines the six categories as follows:

(1) Those who work in the private sector, namely a company and their family members. These businessmen or businesswomen must belong to the following: a) Employees working in fields of trade, financing, insurance, manufacture, transport, construction, advertising, fishing, mining, forestry, travel, warehousing, real estate and so on. b) Employees of a joint venture corporation. c) Employees of a foreign corporation which has a branch in Japan. d) Employees who joined these kinds of corporations in the foreign country. (2) Those who are engaged in mass media such as a newspaper, a magazine, and broadcasting. This category also includes their family members and Japanese nationals who were employed in the foreign country. (3) Those who are priests, missionaries, authors, solicitors, accountants, instructors of art or martial art, music etc., artists, architects, doctors, and designers and their family members. (4) Those who are engaged in education, e. g., teachers and students and their family members excluding teachers who are affiliated with the Japanese government. (5) Those who are government officers or who work for an international organisation such as UNESCO, IMF, and OECD, and their family members. (When one's main objective of staying in the foreign country is to study, he or she is categorised as a student.) (6) Others include chefs, carpenters, gardeners, fashion models, cleaners, self-employed, unemployed, and their family members (Gaimudaijin kanbo ryoji ijubu, 1997: 2-5).

In the data collection criteria adopted by the Japanese government, major cities are defined to include areas in the vicinity of these cities, and the numbers were thus not

exactly the same as the Australian census data.[35] The Japanese government officers mentioned that the Australian census data is more accurate than the Japanese government's survey, but this report by *Gaimusho* provides the data of the occupational profile of 3,804 long-term temporary residents in the Melbourne consular district. Professional fields of the long-term temporary residents in Australia (Melbourne consul) in 1996 are shown below.

Table 13 Professional fields of the long-term temporary residents in Australia (Melbourne consul) in 1996

	Temporary Residents				Their Family Members				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
1) Private Sector	2,481	(673)	444	(36)	1,057	(329)	2,807	(791)	6,789	(1,829)
2) Mass Media	9	(0)	2	(0)	1	(0)	10	(0)	22	(0)
3) Instruction	15	(1)	5	(2)	5	(0)	13	(1)	38	(4)
4) Education	1,464	(475)	1,961	(754)	179	(76)	428	(181)	4,032	(1,486)
5) Government	152	(27)	25	(5)	90	(22)	221	(36)	488	(90)
6) Other	733	(113)	1,233	(249)	62	(12)	180	(21)	2,208	(395)
Total	4,854	(1,289)	3,670	(1,046)	1,394	(439)	3,659	(1,030)	13,577	(3,804)

Source: Gaimudaijin kanbo ryoji ijyubu (Consular and Migration Division, Consular and Migration Affairs Department), 1996, *Kaigai zairyu hojinsu tokei (A Report on the Number of Japanese Overseas)*, Tokyo: Okurasho, pp.168-169.

In Australia, nearly half of the temporary residents (6,789) were expatriate business people and their family members. These people worked in the private sector in enterprises such as trade, finance, insurance, transport, construction, travel, real estate and

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[35] In order to find the reason for the difference in the numbers between Australian census data and the Japanese government's reports, the researcher conducted interviews with Japanese consuls several times at the consulate general of Japan in Melbourne between October 1996 and April 1997. They remarked that it is virtually impossible to clarify the exact number of Japanese residents in each city by their survey and suggested that if we would like to know the exact number of Japanese residents, it would be better to consult the Australian statistics. The numbers of the Japanese government's survey are derived from the Japanese residents who registered to the Embassies and Consulate Generals in Australia. However, it is conceivable that there have been some Japanese nationals who did not register while some people who have travelled inter-state or have gone back to Japan after registration. Thus, the numbers in the Japanese survey have become larger than those in Australian census despite the fact that the latter includes a few persons who were born in Japan from non-Japanese parents.

so forth. Similarly, in the Melbourne region, roughly half of the temporary residents (1,829) were expatriate business people and their family members. The next largest group, roughly 40 per cent (1,486), was engaged in education such as teachers, students and their family members. A proportion in the education category in Melbourne was relatively higher than the entire group of the long-term temporary residents in Australia (which was 30 per cent). But, it is noted that this Japanese government survey does not distinguish between private and public sector involvement and thus this group includes both public and private sectors. Various types of students are included in this category, such as those who are taking regular school courses in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, or those who take English language courses in Australia.

The above two groups made up of almost 80 per cent of the sojourning resident group, according to the report. In the 1990s, the proportion in the business sector has declined slightly, while the number of persons engaged in education has increased. In the Melbourne count, there were 90 government officers, 22 members of the media, 4 miscellaneous professionals and instructors with their families. The remaining 395 were Japanese overseas on temporary visas including chefs, carpenters, gardeners, self-employed, unemployed and the like.

In terms of these sojourners, the Helen M. Schutt Trust Project (1991) indicates that the development of personal communication between Australians and Japanese has developed out of Victoria's social and economic ties with Japan. According to the

Project, in 1986 the Japan-born population in Victoria was only 2,743, most of whom (almost 60%) were sojourners residing for five years or less. The diverse backgrounds of these Japanese sojourners' include "academics, artists, teachers, students, housewives, health workers, managers and other employees of international companies, business proprietors, and retirees." These sojourners *vis-à-vis* migrants play a significant role in Japanese communities in Australian metropolitan areas. Japanese corporate families are the largest group of Japanese residents in Australia and reflect the local people's image of wealthy urbanites. And according to the Japanese government's annual report on the numbers of Japanese long-term temporary residents in Australia, over half of them were expatriate business people and their families. So too in this research of the sojourner group, over half were business expatriates and their families.

2. Subject Profile of the Informants

In this study, the distinction between sojourners and migrants is initially derived from the informants' current visa status: permanent or temporary permits. For the purpose of this study, the category of *Japanese migrant* refers to those Japanese who were naturalised Australians or who possessed permanent resident visa status at the time this research was undertaken. The subjects are basically divided into the above two groups: sojourners and migrants. Sub-categories of these groups are to be illustrated in subsequent chapters.

2.1 Visa Categories

The questionnaire research subjects consist of 248 Japanese residents in Melbourne including sojourners and migrants (permanent residents). The sojourner-subjects comprise 86 males and 87 females, while migrant-subjects consist of 17 males and 58 females. Their visa categories are shown in the following table.

Table 14 Categories of visa

Visa status	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
senior executives for	30	-	-	-	30
overseas companies (%)	34.9	~	-	-	12.1
expatriate dependants	-	41	-	-	·~41 ·
	-	47.1	-	-	16.5
business people	29	4	-	-	33
	33.7	4.6	-	-	13.3
students	14	30	-	-	44
	16.3	34.5	-	-	17.7
educational appointees	2	-	-	-	2
	2.3	-	-	-	0.8
foreign government	3	2	-	-	5
agency staff	3.5	2.3	-	-	2
occupational trainees	2	-	-	-	2
	2.3	-	-	-	0.8
tourists	-	2	-	-	2
	-	2.3	-	-	0.8
working holiday	5	4	-	-	9
	5.8	4.6	-	-	3.6
other	1	4	-	-	5
	1.2	4.6	-	-	2
permanent residents	-	-	17	54	71
	-	-	100	93.1	28.6
Australian citizens	-	-	-	4	4
	-	-	-	6.9	1.4
Total	86	87	17	58	248
(%)					100

In this sample, the number of naturalised Australians is quite small. As discussed previously, the number of naturalised Australians among Japan-born persons is small when compared with permanent residents. This is also reflected in the relative numbers of such respondents to this questionnaire-survey.

With respect to those respondents who fit the *sojourner* visa category, 68 per cent of males came to Australia on business-related visas. Conceivably the vast majority were

expatriate business personnel. Of female sojourners, 47 per cent came by an expatriate dependent visa and 30 per cent were students. Therefore, we can say that the vast majority of female sojourners were not in the workforce.

2.2 Age and Sex Distribution

The age distribution is shown in the following table. It was initially planned to gather a sample of individuals with a wide variety of socio-cultural backgrounds; however, the sample of male migrants is already quite small. This is partly due to the fact that the number of male migrants has been much smaller than their female counterparts in Australia.

Table 15 Age and sex distribution

	sojourners		migrants		Total
Age group	male	female	male	female	
19 years old	1	4	-	2	7
or less (%)	1.2	4.6	-	3.4	2.8
20 -29	17	40	1	7	65
years old	19.8	46	5.9	12.1	26.2
30-39	34	20	6	18	78
years	39.5	23	35.3	31	31.5
40-49	26	21	8	23	78
years	30.2	24.1	47.1	39.7	31.5
50-59	8	2	2	6	18
years	9.3	2.3	11.8	10.3	7.3
60 years	-	-	-	2	2
and over	-	-	-	3.4	0.8
Total	86	87	17	58	248
(%)	34.7	35.1	6.9	23.4	100

Over 70 per cent of male and female migrants were in their thirties or forties. Similarly, 60 per cent of male sojourners were in their thirties or forties. This concentrated age distribution of sojourning Japanese subjects is due to the tendency of Japanese multi-

national enterprises to send overseas white-collar workers within that particular age group.[36] This is also reflected in the relative numbers of such respondents to this questionnaire-survey.

2.3 *Educational Backgrounds*

There is some differences in the educational background between male sojourners and male migrants. Among male sojourners, a proportion of university graduates is 82 per cent (consists of 74% of undergraduate and 8% of postgraduate), while less than half (47 per cent) of male migrants were university graduates (see Table 16).

Table 16 Educational background

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
junior high school	1	1	-	1	3
(%)	1.2	1.2	-	1.7	1.2
senior high school	8	22	4	13	47
	9.4	25.9	23.5	22.4	19.2
junior college	6	28	5	16	55
	7.1	32.9	29.4	27.6	22.4
university	63	29	5	20	117
	74.1	34.1	29.4	34.5	47.8
postgraduate study	7	5	3	8	23
	8.2	5.9	17.6	13.8	9.4
Total	85	85	17	58	245
(%)					100

As for female migrants, nearly 80 per cent were in workforce (see Table 17). Over 10 per cent of these females were teachers and lecturers of the Japanese language. By contrast,

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[36] According to the research by Inamura (1987) of the major one hundred enterprises which began business abroad, the majority (83.5%) of their overseas Japanese employees were in their thirties and forties. Furthermore, these companies tend send males overseas as opposed to females. Inamura's research shows that no Japanese company sent a businesswoman abroad for a long-term overseas assignment. More

the vast majority of female sojourners were not in the workforce because Japanese corporate wives, whose visa was 'expatriate dependants', were not allowed to work here according to the Australian regulation. Among the female sojourner group, over 80 per cent held 'expatriate dependants' or 'student' visas and thus their work permission was limited.

None of the male respondents in both sojourner and migrants categories were unskilled labourers. Indeed, considerably large proportions of these males are skilled workers. With respect to business expatriates, their status within their companies was considerably high as most of them have section chief or managerial positions which were concomitant with their high level of financial positions (income level will be shown in the next chapter).

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recently, the above situation has somewhat changed, but still the vast majority is considered to be male employees in particular age group.

Table 17 Professional fields of the respondents

Occupation	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
section chief or manager	54	-	2	1	57
(%)	62.8	-	11.8	1.8	23.1
executive or director	1	-	3	4	8
	1.2	-	17.6	7	3.2
family employee	-	-	1	1	2
	-	-	5.9	1.8	0.8
clerk	1	-	1	12	14
	1.2	-	5.9	21.1	5.7
part-time clerk	-	-	-	2	2
	-	-	-	3.5	0.8
sales person	2	-	-	2	4
	2.3	-	-	3.5	1.6
part-time sales person	-	-	-	1	1
	-	-	-	1.8	0.4
teacher or lecturer	5	4	1	7	17
	5.8	4.6	5.9	12.3	6.9
part-time teacher or lecturer	1	-	-	4	5
	1.2	-	-	7	2
government officer	-	2	-	-	2
	-	2.3	-	-	0.8
student	14	36	3	3	56
	16.3	41.4	17.6	5.3	22.7
house wife	-	42	-	13	55
	-	48.3	-	22.8	22.3
specialist	4	1	6	2	13
	4.7	1.1	35.3	3.5	5.3
unskilled labourer	-	1	-	2	3
	-	1.1	-	3.5	1.2
other (unemployed)	4	1	-	3	8
	4.7	1.1	-	5.3	3.2
Total	86	87	17	57	247
(%)					100

3. Reasons for Coming to Australia

With respect to the pre-migration stage, some attention will always be given to the living conditions of the country of origin. One of the main perspective for analysing migrants' decision-making, is the push-pull model which, when applied to international and domestic migratory acts, focuses upon the elements which impel an individual or group to move. The push-pull model is based on analyses of the phenomena of residential shift; it is applicable to worldwide population movements as well as individual migratory actions. In other words, this schema can be applied to both macro and micro aspects of human movements. The push-pull model can be used to study both international shifts in population as well as domestic residential shifts.

A *push* factor is one which motivates people to move from their domicile of origin, while a *pull* factor attracts an individual or people to their destination. In an analysis of push factors, migrants' living conditions in their domicile of origin are explained as the cause of migration. In general researchers take account of the negative impact of the political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions which propel migrants outward. On the other hand, the analysis of pull factors considers the living conditions in migrants' destinations. Migration theory is developed in terms of why these particular places attract a migrant inflow.

This model refers to the positive and negative factors which influence migration, it is intended to clarify the mechanisms for Japanese people to migrate to Australia. For ascertaining the motivation of Japanese migrating to Australia, a sample of such persons' major reasons for choosing Australia as their destination will be analysed. In the questionnaire survey, there was an open-ended question asking why they chose Australia, instead of other countries. In terms of the push-pull model, especially pull factors in Australia which attract Japanese migrants can therefore be identified.

3.1 *Corporate Families*

Although there were various reasons for Japanese residents coming to Australia, one of their major reasons was their own or their families' job transfer. Of a total of 247 respondents (one female did not answer this question), the largest number (109) chose 'their own or their families' job transfer' as the main reason. Particularly amongst sojourner-respondents, 66 males (73.3% of male sojourners) gave as the reason their job transfer and 39 females for their spouses' job transfer (44.8% of female sojourners). Only one female sojourner mentioned that the main reason was her employers' (the Japanese Government) job transfer. Even among migrant respondents, 2 males came here because of their company's job transfer and 4 females came because of their spouses' job transfer as shown in the Table 18.

Table 18 Reason for coming to Australia

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
my job transfer	63	1	2	-	66
(%)	73.3	1.1	11.8	-	26.7
my spouse's job transfer	-	39	-	4	43
	-	44.8	-	7	17.4
to study	14	33	1	4	52
	16.3	37.9	5.9	7	21.1
to marry	-	1	-	21	22
	-	1.1	-	36.8	8.9
for my employment	2	4	4	6	16
	2.3	4.6	23.5	10.5	6.5
I knew person in Australia	2	4	1	6	13
	2.3	4.6	5.9	10.5	5.3
public order in Australia	2	2	-	2	6
	2.3	2.3	-	3.5	2.4
I like living condition	-	1	1	6	8
	-	1.1	5.9	10.5	3.2
permanent migration	-	-	7	3	10
	-	-	41.2	5.3	4
other	3	2	1	5	11
	3.5	2.3	5.9	8.8	4.5
Total	86	87	17	57	247
(%)					100

The above six cases who were permanent residents are considered sojourner-*migrant*, though at the initial stage of their migration, they might have been *sojourner-sojourner*. The vast majority of Japanese corporate people are *sojourner-sojourner* in terms of their right to temporary stay, as well as their firm intention to return to their homeland. However, their extended period of stay in the host community has led to some migrants from among the membership of these families. During the interviews, a few businessmen mentioned that they were not originally motivated to migrate to Australia. But during their stay of several years their return was made difficult for their children who, they judged, would have experienced difficulty in returning to Japan and to Japanese

schooling. Thus, they decided to remain in Australia. This also indicates that the push and pull model is useful for analysing the transitions from *sojourner-sojourner* to *sojourner-migrant* to *migrant-sojourner* to *migrant-migrant*.

The analysis of pushes and pulls on Japanese who remain in Australia will indicate whether there is a willingness to refrain from assuming that the push (to go in accordance with Japanese bosses wish) will in time become a longer-term pull once the person is domiciled in the foreign country. But here this respondent indicates that the pull of family generated from within its Australian experience has become greater than the combination of the expected push by the family to return and the pull of the company to return after one's foreign assignment is completed.

When I interviewed several company managers, I asked them what criteria they used to judge whether a person should be sent to Australia. No particular reason was given, but some mentioned that there is a rotation system within companies. In the questionnaire, there were open-ended questions: 'Why did you choose Australia, instead of other countries?' and 'Why were you selected by your organisation?' The vast majority of businessmen and their wives answered 'I do not know' or 'not any particular reason.' Only one out of five company personnel officers mentioned that the company would have been concerned with the employees' command of the English language as a reason for their selection.

In terms of post-war long-term movements from Japan to Australia, Japanese corporate families have numerically accounted for the mainstream of Japanese residency. Apart from companies' job transfer, these expatriates' reasons for coming to Australia are uncertain or at least the majority were not motivated to migrate to Australia. That was usually not in mind when they took the job transfer. This type of movement is not a new tendency, but has not been a major focus in studies of migrants' settlement patterns, including assimilation or integration, in Australia.

Although there have been a few people who intend to remain in the host society on a permanent basis, the vast majority prefer Japan and retain a deep attachment to Japanese society. Most expatriates regard their reference group to be in relation to Japanese organisations such as the parent company itself or the government department in which they work. Most are anxious about staying overseas for extended periods because of their deep concerns about their later re-adjustment to Japanese society. Their concern for their children's education sometimes leads Japanese businessmen to go to their assigned foreign post without their family members accompanying them because they would avoid sending their children to overseas non-Japanese schools. Some researchers (e.g., Inamura, 1980; White, 1988) point out that overseas posting for Japanese businessmen sometimes results in the separation of family members or in difficulties for returning children readjusting to the Japanese school system.[37]

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[37] For example, the research into Japanese children of overseas parents by White in 1976 shows that the percentage of elementary school children who remained in Japan was 13%, of middle-school students 28% and of high school students 49% of the total (total number of subjects was 3,705) (1988: 37).

In the course of my interviews, it was found that different types of separation have emerged among Japanese corporate families. Several businessmen indicated that their high school age children had lived in Australia for over five years. When the time comes to return to Japan they intended to leave their children in Australia. According to these businessmen, they and their children think that it would be better to complete their tertiary education here, rather than preparing for entrance examinations of Japanese universities. This indicates a complex push-pull mechanism at work in such business migration in relation to the education of family members.

Even though their job transfer causes family-separation, Japanese company employees do not usually refuse such transfer because of longer-term promotional prospects. In the course of making the decision to come to Australia, those people were generally not greatly influenced by the lure of the host country and thus the pull factor was not great at the individual level. They might not be involuntary migrants, but their migratory action did not result from their own volition. With respect to the push-pull model, some reasons for migration lie in the receiving country, while others compel them to leave their country of origin. Included in the latter is frustration in one's work or the living conditions in their home country which might lead to emigration (if only for a time) from their home country.

On the other hand, pull factors are related to the positive impact of migration upon migrants and extend the theory by reference to the positive perceptions and images of the intended destination. The enticement of the host society is not an inducement factor for this individual movement. Rather, it is conceivable that the already satisfactory conditions in their country of origin propel them out to take foreign assignments, and to go further in company terms. Although their companies have found some commercial interests at the organisational level, and many corporate families appear to have a positive image of Australia, at the individual level it seems highly unlikely to have been a pull factor. Hence, this model is simply not applicable at the individual level.

3.2 Students

The second major reason for the respondents' coming to Australia was 'to study'. Among sojourner-respondents, the number who chose 'to study in Australia' was 57 (27% of the sojourners), consisting of 14 males (16.3% of the male sojourners) and 33 females (37.9% of the female sojourners). The male students included 6 postgraduate students, 4 undergraduate students, 3 ELICOS students, and 1 exchange student. The female students consist of 4 postgraduate students, 18 ELICOS students, and 8 exchange students (2 postgraduate and 6 undergraduate exchanges). All of the above female exchange students from 7 different Japanese universities remarked that although they did not know the reasons, their universities tended to select female students. There were also some *sojourner-migrants* in the student group. One male and 4 female migrants also stated that

their main reasons for coming were to study and thus they may well have transferred their settlement category from sojourner to migrant in the process.

In answering the question as to why they exclusively chose Australia, nearly half of the respondents did not select Australia as their first priority. Six out of 9 exchange students mentioned that their first priority was the United States, but a few of them could not go there because of the intense competition to get into the exchange quota. Others thought that Australia was safer than the United States. Other students gave similar reasons. Four out of 10 postgraduate students who were taking a Japanese applied linguistics course stated that it is much easier to enter an Australian postgraduate course than courses in other foreign countries, namely the United States. On the other hand, a few of them told the researcher that some Japanese language courses in Australia are quite famous and that is why they chose them. It is obvious that the reason 'to study' does not *merely* express their main reason, but rather there is an interplay between different factors such as the status of the course, its less competitive entrance requirements and the prospects of a country known for its easy-going way of life. In fact, for many respondents, the reasons for coming Australia are based upon such factors.

A few ELICOS students mentioned that their first choice was the United States but their parents did not agree because they thought the United States was dangerous. This is related to the reason of 'public order in Australia'. Although only 6 out of 247 respondents (2.4%) answered that their main reason for coming was 'public order in

Australia', this factor can be related to how other respondents decided on Australia. Although only 13 respondents (5.3%) chose 'I knew someone in Australia' as their main reason, a few respondents who came here to study explained that their friends were here already and one female said that her father's friend was living in Australia and she had resided with that family, commuting to English school. For students, especially for those who did not intend to study any particular course, their movement from Japan seems to have been a matter of personal networks, their individual perception of the host country, including public order. These can function as pull factors.

3.3 *Migration for Marriage and Partner's Ethnicity*

After 'job transfer' and 'to study', 22 respondents (8.9% of the total) chose 'to marry someone in Australia' as their main reason for coming. This included 21 female migrants and only 1 female sojourner. Among female migrants, the largest proportion (36.3%) fell into this category. Indeed, Australian Government's data shows that post-war settler movements of Japan-born persons have been predominantly female, although the long-term arrivals have clearly shown no such female-dominance. Since the middle of the 1980s, the largest category in Japanese settlers has been in family migration (the Australian Government's category - see chapter III). Sixty-four per cent of the respondents were married and when it includes de facto persons, the proportion is 66.8 per cent, as shown in the following table. Of the migrant-respondents, except for one male student, all the males and over 70 per cent of females were married.

Table 19 Marital status

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
Single	27	42	1	12	82
(%)	31.4	48.3	5.9	21.1	33.2
Married	59	42	16	41	158
	68.6	48.3	94.1	71.9	64
de facto	-	3	-	4	7
	-	3.4	-	7	2.8
Total	86	87	17	57	247
(%)					100

It must be noted that among the married informants, over 60 per cent of female migrant respondents had non-Japanese partners. (One male and one female married migrant did not respond to this question). Among sojourners, one male and a few females had non-Japanese partners (see Table 20). The categories of 'Australian,' Japanese and 'other' are related to each respondent's perception of ethnicity. One female migrant wrote a parenthesis to indicate British after choosing 'Australian' as her partner's ethnicity. On the other hand, 4 out of 5 female respondents who selected 'other' indicated South African, Chinese-Australian, Iranian, and British.

Table 20 Partner's ethnicity

	sojourners		Migrants		Total
	male	female	Male	female	
Australian	-	2	2	21	25
(%)	-	4.4	12.5	48.8	15.3
Japanese	58	41	14	17	130
	98.3	91.1	39.5	39.5	79.8
other	1	2	-	5	8
	1.7	4.4	-	11.6	4.9
Total	59	45	16	43	163
(%)					100.0

According to Sissons, Japanese residents who were naturalised Australian citizens were predominantly females who married descendants of European settlers (1988: 637). In this survey, many of those respondents who answered simply 'Australian' possibly mean a partner of European descent. This research cannot corraborate this, but it does suggest that in Melbourne a high proportion of Japanese female migrants have partners of European ancestry.

3.4 Employment in Australia

Sixteen respondents (6.5%), 2 male and 4 female sojourners and 4 male and 6 female migrants, gave their employment as the main reason for coming to Australia. Nearly a quarter of male migrants and almost 10 per cent of female migrants came here for their employment. Among sojourner-respondents, two males came on occupational trainee visas and a few females came for business internships. These people are considered to be *sojourner-sojourner* as the current visa status limits their period of stay. However, among migrant-respondents, there are similar cases at the initial stages of migration. They came to get a work position in Australia and became *sojourner-migrant*. During interviews with two female respondents, both of them said that they did not expect to become permanent residents when they came to Australia. In these cases, job opportunities are a pull factor and these interviewees stated that it was just job opportunity and no other reasons that brought them to Australia.

