

Leisurely Life in a 'Wide Brown Land': Japanese Views upon Australia

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I. INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to identify common factors in the views of Japanese residents concerning their host Australian communities. Australia has been a popular destination for Japanese tourists, and it is obvious that Japanese people have formed positive images of Australia, at least in terms of it as a tourist's destination.¹ However, apart from tourism, the number of Japanese residents, including permanent settler immigration to Australia, has constantly increased over the years, especially since the 1980s. In the 1980s, Japan and Australia developed cultural exchange programmes, such as Working Holidays, which coincided with an increasing number of municipal affiliations.² In fact, cross-cultural contacts between Australia and Japan have expanded greatly as a result of globalisation.

In trying to generalise the images of Australia and its people which Japanese individuals form, there can be two fundamental standpoints: one is the creation of images from indirect contact with Australia without empirical observation, such as information on Australia gathered through the media or internet and so on. The other comes from first-hand contact, i.e., the cross-cultural experience of residing in Australia and communicating or conversing with Australian people. In this paper, after presenting some previous and relevant studies relating to Japanese perception of Australia and its people, some data obtained from questionnaire and interview research are presented.

II. RELEVANT LITERATURE ON JAPANESE RESIDENTS IN AUSTRALIA

Japanese Migration to Australia in Printing Media

There are some articles which demonstrate the positive motivation of Japanese immigrants for going to Australia, such as the abundance of natural scenery and its comfortable lifestyle. This tendency can be seen especially from the late 1980s and the middle of 1990s, from newspaper and journal articles which reported on migration to Australia; and explored Japanese people's decision to migrate. According to Shirae (1988), the motivation of recent Japanese immigrants to Australia was reportedly caused by the following four reasons; (1) vast natural environment and a mild climate; (2) public peace and order; (3) low cost of living; and (4) tranquil and leisurely national characteristics.

In 1988 one Japanese fortnightly magazine, *Tarzan*, featured an article on migration entitled "Good Bye Japan: Migration is a Final Adventure in the Present Age." In the section of "Time to Emigrate" (Muro, *et. al.* 1988), they listed the five most popular migration destinations as Australia, Canada, Spain, the United States and New Zealand. They argue that Japanese affluence is an illusion because Japanese life cannot be viewed as easy-going; most people live in confined accommodation which some foreigners have referred to as 'rabbit hutches.' Instructions about the migration process to Australia are also reported with examples. In the simulation model, Mr. A, who worked at a computer software company, was frustrated with his cramped quarters and busy life in Japan and came to the view that he would like instead to live on an island in the southern seas. Then he decided to immigrate to Australia. This magazine presented one of the typical Japanese images of Australia. Although it may not encourage a massive exodus in itself, its view is based on favourable aspects of the Australian natural environment and living conditions, recognising Australia as a place to relax and gain a restored sense of purpose. Accordingly, they indicate that Japan is cramped and stiff and thus the motivation of contemporary Japanese emigrants has been brought about by the pursuit for an overseas milieu that is open and spacious.

Similar ideas can be detected in several Japanese newspaper articles. Mori (1990) explains that, although tens of millions of yen are insufficient to purchase a house in central Tokyo, this amount will bear an annual interest of approximate ten million yen in Australia. What is more, three million yen is enough for living expenses equivalent to an Australian ordinary living standard. Fukushima (1991) introduces one retired Japanese couple's statements in the *Asahi* newspaper. This couple who used to live in a company-subsidised accommodation found that it was just not feasible to obtain their own house in Japan when the husband was approaching retirement. They then decided to immigrate to Australia. Ishikawa (1991) sets out the reasons of several Japanese individuals as to why they immigrated to Australia. For example, one architect remarked that he was fed up with being hedged round with relationships within the company and family, and that the Australian business climate favoured establishing his own business. Indeed, the above aspects of Australia, although they do not automatically induce migration, appear widespread in Japan and may stimulate motivation to travel to Australia.

Views on the Host Society from Cross-Cultural Experiences

There have been only a few extensive empirical surveys of contemporary Japanese residents in Australia. Suzuki (1988), and Andressen and Kumagai (1996) undertook extensive questionnaire surveys. In order to clarify Japanese images of Australia, Suzuki conducted mail research in late 1982 and early 1983. Data was collected from 122 samples; Japanese respondents in Queensland. In his sample, both Japanese settlers to Australia, and long-term temporary residents, such as expatriate business people - of twenty-four male Japanese respondents, nineteen came to Australia for their 'work such as job transfer' were included. He concluded that Japanese tend to form images of Australians which focus upon kindness, generosity, their orientation to leisure and so on (*ibid.* 75).

