

Filipino Migrants and Religion:

Comparison of Cases in Australia and Japan

フィリピン人移民と宗教：オーストラリアと日本の教会にみる

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[Abstract] A field research was conducted in a church in Sydney in 2013 on the religious lives of Filipino migrants and the result is compared with that of a previous research conducted in Tokyo in 1995. Both churches worked on social and psycho-emotional aspects as well as religious aspect. On the other hand they were different in that economic activities such as job search service were widely undertaken only in the church in Tokyo, and ethnic liturgies and Tagalog mass were also observed only there, which led to both advancement of Filipinos and inter-ethnic friction within the church, while none of these were seen in the case in Sydney. Among factors underlying these differences supposedly are the features of each host society or denomination. The former includes the fact that in Japan, Filipino migrants experienced social demotion and their employment was unstable, and that in Australia, English is the official language which educated Filipinos can speak fluently. The latter includes the wide range of development of Catholic liturgies throughout the world and the fact that Catholic followers are to go to a church of their residential area (parish) and therefore its members tend more to be diverse and factions are more prone to be formed.

Keywords

Religious Lives of Filipino Migrants, Non-religious Roles of the Church, Immigration Policy in Australia and Japan

1. Introduction

In the Philippines, the Catholic religion has been dominant since the Spanish colonial period which continued for more than three hundred years until the end of the 19th century. And in recent years, plenty of Filipinos moved abroad, and some estimate that they are now

more than 10 percent of the population. As early as the American colonial period, a certain number of Filipinos went to America and worked there in pursuit of higher income and in longing for experience abroad. Then in the 1970s the government started encouraging its people to work abroad with the aim to boost the economy by their remittance and to alleviate unemployment, which led to a larger number of emigrants and a wider variety of their destination countries, a situation that continues to this day.

Studies have been conducted on Filipino migrants in Japan across a broad range of academic disciplines. Among them is one made by Mateo, which focused on the role of religious organizations. Having carried out research at one Catholic church in Tokyo, Mateo argued that it not only offers spiritual or religious services to Filipino members, but also works on economic, social and psycho-emotional aspects, and thus serves as a substitute for an ethnic self-help organization and a Filipino quarter. (Mateo 2003)

In this study, the same framework for analysis is employed with the study of Mateo, and comparison is made between Mateo's case and the case of a born-again church in Sydney where the present writer conducted research.¹ It is expected that the comparison would highlight features of the two cases, and provide insights regarding roles and meanings of the church for Filipino migrants. Although the two cases are not typical nor representative of the church in each country, and therefore discussions in this study remain preliminary and hypothetical, the study aims to explore both universal and diverse religious lives of Filipino migrants throughout the world by looking into cases in more than one country of which conditions vary.

2. A Sketch of Two Churches

In this chapter, the recent situation of Filipinos in Japan is reviewed briefly, and then the overview of the church activities of the case in Tokyo at the time of research is provided. After that, immigration policy of Australia is reviewed and the overview of the church in Sydney is provided.

2-1. Case of the Church in Tokyo

FILIPINOS IN JAPAN: A BRIEF OUTLINE

Japanese government does not have a systematic immigration policy. What the government does is just to issue visa permits to those who are legally qualified to stay in Japan, but does not control the number of immigrants. This is a marked contrast to the policy of Australia which accepts immigrants in a planned manner and provides them support for settlement.

Among Filipinos who entered Japan, ones with resident status of "entertainer" had been increasing since the 1970s. In 1991 they reached 42,867 or 39.9%, the largest among other statuses, outnumbering "temporary visitor" (such as sightseer). Many of them were young and female; in 1990 61% were in their 20s, and women are three times as many as men. These suggest that

Japan was a “destination of Filipino women entertainers”. A certain number of them overstayed; in 1996 the proportion was 40%. Many of them renewed a six-month contract and entered Japan multiple times. It is presumably this kind of frequent visitors, and not permanent settlers, who constituted members of the church in Tokyo where Mateo conducted research. While at the same time, many Filipina entertainers married Japanese men, and thus in 1997 entrants with resident status of “spouse or child of Japanese national” came in first at 38,578 (30.9%), followed by “entertainer”. (Ballescas 2003:549-551, 560-561)

The above trend was reversed in 2005 by an amendment of ordinance of the Ministry of Justice which put stricter terms of issue of entertainer visa. For this reason, the proportion of long-term residents and permanent residents has been rising higher among Filipinos in Japan. Those Filipinas, mostly born in 1970s, who met Japanese men at work place and married them, were now aging throughout Japan.