This group came here to work following a current tendency of Japanese migration in which the option for taking a job is almost an extension of domestic residential shift for their employment. In the Yomiuri newspaper article (10 April 1994), Miki, Yamaguchi, and Kubo explain that the development of a globalised economy has led to a number of Japanese youth searching for work in foreign lands. The count of this tendency, which is explained in the above article, is the emergence of youth who believe they can utilise their skills more effectively outside Japan. In other words, some people do not intend to conform to Japanese society's seniority system, and are interested in the overseas merit system. They further describe their grounds for emigration by referring to a change in Japan's socio-economic conditions which affects Japanese organisational structure as the long period of recession imperils the lifetime employment system. In recent years women, particularly in their late 20s and early 30s, have been conspicuous in their demand for overseas employment (*ibid.*). To move to foreign lands for employment cannot be merely regarded as migration but as one of the options in a change of profession. It is apparent that a proportion of Japanese professionals are involved in such permanent movements.

3.5 *Impartial Migration to Australia*

In contrast to sojourning corporate families, many Japanese migrants voluntarily choose Australia as their destination, and thus, compared with most sojourners, they would be expected to give more elaborate reasons for coming here. One type of migration of Japanese youth shows that a pull factor is the perception of better business opportunities

in foreign lands. The push factor is a negative view of the country of origin, including the Japanese company system and the current long-term recession. However, 10 out of a total of 74 migrant-respondents (13.5%) stated 'permanent migration'. This answer accounts for over 40 per cent of male migrants. We cannot ignore this kind of answer, because in responding to an open-ended question about the main reason for choosing Australia, these migrants, both male and female, remarked that 'there were not any particular reasons to come here' or they 'just wanted to live in a foreign country' or 'no particular reason to migrate to Australia.' This type of movement appears to have increased in recent years.

Similar statements were found among the sojourner-samples. In the course of interviewing, several working holiday-makers said that they came when they learned they could apply for a working-holiday visa. They had no other particular reason than they wanted to live in a foreign land. Some exchange students remarked: 'The main thing was that there was an exchange programme between my university and the Australian university, but I wanted to go overseas anyway.' There thus appear to be some who do not have any particular reason or objective, apart from wanting to live in a foreign land.

These above people are not the standard or typical type of Japanese living in Japan. But the motivation of emigrants from Japan can also be associated with idiosyncratic factors. Furthermore, accessibility to overseas travel has become easier so that many Japanese have come to feel that trans-oceanic travel is commonplace rather than the exception. Globalisation of media networks, advanced transportation between countries, and job

opportunities in foreign lands promote new tendencies of human movements. In particular, the image of 'migration' to many Japanese has been changed by globalisation with a reduction in the perceived negative implications from a Japanese point of view. For some people, migration may merely be the extension of a change in their residency or getting a job. For these Japanese, any geographical and/or cultural *"tyranny of distance"* seems to be a thing of the past. An analysis of these informants concerns about their temporary or permanent stay in Australia will be presented in the next section.

4. Plan and Intention to Stay Permanently/ Temporary in Relation to Naturalisation

In this section, Uriely's two major criteria for determining types of residency as 'sojourner', 'permanent sojourner', and 'settler' are adopted. One parameter is defined by the question of whether or not they have a 'concrete plan to return' to their homeland. The other is the respondents' 'intention to live in the host society on a permanent/temporary basis.' However, since legal conditions are an essential component of foreign residency anywhere in the world, the phrase *if possible* was added to the question relating to their intention to stay.

4.1 *Concrete Plan for Returning to Homeland*

In response to the question as to whether or not they had a concrete plan to return to Japan, roughly 75 per cent of the sojourners (77.6% of males and 72.9% of females) indicated that they did. Only one male (1.2%) and three females (3.5%) indicated that they had confirmed their original plan to remain here permanently, or at least that they did not have any plan to return to Japan (see the table below). Of the sojourners, 18 males (21.2%) and 20 females (23.5%) do not have concrete plan to go back to Japan. Just below one quarter of sojourners do not know when they will return to Japan partly because, even among the corporate families, a few are not sure about the date of their return. In the course of several interviews with expatriate businessmen and their wives, a few mentioned that, overseas assignments are generally for three years. But there have

been some exceptional cases, which means that they are not sure that their overseas assignments would finish in the original three-year period.

Table 21 A plan for staying

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
stay permanently	1	3	13	40	57
(%)	1.2	3.5	76.5	69.0	23.3
have an exact plan to return	66	62	-	2	130
	77.6	72.9	-	3.4	53.1
do not have an exact plan	18	20	4	16	58
	21.2	23.5	23.5	27.6	23.7
Total	85	85	17	58	245
(%)					100.1

Among the migrant group, most of the respondents, including 13 males (76.5%) and 40 females (69.0%), confirmed their plan to stay on a permanent basis, but only two females (3.4%) had a concrete plan to return to Japan even though they had a permanent-resident visa. Regardless of their permanent status, almost a quarter of migrants, comprising four males (23.5%) and 16 females (27.6%) did not have any plan to remain here on a permanent basis.

Among the migrant group, most of the respondents, 13 males (76.5%) and 40 females (69.0%), confirmed their plan to stay on a permanent basis. Only two females (3.4%) had a concrete plan to return to Japan even though they had a permanent-resident visa. Regardless of their permanent status, almost a quarter of migrants, comprising four males

(23.5%) and 16 females (27.6%) did not have any plan to remain in Australia on a permanent basis.

4.2 *Intention to Live in Australia Permanently or Temporary*

In response to a question, 'Would you like to live in Australia on a permanent basis, if possible?' most male (63.9%) and female (65.5%) sojourner-respondents answered that their stay in Australia was temporary basis. Thus, almost two-thirds of the sojourner-respondents demonstrated a *sojourner-sojourner* character. But among *potential migrants,* who may become *sojourner-migrants,* and *reluctant returnees* who involuntarily go back to Japan, there is almost one-third of male (33.7%) and female (31%) who responded affirmatively that *"if possible"* they would like to remain on a permanent basis. The following table illustrates the respondents' intention to stay in Australia whether or not on a permanent basis.

Table 22 Intention to live in Australia permanently/temporary

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
permanently	28	27	14	36	105
(%)	33.7	31	82.4	65.5	43.4
temporary	53	57	1	8	119
	63.9	65.5	5.9	14.5	49.2
uncertain	2	3	2	11	18
	2.4	3.4	11.8	20	7.4
Total	83	87	17	55	242
(%)					100

In contrast with the sojourners, most males (82.4%) and female (65.5%) migrants naturally indicated that they would like to remain in the host society permanently. Only

one male (5.9% of male migrants) and eight females (14.5% of female migrants) indicated that their stay is on a temporary basis, even though they have permanent-resident visa. This small group is likely to become *migrant-sojourner* sooner or later.

However, it should be noted that, although there were only two choices in the questionnaire; 'yes' or 'no', some respondents did add a third choice to the answer: 'uncertain' or 'I have not decided.' Among the sojourner group, two males (2.4% of male sojourners) and three females (3.4% of female sojourners) added this third choice. A larger proportion of the migrants expressed their uncertainty in remaining in Australia on a permanent basis. Two male (11.8%) and 11 female (20%) migrants attached this third choice on their own and the number of migrants-respondents who expressed 'uncertainty' is much larger than those who indicated their stay was on temporary basis. Furthermore, three male sojourners and three female migrants did not answer this question. It is conceivable that these people could not answer because there were only two choices; 'yes' or 'no'. If we assume that these three female migrants had not responded to this question since they could choose neither 'yes' nor 'no', nearly a quarter (24.1%) of female migrants would have been 'uncertain' about their permanent residency in Australia. It is probable that if there had been a third choice in the questionnaire, a much larger proportion of the respondents could have expressed 'uncertainty'.

With reference to Uriely's classification (see Chapter II), most sojourner-respondents in this survey are 'sojourner' (in this research, it is *sojourner-sojourner*), while the rest

consisted of some 'permanent-sojourner', very few 'settler' and a few individuals who do not fit to Uriely's categories. On the other hand, the migrant group in this research can be closer to his subjects as the legal conditions of permanent residency did not appear to be a significant criterion in his research and the informants appeared to have their preference for 'permanent or temporary stay.' Although most migrant-respondents in my research (almost three-quarters of males and over 60 per cent of females) can be classified as 'settler', the proportion who are 'permanent-sojourner' is very small. This outcome shows that the 'permanent sojourner' type is not the main stream of Japanese residency. Rather, we must consider other elements to define sojourner *vis-à-vis* migrants since there were some respondents who cannot or do not decide their residency in either permanent or temporary terms.

In contemporary movements, there can be some foreign residents, whose length of stay in the host community is uncertain or cannot be definitely determined as either permanent or temporary. Of course, to define the sojourner, it is essential to investigate an individual's intention to stay in a foreign country and on what basis - permanent or temporary. However, there is still indeterminacy for such terms.

As the study of 'return migrants' has clarified, permanent visa holders do not always stay in the host society permanently. With reference to Uriely's category of 'permanent sojourner', there may be another type of sojourner who does not have a concrete plan to return to the country of origin and the intention to go back to the home land is 'uncertain.'

Thus, there also appears to be another question which is related to a historical and classical theme of citizenship rights, as many Japanese permanent residents are not interested in Australian citizenship.

4.3 *Naturalisation and Sojourners' Attachment to Australia/Japan*

In the previous section, I emphasised some migrants whose intention to remain in the host country is 'uncertain.' It is considered that 'uncertainty in staying permanently' is also related to the small numbers seeking naturalisation among Japan-born persons (see Chapter III). Japanese migrants' 'uncertainty' of permanent stay induces their hesitancy in naturalisation. In fact, the evidence is of many returned migrations from Australia to Japan. The informants' addition of an extra 'uncertain' answer is important. Japanese residents who have stayed in Australia for a several years may keep their social ties with Japan and if they do decide to go back to Japan, it is much better to do so as a Japanese citizen.

Naturalisation may be a part of developing a sense of belonging to a new country and can help determine permanent residents' *settling* in Australian soil. Only four naturalised citizens were found in this survey. As such it is not possible to generalise or standardise grounds for Japanese individual's reluctance to naturalise in Australia. That being said there are common attributes amongst these four female informants: all of them have the intention and plan to live in Australia on a permanent basis and have lived in Australia for over 20 years. Ten years of residency appears to have been a turning point in their

decision to live in Australia permanently. This was related to their decision to be naturalised (see chapter III) and their long period of stay. So, not surprisingly, the move from sojourner or permanent-residence visa holders to settler depends on the length of sojourn. We might speculate that it is a move away from 'uncertainty', the ambiguities of being permanently resident, but non-naturalised, where the balance of push and pull factors have been reversed.

In my previous research in Brisbane, of a total of 18 Japanese migrant-respondents, four were naturalised Australians, who firmly intended to remain in Australia permanently. They had immigrated to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s. There were two war brides, one female respondent whose husband is an Australian and one self-employed businessman in his mid-fifties in 1990. The above four respondents did not clearly explain the reason why they obtained Australian citizenship, but their experiences were related to their naturalisation, emphasising that they now had to lead their lives in Australia:

For one businessman, when the head office of the company withdrew its affiliated business from Australia, he decided to remain to establish his own business and he thought that it was better for his children to be educated in Australia because they were already educated in the Australian school system. Three female immigrants had their own grounds for naturalisation. One of them, who migrated in the late 1960s to marry an Australian citizen explained, "Once we left Japan, we could not go back to the mother-land". According to her, she could not tell her parents about her marriage because it was obvious that her parents would oppose the idea. It was, therefore,

better for her to become an Australian because, no matter what happened, she could not return to Japan. She indicated that her naturalisation was precipitated by the psychological pressure of being unable to go back to Japan. The two war brides, who came to Australia in the mid-1950s, also expressed strong opposition to the idea of returning to their home country. One of them did not talk about her experience in Japan very much, but said, "I prefer speaking English because I have not spoken Japanese for over thirty years and I am not interested in the on-going affairs in Japan because now I am an Australian." The other explained, "I was disowned by my parents when they realised that I had a boy friend who was a foreign soldier staying in Japan during the Occupation". She used an English name and said that when she first came to Australia, she was not allowed to speak Japanese, not even to her own children on account of the social pressure resulting from the war. In addition, this lady explained that she was not interested in Japan because almost all of her friends in Japan died by atomic bomb (Mizukami, 1990).

A social tie with people in Japan appears to be an important factor for the above females' naturalisation as they appeared to have lost any interests or sense of the necessity of maintaining social contacts in Japan. This is related to how long years of stay weaken networks or social ties in the country of origin, losing a social attachment except for sentimental reasons and emotional ties. It is easy to imagine that a long period of stay, such as over 10 years, increases the significance of their place of residency practically, socially, and maybe even mentally. There are more practical reasons; a few migrant-respondents mentioned that, since they had lived in Australia for over 10 years, the amount of annuity due to them in Japan becomes prohibitively small and this makes it doubly difficult to return to Japan. It can be concluded that long length of stay in the host country in relation to the firm intention to become Australian induces a higher rate of

naturalisation. However, although the above reasons can induce the motivation to live in the host society permanently, these do not automatically cause their naturalisation. There are also deep psychological and emotional issues here. And the question of why only a small proportion of Japan-born persons becomes involved in naturalisation has not as yet been solved.

4.4 *Mental and Psychological Attachment to Japan*

As for the Japanese residents' main reason for not naturalising in Australia, there is one questionnaire survey conducted by Sugiura (1995), who analysed the attitudes of Japanese permanent-residents-visa holders towards naturalisation. In his research, the largest proportion of the respondents (41.9%) answered that their main reason for not naturalising was to maintain their 'Japanese identity'. After this, nearly 30 per cent of the respondents' gave as their main reason to keep their Japanese passport, as shown in the following table.

Table 23 The Japanese permanent residents' main reason for not naturalising

Sex	Japanese identity	Keep Japanese passport	Possibility to return to Japan permanently	Eligibility of Japan's annuity or pension	Protection of Japanese government	Total
Male	12	9	2	3	0	26
	(46.2)	(34.6)	(7.7)	(11.5)	(0)	(100)
Female	19	13	11	3	2	48
	(39.6)	(27.0)	(22.9)	(6.3)	(4.2)	(100)
Total	31	22	13	6	2	74
(%)	(41.9)	(29.7)	(17.6)	(8.1)	(2.7)	(100)

Source: Sugiura, H. 1995. *"Osutoraria no kikaseisaku to zaigo nihonjin eijyusha - Vikutoria shu zaiju nihonjin eijyusha no ishikichosa o tegakari toshite* (Australia's policy on naturalisation and Japanese permanent residents in Australia: An analysis from the survey on the outlook of Japanese permanent residents in Victoria)." *Ijyukenkyu (Migration Studies)*, 32: p.34.

Slightly under one in five respondents (17.6%) answered that their main reason was to keep open the 'possibility of returning to Japan permanently', and the remaining respondents indicated reasons which included 'keeping their eligibility for a Japanese annuity or pension' (8.1%) and 'being protected by the Japanese government' (2.7%). This research shows that mental or psychological attachment to Japan is an obstacle for naturalisation amongst Japanese permanent-residents visa holders. In this context, *Japaneseness* is related to Japanese citizenship. Sugiura found that if dual citizenship between Australia and Japan is accepted, 83.3 per cent of the respondents answered that they did not mind naturalising in Australia (*ibid*. 35). It is obvious that they would not like to lose Japanese citizenship. Even so, Japanese residents who have permanent residency and the intention of remaining in the host society on a permanent basis, retain a sojourner-orientation of strong attachment to Japan.

4.5 Non-Citizens with Social Rights

Many first generation Japanese migrants demonstrate their desire to hold their Japanese citizenship as a mean of their mental and psychological attachment to Japan. However, for practical reasons or social conditions in the host country, there are still significant conditions which strengthen the tendency to not proceed with naturalisation. The minimum differences between citizenship rights and permanent residency concerns eligibility for employment in the public service within the commonwealth as well the electoral eligibility to vote. This may not influence Japanese residents who do not have citizenship. In fact, they prefer their 'denizen'status. According to Hammar (1991) a

'denizen' is not a citizen in the foreign place of their residency, but such a person retains social rights, and it is basically the same as a citizen of that country. There are many 'denizens' in European countries. Hammer (1990), Brubaker (1992) and Bottomore (1992) focus on the social rights of foreign residents with no citizenship in the host country. Brubaker's (1992) distinction between 'formal' and 'substantive citizenship' is applied to his analysis of European society, where 'substantive citizenship' means that permanent residents who cannot vote retain all other social rights and are thereby almost the same as citizens. Many Japanese permanent residents in Australia can be classified as 'denizens' with 'substantive citizenship'. In this context, it would be better to keep a Japanese passport to retain the privileges of Japanese citizenship, and also for purposes of travelling freely to Japan which is now a common activity of sojourners and migrants.

Although in my previous research, the interview questions did not specifically ask why they obtained or failed to obtain citizenship, some informants explained why they chose not to become Australian citizens:

> Two self-employed businessmen responded that they did not intend to obtain Australian citizenship because they would lose the convenience of travelling to Japan if they took Australian citizenship. One said that he often went to Japan on business and the other stated that it was inconvenient to have to apply for a visa every time he wanted to go to Japan. "My family lives there, so, if I have spare time, I visit them and, in case I eventually decide to return to Japan, it would be better not to revoke my Japanese citizenship." One female migrant emphasised, "I will probably stay in Australia, but I go to Japan twice a year to see my family and

for shopping". The other informant in her mid-twenties, who came to Australia to marry an Australian, admitted, "I prefer Japan as my national domicile because my family lives there, but it all depends on my husband's job".

The above respondents could choose citizenship either of Australia or of Japan. Furthermore, the transportation revolution has brought about easier travel between the countries. As many post-war Japanese immigrants to Australia can be characterised as individual movements, many regularly return to see their families in Japan. Although during the interviews, a few expatriate families remarked, 'it is better not go to Japan because we have only three years to enjoy life in Australia,' it depends on their options and available resources. Many Japanese residents with permanent-resident visa also have options open to them for residency in both countries. When their option is minimised by their social conditions, including their long period of stay in the host country, together with developed social ties in Australia and somewhat weakened social ties in Japan, they become 'settlers' moving between sojourner and migrant categories with the various ambiguities of permanent residency. However, for naturalisation, they still have their options.

Those who have permanent residency do not automatically stay in the host country permanently since their options lie between Australia and Japan. Although most migrant-respondents demonstrate their settler-orientation in terms of their plan and intention to remain in the host society, some clearly exhibit a sojourner-orientation of attachment to the country of origin, and this can be seen in the persistence of Japanese citizenship.

Chapter V

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE RESIDENCY IN MELBOURNE

In this chapter, the overall features of Japanese residential trends in Melbourne are described: in order to show the characteristic pattern of Japanese residency, I refer to the Australian census data regarding residential trends. This chapter, in particular, focuses on demographic information regarding Japanese residency in Melbourne. After presenting a general profile of Japanese residency, I will analyse reasons why Japanese people choose particular residential zones from data obtained by questionnaires and interviews.

As the informants of this study lived in Melbourne for at least one month, many of their statements came from comparison with their experience in Japan. Regardless of whether or not they intended staying in Australia permanently, the majority was involved in various organisational activities in Australia. Each informant's view of Australian life was greatly influenced by their specific circumstances, attitudes of people in Australia towards them and their social interactions. In the first section, an overall view of Japanese residency is depicted in the context of population movements among contemporary urbanites. Then, their actual preferences for residency, and views about the host community will be analysed.

1. *Residential Choices and Income Groups in Melbourne*

1.1 *The Post-War Urbanisation and Migrants' Residential Trends in Melbourne*

Population movements from Japan to Australia have to be analysed in terms of a movement from one highly urbanised country to another, of a shift in one suburban residence in Japan to another such residence in Australia. Indeed, both countries are urban in nature, containing over 80 per cent of urbanites in their respective populations. The preference of these Japanese urbanites to residency in metropolitan Melbourne exhibits preferences that have developed in Japan for accessibility to convenient inner areas and the culture found in 'middle rings'. However, as those Japanese residents scatter around Melbourne, they have not formed a geographically concentrated ethnic enclave, though there are some areas in which, relatively speaking, a large number of Japanese people congregate.

The reason that the ethnicity of this Japanese residential group has not been a major focus in study of migrant settlement may be due to the fact that there is no prominent Japanese enclave. However, through an analysis of this data shows that a Japanese ethnic group does exhibit predictable preferences for their place of residence in metropolitan Melbourne after arrival from Japan.

Melbourne and Sydney are distinguished by massive migrant inflows from overseas and the post-war urbanisation and the growth of metropolitan Melbourne has evidently depended on the growth in international migration. However, it is obvious that this international migration includes many sojourners. Between 1947 and 1966, international migration contributed 58.7 percent of the total population growth in Melbourne, and 55 percent in Sydney, while net emigration of Australian-born persons grew in proportion by only 0.2 and nil percent respectively (Choi & Burnley, 1974: 56-60). In Melbourne and Sydney population movement from rural to urban areas occurred, but the proportion of this movement is negligible (*ibid.* 61). In the post-war period, a few Japanese were also involved in these movements (see Chapter III).

Although there has been some post-war migration which includes migrants with peasant backgrounds, such as migrants from eastern and southern Europe, many migrants have followed the continuity from urban location to another. Japanese sojourners particularly follow the patterns of the urban-urban residential shift and choose metropolitan areas. Post-war Japanese migration to Australia is characterised by the mobilisation of urbanites, unlike earlier Japanese migrants from fishing or agrarian villages in the late 19th and early 20th century, as mentioned in Chapter II.

The post-war advancement of industrialisation and urbanisation resulted in metropolitan structural changes. In Australia, the high rate of post-war urbanisation and suburbanisation is closely related to the intake of migrants from overseas. Some surveys

(e.g., Burnley, Pryor and Rowland 1980; and McKay, 1981) clarify the fact that the first generation of post-war migrant groups followed a pattern in which there was a shift in residence from inner city areas to the middle ring or outer zones. This is a tendency consistent with Chicago school analysis in the 1920s, which was seeking to understand urbanisation not only in the United States but also in other industrialised countries. Burgess pointed out, in his 'concentric zone theory,' that the 'zone in transition' was for the residence of first generation migrants. Although this model was criticised for its apparent inflexibility to the varieties of urban structure, it is still applicable to some extent in explaining aspects of the residential shifts of migrants.

In Australian metropolitan areas, in the 1960s and 1970s "the vast majority of families have young children, many are migrants, particularly from Britain and residential mobility (towards Newtown) seems to be an established pattern" (Bryson & Thompson, 1972: 31). In addition to suburban frontiers with British origin, many other ethnic groups have shifted to the residential zones. For example, migrants of southern-European origin demonstrate the tendency in residential shift from inner area to urban peripheries. According to McKay (1981), in his analysis of the census data regarding ethnic populations in Melbourne, between 1971 and 1976 Italian-born immigrants moved from the inner area to northern suburbs and Greek-born immigrants shifted from the inner areas to the northern and south-eastern areas. Indeed, many post-war migrants in the past tended to concentrate in ethnic communities in the initial stages of their settlement, and

massive numbers of post-war migrants have already shifted from inner city area to its surrounding suburbs.

In contrast to some ethnic groups whose first generation followed above patterns, Japanese residents, especially Japanese corporate families, have tended to choose convenient inner areas or middle rings of metropolitan Melbourne for their domicile soon after arriving from Japan, as I have mentioned earlier. However, not only the ethnic Japanese group, but also some other Asian groups, such as Chinese from Hong Kong and Singapore, display this pattern of residential preference in contemporary Australia. As most corporate families from Japan are middle-class sub/urbanites, in terms of the residential preference, they do not exhibit the settlement pattern of some previous migrants, but rather they follow the mainstream middle-class pattern of Melbournians. And, when seen as a group diffused over the greater Melbourne, they follow as a group with specific characteristics.

Contemporary Melbournian residential preference exhibits a dual tendency: One is expansion of suburban areas outward to metropolitan fringes, while the other is in-bound to the city centre owing to its convenience. Many wealthy Melbournians choose inner areas or middle rings for their domicile. Movement to outer residential zones is related to the search for the so-called suburban ideal. As one commentator remarks, "the suburbs were seen by many as the embodiment of all things fine - the ability to achieve a certain harmony with nature, and to mix some elements of an idyllic rural setting with the

opportunities offered by a large city" (Maher, 1986: 21). After the War, "the suburban ideal remained a cherished goal for the majority" (Frost & Dingle 1995: 36). The presence of this common ideal can be seen in the lives and experience of many first generation migrants who have shifted residentially from the inner to the outer suburbs.