Filipino settlers who are not married to Japanese have also been increasing owing to the Immigration Bureau notice of 1996, which ruled that a foreign woman may stay in Japan who is a mother of a child born outside of marriage whose father is Japanese, and the guideline of 2009, which ruled that parents and children can acquire the status of long-term resident, even though they have overstayed, if they have stayed in Japan for over 10 years and if those children are enrolled in a school in Japan. (Takahata 2015)

A CATHOLIC PARISH CHURCH IN TOKYO

Rokumoku Catholic Church where Mateo conducted research belongs to the Archdiocese of Tokyo. It is designated as an English language parish because of many embassies located within the area, which is unique among other parishes of the Archdiocese. Formerly the dominant parishioners were diplomats or business expatriates and their families, and they were from various parts of the world. The parish has been entrusted to the Franciscan since its foundation in 1967. From around 1990 the booming Japanese economy attracted many Filipino migrant workers and their number also increased in Rokumoku church, so the Franciscan called a Filipino Franciscan from Manila to assist them. Upon arrival, this Filipino Franciscan priest initiated regular Tagalog mass and Filipino ethnic liturgies, which many Filipinos had come to attend.

A Filipino workers’ organization was set up as well, which addressed various problems in their lives such as job hunting. The organization did not exclude illegal residents, and it coordinated with medical facilities and both Japanese and Filipino lawyers. As a result, many Filipinos had come to attend Rokumoku Church not only from Tokyo metropolitan area but also from nearby prefectures. They joined in self-help activities carried out there.

The above mentioned development changed the Filipino in Rokumoku Church “from non-mainstream to mainstream”. While on the other hand, it caused tension between Filipinos and non-Filipinos in the church. Non-Filipino church members considered the Filipinos to be “a parish within a parish”, suspecting that they might aim to separate from the church and set

out a new ethnic church. (Mateo 2003:219-223)

2-2. Case of the Church in Sydney

IMMIGRATION POLICY OF AUSTRALIA

Australia has an immigration policy to make immigrants settle, which is different from Japan. It not only examines immigrants and emigrants at ports, but also provides support to immigrants for their settlement, which includes free English language course and a variety of community-based services that cater to the needs of immigrants. On the other hand, in order to lessen the social impact of massive immigration, a limit is put on the number of immigrants. Taking into consideration socio-economic conditions such as employment, the government decides numbers, categories and criteria for acceptance every year. There are 3 categories: Family, Skill and Humanitarian. “Family Migration” means accepting family members of those who have already resided in Australia or spouses or fiancés of Australians. “Skill Migration” means accepting those who possess skills or property which Australia needs. “Humanitarian Migration” means accepting refugees as a humanitarian undertaking. Until 1996 “Family Migration” predominated under Labor Party government, but the following conservative coalition government changed the policy over to boost economy by effective utilization of immigrants. Among immigrants in 2007 which counted slightly less than 240,000, Skill category accounted for 43% while Family 27%, Humanitarian 9% respectively. (The rest migrated from New Zealand.) Immigrants from the Philippines ranked 5th most in Skill category, following UK, New Zealand, China and India. It is safe to say that immigrants to Australia are mostly those who were selected according to strict criteria, needed as human resources by host society and therefore receive significant support for settlement. (Asakawa 2006:32-33; Tanaka 2011:214-215) Most of the members of the born-again church mentioned below also possessed permanent resident visa. Australia, which was originally founded by migrants, and one fourth of whose present population were born abroad, seems comfortable to settle for immigrants including Filipinos.²

BORN-AGAIN CHURCH IN SYDNEY

A Catholic parish church is under a jurisdiction of a diocese and is subject to some control by it, whereas born-again churches are independent from each other. A born-again church is founded and the direction is set under the leadership of its own pastor. A church in Nanly where the present writer conducted research was founded by Pastor Crichton who migrated to Australia from the Philippines in 2006. He leads three churches including the one in Nanly. One of them is located in the inland west suburbs of Sydney, which had conspicuous feature as a “family church” with most of its member being his family or relatives. Among the other two that are both located in the northern coast of the city, the present writer chose for research one that seemed more stable with larger attendance at worship in 2013. Pastor Crichton was then assisted by two other Filipino pastors including his younger sister in his pastoral work at the

three churches.

Nanly church held a gathering on Sunday morning mainly for worship, which was often extended until afternoon for workshop or social. It also had a gathering on Friday evening for workshop and social. Since the church did not possess its own chapel nor buildings, it rented a hall of a community center for the gatherings of Sunday morning while the other gatherings took place in a house of a church member. Attendance at worship was 20 to 30, and 10 to 20 at other gatherings at the time of observation. While attenders were mostly Filipino or of Filipino origin, there were a few local Australian attenders, two of whom, including a spouse of a church member from the Philippines, were present on almost all occasions. Most members were in their 20s to 30s but a larger number of people were in their 20s. Since married couples attended together including those of common-law marriage, there were more married people than unmarried. All the respondents to survey questionnaires and interviewees of this research were higher education or postsecondary education graduates or students of those levels. Nearly half of them were engaged in the profession of nursing. And none of them were illegal residents. Among the members, the pastor had selected three couples who he provided with leading roles at worship and other programs in expectation of their active participation.

3. Comparison of Two Churches

3-1. Non-religious Roles of the Church

Mateo argued that Rokumoku church was a two-tiered institution which addressed not only spiritual needs but also temporal needs of the Filipino faithful. The temporal aspects include economic role such as informal employment network agency (Mateo 2000:202), social role as a place for social interaction among friends and compatriots, and psycho-emotional role of “home away from home”. “By going to church every Sunday, they can relax with their coethnics, seek new friends...borrow and lend money and solicit job information and referral”. (Mateo 2000:194) Thus the church “cheers Filipino migrants up and serves as an anchor which supports solidarity of their community”.

Due to the various roles of the church mentioned above, the act of church-going in Tokyo was significantly different from the one back in the Philippines for Filipino migrants. Mateo argued that more Filipino migrants took their religion seriously and went to mass because they utilized their Catholic faith “as a tool for adaptive and survival strategies”. (Mateo 2000:192) He also claimed the fact that the church had evolved its varied roles to cater to almost all the needs of Filipino migrants helps explain why no Filipino quarter nor self-help organization has been formed among them.³ He referred to the group of Filipinos who attended Sunday worship and weekday rituals as “oritatami-isu no kyoudoutai (collapsible community)”, where major social interactions among Filipino migrants were said to have taken place.

PSYCHO-EMOTIONAL ASPECT

The major non-religious aspects observed in Nanly church seem to fall under the category of “psycho-emotional” or “social” in Mateo’s classification. Mateo wrote that “in the Philippines, churches are usually built in town centers or plazas where churchgoers tarry to socialize with townmates after the religious rituals” (Mateo 2000:199). This custom was also observed both at Rokumoku and Nanly churches. In the absence of a large courtyard that could accommodate scores of people, the Filipino parishioners of Rokumoku church socialized in various spots of the site, most notably the front parking area. (Mateo 2000:200)

In the case of Nanly church which rented a hall on Sunday, social hours were held with food before and after worship at the same venue. The one just before worship was called “fellowship”, which was integrated in the official Sunday program. At the beginning of the program, the pastor and his wife and some other members warmed food at the kitchen of the hall which they prepared beforehand and attenders had a pleasant chat while partaking of the food. They did in the same way at the end of the program. Being officially integrated as part of the Sunday program, this social hour can be said to be one of the characteristics of the church. The church was seemingly aware of its social and psychological aspects and valued them.

At gatherings on Friday evening at a house of a church member, the program also started with a social hour with food, which can also be said to be official. Since these gatherings on Friday evening and Sunday afternoon were smaller than the worship group on Sunday, and a private house was used as a venue, a more relaxed, literally “at home” atmosphere prevailed there, and attenders seemed to take the activities more informally. In Nanly church social and psychological aspects accounted for a larger portion of its activities than in Rokumoku church, and those activities were deemed official.

These social and psychological aspects of church activities which were observed in both cases are presumably undertaken widely in other churches in countries other than the Philippines where many Filipinos regularly attend. The principal reason why these aspects were more valued and observed in Nanly church rather than in Rokumoku church probably lies in the difference of institutional structures of the two denominations. Compared to the Catholic church which has a long history and tradition, and characterized by its universally standardized practices and institution, born-again churches are more independent and therefore more flexible, and each church develops its own programs which may include non-religious activities like the ones of Nanly church. Besides, the born-again Nanly church is an ethnic church, with its feature as a church of migrant Filipinos being conspicuous, whereas Catholic churches are rarely ethnic because of the parish system under which followers are to go to nearby church in principle.