In contemporary Australian cities, these are ongoing residential transitions owing to the expansion in job opportunities in the metropolitan fringes. Subsequently, there are many suburbanites who are not commuters to the city centres. For example, Buchanan (17 August 1996) introduces some fringe dwellers who "seldom go to the city and have little in common with people from the other side of town." With respect to Japanese newcomers' residential preference, they do not follow these outer movements, though there are a few Japanese people who live in outer zones. Rather many corporate Japanese residents follow the other trends of wealthy Melbournians' residency as their preference.

As for Japanese residents, the middle ring functions as their ideal type of suburban life. Even the inner areas of Melbourne, which are abundant in large parks, may present a suburban (rather than inner city) image when compared with Japan's metropolises. Many Japanese expatriate business people are commuters to the city centre, though there are a few large corporations' offices, such as NEC and Toyota, which are located on the outskirts of the city centre.

1.2 *Wealthy Urbanites*

In terms of revitalisation of inner-areas, in contrast with the development of the outer suburbs, inner city areas attract wealthy people who are keen to have access to urban amenities. Residential trends in Melbourne show that wealthy people cluster in particular inner areas and middle rings (Milburn, 1997, August 13:1). The Centre for Population and Urban Research (1997) provides figures on income distribution by residential areas in Melbourne by analysing 1996 census data: for example, in many Melbourne suburbs, a quarter of men aged between 25 and 44 are earning less than $15,600 per year. In their findings, Maribyrnong is the poorest area as 30 per cent of males aged between 25 and 44 earn less than $15,600 while there are five wealthy residential areas where over 30 per cent of male residents in the above age group had over $52,000 income. These include Melbourne Inner (37.3%), Camberwell South (36.8%), Brighton (36.8%), Camberwell North (31.6%) and Malvern (31.2%). Except for Inner Melbourne, the above four areas, had a relatively large number of Japan-born persons. Although 'Inner Melbourne,' in the government categories of SLA, had only 25 Japan-born persons, demographic inner areas as 'Melbourne Remainder' contained over 200 Japan-born persons (see Table 24 and Appendix 3).

According to 1996 Australian Census data, the Japan-born population in Melbourne was 3,624, which consisted of 1,461 males and 2,163 females. Although the number was not large, Japanese persons were located throughout the wider Melbourne metropolitan area, almost in all the local government areas, including the inner area, middle ring and the

outer zone.[38] In 1996, more than 150 Japanese residents were recorded in each of the following five local government areas in metropolitan Melbourne: Prahran (329), Brighton (306), Caulfield (267), Melbourne Remainder (209) and Waverley west (159). Although Japanese residents are dispersed throughout the Melbourne metropolitan area, the above five areas constitute a large proportion of the Japanese residential distribution, but even these regions are not adjacent to each other and represent a diffused set of population clusters in the general pattern of Japanese residential diffusion. Especially, in the notable middle-class suburbs, such as Brighton and Camberwell (there were 110 Japan-born persons in Camberwell north, and 116 in Camberwell south), many Japanese residents were found to be of a wealthy urbanite class.

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[38] The boundaries of these three zones were derived from the classification of local government areas (see Appendix 2).

Table 24 Japanese born persons by sex and by SLA in the Melbourne in 1996*

	Male	Female	Total
Melbourne (C) - Inner	18	9	27
Melbourne (C) - Remainder	100	109	209
Port Phillip (C) - St Kilda	52	52	104
Port Phillip (C) - West	17	29	46
Stonnington (C) - Prahran	141	188	329
Yarra (C) - North	25	49	74
Yarra (C) - Richmond	10	24	34
Brimbank (C) - Keilor	4	11	15
Brimbank (C) - Sunshine	0	7	7
Hobsons Bay (C) - Altona	3	7	10
Hobsons Bay (C) - Williamstown	3	8	11
Maribyrnong (C)	13	12	25
Moonee Valley (C) - Essendon	17	40	57
Moonee Valley (C) - West	8	14	22
Melton (S) - East	0	0	0
Melton (S) Bal	0	7	7
Wyndham (C) - North-West	0	0	0
Wyndham (C) - Werribee	3	9	12
Wyndham (C) Bal	0	0	0
Moreland (C) - Brunswick	20	23	43
Moreland (C) - Coburg	6	14	20
Moreland (C) - North	4	11	15
Banyule (C) - Heidelberg	37	67	104
Banyule (C) - North	3	21	24
Darebin (C) - Northcote	15	30	45
Darebin (C) - Preston	20	25	45
Hume (C) - Broadmeadows	5	8	13
Hume (C) - Craigieburn	3	3	6
Hume (C) - Sunbury	0	4	4
Nillumbik (S) - South	4	11	15
Nillumbik (S) - South-West	3	3	6
Nillumbik (S) Bal	3	0	3
Whittlesea (C) - North	0	0	0
Whittlesea (C) - South	9	13	22
Boroondara (C) - Camberwell N.	47	63	110
Boroondara (C) - Camberwell S.	37	79	116
Boroondara (C) - Hawthorn	48	58	106
Boroondara (C) - Kew	33	38	71
Manningham (C) - East	0	3	3
Manningham (C) - West	34	48	82
Monash (C) - South-West	47	71	118
Monash (C) - Waverley East	33	46	79
Monash (C) - Waverley West	65	94	159
Whitehorse (C) - Box Hill	28	46	74
Whitehorse (C) - Nunawading E	11	30	41
Whitehorse (C) - Nunawading W.	17	30	47
Knox (C) - North	18	31	49
Knox (C) - South	5	7	12
Maroondah (C) - Croydon	6	17	23
Maroondah (C) - Ringwood	3	22	25
Yarra Ranges (S) - Central	3	4	7
Yarra Ranges (S) - North	0	3	3
Yarra Ranges (S) - South-West	12	26	38
Bayside (C) - Brighton	142	164	306
Bayside (C) - South	54	70	124
Glen Eira (C) - Caulfield	116	151	267
Glen Eira (C) - South	23	42	65
Kingston (C) - North	30	40	70
Kingston (C) - South	6	12	18
Stonnington (C) - Malvern	51	52	103
Gr. Dandenong (C) - Dandenong	4	14	18
Gr. Dandenong (C) Bal	7	18	25
Cardinia (S) - North	3	10	13
Cardinia (S) - Pakenham	0	0	0
Cardinia (S) - South	0	0	0
Casey (C) - Berwick	3	7	10
Casey (C) - Cranbourne	3	3	6
Casey (C) - Hallam	3	5	8
Casey (C) - South	0	0	0
Frankston (C) - East	0	3	3
Frankston (C) - West	9	23	32
Mornington P'sula (S) - East	0	0	0
Mornington P'sula (S) - South	4	7	11
Mornington P'sula (S) - West	13	17	30
Total	1,464	2,162	3,626

*Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data

Source: Unpublished data from ABS 1996

It is possible that the Australian statistics which trace the trends in convenient inner-city areas include some Japanese residents with no children. The relatively large cluster in Prahran, is of Japanese youth and corporate single dwellers who live in the fashionable Toorak area which provides a convenient shopping precinct and regular commuting services to the central city where their offices are located. In Brighton, a Japanese supplementary school is conducted on the premises of the Brighton Grammar school on Saturdays. Caulfield, which is a middle ring suburb with neighbouring Brighton, has experienced a particularly rapid expansion in the numbers of Japanese residents. Solomon indicates that in 1987 there were nine Japanese families in this municipality who were temporary residents (1989: 37). After the establishment of a full-time Japanese school in South Caulfield on 13 May 1986, the number of Japanese families has gradually increased in the municipality.

1.3 *Income Groups of Japan-born Persons by the Residential Areas*

Although Japanese residents constitute a definable minority group, numerically speaking the residential characteristics and financial position of many, if not most, is on the mainline track of middle-class suburbia. Having taken up overseas assignments, these sojourning Japanese families tend to live in Australian middle-class suburbs, instead of congregating in inner city ethnic enclaves, or being dispersed in the outer regions.

Through analysing census data of these Japan-born persons by income, age and sex, the wealthy urbanite characteristics are confirmed. Over 60 per cent of male Japan-born

persons (643) were in the age cohorts of '30s and 40s,' in which the vast majority of expatriate businessmen were also included. In this age group of male Japanese, excluding 20 persons who did not state their income, 47 per cent (295) stated that their annual income was over $52,000. The research by the Centre for Population and Urban Research, cited above, regarded 'over $52,000' as the high income level, but among Japan-born males in their 30s and 40s, nearly 30 per cent (184) were in the category of '$78,000 or more,' which is the highest amount in the census classification (see Table 25).

Table 25 Income level of sojourners and migrants

Annual income	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
no income	4	1	-	1	6
(%)	5.8	11.1	-	2.5	4.5
below $20,000	2	1	1	8	12
	2.9	11.1	7.1	20	9.1
$20,000 to below $40,000	1	4	6	20	31
	1.4	44.4	42.9	50	23.5
40,000 to below 60,000	7	2	4	9	22
	10.1	22.2	28.6	22.5	16.7
60,000 to below 80,000	12	1	1	1	15
	17.4	11.1	7.1	2.5	11.4
80,000 to below 100,000	16	-	1	-	17
	23.2	-	7.1	-	12.9
100,000 to below 120,000	10	-	-	-	10
	14.5	-	-	-	7.6
120,000 to below 140,000	3	-	-	-	3
	4.3	-	-	-	2.3
140,000 to below 160,000	5	-	-	-	5
	7.2	-	-	-	3.8
160,000 to below 180,000	2	-	-	-	2
	2.9	-	-	-	1.5
$200,000 or more	7	-	1	1	9
	10.1	-	7.1	2.5	6.8
Total	69	9	14	40	132
(%)					100

The census data on Japan-born persons does not distinguish sojourner and settler, nor can it provide information about the group with the higher levels of income, but in this study some differences were found in the income level between sojourners and migrants. Table 25 illustrates the income level of sojourners and migrants with the exclusion of 'students' and 'housewives.'

Among males, there were many sojourners whose income is considerably high. Although the highest income level in the census is '$78,000 or more'. The Census data is not ideal because there are variations in the male Japanese sojourners' income of '$80,000 or more.' When excluding students, 62 per cent of the male sojourner-respondents had '$80,000 or more' gross annual income. Almost 40 per cent earned '$100,000 or more' and 10 per cent had '$200,000 or more'. Most of these sojourning businessmen hold managerial positions with large Japanese corporations and thus their financial situations were better than those of most immigrants. There are not significant differences in the income level, among female sojourners, male and female migrants. Over 70 per cent of each group were in the categories of '$20,000 to below $60,000.'

Most married female migrants were in the workforce. On the other hand, nearly half of female sojourners were housewives with a 'dependent visa' and thus they were not in workforce. The presence of many sojourning corporate families can be confirmed by the census data, too. In the census data regarding Japan-born persons in their 30s and 40s in Melbourne, excluding 38 females who did not state their income, 37 per cent of females

(310) had 'negative or nil income' (see Table 26). It is conceivable that many corporate wives were included in this category. The pattern of high-income Japanese males living with their wives is more clearly seen in Brighton. As this area contains many expatriate families from major corporation, in the age group of the 30s and 40s, 84 per cent (66) of females had no income, while 86 per cent of males (60) had '$52,000 or more' annual income (This percentage excludes those who did not state their earnings). Among these age cohorts, for males, 60 per cent (42) had '$78,000 or more' (see Table 27). In addition, in the Brighton area, the proportion of children was quite high among Japan-born persons: 33 per cent (97) of the entire group of Japan-born persons were in the age cohort of '0-14 years.'

In an analysis of the five 'statistical local areas' which contain the largest numbers of Japan-born persons, it was confirmed that Brighton is the most popular place for wealthy Japanese family dwellers. The neighbouring suburb of Caulfield shows a similar tendency, though the trend is not as apparent as in Brighton. In contrast, inner city of Melbourne (Melbourne Remainder) and Prahran attract young Japanese, where the age cohort of 20s was the largest proportion of Japan-born persons. This age group of Japanese occupied 30 per cent (93) in Prahran and 40 per cent (85) in Melbourne Remainder.

Table 26 Selected age cohorts by selected individual income cohorts by sex, in Statistical Local Areas of Melbourne

	Negative/nil income			$1-$15,599			$15,600-$31,199			$31,200-$51,999			$52,000-$77,999			$78,000 or more			Not stated			Not applicable			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	157	259	416	257	259	516
15-19 years	92	156	248	24	34	58	4	8	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	26	47	0	0	0	141	224	365
20-29 years	87	219	306	82	140	222	69	91	160	20	18	38	10	3	13	6	0	6	14	28	42	0	0	0	288	499	787
30-39 years	26	195	221	25	117	142	59	90	149	69	64	133	54	6	60	71	3	74	10	21	31	0	0	0	314	496	810
40-49 years	5	115	120	22	93	115	59	80	139	63	69	132	57	8	65	113	0	113	10	17	27	0	0	0	329	382	711
50-59 years	5	22	27	6	27	33	11	27	38	19	26	45	5	3	8	38	3	41	0	5	5	0	0	0	84	113	197
60-69 years	8	19	27	6	69	75	7	26	33	6	7	13	3	3	6	3	0	3	0	6	6	0	0	0	33	130	163
70 years and over	3	5	8	8	42	50	3	8	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	14	60	74
Total	226	731	957	173	522	695	212	330	542	177	184	361	129	23	152	231	6	237	55	108	163	157	259	416	1,460	2,163	3,623

Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. (a) Not applicable comprises persons who are aged under 15 years
Source: Unpublished data from ABS

Table 27 Selected age cohorts by selected individual income cohorts by sex, for five selected SLA zones

		Negative/ nil income	$1-$15,599	$15,600-$31,199	$31,200-$51,999	$52,000-$77,999	$78,000 or more	Not stated	Not applicable	Total
Stonnington (C) – Prahran										
Male	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	19
Male	15-19 years	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Male	20-29 years	10	8	13	0	0	3	0	0	34
Male	30-39 years	0	0	7	3	8	17	0	0	35
Male	40-49 years	0	3	0	4	5	15	0	0	27
Male	50-59 years	0	0	0	3	0	7	0	0	10
Male	60-69 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		16	14	20	10	13	42	0	19	134
Female	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	23
Female	15-19 years	7	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	14
Female	20-29 years	27	18	10	0	0	0	4	0	59
Female	30-39 years	24	4	13	5	0	0	0	0	46
Female	40-49 years	10	5	6	3	0	0	0	0	24
Female	50-59 years	4	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	11
Female	60-69 years	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Female	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		72	38	32	11	0	0	4	23	180
Bayside (C) - Brighton										
Male	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	52
Male	15-19 years	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Male	20-29 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	30-39 years	0	0	0	7	9	14	3	0	33
Male	40-49 years	0	0	0	3	9	28	0	0	40
Male	50-59 years	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	6
Male	60-69 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		5	0	0	13	18	45	3	52	136
Female	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	45
Female	15-19 years	15	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	18
Female	20-29 years	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Female	30-39 years	38	4	4	5	0	0	5	0	56
Female	40-49 years	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
Female	50-59 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Female	60-69 years	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Female	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		89	4	7	5	0	0	11	45	161
Glen Eira (C) - Caulfield										
Male	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	30
Male	15-19 years	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Male	20-29 years	5	5	6	0	0	0	3	0	19
Male	30-39 years	3	4	0	5	6	4	0	0	22
Male	40-49 years	0	0	6	5	7	6	0	0	24
Male	50-59 years	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Male	60-69 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Male	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		17	12	12	10	13	13	3	30	110
Female	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	24
Female	15-19 years	12	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	15
Female	20-29 years	11	11	9	3	0	0	0	0	34
Female	30-39 years	21	7	9	0	0	0	3	0	40
Female	40-49 years	12	7	7	3	0	0	0	0	29
Female	50-59 years	0	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	7
Female	60-69 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		56	25	25	10	0	0	9	24	149

Melbourne (C) - Remainder									
Male	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Male	15-19 years	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Male	20-29 years	12	11	5	4	0	0	3	0	35
Male	30-39 years	3	3	5	5	0	3	3	0	22
Male	40-49 years	0	0	3	4	5	6	0	0	18
Male	50-59 years	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	9
Male	60-69 years	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Male	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		19	17	13	16	5	18	6	5	99
Female	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
Female	15-19 years	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Female	20-29 years	19	9	18	4	0	0	0	0	50
Female	30-39 years	10	6	3	3	0	0	0	0	22
Female	40-49 years	3	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	12
Female	50-59 years	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Female	60-69 years	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	6
Female	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		44	18	27	7	0	0	6	10	112
Monash (C) - Waverley West									
Male	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
Male	15-19 years	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Male	20-29 years	3	3	0	3	0	0	3	0	12
Male	30-39 years	0	0	0	6	3	3	3	0	15
Male	40-49 years	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	10
Male	50-59 years	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Male	60-69 years	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Male	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		11	9	5	9	3	8	6	16	67
Female	0-14 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12
Female	15-19 years	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Female	20-29 years	6	6	3	3	0	0	3	0	21
Female	30-39 years	7	8	3	6	0	0	0	0	24
Female	40-49 years	7	3	3	3	0	0	3	0	19
Female	50-59 years	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	7
Female	60-69 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	70 years and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Total		26	24	9	15	0	0	9	12	95

Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. (a) Not applicable comprise persons who are aged under 15 years

Source: Unpublished data from ABS

In the SLA of Waverley West, there were various age and income groups. The number of Japanese residents in Melbourne is not large but the fact that two major organisations have located in the vicinity has brought about a distinctive class of Japanese people to the area. A branch office of NEC has over 30 Japanese corporate families and most of them lived in this area. The other big organisation is Monash University, including Normanby ELICOS, which has several Japanese language teachers, some researchers from Japan, and attracts numbers of Japanese students, some of whom live in its dormitory or in the vicinity of the University, which is the Waverley area.

The above five areas account for a large proportion of Japanese sojourners, but it is obvious that these areas include some migrants as well. However, Japanese migrants are more widespread throughout metropolitan Melbourne than their sojourner counterparts. In analysing data obtained from this study and from the 1996 census, it was found that the above areas had relatively large numbers of sojourners. However, when we exclude sojourners, the areas of Japanese residential concentration in Melbourne is quite undefined.

2. Empirical Surveys on Residential Preference and Social Networks in the Host Community

In this section the Japanese residents' life in Melbourne will be described by presenting some empirical data regarding the reasons for selecting their residential areas, the characteristics of relationships with neighbours, the most important information sources for Australian life and so on. At the end of this section, these informants' overall views on Australian life will be presented.

2.1 Selection of the Residential Areas

In addition to questionnaire-data, some other information was obtained by interviews with several managers of major corporations, and other types of sojourners and migrants, including students, businessmen, corporate wives, and Japanese people who have Australian spouses. There are a few residential suburbs with relatively large numbers of Japanese people, and in order to find the reason why Japanese residents reside where they do throughout Melbourne, interviews relating to their preference of residency were conducted with some company managers, and other individuals to complement data obtained by questionnaire. The following questions were asked:

Why did you choose current residential areas?

In responding to the above question, over half of the female migrants answered that they chose their current location because of good residential conditions. Over 30 per cent of male migrants and almost one quarter of both male and female sojourner-respondents chose this reason. The following table illustrates the reasons given for choosing place of residency.

Table 28 Reason for choosing the place of residence

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
convenient commuting	15	20	5	10	50
(%)	17.4	23	29.4	17.2	20.2
good residential conditions	22	26	5	30	83
	25.6	29.9	29.4	51.7	33.5
child's school nearby	15	13	2	4	34
	17.4	14.9	11.8	6.9	13.7
employer's choice	8	3	-	-	11
	9.3	3.4	-	-	4.4
some Japanese neighbours	3	-	1	1	5
	3.5	-	5.9	1.7	2
reasonable rent	5	5	2	3	15
	5.8	5.7	11.8	5.2	6
room arrangement	6	1	1	2	10
	7	1.1	5.9	3.4	4
school/university's choice	2	10	-	-	12
	2.3	11.5	-	-	4.8
family/friend lives there	9	5	1	5	20
	10.5	5.7	5.9	8.6	8.1
other	1	4	-	3	8
	1.2	4.6	-	5.2	3.2
Total	86	87	17	58	248
(%)					100

Some sojourners mentioned that they did not choose their residential areas; the company or university provided or chose their accommodation, yet none of the migrants provided this kind of reasoning. Three out of 5 major corporation managers explained that usually

employees had free choice in their place of residence, but the employers did offer some suggestions. For example, Brighton is a good residential suburb which is close to the city centre and there are good schools there. St.Kilda, or inner Melbourne, is not a recommended place for Japanese corporate families. In general, at first, a businessman would come to Australia by himself and find accommodation for his family, but he is often directed by information from the company and his colleagues which influence the eventual selection.

It is noteworthy that the presence of Japanese neighbours is not an important factor for their residential selection as only two per cent of sojourner- and migrant-respondents chose this reason as having anything to do with their choice. In addition, less than 10 per cent chose their current residency because of their families or friends. This reflects the fact that Japanese ethnic groups have not formed a geographically based enclave. The residence of many Japanese sojourners and migrants is based on individual movement, rather than on a pattern of chain migration. In previous research, some other ethnic groups chose their place of residence through personal networks. Burnley (1985) found, in his research undertaken in Sydney, that factors related to kinship as a non-monetary variable were often more important than economic reasons. He showed that some ethnic groups chose their residency by their vicinity to relatives. For example, in the Leichhardt area, 46 percent of male Italians (68 percent of females) expressed the main reason for their choice of residency as proximity to their relatives, while the reason was economic for only 16 percent. In addition, for over 50 percent of male Italians in the Bossley Park

area, 45 percent of male Greeks in the Marrickville area, and 41 percent of male Lebanese in the Redfern area, their choice of settlement area was dictated by proximity to relatives (Burnley, 1985: 168-169).

Indeed, the significance of migrants' kinship linkage has been clarified as an important factor in chain migration. Various studies on ethnic communities in metropolitan areas demonstrate that the existing ethnic community functions as a pull factor for compatriots. However, this kind of concentration of ethnic residency by chain migration based on kinship is not what patterns contemporary Japanese residency in Melbourne.

The migration patterns of Japanese people are characterised by individual movement and Japanese residents are dispersed around the metropolitan Melbourne. Nearly half of the respondents (45%) did not have Japanese neighbours within walking distance of their homes. The following table illustrates the number of Japanese neighbours in the walking distance.

Table 29 The number of Japanese neighbours

Numbers of Japanese families	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
no families *	46	29	10	24	109
(%)	53.5	34.9	58.8	42.9	45
from 1 to 4 families	32	38	5	31	106
	37.2	45.8	29.4	55.4	43.8
from 5 to 9 families	3	8	1	1	13
	3.5	9.6	5.9	1.8	5.4
more than 10 families	5	8	1	-	14
	5.8	9.6	5.9	-	5.8
Total	86	83	17	56	242
(%)					100

* A single family is included.

Thirteen sojourner-respondents and one migrant mentioned that there were over ten Japanese families, including single families, nearby. Of a total of 13 sojourners, 11 of them lived in a university dormitory and thus there were over 10 Japanese students surrounding them. One migrant-respondent gave a similar answer. One of the remaining two respondents was also a student living in La Trobe University, and answered 'over 10' Japanese families. The other, a corporate wife living in Brighton, answered that there were over 10 Japanese families within walking distance. Except for students living in a dormitory, there were not any significant differences in the number of Japanese neighbours between sojourners and migrants as the vast majority of the two groups had less than four Japanese families in their vicinity. Naturally, all the respondents had non-Japanese next-door neighbours.

Although most migrants and sojourners did not have Japanese associates in adjacent streets, some were able to socialise with other Japanese living in the same suburb. The development of contacts in one's own neighbourhood might mean friendship between mothers of children who go to the same school. Such contacts are more likely to be of significance than walking distance from place of residence, particularly with the importance which motorcars have assumed, particularly in Australia. Several mothers remarked that Australia depends on car transport to a greater degree than what they have been used to in Japan. Walking distance does pose a problem, but they would see each other anyway at the schools and in this way established rapport with each other.

Especially, at the Saturday school, many mothers whose children were classmates tended to develop their own networks as well. In addition, many of these mothers were involved in organisational activities, such as English or craft courses provided by the local communities, and also some hobby groups within the Japanese Society of Melbourne, such as chorus lessons or luncheon. They made friends through these activities.

They have formed some compatriot groups and many obtained certain information regarding Australian daily life often through the organisations to which they belonged. Thus, they have created an *organisational-network community*, rather than *geographical enclave*. For meeting their hobby- or sports- group members or other congregations, they do not need to concentrate in the same neighbourhood area.