At Nanly church, while worship services, lectures by pastors and small group workshops were held in English, members spoke mostly Tagalog during fellowship. It can be said that they switched languages according to the shift between social or psychological activities and others.

ECONOMIC ASPECT

At the time of Mateo's research economic activities were on the move in Rokumoku church. Information on job availability and on those who need jobs was collected by the church organization, which was accessed by many people regardless of whether legal or illegal resident. This contributed to the fact that many Filipinos went to the church even from neighboring prefectures, and getting recommendation and guarantee from the church was one of their motivation for active participation in church activities. (Mateo 2003:168)

In stark contrast, no employment network was found in Nanly church. One reason might be that the church's population was not yet large enough for collecting information on job availability. But more cogent reason is that the church members did not need an employment agency. Their status of residence was legal, and they had secured stable employment; students were optimistic about their future employment. Some of them had nearby relatives from whom they could expect help in case of necessity. This was not the case for the then members of Rokumoku church. Due to relatively stable employment, employment network was not needed, and therefore did not develop in Nanly church. This stable employment among the church members can be attributed to the Australian policy under which immigrants have been selectively accepted and skilled immigrants have been prioritized. It can be said that the different employment situations of Filipinos in Australia and in Japan, which reflected immigration policy of each country, resulted in the different features of two church's activities.

At present, however, economic aspect of church activities might be far fewer in Japan than Mateo observed. It is because the proportion of long-term residents and permanent residents has increased among Filipinos in Japan since 2005 while overstayer have decreased as mentioned above, and presumably the proportions in Filipino churchgoers also reflect this trend, and thus, relatively speaking at least, the need for the church's economic role has assumably declined. Besides, a wider variety of job search services are now available, including want ads on free monthly magazine for the Filipino in Japan for factory workers and others throughout the nation. Because of these changes, probably few Filipinos go to church now with the aim of finding a job. The economic aspect of church activities that Mateo reported might be attributed to the social status and employment situations of Filipinos that was peculiar to the 1990s in Japan.

3-2. Ethnic Liturgy

Mateo pointed out that when Filipino attenders increased at Rokumoku church, it underwent changes in its religious activities. Filipino traditional rituals had come to be held, such as novena to Our Mother of Perpetual Help and other devotions at the chapel, house-to-house visitations, and pilgrimages outside of Tokyo. They are authorized Catholic rituals, which are not popular in Japan but widely practiced in the Philippines. They were launched in Rokumoku church because many Filipinos came to attend there. It was also pointed out that "the national sentiments of the immigrant find support in having experience in church very

similar to those in the country of origin” (Mateo 2000:195; 2003:228,238)

Mateo argued that this “import of tradition” was possible to occur with vastly popular so-called “folk Catholicism” in the Philippines, which was promoted by the Catholic hierarchy’s support for inculturation that valued diversities of creeds and practices among regions, and also with wide range of development of Catholic liturgies.

While on the other hand, worship of born-again Nanly church had no ethnic features even though it was also constituted mostly by Filipinos. This lack of ethnic feature might be attributed to the fact that born-again churches in the Philippines also have far less prominent ethnic features than the Catholic church or no ethnic features at all. Many of Nanly church members had also attended born-again churches in the Philippines before they moved to Australia, and some of them said during interviews that worship and other activities of those churches were similar to the ones of Nanly church. In the case of the Catholic, churches in countries like Japan, where Filipinos moved to, introduced Filipino ethnic rituals in response to their wishes to have ones there. In contrast, born-again Filipinos probably see no difference in churches in the country of their immigration from churches in the Philippines, and can easily adopt to the former. However, further investigation is needed both in Australia and the Philippines to confirm this hypothesis.

Relevant to the ethnicity in rituals is a difference in language use in the two churches: in Rokumoku church Tagalog masses were held twice a month in addition to Japanese and English masses while only English worships were held in Nanly church. Mateo argued that Tagalog masses at Rokumoku church cheered Filipino migrant workers up, “helping them adopt to new environments”. (Mateo 2003:238) Although the same effect could be expected at Nanly church, if Tagalog worship had been held, and Tagalog was spoken during fellowship and on some other occasions, formulas and hymns of worship were all English, and so were lectures of pastors on Sunday morning and small group workshops.

Only English was spoken at worship and on other occasions in Nanly church because it was seeking to expand its membership and, in order for that, considering more non-Filipino membership. As a matter of fact, the church already had regular Australian attenders, as mentioned above, so English worship was necessary. Had it been a larger church, multiple worships could have been held weekly, including both English and Tagalog, but a small church like Nanly could hold worship services only once a week, which should have been English due to the reason mentioned above.

It should be noted, however, that Filipinos presumably deem difference between English and Tagalog worship less significant than between Tagalog worship and worship in other foreign languages such as Japanese. In the Philippines, English is widely used as an official language, and it is also a medium of instruction for classes of mathematics, science and English starting from elementary level school education, and thus it is used everyday especially among the educated class. English masses and worships are also held at the Philippine church, especially at churches located in high-class residential areas. The members of Nanly church

were highly educated people who underwent postsecondary or higher education, and had already been living in English-dominant society of Australia for a certain period of time. Thus they presumably deemed less significant the matter of language of worship than Filipinos in Rokumoku church.

3-3. Standing of Filipinos in the Church and Their Relation to Other Members

When Filipino members increased in Rokumoku church and their presence increased through ethnic liturgical and other activities, a tension rose in the church. Mateo pointed out that most of these Filipinos “accept jobs they normally would not dare touch in the Philippines because of their professional training and educational attainment” and thus “feel discriminated against and treated as second-class citizens”, which led to their “marginalized, alienating, and problematic experiences”. (Mateo 2000:193-194) He stressed that, through ethnic religious activities brought from their own country, these people “could establish their own religious identity, regain themselves, and regain their own dignity”. However, the advancement of Filipinos in the church involved demotion of other members, and thus caused tension between them. The fact that most longtime members of the church, who were diplomats or expatriates working for multinational corporations, employed Filipinos as domestic helpers or drivers heightened the tension. (Mateo 2000:229-230)

On the other hand, no such tension or conflict was observed in Nanly church. It is probably because its membership was fairly uniform in ethnicity and class. Most members of Nanly church were Filipino. They were also homogeneous in class because new members had been recruited personally by present members. Thus there was no diversity among them that might lead to factions. In contrast to this, Catholics are to go to the church of the parish where they resided, in principle, regardless of their ethnicity or class, and therefore its members tend to be diverse and factions are prone to be formed. And a possible change of the proportion of the membership might cause a friction.

Taken in this light, it is reasonable to suppose that the reason why ethnic conflict was observed in Rokumoku church but not in Nanly church lies in institutional difference of the two churches. In the case of the Catholic, if a parish is ethnically diverse, its membership reflects the demography, and thus will become multi-ethnic and prone to be divided into small groups. On the other hand, Protestants do not necessarily go to their nearby church, but choose a church to attend according to several factors such as its teachings, ritual styles, and charisma of its pastor. Besides, a Protestant church or its pastor sometimes set a missionary target exclusively on a specific social group. As a result, Filipino ethnic churches like Nanly are often founded, while smaller ethnic groups or factions might be rarely formed within it.

However, it is important to note that a Catholic church does not always experience friction or tension when it becomes multi-ethnic. Even though an ethnic boundary has been formed within a church, most cases are probably those of “state of no interaction”. Besides, a case is reported in which such a tenuous relationship as “nodding terms” had developed positively

instead of turning into tension or friction: in a Catholic church in Hamamatsu-city, support activities were undertaken for foreign residents who became needy under recession following Lehman Brothers' bankruptcy. (Miki 2012:55-86) The tension observed in Rokumoku church in 1990s was attributed to the change of standings of its members which occurred in a parish church designated as a English language parish and where "employers and employees sit side by side", which can be safely said to be exceptional and rarely experienced in other Catholic churches.

4. Conclusion

Both of the churches studied here worked on social and psycho-emotional aspects as well as religious aspect. They are also similar in that Tagalog was spoken in those occasions. These are presumably features of churches where many Filipino migrants attend, not only in Australia and Japan but also in other countries. On the other hand the two churches were different in that economic activities such as job search service were widely undertaken only in Rokumoku church, and ethnic liturgies and Tagalog mass were also observed only there, which led to advancement of Filipinos and inter-ethnic friction as well within the church, while none of these were seen in Nanly church.

The above mentioned factors underlying these differences might be classified into the ones peculiar to each case and the ones which are features of a denomination or a host society, and therefore relatively more common. That Nanly church was just founded, still small in membership and eager to gain more members falls under the former.

Among factors which are features of a denomination is the wide range of development of Catholic liturgies throughout the world or the fact that Catholic followers are to go to a church of their residential area (parish) and therefore its members tend to be diverse and factions are prone to be formed. Since these are common features of the Catholic church regardless of country, they may influence behavior of Filipino migrants at church in many other countries. However research in each country is needed to see the degree of actual influence.