2.2 *Problems-Consultation*

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked with whom they consulted when they encountered serious problems. Over half (56.6%) of female sojourners and male migrants answered that they solve their problems by consulting with their friends in Australia before friends. As mentioned above, many corporate mothers were involved in peer group parties, attended the same lessons, and went to for school gatherings for mothers, and they could consult each other on these occasions as well. Although a much larger proportion of migrants would remain in Australia permanently than of sojourners, among female respondents, a larger proportion of respondents relied on their friends in Australia. However, nearly half of the female-migrants (46.6%) showed a preference for consulting

family in Australia (see Table 30). In particular, couples where the wife was Japanese and the husband non-Japanese tended too more readily admit that they consulted their partners. The proportion of sojourner-respondents that chose this response is quite low; only six per cent of males and 16 per cent of females chose 'family in Australia' as their source of advice. Similarly, only 12 per cent of male sojourners chose this answer.

Table 30 Consultants

	sojourners		migrants		Total
to whom	male	female	male	female	
someone in Japan	5	8	-	5	18
(%)	6	9.6	-	8.9	7.5
family in Australia	4	13	2	26	45
	4.8	15.7	11.8	46.4	18.8
my neighbour	2	3	1	1	7
	2.4	3.6	5.9	1.8	2.9
current colleague	50	3	4	3	60
	60.2	3.6	23.5	5.4	25.1
corporate wives	-	5	-	-	5
	-	6	-	-	2.1
friends in Australia	19	47	9	21	96
	22.9	56.6	52.9	37.5	40.2
other	3	4	1	-	8
	3.6	4.8	5.9	-	3.3
Total	83	83	17	56	239
(%)					100

The question of consultation over serious problems was not divided clearly into private matters and business difficulties. However, many sojourning businessmen show a difference from other respondents who prefer friends or family members, while most of these male sojourners (60.2%) preferred their colleagues rather than their families (4.8%). The proportion of respondents who chose 'someone in Japan' as their primary source of advice was small. No male and only five female (8.9%) migrants chose this option. Even amongst the sojourner-respondents, only five males (6%) and eight females (9.6%) chose

'someone in Japan.' In terms of their selection in source of advice, their personal relationships in Japan cannot be significant, but rather their current social activities appear to be primary sources for finding someone to consult about their serious problems. Especially sojourners found their consultants in their current organisational-network community, rather than someone in Japan.

This type of community has a variety of sub-organisations within its structure. When we see the entire system of the Japanese community in Melbourne as an *organisational-network community*, some formal and informal gatherings can be viewed as sub-organisations within its workings. For example, most male sojourners can find their significant consultants within their company networks. As for corporate mothers, same school mothers' parties or sports and hobby groups perform this function. Because the sojourners did not tend to look for advice from their families or someone in Japan, this community comes to function as a substantial societal entity, a diffused community with specific support mechanisms. In other words, to understand the Japanese sojourner, the *organisational-network community* is an essential element. In the next section the importance of Japanese language media published from within the Japanese community in Melbourne will be ascertained, and in the next chapter the symbolic institutions of the Japanese community, Japanese schools will be considered.

2.3 *Printed Information Providers for Japanese Residents*

Japanese residents in Australia, including both migrants and sojourners, have tended to concentrate in metropolises, as I have explained in the former chapter. There has been tendency for newly arrived migrants, including refugees and sojourners to cluster around metropolitan areas as well. The ethnic concentration in certain metropolitan areas is ascribed to the synergy between job opportunities and accessibility of settlement services not only from governments but also from the community efforts offered by compatriots of the same ethnic background. In Australia, it has been pointed out that several ethnic organisation play vital roles in disseminating information regarding public service opportunities. Indeed, these mutual support systems within the same ethnic groups function in ethnic communities in Australian metropolises. Japanese sojourners and migrants demonstrate the same tendency as most of them living in the metropolitan areas and share their own institutions. In the next chapter, distinctiveness of Japanese community in Melbourne will be discussed by analysing institutional forms.

Japanese community in Melbourne have various print media, which is published in Australia. Japanese people obtain information about living in Melbourne or more broadly in Australia not only from English papers but also from Japanese press. Over half of respondents (54.4%) did not mention which newspapers they regularly read in Melbourne. Of the sojourner-respondents, 53.5 per cent of males and 56.3 per cent of females did not answer to this question or mentioned that they read newspapers at occasion or did not read them regularly. On the other hand, 58.8 per cent of males and 51.7 per cent of females

migrants did not answer or responded to the question in the same manner as those of the sojourners. As all the informants responded to almost all the questions (otherwise the questionnaire was regarded as invalid), the vast majority of the respondents who took not answer to this question supposedly did not read newspapers regularly. In the course of interviews, several students, including those who talking English courses or postgraduate Japanese linguistics courses, or exchange courses from Japan's Universities, told the researcher that they did not read newspapers. However, some respondents read Japanese newspapers and magazines which were sent from Japan. For example, many branch offices of Japanese organisations, such as consulate generals or major corporations subscribe to a few Japanese newspapers.

In terms of newspaper readership (excluding those who did not read newspapers regularly), almost 80 per cent of the all the respondents read Japanese newspapers, including those who read both Japanese and English papers. Nearly 70 per cent of the sojourners (67.5% of males and 68.4% of females) regularly read Japanese newspapers only (see Table 31). The popularity of Japanese newspaper is also found in migrants respondents; 4 males (57.1%) and 13 females (46.4%) preferred Japanese paper only and two males (28.6%) and five females (17.9%) read both English and Japanese papers. Only five male (12.5%) and seven female (18.4%) sojourners read English papers only. Compared to sojourners, the proportions of migrants' samples who read English paper were large; over 40 males and over half of the females read English papers. In particular, 35.7 per cent of female migrants read English papers only.

Table 31 Newspaper readership in English and Japanese

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
Japanese only	27	26	4	13	70
(%)	67.5	68.4	57.1	46.4	61.9
Japanese and English	8	5	2	5	20
	20	13.2	28.6	17.9	17.7
English only	5	7	1	10	23
	12.5	18.4	14.3	35.7	20.4
Total	40	38	7	28	113
(%)					100

In terms of newspaper readership, in Japanese community in Melbourne, Japanese papers can be reach a higher level of penetration than English papers, though the latter is more easily accessible. Nevertheless, most respondents did not regularly read both English and Japanese newspapers and there appeared to be more important news source in Japanese community.

The respondents were asked to choose the most important press for them to get information regarding living in Melbourne. It was found that the popular presses were monthly magazines or monthly newspapers published in Australia, rather than local papers. The following table indicates the most important press for the respondents (Although a larger number of respondents replied to this question than the former question, still 48.8 per cent of the respondents did not answer in this respect).

Table 32 Most important news sources

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male	female	male	female	
Australian newspaper	5	5	3	11	24
(%)	12.5	11.6	25	34.4	18.9
local government paper	1	1	1	3	6
	2.5	2.3	8.3	9.4	4.7
Yellow Page	-	1	1	1	3
	-	2.3	8.3	3.1	2.4
Nichigo Press	11	9	2	5	27
	27.5	20.9	16.7	15.6	21.3
Yukari	7	18	2	6	33
	17.5	41.9	16.7	18.8	26
Joho	3	1	-	-	4
	7.5	2.3	-	-	3.1
Dengon Net	1	2	-	-	3
	2.5	4.7	-	-	2.4
Domo	9	3	1	4	17
	22.5	7	8.3	12.5	13.4
other Japanese guidebook	-	2	-	-	2
	-	4.7	-	-	1.6
Other	3	1	2	2	8
	7.5	2.3	16.7	6.3	6.3
Total	40	43	12	32	127
(%)	31.5	33.9	9.4	25.2	100

The migrants group tended to rely more on local papers than Japanese papers as nearly 34 per cent of females and 25 per cent of males chose an Australian newspaper as the most important news sources. In contrast, only 12 per cent of sojourners indicated an Australian newspaper. In particular, of female sojourners, almost 42 per cent mentioned that *Yukari* was the most important press. *Yukari* is a Japanese community paper, published monthly, which provides some entertainment guides in Melbourne. Nichigo Press is also a very popular press in Japanese community in Melbourne. It is also a monthly newspaper, which provide such information as summaries of Japanese news,

Australian news, job advertisement (mostly in Japanese restaurants), and advertisement of English courses. As it is published in Sydney, where the number of Japanese population is nearly three times larger than that of Melbourne, it contains much more news about Sydney.

In the above Table 32, English presses are 'Australian newspaper,' 'local government paper,' and 'Yellow page.' In remaining papers are in the Japanese language and published in Australia, except for 'Domo' and 'other Japanese guidebook' which are published in Japan. When dividing the above news sources into two categories; English and Japanese press, most respondents refer to Japanese presses. However, some differences between sojourners and migrants are found: in migrant group, 41.6 per cent of males and 46.9 per cent of females thought that Australian presses were most important news sources, whereas only 15 per cent of male and 16.2 per cent of female sojourners regarded Australian presses as their most important news sources.

In Japanese communities, especially among sojourners, monthly Japanese papers (*Yukari* and *Nichigo Press*) are very significant news sources as over half of the sojourners chose those as their most significant news sources. Even among migrants, 34 per cent chose these presses. Although there were many sojourner and migrant respondents who did not select these presses, many read the above two monthly papers. In Japanese community in Melbourne, monthly newspapers have been widespread and these can be most important news sources in terms of the print media. In addition to these printed media, the

'communication revolution' has made some Japanese programs from Japan available. Some Japanese families subscribed to Optus Vision and watch Japanese news or other programs from Japan everyday.

In Japanese community in Melbourne, it is obvious that Japanese language media is very important and also in organisational activities, many respondents are involved in ethnic Japanese-based activities. However, at the same time, they are naturally involved in local activities such as local school activities, some instruction courses offered by the local governments and some sojourner and migrants are members of local sports clubs. The vast majority of Japanese residents do not appear to concentrate into Japanese social gatherings only, but in terms of their preference for media information, the Japanese presses in Australia are particularly important.

3 Japanese Residents' Overall Views of Australian Life

All the respondents in this questionnaire survey were asked 'what do you most like/dislike about Australian life, when compared to Japan?' However, Japanese residents' overall views of Australian life cannot be simply categorised into positive or negative views because some people drew attention to a certain element in the society -such as the cost of living related to residential conditions - while others focused on personal relationships. In responding to the above questions, some respondents answered a few elements, such as he/she expressed his/her *most likes* about Australian life by indicating 'mild climate, less societal pressure, and accessibility to recreational facilities.' In the data-analysis for this open-ended question, a multiple-answer style is adopted and thus totals may not add up to 100 per cent.

It must be noted that some respondents did not answer to these questions regarding their most *likes* and *dislikes* probably because they could not find any particular elements which they liked or disliked. Six out of 86 male sojourners did not answer, while only one out of 87 females did not respond to these respects. Although all the male migrants responded to this question, but four female migrants did not answer. Overall, of 248 respondents, 11 individuals did not answer to these regards. As there were some respondents who clearly indicated, 'nothing particular' or 'I could not find any particular elements, or 'I do not know,' the above 11 respondents were excluded from the table.

To the question about their most *likes* and *dislikes*, some respondents who stated; they could not find any particular elements, when compared to Japan. The nature of these individuals' content or discontent with life in Australia did not appear to change significantly. In addition, with respect to the numbers of items, which they mentioned about most likes, is 44 per cent larger than the negative respect of most *dislikes*?

In this section, I will begin by describing the characteristics of respondents' 'most likes' about Australian life. After explaining the grounds of this, the 'most dislikes' counterparts will be analysed. Then, the consequences and dynamics between the respondents' views on Australian life will be illustrated. After systematising each respondent's answer, several categories are composed so as to clarify the characteristics of their main concerns about Australian life.

3.1 *Categories of 'Most Likes'*

In the open-ended questions as for 'most likes' about Australian life, the majority of respondents were concerned with the latitude of 'time' and 'space', when compared to their Japanese experiences. The 'spaciousness' is associated with both natural and social environments: some focussed on spacious land and others were concerned about spacious housing conditions. Several informants felt Melbourne offered a leisurely lifestyle. The tendency that they felt leisurely life is derived not only from 'spacious living conditions' but also from their sense of 'time', as many felt being restricted by time in Japan which

they did not experience to the same degree in Australia. Additionally, it is worthy of note that various informants mentioned that they had confronted serious stresses caused by relationships with others in Japan, but did not experience in Australia as much in Japan. Several informants stated that 'they can do things at their own pace and own way' and that 'they do not need to pay too much attention to other people's eyes (which means they are free from watchful scrutiny from others or they are not under the pressure from surrounding people).' Thus, they perceived more freedom and less stress in Australia. Apparently, many felt less societal pressure because they are free from the force of social conformity.

The above mentioned three factors, latitude of 'time', 'space', and 'less stresses,' enhance their sense of a relaxed life in Australia. In order to explain clearly about the respondents' 'most likes', several categories are classified below. Although these categories are interrelated with each other, these classifications are considered to be a suitable frame for ascertaining the 'most likes' from their statements.

The first category for the data-analysis is 'Relaxing Lifestyles (related to *time*)'. This idea is derived from the informants' sense of *time* as compared with their situation in Japan. Some remarked: [Unlike Japan] 'They live with time on hand.'

> (a) 'Time-Freedom'
> In this category, their statements include 'I can make my own pace'; 'I am not pressed for time' or 'I am not restricted by time'; 'I have spare time for my

hobby'; and 'I have more time with my child.' In addition, a few respondents' statements related to long vacations are included in this category. Examples are 'I can take holidays very easily or take long holidays.'

Over one quarter of the respondents (28.3%) mentioned this respect. Female respondents, particularly female sojourners tended to be concerned with this respect, as 38.4 per cent mentioned 'relaxing time.' The following table illustrates that the respondents' positive views on Australian life and its data was obtained from the open-ended questions.

Table 33 Likes about Australian life

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male (n=80)	female (n=86)	male (n=17)	female (n=54)	(n=237)
(a) relaxing time	16	33	3	15	67
(%)	20.0	38.4	17.6	27.8	28.3
(b) natural and physical environment	47	48	4	31	130
	58.8	55.8	23.5	57.4	54.9
(c) less societal pressure	13	26	9	27	75
	16.3	30.2	52.9	50.0	31.6
(d) attitude of people	8	9	1	1	19
	10.0	10.5	5.9	1.9	8.0
(e) living expenses	22	20	2	6	50
	27.5	23.3	11.8	11.1	21.1
(f) English language	1	1	1	-	3
	1.3	1.2	5.9	-	1.3
(g) recreational facilities	9	6	-	-	15
	11.3	7.0	-	-	6.3
(h) other statements	1	-	-	-	1
(%)	1.3	-	-	-	0.4

The second category is related both to physical and natural environments in Australian society, which includes their feelings of spaciousness and mild climate. Not only did social conditions, but also physical environments influence their perceptions of relaxing lifestyles as many appreciated their spacious residential conditions. This is the most

important element in the most likes categories as more than half of the respondents (54.9%) stated; they enjoy natural or physical environments in Australia.

> (b) 'Vast Natural and Physical Environments' includes comments such as 'a less-dense population', 'spacious housing', 'obtainability of a garden', and 'abundant public spaces and gardens'. A few were concerned with natural environments, mentioning 'mild climate' and 'lots of greens'. Some mentioned that they experienced serious din and bustle in Japan, which is not so severe in Australia. This category also includes their statements related to human congestion.

Apart from less than a quarter of male migrants mentioned this respect, there are not any significant differences between male and female as well as sojourners and migrants. In addition to the above physical environments, three respondents pointed out that Australia is safe. However, there are larger numbers of respondents who did not think that Australia is safe when compared to Japan. Although there are only a few respondents who mentioned public order as their 'most likes', another question revealed on this is one of the main reasons why Japanese people decided to come to Australia. However, they pay keen attention to other elements for their 'most likes,' partly because public order was not a special issue for them when they moved to Australia from Japan. However, as I mentioned in the section of main reason for choosing Australia other than some other countries, some respondents compared public order with that of the United States and answered that Australia is safe.

The third category of 'Less Societal Pressure' is, to some extent, interrelated with the above two categories as less pressure can be a pre-condition for relaxing lifestyles. However, this category is derived chiefly from their concerns about pressures which are exerted from other people, as one of the typical statements exposes that they did not need to draw keen attention to other people's eyes (watchful scrutiny). In other words, the difference between the first and third categories is that the former comes basically from their concerns about 'time', while the latter mainly focuses on their 'sense of freedom' from their personal relationships with others. The latter indicates that social expectations in Australia differ from those in Japan. Many Japanese residents think that societal pressure for conforming behaviour in Japan is rather serious. Thus, many mentioned that they were allowed latitude in Australia.

(c) 'Less Societal Pressure'

Because they perceived less societal pressure, when compared to Japan, typical statements include, 'I can live in comfort with no pressure of watchful from others'; 'I can assert my own opinion without reserve'; 'I can take my own initiative'; 'I can do my own work without caring about other people,' and 'Personal relationships here are not as much as difficult in Japan.' Some stated that they did not have nuisant neighbours. A few mentioned that there were not noisy relatives surrounding them.

Over 30 per cent of the respondents were concerned about this respect. There is a difference between sojourners and migrants: in sojourner group, only 16 per cent of males and 30 per cent of females mentioned that they appreciate less societal pressure in

Australia, while more than half of both male and female migrants were concerned with this respect. Indeed, this result is related to Japanese migrants' motivation to come to Australia or to remain in Australia on a permanent basis. There are some examples in Japanese migrants to Australia where some of them emphasise the societal compelling forces. They are generally categorised as voluntary migrants in terms of their choices for destination, and the time to migrate. However, they show certain character of involuntariness in their acts of migration, as they demonstrate some fugitive motivation from the home country. For example, Sugimoto (1990) presents an interesting aspect of Japanese emigration. He indicates the lack of perspectives of 'refugee outflows' from Japan by introducing the following three 'refugee' types:

> (1)'corporate refugees' who are fed up with long-hours of work and strict hierarchical structure in Japanese companies and decide to leave Japan; (2)'educational refugees' who are discontented with Japanese school life and decide to study abroad; and (3)'residentially related refugees' who go overseas and have extended their periods of residency. One example presented is Korean-Japanese who faced difficulties in the Japanese social system (Sugimoto, 1990: 66-70).

Some Japanese immigrants to Australia have demonstrated that 'push factors' which propelled them out of the country of origin were non-monetary variables. For instance, Fukushima (1991) also exhibits the existence of educational refugees from Japan, referring to a few Japanese immigrant families to Australia. These samples of Japanese sharply criticised the Japanese school system, citing fierce competition in entrance

examinations and overzealousness in school regulation. Consequently, the parents' decision was intended to obtain better circumstances for their children's education. Japanese corporation refugees disclose strains in Japanese society. Ishikawa (1991) presents a few cases who immigrated to Australia to escape a society which socially asphyxiates. In fact, although it cannot be a large number, there are some Japanese who decide to emigrate due to their feelings or perceptions of immense societal pressure. Indeed, there are some cases who attempt to extricate themselves from Japanese society, stating that their main reasons for immigration were derived from societal pressure.

In this research, some migrants expressed that they are relieved from social strains brought about by personal relations. It mr . : . noted that social strain is not necessarily caused by tensions internal to Japa . . onships. However, they feel or are concerned with social conformity with . . . nese society or occasionally about the competitive nature of Japanese society. A few of them explained clearly about their freedom from the societal pressure for conformity, stating that 'I am released from the Japanese value system'; or 'I can become a student without regards to my age [unlike in Japan].' A few teenage girls mentioned that they could return home late and they could drink and smoke without any pressure.

In addition to the societal pressure from others, they felt 'less societal pressure' in Australia which is related to other social climates in Australia. The reduction of societal pressure from social intercourse conceivably results from the attitudes of people

surrounding the respondents. It is an external ꞏcondition for encouraging their sense of social freedom. According to some of the respondents' perceptions, they regarded Australian society as less competitive and remarked that 'I can assert my own opinions (more easily here).' It is obvious that their feelings of less societal pressure are ascribed to their perception of a relaxing social climate which is created by people's attitudes in Australia. The next category is formed by their statements related to 'Attitudes of People in Australia'

(d) Attitudes of People in Australia:

Many respondents have positive views of people in Australia and remark: 'they are kind, generous, and friendly.' Some stated that 'people in Australia respect an individual' or 'people place a high value on lifestyle.'

The fifth category is the low cost of living. The informants' positive views on the 'cost of living' are associated with certain expenditures. There are a few respondents who only answered that 'prices are low,' but many remarked that prices of certain expenditures are low, namely consumer's goods and foods, housing and rents. A few mentioned that public transportation is not expensive. Despite many respondents indicating that 'prices are low in Australia', in the opposite question regarding their most *dislike* about Australian life, a few recognised that prices were high in Australia, referring to the different specific commodity areas. For example, prices of automobiles, computers, books, stationaries and electric appliances. Their view depends on the respondents'

perspective on commodities and consumers. However, most of them apparently expressed their appreciation of low consumer prices.

(e) Cost of Expenditures

Many respondents pointed out those housings, rent, and foodstuffs are inexpensive.[39]

There is a difference between sojourner and migrants in their views on cost of expenditure: the proportion of sojourners who concerned about this respect is over doubled as one quarter of sojourners mentioned this, while only 11.3 per cent of migrants thought expensive cost of expenditures in Australia.

As English is a dominant language in Australia, some respondents mentioned about 'likes' and 'dislikes' of the English language. Although there are some respondents (especially corporate wives) who are discontent that they have to use English, there are a few other who form positive views of the use of English. Indeed, English as a dominant

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[39] In terms of Japanese residents' views on the cost of living, there are a few relevant researches: Suzuki (1988) conducted a questionnaire research into the Japanese residents' images of Australia from late 1982 to the beginning of 1983 in Brisbane. According to his research data, the majority of the informants found the cost of living high in Australia. For instance, roughly three quarters of the informants (78.0%) replied that clothing was expensive. Regarding durable consumer goods over 90 percent of informants (112 out of the total 122) replied that these too were expensive. Suzuki explains that a price of a popular Japanese car was twice as high as that in Japan (1988: 42). On the other hand, my previous research conducted from the late 1989 to the early 1990 in Brisbane showed that most respondents mentioned that the prices of meats, fruits and vegetables are much cheaper here than in Japan. However, the inexpensive prices did not automatically induce their satisfaction as they emphasised the difficulty in getting Japanese food and that Japanese food here is very expensive (Mizukami, 1990: 65). There were different results in the research in the early 1980s as a result of several years difference in the periods of research and in economic conditions: At the time of Suzuki's research (from the late 1982 to the beginning of 1983), the yen rate stabilised at around 250 to the Australian dollar, whereas in the latter research undertaken between 1989 and 1990 the Australian dollar rate was approximately half the value. Although, the latter research ascertained the informants' recognition

language in Australia is a significant factor for Japanese people in choosing Australia as their destination for study.

(f) Language (English)

Some respondents appreciated that they had opportunities to use and learn English.

The next category of "Accessibility of Recreational Facilities' includes some different kinds of pastime activities such as sports, dining and cultural events in Melbourne. The respondents' views on recreational facilities in Australia is naturally related to individuals' hobbies, pastime activities and more broadly their socio-cultural lives. Although a large number of Japanese businessmen enjoyed golf,[40] in this question, not many mentioned golf because it appeared to become natural for some Japanese residents to play golf with its ease of access and low price in Australia. Indeed, although many Japanese residents (especially sojourners) joined various kinds of golf clubs, many of them did not mention this matter in the question of most *likes*.

(g) Accessibility of Recreational Facilities

A few respondents appreciated more readily accessible and cheaper sporting facilities here than in Japan and so as some entertainment such as concerts. One indicated, 'there are various hiking-tracks.' A few pointed out that they could enjoy various types of ethnic food.

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of Australia's low cost of living, when compared to Japan. At the time this questionnaire survey was conducted in 1997, one Australian dollar was less than 90 yen.

Although almost all the statements tend to gravitate towards the above-presented categories, there are some other responses. Excluding 'no answer' and the previously mentioned answers, the rest are categorised as 'other'. Each of the following statements is given by only one or two respondents.

(h) 'Other' includes: 'I can return to Japan easily'; 'study here is enjoyable'; 'there are many smoke-free zones'; 'good for child-education'; 'this is a multi-ethnic society'; and 'computers have spread throughout the country.'

The last category for 'other statements' includes: 'No answer' and some answers like 'I do not know,' and 'I cannot find any particular elements'.

3.2 Categories of 'Most Dislikes'

There are two major points which the majority of informants' statements of their *dislikes*. One is related to material conditions in Australia and the other is the attitude of people in Australia, especially their attitudes towards work as many regarded people here as not punctual and sometimes not reliable. Thus, the number of respondents complaint about Australian service. In terms of material conditions, namely consumer's goods, in Australia, some of their statements highlighted their negative views clearly: "I cannot enjoy shopping" and "Commodities in Australia cannot bear comparison with those in Japan."