Among factors which are features of a host society is that in Japan Filipino migrants experienced social demotion and their employment was unstable. In contrast, in Australia most Filipino migrants do not go through similar experience and they are from relatively higher social class. Difference of linguistic situations in both countries, namely that in Australia, English is the official language which educated Filipinos can speak fluently, is also a factor which reflects features of host societies. It should be noted, however, that the above mentioned features of Japan might not be the case at present because of policy changes since 1990s when Mateo conducted research and the resulting changes of status of Filipinos there. This kind of changes of host societies might be more frequent and rapid compared to those of features of religious denominations.

Before closing this article, it is worth mentioning issues that are beyond the scope of this

article but deemed critical in exploring the theme of Filipino migrants and religion. One is the stance and attitude of hierarchical authority and clerical leadership. Christianity is featured in its institution by division of the clergy and the laity. Although roles of the laity have been recently emphasized, clergies are still influential and occupy a leading role and therefore, their vision and degree of concern would be one of the decisive factors of the position and the role of Filipino and other migrants within a church. In the case of the Protestant, pastors almost solely decide the direction of their church according to their pastoral policy. A pastor may form an ethnic church, as is the case of Nanly church in 2013. In the case of the Catholic, on the other hand, while the vision of a parish priest or whether he is progressive or conservative conditions the direction of the church to some extent, higher authorities, from the bishop of the diocese to the Vatican also condition, and their governance is safely said to be multilayered. In addition, some brothers and sisters who belong to religious orders and not to a parish or diocese also address the issue. Many orders are multinational organizations and therefore have a substantial advantage over the issue. Besides some monasterial priests are appointed to parishes due to lack of diocesan priests. Among these clergies, opinions and degree of concern about migrant church members including Filipinos seem vary, just as about other issues. Accordingly, in the case of the Catholic, clergies of multiple levels and types should be simultaneously observed.⁴

Research on Filipino migrants' relationship with non-Christians outside of the church is also needed. It varies by host society. In the case of Japan, many Filipinas married Japanese men as mentioned above. Their husbands and other family members living together are mostly non-Christian, which might, in some cases, turn out to be a hindrance or obstruction to the religious lives of those Christian Filipinas. To take examples, some of them may not be able to attend Mass because of the objection of their Japanese family. Some others may, even if not objected, restrain themselves from participating in church activities other than attending Mass in consideration for their family. Although it is said that a Filipina usually gains consent before marriage from her Japanese husband that she and their future children will go to church, it is difficult to see how many are exceptions or how many of those turn out not to be honored as far as research is conducted only within churches. Those cases are presumably not few in Japan where Christian population is very small, religion is valued not so highly as in other countries, and tradition of "Ie no syukyuu" (family religion) still dominates each household to some extent. Perceptions of those Filipinas on their unfulfilled wish of going to church and their reactions toward inner torment remain understudied if not unstudied even though they are also focal points of the issue of "migrants and religion". They are likely to exert upon those Filipinas an effect that is adverse to what helped Filipinos in Rokumoku church "regain themselves, and regain their own dignity".

On the other hand, some Japanese men, if not many, began to go to church with Filipinas who they became partners with. Among them are those who got baptized and joined the church. There are also cases where holy icons and other religious symbols that Filipinas brought with

them into their husbands' houses got duly appreciated by Japanese family members. (Bonifacio 2008:151) It is safe to say that Japanese family members derive religious inspiration from those Filipinas. As proportion of settlers among Filipinos in Japan increases through marriage, not only religious features of Japanese society emerge at the point of interaction with them, but religious development may also take place in a new and possibly positive direction.

Notes

- 1 Mateo conducted his research in Tokyo for 6 months in 1995. The present author conducted his research in Sydney from March 22nd to 31st and from September 5th to 23rd in 2013. Fictitious names are used for people and districts mentioned in this article.
- 2 It should be noted, however, that racial discrimination or exclusionism is observed also in present-day Australia. Among these are Tampa Affair (2001) and the rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation (1997).
- 3 Other explanations include that many Filipino migrants live in their work place as domestic workers and that most of them are employed and few of them go into business for themselves for their fellow countrymen.
- 4 Even in the case of the Protestant, the influence of pastors of other churches of cooperative relation or churches that are delivering vital messages such as Hillsong in Australia might need to be observed.

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