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[40] Incidentally, Iwaki, a Japanese conductor travelling the world, points out, in his collection of literary

The first category for most *dislikes* is about different physical environments from Japan, namely material conditions in Australia. As they often compared Australian daily life with that in Japan, their pursuit of Japanese elements including Japanese diet sometimes brought about their discontent with life in Australia. Some people were discontent with the price of Japanese foodstuff and difficulty in obtaining them. Their comparison in consumer's goods between two countries sometimes leads to Japanese residents' complaints about the prices of some particular products, such as automobiles, electric appliances, books, computers, and apparels. Their complaints to the quality and prices of some commodities, such as computers, electric appliances and automobiles are also included in this category. Almost one quarter of the sojourner-respondents mentioned about consumer's goods in Australia, while 17 per cent of migrants are discontent with this respect (see Table 34).

(a) Quality and Availability of Consumer's Goods

The problems relation to the material conditions are as follows: 'I cannot find high quality commodities or suitable apparels'; 'Goods at supermarkets are limited'; 'The standards of machinery and consumer's goods are low'; and 'Japanese foodstuff is limited and expensive.'

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jottings on many cities, that Australia is a heaven for playing golf (1986; 67).

Table 34 Dislikes about Australian life

	sojourners		migrants		Total
	male (n=80)	female (n=86)	male (n=17)	female (n=54)	(n=237)
(a) consumer's goods	21	21	1	11	54
(%)	26.3	24.4	5.9	20.4	22.8
(b) inconvenient transport	8	24	3	10	45
	10.0	27.9	17.6	18.5	19.0
(c) reliability	21	25	4	19	69
	26.3	29.1	23.5	35.2	29.1
(d) alienation	4	1	-	7	12
	5.0	1.2	-	13.0	5.1
(e) foreign language	5	8	2	5	20
	6.3	9.3	11.8	9.3	8.4
(f) recreational activities	15	7	-	4	26
	18.8	8.1	-	7.4	11.0
(g) prejudice and discrimination	1	4	3	3	11
	1.3	4.7	17.6	5.6	4.6
(h) other statements	4	7	1	1	13
(%)	5.0	8.1	5.9	1.9	5.5

The second category is related to the inconvenience in taking public transport. Several respondents' concerns were basically about the unpunctuality and limited service of public transports. However, some other people mentioned inconvenience of transportation within Melbourne through concern about their sense of personal safety. When compared to their lives in Japan, several residents complained, 'I cannot return home by taking the train or bus by myself at night'; and 'I have to escort my children to schools and home.' These statements are also included in this category.

(b) Inconvenience of Transportation

Their typical statement are: 'Trains are not punctual or sudden cancelled'; and 'Without car, it is very difficult to travel around.'

Especially, female sojourners (27.9%) complaint about the inconvenience in transport within the Melbourne area. However, the vast majority were from Japanese urban areas, many are concerned with limited services of public transportation compared to Japan's metropolitan areas. Ten per cent of male sojourners and 18 per cent of migrants also complaint about their inconvenience.

The third category is related to attitudes of people at workplaces and in service. Some business people complained about their work associates' attitudes toward work and many housewives complained about shop assistants' attitudes towards customers. Some businessmen mentioned that even though the deadline was approaching, their local workmates did not pay enough attention to this, while some housewives pointed out the lack of punctuality and unreliability of repairmen.

(c) Reliability of People in Australia

This category includes the respondents' negative views such as 'People do not take their jobs seriously', 'do not have sufficient sense of responsibility'; 'They do not work efficiently'; 'I have to confirm everything, otherwise people do not work properly; and 'Services are slow and not very good.'

The largest proportion of 29.1 per cent of the respondents mentioned this respect. Among four groups, a relatively high proportion of the female sojourners (35.2%) were concerned about this. As all the subjects in this research are either first generation Japanese migrants or sojourners, many are living away from their families. The next category is related to the respondents' loneliness.

(d) Alienation

Their statements include: 'I am apart from my family'; 'I feel lonely'; 'My social intercourse are limited'; and 'I have only a few friends here.'

Some respondents expressed their alienation, but the proportion is only five per cent. None of the male migrants and seven female migrants (13%) felt alienation, while only 4 male (5%) and one female sojourners (1.2%) expressed their alienation. The outcome shows that ethnic Japanese group; especially sojourners do not tend to have problems of alienation. Despite the nature of their individual migration, rather than chain migration and of their non-English speaking backgrounds, the majority of Japanese residents in Melbourne appear to be involved in various organisational activities. Hence, for the vast majority of sojourners, alienation does not tend to their major problems, rather controversially; there are larger numbers of Japanese people who appreciate that they do not face troublesome neighbours or relatives.

For some them, their alienated social conditions can be sometimes related to their poor command of the English language. The next category is 'the English language.' Although there are some people who enjoy the opportunities to use English, there are larger numbers of people who are discontent that they have to use English.

(e) 'English Language'

The statement as follows: 'I am forced to use English'; and 'Because of my poor command of English, I cannot enjoy having time with my friends'.

As for recreational activities, the vast majority did not refer to any sporting activities in the question of most *dislikes*. Several informants mentioned about television programmes in Australia.

(f) Recreational Activities

The statements include: 'there are few outlets for entertainment'; 'there are not many interesting television programmes'; and 'I cannot watch Japanese television programmes.'

The pervious section introduced Japanese residents' perception on people's attitudes in Australia. Although the next category is also about the 'Attitudes of People in Australia', at this time, the focus is on prejudices and discriminations.

(g) 'Prejudice and Discrimination'

Some stated: 'there are discriminations and prejudices towards Asians including Japanese'; there is a prejudice'; 'it is hard to live under the circumstances of prejudice' and 'Australian people esteem themselves very high.'

Less than five per cent of the Japanese residents mentioned about discriminations and prejudices. Among migrants respondents, three males (17.6%) and three females (5.6%) were concerned with this respect, while only one male (1.3%) and four female (4.7%) sojourners indicated discriminations and prejudices in Australia. In terms purely of the proportion, for Japanese residents in Melbourne, unreliable manner of Australian people is more major concerns than discriminations and prejudices.

As there is idiosyncrasy among the respondents' views on and attitudes towards the host community, the category of 'other' includes a variety of answers. However, only one or two respondents presented the following statements.

(h) Other

This category includes the respondents' statements related to pressure from the company's head office in Japan, Australian government policies towards education, quick changes of the government policies, the level of Australian education, the supposedly Australian method of washing dishes ('people do not rinse when they wash dishes'), different medical system and complaint about medical insurance, difficulty in making an appointments with specialists, and so on.

Through analysing proportions of their major concerns, it can be said that, Japanese residents tend to form positive views on Australia, though they have some problems relating to Australian services or commodities when compared to their lives in Japan. Particularly, among sojourners, many appreciate their natural and physical environments and do not need to worry about prejudice and discrimination. As there is an *organisational-network community*, the vast majority do not feel alienation in their new foreign milieu.

Chapter VI

JAPANESE SCHOOLS IN MELBOURNE

This chapter discusses the activities and characteristics of ethnic-Japanese-oriented organisations in Melbourne. An attempt is made to delineate Japanese organisations' unique characteristics, with foci on two Japanese schools in metropolitan Melbourne. There are several major organisations that have contributed to develop network among Japanese people living in Melbourne. The establishment of the following Japanese residents' organisations presents some evidences that sojourners, rather than migrants, have played a vital role in forming post-war Japanese communities in Melbourne.

There are various ethnic-Japanese-oriented formal and informal organisations. Some consist exclusively of Japanese nationals and others are based on a mixed structure of Japanese and local residents. The Japan Club of Victoria was established by several Japanese migrants on 11 December 1982 and opened a clubhouse in Canterbury in 1993. In 1995, it had almost 80 family-members. The reason for establishing this club was that some migrants thought that the former Japanese club named the Japanese Society of Melbourne was primarily for business expatriate families and therefore they decided to establish a Japanese club for migrants as permanent residents.

1. *Major Japanese Organisations*

1.1 *Establishments of Japanese Clubs for Sojourners*

The following two organisations were formed exclusively for Japanese nationals. The Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Melbourne Inc. founded in 1963 by 18 Japanese companies, with the purpose of promoting mutual understanding between Australia and Japan. In the late 1960s, the number of corporate members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry was about 30, but the membership has constantly increased and in 1995, it was 89. This organisation coincided with the Japanese Society of Melbourne Inc., which was formed in July 1965 by expatriate Japanese people and presently has a shared office between the two in the central Melbourne. According to the president of the Japanese Society of Melbourne (interview conducted in April 1997), the Chamber of Commerce and Industry is for [Japanese] companies and its aim is to promote their benefits, while the Japanese Society was established with the purpose of promoting [Japanese] individuals' welfare. In 1996, the memberships of the Japanese Society consisted of 861 individuals and 102 corporations. The number of individual memberships is roughly one-fourth of entire Japan-born persons in the census data. The majority of individual members are from corporate families, though they include some migrant members.

The Japanese Society has sub-branches including a women's association and sports clubs. They organise regular tennis and golf events and the women's association is quite active in

organising various activities, such as luncheons, flower arrangements, workshops, and in the dissemination of information to Japanese communities. On 10 June 1997, a general meeting of women's association was held at the International of Brighton, with 163 participants. Nine women were admitted to the organisation's executive for 1998; Six of them, including the president and Vice-President, were wives of expatriate businessmen of Japanese large corporation while three women were migrants.

1.2 *The Main Roles of the Japanese Society of Melbourne*

The role of the Japanese Society of Melbourne includes liaison (administrator) between the Japanese Consulate General and the Japanese communities. They undertake to organise a range of activities for Japanese communities, while at the same time they act as an informal aim of the Japanese government information-dissemination. When the Australian or Victorian government changes its policies all the members of the Society get to hear of it through their newsletters. For example, the October 1997 Newsletter includes a communication received by the Consulate General from the Victorian Government: Japanese persons are exempted from a driving license test when they can show that they have a 'business long-stay visa', a valid Japanese car-license, a form signed by the Consulate General and they live in Victoria. This also applies to family members. The Society's other self, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry has a role in conducting meetings with Japanese government delegates.

These organisations have a role which is also found in Japanese neighbourhood associations.[41] Although the neighbourhood associations in Japan are not constituted as a formal element of the municipality, they generally coordinate with the local government administrations as a 'self-organised quasi-governmental agency' (Mizukami, 1995: 179). Some researchers (e.g. Kurasawa, 1990: 4-7; Nakamura, 1990: 65; and Torigoe, 1994: 9) point out a few notable characteristics of Japanese neighbourhood associations which can find throughout Japan. For example, they support the lower levels of local government administration as a liaison official between local government and residents; only one association exists within a given territory; and the association works in various fields of activity related to community, services and local events such as trips, sports, local festivals, cleaning and scavenging, and the prevention of disasters and fire. Because of the Society's nature as a multi-functional organisation, some of its activities, such as recreation and liaison, replace those of Japanese neighbourhood associations which operate in Japan. This is an essential factor upon which the Japanese community in Melbourne is based on organisational networks.

1.3 The Foundation of a Japanese School in Melbourne

The above two organisations were a driving force for founding Japanese schools in Melbourne. According to the activity report by the women's association within the

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[41] A study on these associations has been a major area in Japan's urban sociology. The Ministry of Home Affairs conducted survey into 3,278 local government areas in entire Japan (*Chihogyosei sisutemu kenkyujo*, 1983: 1-2). This survey clarified, as of the 1st of December 1980, except for eight districts which did not establish associations; 274,738 associations were reported (five areas did not respond). The survey outcome disclosed that these kinds of associations existed throughout Japan since 87.8 per cent of the local areas

Society, a Japanese school for supplementing Japanese elementary school students started on the premises of Malvern Central State School on 7th of September 1968. Although there are not any fully documented materials about the establishment of the Japanese school for supplementing Japanese education in Melbourne, some old reports of the Japanese Society official letters are kept in the Society office. The women's association within the Society appeared to have played an important role in starting the school. They received letters from the Education Department, Victoria (which is dated on 25 July 1968) for permitting the Japanese Society of Melbourne to use the premises of Malvern Central State School and from a headmaster of Malvern Central State School (dated 23 July 1968) who officially allowed the use of class-rooms from 10:00am to 3:00pm for teaching Japanese.

Prior to inauguration of the school, the women's association held several meetings and they negotiated with some Japanese individuals, including a few lecturers at Monash University, to undertake school classes. Although the desire of many Japanese residents was to establish a full-time Japanese school to provide a Japanese school curriculum, this had not been formally approved by the Victorian government at the time the school opened in 1968.

Although the Japanese residents could not have achieved their initial plan to establish a full-time Japanese school, they persisted with set forward the plan. To some extent, the

responded that in every district associations were organised and 9.1 per cent answered most district formed

establishment of a full-time school can be attributed to the economic and political relationship between Australia and Japan. When the Victorian premier approached the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry for inviting Japanese investment, Japanese officials responded that a condition for promoting Japan's investment was to establish a full-time Japanese school for corporate families. Despite many years of lobbying between the Victorian government and the Japanese community regarding the establishment of a full-time school, Japanese residents did not receive the permission until 1986.

However, when property of the Holy Cross Primary School went on sale, the Japanese supplementary school invited subscriptions in September 1981 and purchased the property in May 1982 (Solomon, 1989: 68-69). Under the initiative of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Melbourne, they appointed a committee for establishing a full-time Japanese school on 21 June 1984. According to an administrative officer of the Japanese School of Melbourne, who used to be a teacher of the supplementary school, the Japanese residents' wish to establish a full-time school had been growing and when they obtained their own property their initial plan turned into reality.

In February 1985, the school board commenced appealing for funds for the addition four prefabricated classrooms and in December these new classrooms were completed. In April 1986, the Victorian government expressed willingness to establish a full-time

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associations.

Japanese school as an authorised private school in Melbourne. The following month, the Japanese community commenced invitation of subscriptions for opening a full-time school and on 13th May 1986, the Japanese School of Melbourne opened for elementary and junior high school students.

1.4 *Japanese Organisations' Community Schools*

Generally speaking, schools are symbols of community. A minimum of common interaction is presupposed through the organisations of education. In response to an increase in the number of Japanese people in Melbourne, a full-time Japanese school was established in 1986. This school is characterised by its Japanese curriculum and by the fact that the vast majority of students are sojourners. When the supplementary school was converted to a full-time one, the Japanese residents re-opened a supplementary school. Therefore, there have been two Japanese schools in middle-class suburbs since 1986. It was the Japanese sojourners, rather than immigrants, who took the initiative to establish their own weekend and full-time schools. In Melbourne, even though Japanese residents have access to a full-time Japanese school, some sojourners prefer to send their children to local schools, and through school activities parental interaction within local communities has often been encouraged (Mizukami, 1996b).

In Australia, there are many non-state community schools. Of the many different kinds, there are those schools where the main intention is to maintain ethnic language, tradition and religion. However, Japanese schools attempt to provide classes in Japanese subjects

to help students cope with returning to school in Japan. The full-time Japanese school does, however, offer some extra English conversation. Although the Japanese schools are located in Australian suburbs, they can be considered to be part of a wider Japanese institution. The role of Japanese schools in the Australian community needs to be clarified before identifying these schools approach in dealing with the local community. Although there have been some studies on Japanese schools in foreign countries, the impact of these schools on the local community has not been elucidated.

Although there are some supplementary schools in several major cities, in Sydney and Melbourne, both full-time and supplementary schools exist. In those cities, three patterns of school-attendance by Japanese children can be detected: 1) attending a full-time Japanese school only; 2) attending a non-Japanese local school only; and 3) attending both a local school and a Japanese supplementary school. In Melbourne, there are also a few cases where students attend both the Japanese full-time and the supplementary schools (Mizukami, 1996c: 99). Additionally, some children take correspondence courses for which materials have been sent from Japan and parents employ private tutors for their children.

The full-time Japanese school is administered through an initiative of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry/ the Japanese Society of Melbourne Inc. Both organisations promote schools which are principally organised by sojourning Japanese. In fact, the Japanese Society and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry have supported the

Japanese schools in Melbourne as evidenced by the membership of current School Administration Board. The Board consists of Japanese sojourners, most of whom are expatriate businessmen working for Melbourne branches of large Japanese corporations. Between 1st July 1996 and 30th June 1997, twelve members were nominated in the Board as shown in the table below:

Table 35 Members of the administration board of the Japanese School of Melbourne

(1st July 1996 - 30th June 1997)

position	place of employment
the chairperson	Mitsui bussan, Australia
the vice-chairperson	Daimaru, Australia
director	NEC, Australia
director	Nihon Denso, Australia
director	the Japanese Consulate of General, Melbourne
director	the School (a president of the school)
director	a representative of parents of the School (elementary school division)
director	a representative of parents of the School (junior high school division)
a head of administrative official	Mitsui bussan, Australia
administrative official	Daimaru, Australia
administrative official	the School (a head of the school administrative official)

Source: The Japanese School of Melbourne. 1996. *Gakko Yoran Heisei 8 Nendo (A General Survey of the School, 1996)*. Melbourne: The Japanese School of Melbourne, p.4.

Except for one administrative official, all the members in 1996/97 were sojourners, most of whom were also executive members of the Japanese Society.

In Melbourne, it is apparent that the establishment of the full-time school in Caulfield is a major 'pull-factor' for Japanese families with school-age child(ren) to choose to have

their domicile in this vicinity. Generally, schools tend to become a symbol of their supporting communities. Educational institutions thrive on the informal networks which develop out of children's education and this encourages people to live closely to each other. This communal function sometimes influences their choice of location when they come to Melbourne and a it is also significant consideration when they change their place of residence within the Melbourne region.

1.5 *Japanese Schools Overseas*

As the aim of this chapter is to explain the characteristics and activities of the Japanese schools in Melbourne, I need to consider Japanese schools in Australia in relation to similar schools built overseas. I will list some characteristics of Japanese schools and patterns of schooling in foreign countries in order to present a background to Japanese schools in Australia.

In terms of economic development, Japan now has multi-national enterprises with foreign branches and the number of Japanese families sojourning abroad has increased. Since the 1960s, the development of Japanese business has increased the numbers of Japanese corporate families overseas. Sojourning businessmen are not always accompanied by their families during their overseas assignments. Some Japanese businessmen decide to take an assignment abroad without their families. Clearly they seek to avoid sending their children to overseas non-Japanese schools. In this, the families' concern for their children's education is an overriding factor. In this research, of 94 sojourner-respondents

who have a school-age child, 18 people left their child(ren) in Japan. Indeed, in my interviews with several corporate families, they pointed out that educating the children in Melbourne was their major source of anxiety.

Although there have been some businessmen or corporate families taking an overseas assignment without their children, the number of school-age children overseas has nevertheless increased the expansion of Japanese business overseas. In 1987, it exceeded 40,000 and reached 50,000 in 1991 (Monbusho, 1995: 3). In order for school-age children to return to schools in Japan without fuss, Japanese organisations overseas, the Chambers of Commerce and Industries and Japanese clubs, have established their own schools, the purpose of which is to offer the identical classes which are held at home in Japan. It is obviously sojourner-oriented. The Japanese government (Monbusho) classifies Japanese schools overseas into the following three categories:

(1) *Nihonjin Gakko*, which indicates full-time Japanese educational institutions, established with the purpose of providing compulsory education (elementary and junior high school level) which is identical to that in Japan. In 1995, there were 91 schools in 57 countries (Which include full-time schools in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth).

(2) *Hoshujugyoko* which means supplementary schools offering part of the school subjects in Japan at elementary and junior high school divisions. These schools are generally part-time schools which are conducted outside the official school hours, such as after school or on weekends, and are for Japanese students who go to foreign local schools. Some schools include kindergarten and senior high school units. In 1995, some 167 of these schools existed in 54 countries.

(3) *Shiritsu zaigai kyoiku shisetsu* indicates full-time educational institutions overseas, constituted fundamentally as their umbrella body of schools in Japan. These schools form curricula which are equivalent to those in Japan generally in concert with their mother-schools. They are equipped with dormitories and some encompass elementary to high school while others have either junior and senior high schools or a senior high school division only (*ibid.* 6-10).

According to the survey by Monbusho, as of 1st May 1995, there were 49,397 Japanese school students overseas and nearly 40 per cent of the students (19,662) were concentrated in North America while only 4 per cent (1,992) lived in the Oceania region (*ibid.* 4). About 10 per cent of the total number of the students were assumed to live in New York where there are not only Japanese full-time and part-time supplementary schools but also cramming schools for preparing for school entrance examinations. In 1985, Japan's major cramming schools developed business in New York. They have attracted increasing numbers of students occasioning a decrease in the number of students in Japanese supplementary schools (Okada, 1993: 193-195). This phenomena proves some Japanese people overseas apparently set their first priority as pursuit of schooling in Japan while living in a foreign country. Some scholars (e.g. Siu, 1952; and Uriely, 1994) have pointed out that the characteristics of sojourners are their attachment to their ethnic culture in coping with their return to homeland. However, in a contemporary global world view, attachment to the ethnic heritage does not necessarily mean isolation from the wider host community. There are some different types of Japanese schools which open the door to local children or attempt to interact with local communities.

A well-known example of a Japanese school, which accepts local non-Japanese students, is the Sydney Japanese School. In response to the increase in Japanese population, a full-time Japanese school was established in 1969, which was authorised as a private school by the New South Wales government. The School offers classes for elementary and Junior high school students, in which the curriculum is basically the same as in Japanese schools. In addition to the Japanese curriculum, however, they cater for four hours of English classes per week (Marubeni Kohoshitsu, 1985: 254). Some classes, such as physical education, art, music, are conducted thorough mixing both Japanese and local Australian students (Shimizu, 1987: 170).

With respect to supplementary schools which operate on weekends, most Japanese schools in Australia have international classes for local students. For example, in a Japanese supplementary school in Adelaide, a quarter of the students were non-Japanese; the number of Japanese students was twenty-nine and Australian students numbered 10 in 1995 (Mizukami, 1996a: 106-107). The Saturday school in Melbourne also accepts non-Japanese students into international classes.

1.6 *The Japanese School of Melbourne*

The Japanese School of Melbourne is located about 10 kilometres Southeast of the Melbourne CBD. This area is a tranquil middle-class residential area. Unlike Japanese Saturday schools, the activities of the full-time Japanese School of Melbourne have been restricted in relation to the local community. Most teachers of the school are sent from

Monbusho on a three years assignment. In 1996, there were 13 teachers from Japan, two English teachers from the local community and one music teacher who had migrated from Japan. This school's curriculum is fundamentally equivalent to that of schools in Japan. The main difference between this school curriculum and that of ordinary schools in Japan is that the former contains English conversation classes for elementary school pupils for four hours per week and for Junior high school students for two hours respectively. In addition, since 1994 they have catered for a special class twice a week for the newly-arrived students.

Except for several students from Japanese migrant families, the vast majority of students are from Japanese temporary-resident families, most of whom stay in Melbourne for almost three years. The number of students changes during the semester because of job transfers of some sojourning families, and every year, some students go back to Japan and new students enter the school. Additionally, a few Japanese company managers mentioned that there are some cases where children were initially sent to local schools and then, a year before they return to Japan, they sent the children to the full-time Japanese school. The following graph indicates the number of students in May of every year from 1986 to 1996. According to the Australian census, in 1996 there were more or less 400 Japan-born school age children in Melbourne (see the following table; an elementary school age in Japan is between 6 and 12, and junior high school age is 12 to 15). Therefore, almost a quarter of the entire group of Japan-born school age children went to the Japanese school in 1996.

Table 36 Age distribution of Japan-born persons by sex in Melbourne in 1996

age	male	female	total
0-4	78	62	140
5-10	94	87	181
10-14	85	110	195
15-19	141	224	365
20-24	192	268	460
25-29	96	230	326
30-34	149	265	414
35-39	165	231	396
40-44	169	195	364
45-49	160	189	349
50-54	54	76	130
55-59	31	36	67
60-64	24	52	76
65-70	9	78	87
70 +	14	60	74
total	1,461	2,163	3,624

*Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data.
Source: Unpublished data from ABS

At the inception of the school in 1986, there were 96 students, most of whom were previously supplementary students. The change in the students' number has been influenced by the social and economic situation Japan. After finishing the bubble economy at the beginning of the 1990s, some corporate families returned to Japan due to economic recession. According to the head official of the school, the tuition fee of the Japanese School of Melbourne is almost one-third of other local private schools owing to both Australian and Japanese governments' subsidies. In this school, thirteen staff for taking school courses are delegated and paid by Monbusho. Although this school is regarded as a state school in Victoria, it is based on sojourner-oriented in terms of its curricula, the school administration board, and teaching-staff. Furthermore, the eligibility

of students is also aimed at for sojourning families, which will be explained in the forthcoming section.
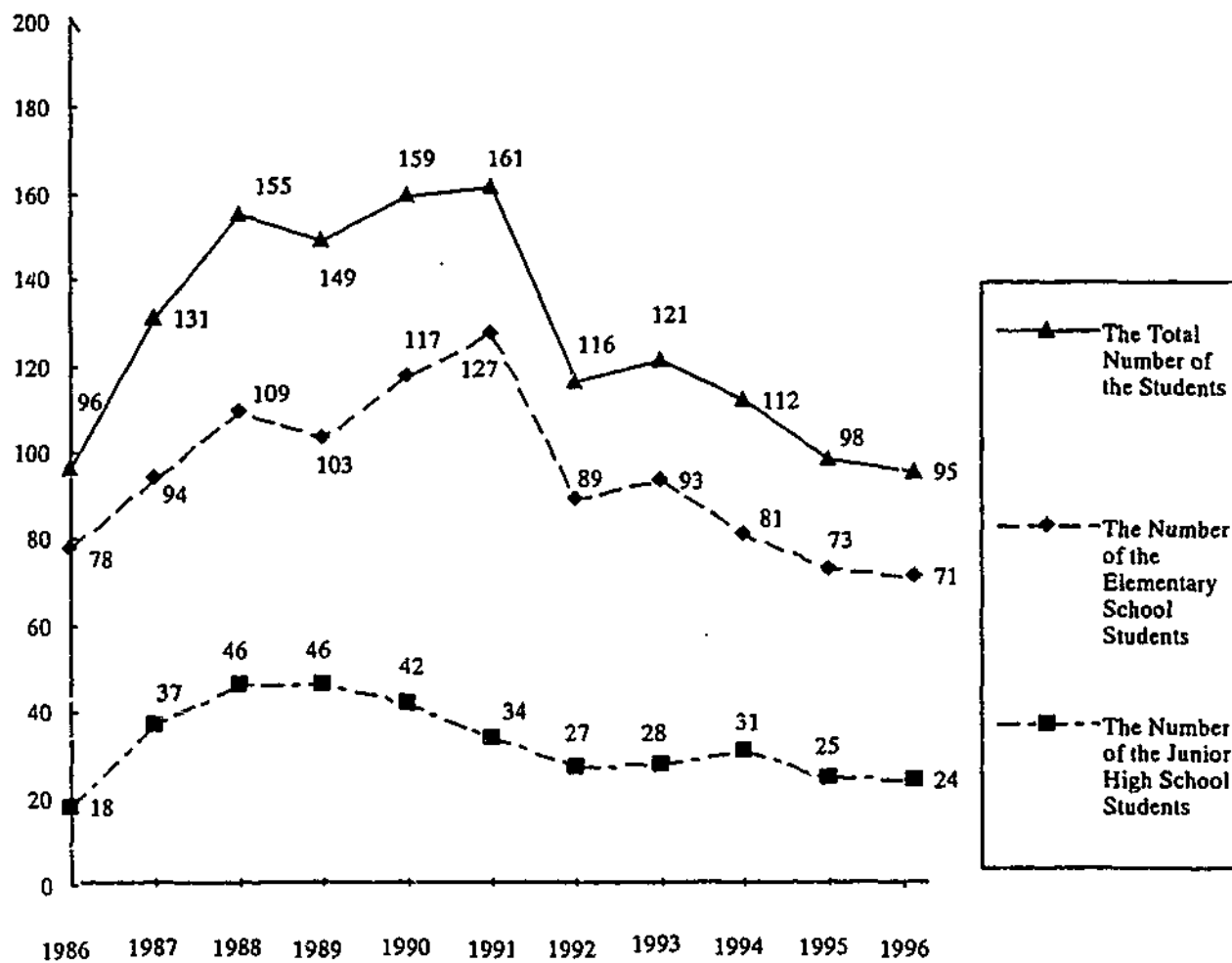
Source: The Japanese School of Melbourne. 1996. *Gakko Yoran Heisei 8 Nendo (A General Survey of the School, 1996)*. Melbourne: The Japanese School of Melbourne, p.5.

Figure 6 **The Number of the students in the Japanese School of Melbourne 1986-1996**

In spite of a relatively cheap tuition fee, the number of Japanese school children has gradually declined after the peak period of 1991. The reason for this decline is related to the following trends: Owing to the popularity of Japan's English studies, many parents did not have a negative view, rather sometimes had a positive view on the children's

education in an English-speaking country because the children could obtain opportunities in studying abroad.

2. The Feature of the Sojourner-Oriented Character

2.1 Distinctiveness of the School

At the Victorian government's request, this school is rather unique when compared to some other Japanese schools as well as many other community schools in Australia. Although other Japanese schools in Australian metropolitan areas, such as in Sydney and Adelaide, have 'international classes' for local non-Japanese students, the Japanese School of Melbourne has not introduced international classes and all the students are Japanese, of whom the overwhelming majority are from sojourning families. The school-activities have been limited at the request of the Victorian government.

The following is a letter from a Chairman of the Registered Schools Board, State of Victoria, dated 14 April 1986.

> I wish to advise that the Registered Schools Board has granted approval to open to the Japanese School of Melbourne, subject only to the provision that students enrolled are children of Japanese nationals whose stay in Australia is expected to be only a few years, or are children of Japanese nationals who intend that their children should undertake further schooling or tertiary education in Japan.
> It is noted that the school intends opening on 15th May 1986. Officers of the Board will conduct a review of the school, for registration purposes, at a mutually convenient time before the end of 1986.

As the above letter indicates, the school was primarily for Japanese sojourners, they cannot open the door for Australian students. Nor can they accept Japanese migrants' children who intend to undertake further education in Australia. Although their activities are restricted, they attempt to communicate with local communities by conducting interchange-classes with other local schools in order for the Japanese students not to gravitate solely to their compatriots. For example, in 1994 the following exchange programs were conducted:

At the elementary school level, in April and May, the students introduced Japanese history, greetings and children's play to the Huntingdale Primary School. Both school-students also enjoyed sports together. In November, they visited the Beaumaris North Primary School. At junior elementary division from grades 1 to 3, Japanese students instructed Japanese children's play and *Origami* and learnt animal craft. At senior elementary division from grades 4 to 6, they instructed Japanese traditional songs and dances, and learned bush dances.

At the junior high school level (which is equivalent to grade 7 to 9 in the Victorian secondary educational division), they have been more concerned with experiencing Australian classes than playing together. In June they had joint classes with the Geelong Grammar School of Glamorgan, including in the English and Japanese languages, mathematics, science, art and physical education. In order to stimulate conversation between the two school students, Japanese students administered questionnaire research into images of Japan and the lifestyle of Australia and the students discussed the characteristics of the city of Melbourne. In September, students of the Lowther Hall Grammar School visited to observe Japanese classes. In the beginning of November, conversely, Japanese students visited Lowther Hall Grammar School to make a plan for conducting a joint-class, and on 15th of November, both School students went to the Melbourne city centre for an

inspection trip. In October, the Japanese school conducted excursion trip to Monash University to converse with Australian university students who study the Japanese language. (The Melbourne Japanese School, 1995)

Since the inception of junior high school students' interchange classes with local schools in 1987, the number of Japanese students who make friends through this program has gradually increased. In addition, as the school is located in a residential area, at an annual Japanese School Festival in October, they invite neighbouring people and provide various attractions, including demonstrations of Karate, Japanese food at cheap prices, and helping the local visitors to dress *Kimono* (Japanese robe). In the school civic course, the students visit the Caulfield Council (later Glen Eira Council) and the mayor and other personnel of the Council are also invited to this festival.

Apart from the interchange program and the school fete, school activities involving interaction with local communities are limited. The school's first priority is to administer Japanese education programs because both the students and the teachers are mostly sojourners who are expected to return. Although their activities in interacting with local communities have been limited, the school attempts to extend interactions with local communities and, in addition to English conversation classes, they have some courses which assist one to understand the host Australian society. In February 1992, in a civic course they produced their own textbook on Australian society. The head teacher of the school described it as follows (in April 1995):

After school hours and weekends they have few friends in local community, so the majority of students look forward to coming to the school where they can see some friends. If the school does not organise interchange class programs, many students may concentrate into Japanese compatriots' activities. The difficulties that they confront are insufficient staff for communicating local communities and for attending each and every school activity. Furthermore, they are in a tight schedule because they have to complete the same school curriculum as those in Japan with fewer hours of classes than Japan. However, in order to develop the interaction with local communities, they have to continue interchange class programs as well as some courses to understand the host Australian society for promoting mutual understandings.

The Japanese School of Melbourne has demonstrated distinctiveness: Many ethnic schools in Australia are administered by permanent residents, but this school has been established and administered by the sojourning residents rather than migrants. Additionally, the Japanese School of Melbourne provides over 90 per cent of courses in the Japanese language.

2.2 The Melbourne International School of Japanese

The Melbourne International School of Japanese was established in 1986 as a supplementary Saturday school. When the previous supplementary school was transferred to a full-time school that year, many students' parents wished to open a supplementary school because their children had already settled in local schools. At the same time, in order to follow Japanese education or to improve the children's Japanese language, they requested some former school staff to carry on classes for supplementing Japanese

education. Then a supplementary school, named the Melbourne International School of Japanese, was established. Its classes have been conducted on the premises of the Brighton Grammar School. Unlike the Japanese school of Melbourne, this school has kindergarten and senior high school divisions. In April 1995, the number of students was 232, including 53 children aged 4 and 5 years-old in kindergarten, some 129 elementary school students (which is identical to grades 1 to 6), some 38 junior high school students, and 12 senior high school students. Including 23 non-Japanese students in 'international classes', the total number of students was 255. Some children from international couples were included in Japanese classes.

This school is open for local non-Japanese students, who would like to study Japanese, at the age of 10 years and over (basically secondary educational level). Since there are some students who had experienced living in Japan and studying the Japanese language prior to entering the school, they are divided into 5 small classes according to their standard of Japanese language. The president of the School mentions (in April 1995) that they plan to promote Japanese language courses as an official LOTE (Language other than English) program in Victoria for local students. If the course is authorised, those students whose school curriculum does not include a Japanese language course will be able to cover the foreign language credit at this school. The reason why the president came to think of this was that many local residents who are parents of secondary school students have consulted with the school staff concerning the Japanese language education. The school's interaction with local communities becomes very active just before and during the school

fete. The representatives of the parents organise several meetings for the fete, advertising it in Japanese papers as well as local community papers in Melbourne. The leaflets are distributed to local shops, including milk-stands and real estate agencies.

In 1995, the fete was held on 22nd of October at the premises of the Brighton Recreational Centre and Wilson Reserve. On that day, even though it was raining, some 60 to 70 people, including both Australian and Japanese, were standing in a line and waiting for the opening. On 24th November 1996, the fete was designated *'matsuri,'* which means a festival in Japanese. Similar to the previous year, it attracted many local residents and at refreshment booths and snack bars, Japanese parents and school staff were working vigorously, selling Japanese food stuff, journals, books, and some apparel goods etc. There were some other attractions such as the provision of a small animal park, pony-ride, and fishing a small balloon (which is often seen in local festivals in Japan) as well as demonstrations of Japanese traditional art and martial arts, including flower arrangement, *koto*, judo, karate and the like. This fete appears to have become established as one of the local communities' activities and services. The president of the school mentions that, in order to contribute to the host community, they sell some leftover goods from the fete to community care centres at very cheap prices and donate several hundred dollars to the city of Brighton.

Although the school does not arrange any interchange programs with local schools, annually, a few interchange classes between Japanese students and non-Japanese students

in the 'international classes' are organised within the school curriculum. These students mix together during their lunch break. Additionally, some Japanese students study the Japanese language as their second language. Indeed, in the supplement schools, classes for Japanese students include children from Japanese couples and couples between Japanese and Australians. Although they do not constitute rigid categories of Japanese students and Australian students, the description of Japanese-class students include Australian-born students as long as one parent, either mother or father, is Japanese who is generally the first generation Japanese migrant to Australia. In the Melbourne International School of Japanese, except for international class students, although the majority of the students (over two-thirds) are from sojourning Japanese families, the rest of the students' backgrounds is diverse. Even in sojourning families, there are a few cases who decide to remain in Australia on a permanent basis and during the extended periods of overseas assignment, a child was born in the host country and has come to this school. For couples in international marriages, diversity exists in their Australian partners' backgrounds. The international classes also include many migrants' children who have ethnically diverse backgrounds (Mizukami, 1996b: 162).

2.3 *The Attitudes of Parents Towards the Schools*

As the majority of students are from sojourning Japanese families, some opt to follow education in Japan while sending their children to local schools instead of the Japanese School of Melbourne. Some migrant-families also demand a high level of Japanese language education. On the other hand, among a few international couples, non-Japanese

partners are against the idea of sending their children to the school on Saturdays. Consequently, the School encounters some difficulties in dealing with various demands from the parents, not only because of the different nature of their stay, basically permanent or temporary, but also because of the diversity in each family's values.

The school has two main objectives: one is to maintain the Japanese language and the other is to approximate Japanese school education. However, there is a wide range in the students' command of the Japanese language. In fact, it is obvious that some students study Japanese as their mother-tongue, while for others it is a second language. Consequently, they face some difficulties in matching the same standard in the class. Several other Japanese supplementary schools in Australia have the same experience.

Like many other ethnic schools in Australia, Japanese schools also attempt to encourage the interaction with local communities to some extent. School officers and teachers responded that they would like to improve understanding between Australians and Japanese. As for many Japanese migrants, the Japanese weekend school functions as an educational institution which assists in the maintenance of their mother-tongue. At the same time, as they embrace sojourners as a majority group, they have to be concerned about following Japanese school education. Additionally, as the Japanese language has become a popular subject in Australia, they have opened international classes in response to the local communities' demands. Thus, the school holds another role, that is to contribute to the bilingual education.

2.4 *Ethnic Schools in Context of Multiculturalism*

As mentioned previously, the Japanese School of Melbourne has been established and administered by the sojourning residents rather than migrants. Similar to the founding of most Japanese supplementary schools, the initiative came from sojourners. As these schools, which have sojourning children as the majority, are therefore different from other ethnic-group-based community schools.

Generally, ethnic schools in Australia are administered by their communities as non-profitable organisations to provide courses in the migrants' mother's tongue, or to maintain cultural heritage and sometimes religion.[42] In terms of the education of migrants' mother-tongue in Australia, after adopting multiculturalism as a national policy, the opportunities for migrants to maintain their ethnic language have been increased or at least have not officially been discouraged.

Since 1975, the term 'community language' has frequently applied for the languages used in local communities other than English and Aboriginal languages (Clyne, 1991: 3). The assistance in maintaining community languages is part of the Australian government's multicultural policy as is support for those community schools. Thus, the Australian government supports the Japanese schools inasmuch as the schools are

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[42] Those schools have often been called the language schools because of their main objective to sustain their mother-tongue. According to Norst (1983: 104), the designation for ethnic schools varies according to

recognised as community language schools, despite the fact that the schools comprise many temporary-resident students. Eckermann and Kerr state that when multiculturalism is supported in education, it is closely related to the provision of equal opportunities in education for groups who have different languages, habits and identity (1979: 180-181). Similarly, Alcorso and Cope remark that community languages are not only for sustaining ethnic groups' language and culture, but also for enhancing the community members' esteem of their languages and culture, which in turn assists the development of cultural pluralism (1986: 15). Although Australia has a long history of ethnic schools, after the First World War, the establishment of various ethnic schools emerged around 1970.[43]

Thus, in the 1970s the Australian government fostered English-language education to migrants with non-English-speaking background (NESB). The promotion of education of the host dominant language can be understood as an assimilation policy and indeed the Adult Migrant Education program started in 1947. At its inception, the program was basically a simple English course for migrants to survive in an English-speaking society. However, in the context of multiculturalism, the program aims at providing information

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countries; "freedom school" or "ethnic mother-tongue school" in the United States, "heritage school" in Canada, "mother-tongue school" or "supplementary school" in Britain.

[43] Since the middle of nineteenth century bilingual education was conducted in some schools. Cahill points out that, tracing back the origin of ethnic schools in Australia, if the term 'ethnic' is applied to minority groups with non-English speaking background, aboriginal education would be the oldest one (1988: 878). During periods of the institution of each colonial government, there were some full-time schools and other supplementary schools, including ethnic language schools, which offered classes outside the official school hours. Immediately before and during the First World War, a mono-language education policy was promoted and German publication was prohibited during the War (Clyne, 1986: 69-81). Until 1919, Australian national identity had nurtured in correlation with English monolingual policy (Clyne, 1991: 12-13). Afterwards, ethnic groups confronted some obstacles in founding their full-time schools. Except for several Jewish schools in Australia, the foundation of various ethnic language schools had to wait until around 1970 (Cahill, 1988: 880).

on living and job opportunities by the promotion of migrants' participation in society and education by improving their command of English (Castles, 1992: 192-193). This has become one of the main public services and in the 1980s, the service progressed and was widespread. Voluntary groups in local communities rather than government sections were the driving force behind this development (ABS, 1992: 608).

In the 1970s, new institutions delivering government services were opened, which were not fully premised in the assimilation paradigm. Moreover, the government took account of expanding numbers of migrants with NESB and instituted English as a Second Language (ESL) programs. At the compulsory educational level, teachers for students from non-English speaking countries were assigned. The ESL program was applied to adult migrants and this became a backbone of the Multicultural Education Program which commenced in the mid-1970s (Jayasuriya, 1988: 2). The propulsion of multiculturalism is correlated to educational policies.[44]

The usual type of community language schools is managed by local ethnic communities and caters for classes in those particular communities' language and culture, most of which are conducted after formal school hours or weekends (AIMA, 1980: 45). Although most ethnic schools are supplementary schools, in 1980 there were 48 full-time schools at

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[44] Referring to multicultural policy, the Multicultural Education Program is based on a dual aspect: For children in the majority group, it is intended to promote the understanding of the importance of different culture, including refugees or non-Anglo-Saxon minority groups' culture. For migrants and refugees of minority ethnic group-children, it is attempted to avoid sudden interception from their cultural backgrounds and to promote realisation of the importance of their culture. Thus, courses of minority ethnic groups'

elementary and secondary education level, such as Jewish, Greek, Germany, Lebanese and so on (*ibid.* 46). According to a research into 900 ethnic schools in 78 areas of Australia in 1981, some 57 languages were used and in spite of the variance according to size, structure and curriculum, striking similarities existed in their roles and functions: with almost no exceptional case (Norst, 1983: 105). These 57 language groups expressed their willingness to develop interaction with outer communities and the main objective of the schools was to teach their ethnic languages, some of them proposed the maintenance of their cultural heritage and religion as a principal aim.

Many ethnic supplementary schools in Australia have faced difficulty in attracting qualified and experienced teachers and appropriate textbooks. For example, even when they procure textbooks from their motherlands, contents of the texts are not adequate for migrants living in Australian society. I conducted some interviews with Japanese schoolteachers (in Brisbane in 1989, Adelaide in 1995 and Melbourne in 1995-1997) and found that, although Japanese supplementary schools often encounter problems in employing qualified teachers in the host society, they do not appear to have any problems in obtaining textbooks. Monbusho distributes Japanese textbooks, which are authorised and commonly used in Japan, to Japanese school-age children living overseas, including those students not only in full-time Japanese schools, but also in the supplementary schools. The problems that Japanese schools confront tend not to be ascribed to applying

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history, culture and society have been inserted into the formal school curriculum (AIMA, 1982: 110-138, and RPAPSM, 1978: 104-111).

the contexts of the texts adequately which are concerned with life in the host country, rather their problems is to pursue school curriculum which are identical to that in Japan.

My previous into Japanese residents in Brisbane (Mizukami, 1990) identified the attitudinal differences between Japanese migrant and sojourner parents toward Australian schooling and the Japanese supplementary school which offers classes every Saturday. Sojourner parents prefer a Japanese-school curriculum for their children and sending their children to Australian schools sometimes causes frustration, while immigrant parents tend to express a positive orientation toward their children's adjustment to the Australian school system (*ibid.* 49-50). Indeed, the immigrant parents form negative views of examination-oriented Japanese schools (*ibid.* 76). Their different aspects and attitudes to children's schooling lead to some conflict between the sojourners and migrants within the Japanese supplementary school. The reason why the migrant parents send children to the school is that, migrant-parent respondents wanted their children to be bilingual, while some sojourning parents hoped that their children could study under exactly the same school curriculum as that in Japan, even though sometimes they were critical of the Japanese school system to some extent (*ibid.* 76).

Several migrants argued, "My native language is Japanese, so I want my children at least to speak Japanese." On the other hand, several sojourners complained that the difficulty in sustaining the Japanese educational standard partly results from migrant-parents who do not see any value in the maintenance of an education level identical to that in Japan.

2.5 *Japanese Language Education and International Classes in Japanese Schools*

With respect to the popularity of Japanese language studies in Australia, in the late 1980s,

the number of students who study the Japanese language from elementary to tertiary

educational divisions reached almost 21,000 and their teachers numbered 8,800.

Converted to a ratio of the entire population, this was the largest ratio in the world

(Yomiuri Shinbun, 1988 June: 5). However, the prevalence of Japanese language

education programs is a relatively new tendency especially in this decade. Japar ese

language courses in secondary schools are relatively new. More than half of the high

schools' courses emerged around 1988, in response to the rapid increase in the number of

students studying Japanese (Marriott, 1994: 51). According to Victoria's Department of

education, in 1996 some 240 primary schools provided face-to-face Japanese language

courses in a LOTE program (not including PALS) in Victoria, meaning that almost one in

five primary schools have Japanese language courses in a LOTE program (1997: 19). In

the same year 48,205 elementary school students were studying Japanese (which included

LOTE staff, PALS and Telematics). This number was next to Italian (66,104 students)

and Indonesian (57,798 students) (*ibid*. 28).[45] With respect to secondary school LOTE

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[45] These figures included the following three categories in LOTE programs in primary schools:
> 1. Object based (with the focus on the teaching and learning of the target language)
> 2. Content based (where a significant portion of the curriculum was offered in the target language)
> 3. Language and cultural awareness programs (where a limited vocabulary and aspects of culture and society were introduced)

The majority of the students who study LOTE was in the object based (68.8%). The proportion of 'language and awareness' programs was 30.9 percent, and those studying the 'content-based' curricula were only 0.3 percent (Department of Education, Victoria, 1997: 28)

enrolments in 1996, some 21,296 students studied Japanese, and this number was following French (26,796), Italian (25,538) and Indonesian (24,424) (*ibid.* 48).

Against the backdrop of Australian social trends, most Japanese schools, except for the Japanese School of Melbourne, have introduced international classes to offer Japanese language programs for non-Japanese students. In particular, the international classes of the Sydney Japanese School are so popular among local communities that some Australian parents requested that the school introduce classes at the senior high school level. Although applications from Japanese students are almost automatically accepted, Australian students have to take entrance examinations (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1988 May: 7).

The initial aim for the establishment of those schools was apparently to supplement Japanese school education, (a few full-time schools for providing fundamentally the same curriculum as those in Japan), for Japanese children overseas in coping with their return to Japanese society. Although this aim has remained as a first priority to a large extent, their role in local communities have been extended. In other words, through taking account of the host community, they have organised various activities which do not always reflect their first priority directed towards their motherland.

These Japanese schools show that some local community residents, including both Japanese migrants and non-Japanese, adopt a strategy of bilingualism for participating in Australian society. During the interviews with some Japanese migrant parents, it was

mentioned that English-Japanese bilingual children gain certain advantages. In Japanese supplementary schools, even though the majority are sojourners who need to cope with returning to Japan in the near future, the schools' orientation is not simply directed to Japanese society. Because of the popularity of Japanese language education in Australia and the influence of expanding internationalisation, their effect on host communities have grown.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION:

THE FEATURES OF SOJOURNER AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

This concluding chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, the description of various analytical types of sojourners will be discussed, which is one of the main objects of this study. The second section introduces some types of emigration from Japan with a generalising focus upon what we can deduce about the social backgrounds of contemporary emigration from Japan. Then, in relation to the data-analysis of previous chapters, the grounds for the maintenance of *sojourner community* will be explained. I conclude with some illustration of the features of *sojourner community,* and discuss the possibility for future and various types of sociological research.

1. Analytical Fields for Refining the Sojourner

1.1 Process and End-result of Permanent/ Temporary Residency

This research has continuously confronted the fact that the sojourner concept is associated with that of temporary residency, and which raises serious conceptual difficulties. The following problem inevitably emerges.

- If the sojourner is defined as 'foreigners who stay temporarily in the host society,' then the application of this concept is not possible until the *end-result* of individual settlement experience is established.

Thus, it is necessary to undertake further empirical research to determine the meaning of temporary or permanent character. Having searched for appropriate categories in the definition of the sojourner, we have come to the view that an individual settler's physical and mental modes must also be examined. Some observers, (e.g. Siu, 1952; and Uriely, 1994) look at the respondents' social status, their cultural stances, and their self-identification. Others (e.g. Harvey, 1978; and Thompson, 1980) who undertake research into return migration present the individual respondent's statements (see Chapter II). The former, apart from their analytic character as ethnicity studies, adhere to the concept of the sojourner, while the latter is concerned with societal backgrounds which influence a migrants' decision to return to their home country, and does not entertain the possibility that the definition of the sojourner is applicable in the context of foreigners' settlement patterns. Those empirical observations provide valuable insight to understand sojourners at a micro level. On the other hand, the Australian governments' data is based on a simple classification of 'arrivals and departures' which provides interesting data on returned movements at a macro level, though there is little analytical inquiry into what could be behind the emergence of those movements.

When we focus on the *processes* of migrants' or a sojourners' settlement, rather than force all the data into the abstract straight-jacket demanded by the *end-result*, we find that some are at various transition stages, changing their situation from sojourner to migrant, or from migrant to sojourner. However, these processes do not always lead to the *end-result* and processes will continue and indeed we should expect to see cases of multiple

migration. Some migrants re-migrate to their ex-host society after returning to their homeland. Probably, some re-migrate and return and again re-migrate and return. Moreover, in some multiple-migration, a third country may be involved as a transition or a destination.

It is problematic to ascertain the *end-result*. Even among *reluctant-returnees*, who involuntarily go back to their homeland against their wish to remain in the host community, after returning to Japan they may again migrate to Australia in the future. This process is correlated to the *end-result* of their residency. Yet when we think of the *end-result*, the processes of residency must be re-examined. On the one hand, when we analyse the *process*, the *end-results* are considered to illustrate the foreign people who are at transition stages. To start with the end-result instead of analysing the *process* is simply to evaluate migration movements as if all can be neatly classified in one or other place. Since it is so often difficult to draw a demarcation line between sojourners and migrants, and there are some common characteristics between them, we might get further if we simply re-considered the process of our theorising.

In a previous and outstanding study of the sojourner, Siu focused on the permanent residents in the United States, rather than return migrants. Uriely also deals with permanent movements in his study of 'permanent-sojourners.' They find that 'sojourners' congregate in co-ethnic groups that have cultural differences from the outer community. Some isolation existed, but Uriely's study shows that the attachment to the ethnic culture

does not necessarily create an enclave. In terms of the nature of residency as temporary/permanent, foreign residents who demonstrate the above character are not necessarily sojourners. An Uriely's criteria for delimiting the sojourner were: an intention to go home and a concrete plan to go home; the former is an individual factor and latter is a social factor. Thus, he says, they constitute a group of sojourners in the host society. In the above studies, analyses of sojourners are made at the time of the research but they do not refer to the end-result of settlement patterns.

A difference between the above sojourner groups and permanent sojourners is that the latter demonstrates the importance of 'rhetorical ethnicity,' which is explained by the evidence that "ethnic activities are mainly symbolic" and "psychological discomfort as a result of remaining in the country of their sojourn" (Uriely, 1994: 443). It is highly possible for such a foreigner living in the host community to remain permanently. However, in this study the vast majority of the sojourner samples are of the *sojourner-sojourner* type, a person who is in an *organisational-network community*. He/she is not necessarily isolating him/herself in ethnic affairs, though the ethnic Japanese-based activities are significant. They do not seem to have psychological discomfort with the host community. When we focus on the other characteristics of the sojourner, notably the ethnic solidarity or attachment to their ethnicity, we can find the features of ethnic group orientation.

Although previously mentioned observers (Siu and Uriely) do not refer to any conditions for the government's migration control and regulations, we have found it impossible to ignore the social consequences of the laws operating in a particular nation. This is the case when we seek to understand the Japanese sojourners and migrants in Australia, and in particular when we seek to understand *reluctant returnees*. In this study, nearly one-third of the sojourners, who did not posses permanent residency, indicated that they would have liked to stay here permanently, *if possible*. On the other hand, those Japanese, holders of an Australian permanent visa have the option to choose their domicile in either of two countries without any legal difficulties, when they keep their Japanese citizenship. To be a settler is to confirm current residency as a permanent destination, but any difficulties for such Japanese do not seem to have come from the Australian government's permission to allow them to reside permanently. The source of any problems in these cases lies elsewhere.

Many Japanese migrants do not appear to be under serious pressure from both Australian and Japanese governments or from their social statuses to change their status from permanent residents to naturalised Australian citizens. Rather, some may even be at a transition stage, transforming themselves from migrants to sojourners. In order to confirm their options, it is often better for them not to lose their citizenship of their homeland. The empirical data shows the existence of numbers of *migrant-sojourners*.

Many years of residency, such as one-decade-residency in the host community (see Chapter III), seems to have an influence upon the subsequent decision to be naturalised. This time period proposes the transforming stage from sojourners to migrants. At first they might have possessed the option of living in either country, but with long-time residence it is possible that there comes a lessening in commitment and social attachment to their country of origin. It seems that most permanent residents consider it a convenience to live in one country, without any divided national loyalties. But this cannot be true in every case. Regardless of their loyalties of both countries, if a dual citizenship is accepted between Australia and Japan, the larger number must be naturalised. When their option is minimised, some take one of the two residential options and may opt for naturalisation. On the other hand, for sojourners, including *reluctant returnees,* who do not possess permanent residency, their *options* are limited. Consequently, it is suggested that we have encountered and begun to define several major issues which are required for future analytical refinement of the concept of the sojourner:

- These are the criteria regarding legal, societal, individual conditional and subjective elements, which define the person.

If we are concerned with migrants as permanent settlers, these elements will be mirrored in its definition. With respect to the above criteria, many Japanese residents in Melbourne demonstrate the sojourner-character.

Of course, when defining the sojourner, it is essential to investigate the individual's intention to stay in a foreign country permanently or temporarily. However, there is indeterminacy built in here because of the visa classifications of either 'permanent stay' or 'temporary stay'. It is obvious that some of them cannot or do not decide that their residency is permanent or temporary. In this study, some of these undefined cases were found among the sojourner and migrant respondents. They are potential *migrant-sojourners* or *sojourner-migrants*. The majority of Japanese permanent residents, except for migrants under the business and pensioner scheme, had been sojourners at initial stages of their settlement, but later obtained legal permission for their permanent residency.

When we focus upon the individual movements from micro-level approaches, we often face difficulties in determining a foreign resident in the host community as a sojourner or migrant due to a prospective change in his/her settlement pattern. However, it is possible to examine one's residency as permanent/temporary at a certain phase during a process of his/her settlement. Then, we can inquire into one's legal condition of permanent residency, the intention and plan as to whether or not stay in the current foreign place of his/her residency on a permanent basis. Although the above elements do not directly relate to the *end-result*, certain patterns can be analysed, and foreigners' *sojournerness* can maintain until they confirm their permanent residency in the host country. On the other hand, when we focus upon the *end-result* from macro-level approaches, we can find a certain tendency of permanent population movements. For example, although the

processes of settlement patterns are not discussed, the Australian government's survey on the numbers of 'permanent arrivals and departures' shows the end-result of the movements. The survey regarding 'permanent arrivals and departures' is also related to individual's intention and plan because the data is obtained from his/her statement, but it outlines permanent movements at a macro level.

1.2 The Characteristics of the Sojourner

The character of sojourner, those foreigners who have a firm intention and plan to remain in the current residency on a temporary basis, may have to be extended to comprehend the range of possibilities which are open to a sojourners' alternative decisions. Although the legal conditions are related to their options as to whether or not to remain in the host community on a permanent basis, these options are widened by the 'four revolutions' in the globalisation context (see Chapter I). The development of multi-national firms produce increasing numbers of sojourning business people, while the establishment in cultural and personnel exchanges between different nations induce other types of sojourning foreigners.

One common character of the 'sojourner,' 'marginal man' and 'stranger' is that they lack full-membership in the host community. In this particular study, at the time of the research, sojourners have neither permanent residency or citizenship rights in the host society. However, most corporate sojourners have equal status or are even able to operate at local elite levels which is based on wealth and income. Their positions have not so

much been challenged by their residential shift, as extended, stretched, and augmented. If they desire to exercise political rights in the host society, they will have to obtain 'formal citizenship' as well[46]. However, with the development of global networks with concomitant changes of social rights and government policies extending some political rights, it is possible that their overall advantage might be lessened if they choose to become permanent residents, then citizens of their foreign residency.

Migrants are often focused on entering into the social life in the host community, with formation of ethnic community; sojourners help to build a meaningful boundary and means of transition. Seen in the global migration context, an international network reaches beyond the local area. Ethnic groups provide an important opportunity for studying patterns of association in the urban arena. There is a clear and strong interaction between the development and maintenance of a group's ethnic identity and the urban environment. Since the 1960s, major urban centres in industrially advanced nations have experienced large influxes of immigrants and sojourners. Ethnic enterprise and various forms of ethnic business were an important part of ethnic solidarity in the past when ethnic enclaves and the cities that contained them were more compact structures (Flanagan, 1993: 29). Thus, the concept of locality in community may vacillate when ethnic networks supersede geographically defined community areas. For the vast majority of corporate families, they keep strong tie with Japan while living in Australia and thus

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[46] As for the classification of 'formal citizenship,' and 'substantive citizenship', see Brubaker (1992: 36-38).

the network of power for this group has already been created in their homeland. This is a character of Japanese sojourner as urban ethnicity in Australia.

Although Japanese residents, including migrants and sojourners, in Melbourne are dispersed around the Melbourne metropolitan area and have not created an ethnic enclave, they have formed some compatriot groups and many obtain information regarding Australia often through the organisations to which they belong. For meeting their hobby- or sports- group members or other congregations, they do not necessarily concentrate on the same neighbourhood area.

Japanese sojourners in Australia have provided a good example of this in their contemporary settlement patterns. Being sojourning businessmen, their experience of the living conditions in a new milieu would appear to have been related to their secure financial and occupational positions. Their social status has on the whole not been affected by their job transfers, and therefore their main concern would seem to be to complete their overseas assignments with a minimum of trouble, domestically and in professional terms.

For sojourners, their *foreignerness* is related to their country of origin. They are newcomers from overseas and the category itself does not include second-generation migrants and their descendants. From the cultural aspects, sojourners' backgrounds from other countries may provide some *foreignness* with different norms, language,

experiences, and identity. Various ethnicity studies have dealt with these issues. However, in terms of Japanese newcomer's choice of residency in Melbourne, cultural differences do not induce any serious barriers and many corporate sojourners follow the popular trend diffusing their residency amongst the wealthy middle-class Melbournians soon after arriving from Japan.

The Japanese sojourner, as an ethnic entity, is different because their *foreignerness*, in terms of residential pattern, is diffuse, and they cannot easily be seen as any ethnic enclave. In other words, any ethnic boundaries between Japanese and the majority of Melbournians do not come to suburban expression in a geographical sense. If there is any residential pattern, it is found as a diffuse sprinkling around locations for Japanese clubs, organisations, businesses and the chosen locations for other functions. These choices are supported by their relative affluence given their choices. In addition, because it is a small population, there is not the basis for the development of a significant suburban concentration. To ascertain the degree of *sojournerness* amongst Japanese in Australia, it is necessary to make comparison with other ethnic groups. However, this research confirms that the majority of Japanese residents demonstrate the sojourner-orientation.

2. Individual Emigration

2.1 Types of Emigrants

In human mobilisation from Japan to Australia, we have seen various types of migration in previous chapters. This study has found that apart from those belonging to corporate families, there are many other different kinds of migrants and sojourners. Illustrating characteristic patterns of international labour migration, Kajita divided migrant workers in Europe into the following three categories:

- The first comprises people of elite status, such as skilled professionals and business people, who easily move between national borders and whose activities are often move beyond national boundaries;
- The second group comprises those of a skilled and general clerical work background; and
- The third is the non-qualified, the unskilled labourers (Kajita, 1993: 33-37).

For reasons arising from interplay between push and pull factors in the movement of elite, the migration patterns of the third category of unskilled labourers extend often across national boundaries. According to Kajita, people in the second category hardly attain the completed action of international migration because they face marginality with different languages and migration threatens to cause a possible decline in social status (*ibid*. 36). Richmond (1994) describes one of the typical examples in the above first category, 'transilients,' which consist of those who move between advanced countries with relative free movement, owing to their high skills or qualifications.

Transilient migrants are those who, by virtue of their particular qualifications and experience, are able to find employment in various parts of the world, and who adapt easily to the requirements of the new location in terms of language, local customs, standards, and technologies. Adaptability is not necessarily correlated to higher education. It is also exhibited by many people in unskilled labouring and service occupations (Richmond, 1994: 60).

A similar category, 'temporary professional transients,' is presented by Appleyard (1985, 1992) as follows: 'temporary professional transients' mean "professional or skilled workers who move from one country to another usually as employees of international and/or joint-venture companies" (Appleyard, 1992: 253). With respect to the movements of Japanese persons towards Australia, there are various types of people, many of whom are considered to belong to the above second category, as they are neither highly skilled professionals nor unskilled migrant labourers.

In addition, contemporary human movement from Japan to Australia has not been restricted to any particular group of people; they do not fall into a group of predominantly white-collar techno-professionals, company executives, young male labourers, or elderly individuals. Working holiday-makers are characterised by a movement which focuses upon a person's youth. This can also be seen in the vast majority of English language students. However, there has been migration of persons of the mature age group, as well.

Although in certain earlier periods, economic disasters caused emigratory movements from Japan, the current trend is to encourage diversity, seeking to augment an individual's social alternatives.[47]

For some Japanese emigrants to Australia, it was demonstrated that some push factors, which propelled them out of the country of origin, were non-monetary in character. Sato has categorised 'psychological or mental migrants' by identifying various motivations and hence also diverse types of Japanese migrants to Australia (1993: 7-16). Although it cannot be in large numbers, there are some Japanese who decide to emigrate due to their feelings of and perceptions about the immense societal pressure of their country of origin. The motivation for voluntary migration is fundamentally to obtain a *better quality of life*. However, the perception of a better quality of life should not automatically be equated with economic factors even when referring to educational and corporate refugees. For instance, in my previous research in 1990, one respondent in his mid-40s clearly expressed his positive view of Australian society, including living and working conditions, and all this despite a sharp decline in his financial position caused by his immigration to Australia.

The motivation for migration is fundamentally to obtain a better, a new and different, life. Their migratory action is taken on an individual basis, which takes account of all manners of possibilities in diverse social situations. These emigrants whilst belonging to a

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[47] See, Mizukami, 1996d: 30-36.

minority, are nevertheless often motivated by a desire to find a compatible social alternative. Sojourners, particularly in the case of corporate families, do not usually make an independent decision to reside in Australia, because many move according to their organisations' requirements. But we have consistently encountered other Japanese migrants to Australia who demonstrate individual and idiosyncratic movement and the desire to maintain their Australian social options.

2.2 Socio-Cultural Elements for Emigration

Japanese individuals' deep concerns or pressure to concerns about others, or positive images of foreign lands to utilise their skills are related to their experiences in the country of origin. The migratory action thus takes place, at first, as an extension of a trip abroad rather than international migration. Especially, the 'revolution of public consciousness of migration' along with 'transport and communication revolution', reduce the psychological barriers for emigrating to foreign lands.

According to a public opinion poll taken by *Sorifu, Naikaku soridaijin kanbo* (the Japanese Prime Minister's Office), in 1996 most Japanese people stated that they set a high value on mental comfort and contentment for their future way of life.[48] This desired state of mind becomes possible when people have already achieved material goals to

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[48] Sorifu, Naikaku soridaijin kanbo (the Prime Minister's Office) conducts this annual survey on public opinion polls for their content with life. In 1996, the number of the sample in this survey was 7,303. For the purpose of enriching their lives, most respondents (58.8%) set a high value on mental comfort and contentment, while 27.9 percent gave highest value on their physical conditions. The remaining 11.3 percent did not explain their ideas and 1.9 per cent stated "I do not know."

some extent. As a consequence, it seems that many contemporary Japanese pursue mental fulfilment as a way to progress past the mere advantages of improved material conditions.

In order to attain a sense of fulfilment, various options open up to people in such a society and some voluntarily chose an overseas post in various activities. For them variety can be a spice to their life. To move to foreign lands for employment cannot be merely regarded as migration but should be recognised as one of the options available to a person who wants a change instead of doing what others might do and change one's profession altogether. These individual options are somewhat related to their preference in organisational activities, which will be explained in the last section.

Amongst these Japanese immigrants, economical and monetary factors have not functioned as the determinant causal factors in the residential change. This tendency has been brought about by factors inherent in Japan's recent social change, including those cultural changes which are experienced as changing society, the world and history in a fundamentally new way. To emigrate from Japan is not a matter of necessity or the pursuit of more attractive economic options, but something to do with an individuals' desire for change of a social milieu in order to experience a renewed lifestyle. This is applicable to most Japanese migrants to Australia and also to many sojourners such as English language students, working holiday-makers and those who search for employment in Australia. These sojourners include potential *sojourner-migrants*, as I mentioned previously.

In this thesis, it can be said that Japanese migrants to Australia give evidence of a desire to find a new, probably, transcending way of life. Although the number remains small, the existence of the category itself must have some important consequences for the social and cultural life of persons who remain in Japan, and in particular for those who return after a stay overseas.

The change in the nature of Japanese emigration from *economic refugees* to North and South America to *social and mental asylum seekers* who may pursue better quality of life conditions all around the globe illustrates a change in Japanese society in the 20th century. It is a change away from an exclusive concern for obtaining food and wealth to seeking mental contentment, which is to be found, by changing one's immediate social setting for the purposes of making positive choices to improve one's skills. The positive choice often coincides with the negative views on their country of origin. In other words, there have been some people who were propelled out from their country of origin by the societal forces which constrict their freedom and enforce conformity. However, the context of the immense pressure has changed from socio-economic elements in past periods to socio-cultural elements. This might relate to a change in earlier and later phases of Japanese industrialisation and concomitant urbanisation. But it also seems feasible that the interpretative problems we have encountered in this research have to be looked at again in terms of traditional Japanese ways of responding to social pressures.

We may also be dealing with modes of action by Japanese people, which lie, deep in traditions of Japanese pre-industrial mysticism. Although it may only prove possible for a minority, Japanese migration is still produced by the development of an individual's social alternatives. In other words, it is still possible for Japanese people to aspire to a serious modification of their lifestyles in a foreign country, rather than merely conform and pursue more attractive economic circumstances at home.

3. Sojourner Community

3.1 Roles of Sojourner Community

There are various Japanese-oriented organisations. These organisations provide a setting

in which the sojourner community can be maintained. The largest Japanese-oriented

organisations, the Japanese Society of Melbourne and the Japanese School of Melbourne

are basically established as Japanese sojourner enterprises. They are a means by which

Japanese people can create their own Japanese *organisational-network community*. The

roles of these organisations can be classified into two fundamental categories: one is the

dissemination of information at a formal level while the other is the provision of a social

gathering to allow for the formation of informal sub-groups. For instance, the Japanese

Society of Melbourne has a role for lower level employees in the Japanese government; it

has close ties with the Japanese Consulate General in Melbourne and it is a consul general

who is honorary president of the Society. When a new consul general arrives in

Melbourne, the Society's newsletter will feature an article including his inaugural address

to the Society. In addition, notification (such as Australian regulations regarding health

care, and alien registration) from the Australian government to the Consul-General Japan

was translated and inserted into the newsletter.

Various kinds of information are publicised through the Society's newsletters. The news

from the Consulate General is often included, such as the requests or invitations for

Japanese nationals to inform the Embassy or Consulate General of Japan (Japanese

government's branches) of their residency in Australia and information about the Victorian Government's change of policy to members, and the Japanese community (see Chapter VI). Such announcements are considered to be significant information for Japanese living in Melbourne. Similar formal statements are also issued through the Japanese School of Melbourne. These two organisations have close connection with each other and with the Consulate General. These organisations have an important role in consolidating the community, culture and politics of the Japanese people in Melbourne.

In any sojourner community, social coherence amongst individual members is not necessarily strong. However, gatherings at formal, semi-formal and informal levels bringing forth an organisational cohesion based upon smaller sub-groups within the geographically diffused Japanese community. There are also several associations within the Society which contribute to this.

There are sports clubs which also function under the Society's umbrella and these are peopled by business expatriates; women's sporting clubs cater for the wives of corporate employees. Many businessmen establish ongoing rapport via the golf club which, it must be said, is not an utterly informal or voluntary association because in golf their company's business relationships are very much to the forefront. Several women's associations exist, and apart from sporting clubs there are a children's playgroup, a choir, a luncheon group and a flower arrangement class.

In addition to the above sub-group activities, networks within the companies are an important source for finding a person to give and receive advice. According to answers given in the questionnaire most male sojourners chose their current colleagues as their primary source for advice. On Saturdays there are several mothers gatherings convened during and after a Japanese supplementary school on the premises of Brighton Grammar School.

These organisations vary according to the members' backgrounds and lifestyles. Neighbourhood relations in their own residential community do not significantly affect their place in the activities of the sojourner community. Rather it is a case of a person's organisational network providing an ongoing sense of ethnicity within this urban and suburban society. Their common interests sometimes are simply that they find their identity in relation to Japan and this seems to be the reason why so many are involved in Japanese social gatherings. At the same time they will also participate in some local activities, including sports clubs, hobby groups, local school events, and as community volunteers.

Giving expression to their common interests must also help sojourners prepare for re-entry and re-adjustment to Japanese society. Some permanent residents are also involved in these same interests, and thereby give form to their Japanese identity. Japanese schools represent the character of the sojourner community in an important way, and the schools clearly have an aim to be institutions which prepare students for this transition. Parents

see in the Japanese School of Melbourne a solution to their problems of preparing their children for a return to Japanese society. But the situation is not always that simple. We found that only a quarter of Japanese school-age children in Melbourne go to the Japanese School of Melbourne and many sojourner parents in this study send their children to a variety of local schools, such as Brighton Grammar, Caulfield Grammar, Firbank Anglican School, Ruyton Girls School, Hunting Tower School, Elwood Collage, St. Leonard's College, and the like.

Although some of them also send their children to the Saturday supplementary school, we cannot ignore those who send their children only to local (Australian) schools. This is also related to the popularity of studying the English language among Japanese people, an important part of Japanese educational culture. In non-English-speaking society Japanese people will tend to send their children to Japanese schools.[49] If they are in an English-speaking society the situation is clearly different.

Because of these different behavioural patterns it cannot be generalised that sojourners are always keen to prepare their children for re-entry or re-adjustment to Japanese society to the same degree, nor that they will send their children to the full-time Japanese school if one is available.

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[49] According to the survey conducted by Monbusho (Japanese Department of Education), as of 1st of March 1997, there were 1,980 school-age Japanese children in Oceania. Of these children, only 17.3 per cent (343) went to full-time Japanese schools and 19.9 per cent (393) went to Japanese supplementary schools, while the majority (1,244) did not go to these Japanese schools. On the other hand, in Asian countries, except for Japan, of a total of 15,925 school-age Japanese children, the vast majority (81.9%) went to full-time Japanese schools and in these areas, there are few Japanese supplementary schools.

The variation in preferences chosen by Japanese parents for their children's schooling is related to their lifestyles. There are always some options that become available to Japanese parents which they view as having great potential for their children's future participation in Japanese society. Ability to speak the English language is one such feature. Thus, the patterns of their involvement in the educational activity of the Japanese community will also vary from place to place.

Nevertheless, major Japanese organisations will develop strong ties among themselves; and will bring the community together for their major events. Just as various patterns exist in sojourner preferences for and approaches to ethnic Japanese-based organisations, so also their settlement patterns will be varied. However, at major events of the Japanese community in Melbourne, it is the major organisations - the Japanese Society of Melbourne, Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Japanese School of Melbourne – that are always involved. In 1997 the athletic competition was one of the biggest activities of the Japanese community and before this event, several meetings were held by all of the above organisations, together with the Japan Club of Victoria, which is the largest Japanese migrant organisation. For this event, more than 300 Japanese people got together at Fawkner Park on 26th October 1997. It is when such major events take place that the Japanese community becomes visible in Melbourne.

New types of ethnic community can be found emerging from within these varying styles of organisational networking within the one community. At a formal level, both the Japanese and Australian governments use this network to disseminate their information. In terms of organisational activities, the Japan community in Melbourne is based on sojourner organisations; at least the sojourners are the influential group also within several major Japanese clubs.

3.2 Maintenance of Sojourner Community

As all the respondents of this study are *Issei* (first generation migrants) and sojourners, they sustain some social ties with the homeland. Furthermore, sojourners are always *Issei* and it will be newcomers from Japan who later replace them. When global migration grows, involving the expansion of sojourning foreign residents, who intend to return to their homeland, this organisational community tends to function in terms of the country of origin to a significant extent. This network then is for sojourners and goes beyond mere national or ethnic membership.

Sojourners keep their roots in Japan, while creating a sub-cultural group in Australia in which a mosaic of organisational networks confirm their ethnicity. The establishment of ethnic media is also a significant source of information for those living in Australia. The media includes various newsletters from the major organisations. Their common interest may not be directed at the whole body of organisations, but any one sub-group is under the umbrella of those major organisations. Then, their activities give expression to the

symbolic values of the major organisation. The enticement of these Japanese-based organisations, which regularly bring such foreign-based sub-groups to expression within its organisation, is related to the fact that they have a recreational function in the foreign land. Subordinate activities within the organisation solidify the organisational unity. This may not necessarily be a spiritual bond, but it is a unity promoted by symbolic events.

Despite the variety in any one members' involvement in the Japanese community or in other organisations, the sojourner community still maintains its distinct roles and activities. The President of Japanese Society of Melbourne, the President of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and even the Principal of the Japanese School of Melbourne will go home in a few years. Furthermore, the vast majority of members of the community, particularly administration board members of major organisations, will return home. This change in leadership has been experienced many times since the establishment of these organisations. However, despite the temporary nature of any one person's stay, the sojourner community in Melbourne is sustained as an expression of organisational networks.

The President of the Japanese Society of Melbourne is selected by rotation from the major Japanese corporations. Owing to the cyclic recruitment system, the organisations maintain stability, and regularly reproduce themselves through a new batch of office bearers. When some members return home after completing their overseas assignment, new members come from Japan to take their places. Even though some are not keen to

enter this community, even when they join in for only a part of the activities, yet the sojourner community will continue. A Japanese sojourner community does not have a clear ethnic boundary in geographic terms. Instead an organisational networks function as the leading characteristic of Japanese ethnicity in metropolitan Melbourne.

3.3 Further Possibilities for Sociological Research

The analysis of immigration policies has very often emphasised integration as a kind of norm governing the entire migration process. In the current Japanese case we are confronted with a persistent ethnic identity and cultural heritage coming to expression in a culture of social organisations formed by sojourners active in a foreign context. The building of such discrete social organisations, like schools or clubs, are usually interpreted as part of a process of active integration, a social differentiation for the purpose of negotiating with the host society. Such organisations have often been the targets for research into minority groups, migrants or native people. However, with the concept of sojourner – here today and gone tomorrow – it is now possible to identify the functions of such Japanese organisations as part of a longer-term process by which temporary residents in a foreign land, who contribute to the diversity of ethnicity in the host nation, are pulled back into the mainstream culture of the country of origin.

Over the first half of the 20th century, assimilation had been a significant ideology not only among officials but also for academics who investigated the changing process of ethnic groups in the host communities. Fundamentally, assimilation has been considered

a *one-way process* by which migrants become like host members through the transformation of their culture from that of their country of origin to the host society.[50] In Australian multicultural policy the term, 'assimilation' was clearly replaced by 'integration' for applying to migrant settlement issues.[51] In contrast to assimilation, the concept of 'integration' is recognised as a *two-way process* or at least not always a unidirectional process because migrant reference groups and internal changes are not always part of the picture. On the basis of an integration theory, the existence of differences in cultural heritage is not denied and in this way, it differs from the assimilation ideology. Thus 'integration', which is related to the idea of cultural pluralism, possibly also examines changes in the host majority to some extent, in addition to those which are brought about in the culture of minority groups. Hence, 'multiculturalism' based on the concept of integration has provided opportunities to offer or consider public services for ethnic groups with different languages and cultural traits from those of the host majority.

From the perspective of integration, there is the potential to deal with important sociological issues which arise from the life of ethnic groups, as the concept behind integration - the persistence of ethnic identity and cultural heritage - is to some extent

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[50] Assimilation is regarded as a unidirectional process in which minority individuals and groups are required to change their values and reference groups (Teske & Nelson, 1974). In Australia the idea of a homogeneous nation was based on the belief that British culture was superior to those of ethnic groups and that migrants were supposed to promptly and totally assimilate (Castles *et al.* 1988: 45-50).

[51] According to Lewins, in the late 1950s Australian academics questioned the explanatory form of assimilation applied to migrant settlement and pluralist approaches emerged (1988: 858). By 1959, the Minister for Immigration spoke of integration rather than assimilation and, in addition to economic benefit, the perspective that ethnic diversity would enrich the national cultural life emerged (Markus, 1994: 160). Prime Minister Menzies reiterated this idea in his statement in 1962, an idea that had little practical effect until the late 1960s (*ibid.* 160). The term, 'integration' was officially adopted in 1964 when the Department of Immigration changed the name of its division from the Assimilation Division to the Integration Division (Baldock & Lally, 1974: 58).

accepted. In the conceptual framework of assimilation those sojourners who do not intend to change their identity or cultural heritage might have not been regarded as appropriate subjects for research into cultural change among ethnic groups. This is because the theory required that any changes in the minority – in an individual or a group – were to be seen as internal, a divergence from the culture of one's country of origin, converging with that of the host.

However, when the concept of integration is constructed in broader terms, accepting the possibility of different ethnic identity and practices, concepts about 'internal change' to individuals or groups, are no longer required. Previously studies of assimilation have targeted minority groups of migrants or native people. However, in theories of integration, it is possible to deal with long-term temporary residents as community inhabitants who contribute to the diversity of ethnicity in a nation state, the vast majority of which may conceivably have no intention of assimilating into the host society.

Sojourners active in organisational networks should no longer be excluded from being possible subjects for the study of integration. The important thing to keep in mind is that the need for ongoing integration into the host community is guided by an intention of returning to Japan, so that the ongoing assimilation into the country of origin is still in view when in a foreign country.

In other words, in terms of foreigners' settlement issues, the study of migration has generally examined adjustment patterns of new settlers to the host societies relating to the characteristics of ethnicity, but insufficient attention has been paid to sojourning inhabitants in the host community. For example, in Australia, the majority of North Americans, French, and Japanese conceivably occupy relatively privileged social positions by introducing capital and skills rather than labour and they are not highlighted in the literature on pluralism, multiculturalism, and ethnicity (de Lepervanche, 1984: 186). However, in the contemporary world, global migration has been prompted by the advancement of international transport systems and communication, and with respect to human mobilisation and settlement, the number of sojourners has been increasing exponentially. In response to the increasing significance of the impact of sojourning residents on host communities, it remains an important topic. In Australian sociology, the Government's definition and views of things may have influenced the scholars' definition and perception of trends by overly focusing on migration *permanence*. Even though there have been some studies of return migration, the concept of sojourner has not been sufficiently discussed.

Moreover, the idea of permanence is culturally conditioned and that is why we will also need further reflection on what this means in both a Japanese and Australian context, to fully grasp the obvious uncertainties of such sojourning every-day life which should not be ignored any longer. This study's contribution has been to provide future guidelines for further research of this kind.

Appendix 1

The following is the questionnaire (translated into English) which was distributed to Japanese

residents in Melbourne.

Residency

1. How long have you lived in Australia?

_____

2. How long do you plan to stay in Australia?

    1. Permanently   2. Approximately ___ year(s) and ___ months   3. I do not know

3. Please list the names of the cities in which have resided for longer than three months after coming to Australia (Particularly, in the Melbourne area, please indicate the name of the suburbs and postcodes):

Place (Name of the city)   Period of stay (month/ year - month/ year)

(example: Caulfield/ Melbourne, 3162 | from   *April/ 1993* to *November/ 1996*

Place	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/

4. Please list foreign countries other than Australia and Japan in which you have lived longer than three months.

Place (Name of the city)   Period of stay (month/ year - month/ year)

(example: Thailand | from *April/ 1991* to *March/ 1993*

Place	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/
	from	/	to	/

5. What was your main reason for choosing your current place of residence?   Because

    1. of convenient commuting.
    2. of good residential conditions.
    3. my child(ren)'s school is nearby.
    4. my employer allocated this place (I did not choose it).
    5. there are some Japanese residents in the vicinity.
    6. the rent is reasonable.
    7. the arrangement and the number of the rooms are convenient.
    8. other (please specify): (   ).

Q5a. If you chose "2. good residential conditions", please briefly explain the specific conditions which influenced your choice.

_____

Q5b. If you chose "3. my child(ren)'s school is nearby", please write the name of the school.

_____

6. In which type of residence do you live?

    1. my own detached house
    2. my own unit
    3. my employer (company)'s detached house
    4. my employer (company)'s flat
    5. a rented detached house
    6. a rented flat
    7. university dormitory
    8. other (please specify):_____

7. Are there any Japanese families in your neighbourhood (within walking distance)?

    1. yes   2. no

If you answer "1. yes", please indicate how many.   ____ family (families)

8. What kind of relationships do you have with your neighbours? (Please tick the most appropriate answer)

    1. I do not have any contact with my neighbours
    2. I exchange greetings with them
    3. we sometimes visit each other at home (less than once a month)
    4. we regularly visit each other at home (about once a fortnight)
    5. we regularly visit each other at home , and go shopping together, and sometimes ask them
    to   look after my house while my family is away.
    6. we consult each other about serious problems and help one another at times.
    7. other (please specify) _____

9. What do you like about your current residential area? Please choose ANY of the relevant items.

     1. convenience in transportation.
     2. pleasant natural environment.
     3. numerous public facilities
     4. convenience in shopping.
     5. friendly neighbourhood
     6. friend(s) lives locally.
     7. there are Japanese families nearby.
     8. other (please specify) _____

10. What do you dislike about your current residential area? Please choose ANY of the relevant items.

     1. difficulty in commuting
     2. unpleasant natural environment.
     3. insufficient public facilities
     4. inconvenience in shopping
     5. unfriendly neighbourhood
     6. none of my friend(s) lives locally
     7. there are no Japanese families nearby.
     8. other (please specify) _____

11. How long do you intend to live in your current residential area?

     1. If possible, I would like to stay for many years.
     2. If possible, I would like to move soon.
     3. other (please specify) _____

Relationships and Group Activities

12 Please list all clubs which you are a member in Australia. Then, please briefly describe their activities and frequency of your participation in each club. (Clubs include religious organisations, Japanese clubs, Japanese prefecture clubs, voluntary organisations, hobby clubs and local sports and leisure clubs. Please mention any other groups such as children's play groups, mutual aid groups for baby-sittings or sending children's schools (car pools), too.

The Name of the Club	Description of Activities	Frequency of Attendance
(example: Japanese Society of Melbourne)	*(example: social gatherings)*	*(example: 2 times per year)*
(example: Golf club within Japanese Society of Melbourne)	*(example: playing golf and social gatherings)*	*(example: Once per month)*

If you join any organisations other than the above mentioned clubs, international forum or academic associations, please list these in the following table.

The Name of the Club	Description of Activities	Frequency of Attendance

13. If you have any serious problems in Australia, who would you FIRST consult?

    1. my family or relatives in Australia
    2. my colleague
    3. my neighbour
    4. no one in Australia but someone in Japan
    5. other (please specify) _____.

    Is the above person Australian or Japanese?
    1. Australian   2. Japanese
    3. Foreigner (please specify national or cultural or racial) groups)

14. Do you have any close friends who regularly contact and talk about private matters with each other in Australia? Please indicate the number in appropriate item. (If there are none, please indicate "0".)

  The number of close friends
    1. Australian (   )2. Japanese (   )
    3. Foreigner, please specify national (cultural or racial) groups)

Obtaining Information

15. Please list newspapers or magazines (or internet home pages) which you read regularly:

English   *Newspapers*   *Magazines*   *Internet Home pages*

* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____

Japanese   *Newspapers*   *Magazines*   *Internet Home pages*

* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____

other languages (please specify) _____

* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____
* _____ * _____ * _____

16. Which of the papers is the most informative about living in Australia (include Nichigo Press or bulletins of Japanese clubs). Please write the name of the paper

_____

17. What percentage of information do you understand when you read newspapers or magazines in English?

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|
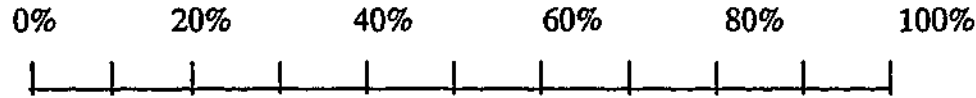
18. Please list the television programmes which you regularly watch and the radio programmes to which you regularly listen. (television programmes includes Optus Vision NHK programmes): (For example, Neighbours, Home and Away, Channel 10 Sports News, SBS Japanese radio programme, SBS NHK news, and the like.)

Television   Radio

* _____   * _____

* _____   * _____

* _____   * _____

* _____   * _____

* _____   * _____

* _____   * _____

19. What percentage of programmes can you understand when you watch or listen to them in English?

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|
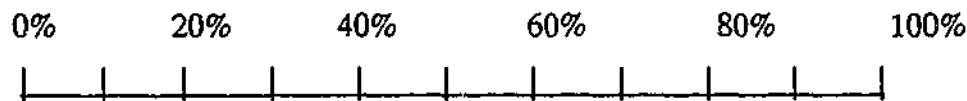
20. Who has been the person most responsible for informing you about living in Australia?

    1. my family or relative who is in Australia
    2. my colleague
    3. my neighbour
    4. the parent of a student at Japanese School of Melbourne
    5. the parent of a student at Melbourne International School of Japanese
    6. other (please specify) _____

 Is the above person Australian or Japanese?
        1. Australian   2. Japanese
        3. Foreigner, please specify national (cultural or racial) groups)

21. Please indicate by placing a cross against ANY of the organisations which you find informative in regards to living in Australia.

    1. my company or bureaucracy
    2. local municipality
    3. Japanese Society of Melbourne
    4. Japan Club of Victoria
    5. Australia-Japan Society of Victoria
    6. Japanese School of Melbourne
    7. Melbourne International School of Japanese

If there are other organisations which have been informative, please write the name of the organisations.

    8. _____

    9. _____

    10 _____

    11 _____

21a Which of the above organisations is most informative in regards to living in Australia. Please write the name of the organisation.

(   )

Yourself and Your Family

22 Please indicate your sex and age.
    a. Sex: 1. Female   2. Male
    b. _____ Age:

23 Please indicate your present nationality.
    1. Japanese   2. Australian   3. other (please specify)_____

Q23a. If you chose "1.Japanese", please indicate your visa status.

    1. permanent   2. senior executives for overseas companies   3. expatriate dependants
    4. business people   5. students   6. educational appointees   7. visiting academics
    8. foreign government agency staff   9. occupational trainees   10. entertainers
    11. tourists   12. other (please specify) _____

24 Please indicate your highest level of formal education.

    1. Junior high school
    2. Senior high school
    3. Junior college (2 years)
    4. University (4 years)
    5. Postgraduate Study
    6. other (please specify) _____

25. What was your main reason for coming to Australia?   Because

    1. my company (government) required me to come on business
    2. my spouse was transferred on business
    3. of study.
    4. I intended to marry someone in Australia.
    5. I was offered employment in Australia.
    6. other (please specify) _____

26. What is your current occupation?

_____

(example: employee of a trading company, self-employed in real estate, overseas student, teacher at an Australian high school. medical researcher etc.. If you do not mind, please write the name of the organisation, such as company or school which you are affiliated

    26a Is this organisation Japanese or Australian?

    1. Japanese   2. Australian   3. other (please specify) _____

27. Please indicate the size of the organisation indicated in question 26.

    1. only my family   2. less than 10 employees
    3. over 10 and less than 100 employees   4. over 100 and less than 1,000 employees
    5. over 1,000 employees

28. Within the above organisation, what is your position?

    1. section chief or manager   2. executive or director
    3. family employee   4. clerk
    5. part-time clerk   6. sales person
    7. part-time sales person   8. teacher or lecturer
    9. part-time teacher or lecturer   10. other (please
    specify)_____

29. If you are not the primary breadwinner in your household, please write partner's (if relevant) occupation.

_____

(example: employee of a trading company, self-employed in real estate, overseas student, teacher at Australian high school. medical researcher etc.. If you do not mind, please write the name of the organisation, such as company or school which you are affiliated

30. Please give a rough estimate of your gross annual income.

    1. no income
    2. below A$ 20 thousand.
    3. above A$ 20 thousand and below A$ 40 thousand.
    4. above A$ 40 thousand and below A$ 60 thousand.
    5. above A$ 60 thousand and below A$ 80 thousand.
    6. above A$ 80 thousand and below A$ 100 thousand.
    7. above A$ 100 thousand and below A$ 120 thousand.
    8. above A$ 120 thousand and below A$ 140 thousand.
    9. above A$ 140 thousand and below A$ 160 thousand.
    10. above A$ 160 thousand and below A$ 180 thousand.
    11. above A$ 180 thousand

30a. Please give a rough estimate of your partner's gross annual income (if applicable).

    1. no income
    2. below A$ 20 thousand.
    3. above A$ 20 thousand and below A$ 40 thousand.
    4. above A$ 40 thousand and below A$ 60 thousand.
    5. above A$ 60 thousand and below A$ 80 thousand.
    6. above A$ 80 thousand and below A$ 100 thousand.
    7. above A$ 100 thousand and below A$ 120 thousand.
    8. above A$ 120 thousand and below A$ 140 thousand.
    9. above A$ 140 thousand and below A$ 160 thousand.
    10. above A$ 160 thousand and below A$ 180 thousand.
    11. above A$ 180 thousand

31. If you commute to your workplace or school, please write the name of the suburb in which your office or school is located.

    1. the same as where I live in   2. Other: the name is _____

32. What kind of transportation do you use to get to your workplace? (If you use some different transportation, please check each of these)

    1. my own car   2. train
    3. bus   4. tram
    5. only walk   6. other (please specify)_____

33. Are you married?

    1. yes   2. no

If you answer "1. yes", please answer the following question. Is the your spouse Australian, Japanese, or of other national/ cultural origin?

    1. Australian   2. Japanese

    3. Foreigner, please specify national (cultural or racial) groups)

34. Please describe your current household composition (for example, spouse, son or daughter, grandparents):

	(example)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Relation	(spouse)										
Age	(30)										

35. Do you have a child or children who live in a different place?

    1. yes   2. no

If you answer "1. yes", please write your their ages and countries in which they live.

_____

36. If you have school age children, Please indicate by placing a cross against ANY of the schools which they attend.

                            child 1   child 2   child 3   child 4   child 5

1. Japanese School of Melbourne
   (Full-time School)

2. Melbourne International School
   of Japanese (Saturday School)

3. local school (Please write the name)

_____

4. local school (Please write the name)

_____

5. local school (Please write the name)

_____

37. Would you like to live in Australia on a permanent basis, if possible?

    1. yes   2. no

38. Compared to Japan, what do you most like about Australian life?

_____
_____
_____
_____

39. Compared to Japan, what do you most dislike about Australian life?

_____
_____
_____
_____

40. Please answer the following questions about Australian terms, persons, and matters.

1. Do you know what B.Y.O. stands for ?

        I do not know   B.Y.O. means _____

2. Do you know the meaning of FAIR DINKUM?

        I do not know   FAIR DINKUM means _____

3. If you know who Ned Kelly was, please explain briefly.

        I do not know   Ned Kelly was _____

4. Do you know the name of the Australian prime minister?

        I do not know   His/Her name is _____

5. Do you know the name of the Victorian premier?

        I do not know   His/Her name is _____

6. Do you know any place in Australia which was bombed by Japanese army during the Second World War? If so, please write the name of these places.

        I do not know   The name is _____

7. If you know who Bruce Ruxton is, please write the organisation to which he belongs.

        I do not know   The organisation is _____

8. If you know which State Pauline Hanson is from, please indicate.

        I do not know   The name of the State is _____

9. If you know which country has the largest amounts of imports from Australia, please indicate.

        I do not know   The country is _____

10. Do you know the name of a new team in the AFL (Australian Football League) 1997 season?

        I do not know   The name is _____

If you would like to make further comments , please do so below:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Please check the questionnaire from the beginning to be sure no questions were overlooked

Appendix 2

According to Maher (1982), the division of three zones of the Melbourne city was referred to the categories of local government areas as follows:

Inner Area; Collingwood, Fitzroy, Melbourne, Port Melbourne, Prahran, Richmond, St Kilda, South Melbourne.

Middle Ring; Box Hill, Brighton, Brunswick, Camberwell, Caulfield, Coburg, Essendon, Footscray, Hawthorn, Heidelburg, Kew, Malvern, Moorabbin, Mordialloc, Northcote, Oakleigh, Preston, Sandringhan, Williamstown.

Outer Zone; Remainder of Melbourne S.D.

Appendix 3

Japam-born persons in Melbourne SLA's 1996

Japanese born in Melbourne SLA's 1996
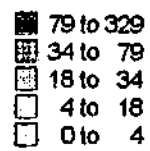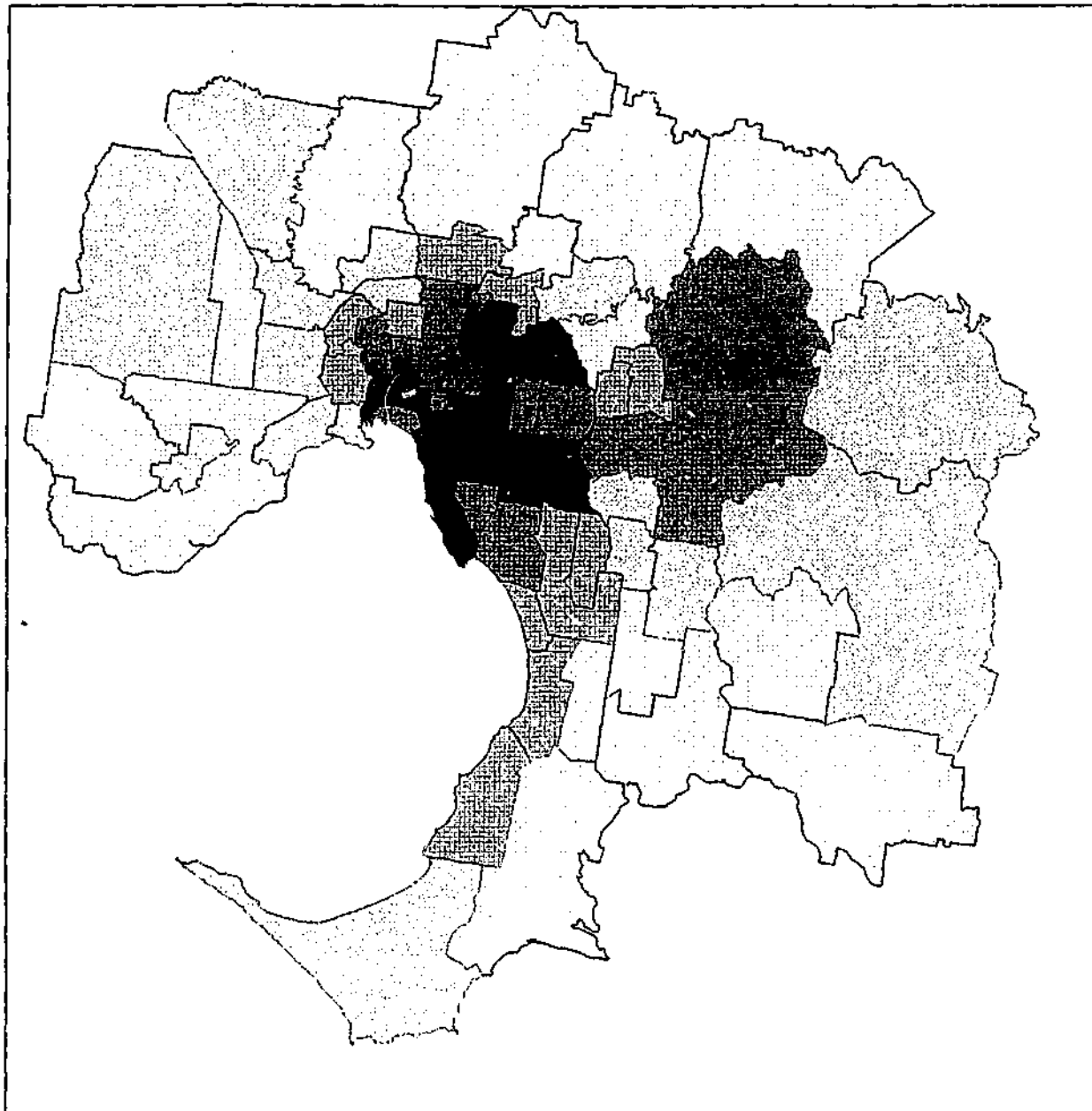
79 to 329
34 to 79
18 to 34
4 to 18
0 to 4

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