Andressen and Kumagai (1996) also took account of the large numbers of Japanese students in

Australia and constructed a significant data resource for understanding patterns and attitudes among the numbers and types of Japanese students by analysing 434 questionnaires. They indicate that some young Japanese tend to repudiate the Japanese labour market system, by which companies recruit youth with conventional educational backgrounds. They 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).'

The sample used by Mizukami (1992) is smaller than the above survey, but it focuses upon patterns of integration by Japanese residents into the host Australian community. In this research, fieldwork was conducted in Brisbane from the beginning of 1989 to early 1990, with intensive personal interviewing with thirty-six informants. The respondents talked freely about their thoughts of Australia as well as their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with certain aspects of their current society. In addition to the intensive interview, in order to collate information relating to Japanese residents' activities, the researcher joined some Japanese organisation in Brisbane, and attended various Japanese gatherings. The respondents were Japanese adults who were socialised in Japan, satisfying the following criteria: '(1) they must have lived in Australia for more than one year; and (2) before coming to Australia, they must have lived in Japan until they were eighteen years old' (Mizukami 1992: 13). The analysis of the research was on the basis of comparison between two groups: One category consisted of eighteen 'sojourners' who were mostly expatriate businessmen as well as their spouses. The other category was their counterparts, eighteen male and female 'immigrants' (permanent settlers) comprising those who were naturalised Australians and those who possessed permanent residency.

This research found that although sojourning Japanese tended to demonstrate their discontent with Australia due to 'a serious concern about their ability to conform to Japanese society on their return to Japan' (*Ibid.* 135), the vast majority (thirty-two of the total of thirty-six respondents) showed 'their satisfaction with spacious housing in Australia' (*Ibid.* 59-61). In fact, the majority of the respondents liked the Australian environment and living conditions. Without exception, the attitude to the housing situation in Australia was positive. Several of the respondents mentioned that possessing one's own house in Japan was extremely difficult as was obtaining suitable rented accommodation. However, they found that this was possible in Australia.

Some settlers and a few sojourning business people held a positive view of working conditions including job opportunities in Australia, and were rather critical of working conditions in Japan. Most respondents pointed out that Australian people could make a firm distinction between work hours and private time, unlike the majority of Japanese businessmen. Indeed, they claimed that in Japan after work activities and playing golf with their business associates on weekends were not completely their business affairs, nevertheless they felt that these activities were compulsory. It was, therefore, difficult to avoid these activities but in Australia they were not fully involved in them. The impression gained from Japanese business people was that Australians appear to rush home immediately after

finishing work and engage in domestic work much more than Japanese businessmen. In other words, Australians did not use their private-time for business affairs.

This view is reminiscent of Donald Horne's profile of Australian people. In *The Lucky Country* (1964), he stated that the characteristics of Australians are of people who do not take their jobs seriously and are also heavily involved in domestic work. In the 1970s, the view was supported by Fukushima (1978), a correspondent of a Japanese broadcasting station who lived in Australia for more than three years. Fukushima had held a critical view based on his knowledge of Australian servicemen, but he explained that Australians were hard workers when it came to extending their terraces or repairing their houses by themselves. Additionally, in my research (Mizukami 1992), some respondents indicated that Australians worked diligently at home and were very skilful at constructing pools or repairing cars or painting houses. In Japan, people usually call tradesmen but some Australians construct their houses as though they were tradesmen. At a barbecue party, Australian businessmen are impressive in the hard work they put in. The expatriate businessmen were apt to be concerned mainly with office work. Some Japanese respondents to his questions focused more on other characteristics of Australian people. But although their perceptions varied, most respondents recognised that differences between Australian businessmen and Japanese businessmen were to be found in their degree of involvement in business and in domestic work. The contrast, 'Australian businessmen work in order to live while Japanese businessmen live in order to work' was supported to some degree in those interviews.

Several authors also indicate that differences between Australia and Japan when considering businessmen's attitudes. For instance, Fukushima (1978) states that it is a verdict based on a partial view to judge Australian businessmen as slothful when compared with his Japanese counterparts in the work place. He states that, in addition to the domestic work, Australian parents, including businessmen, work actively for volunteer groups and school activities. Ogata (1982: 153) mentions that at Japanese expatriate parties, these businessmen tended to complain about the negligent attitude of their Australian business associates, while controversially their wives argue about lazy Japanese husbands. It appears that different criteria for determining 'diligence' or 'laziness' are at work.

III. JAPANESE "LIKES AND DISLIKES"

Sample of This Research

In this section, the result of an extensive questionnaire survey in 1997 is presented.³ All of the respondents in the questionnaire survey are first-generation adult Japanese settlers (who have permanent residency or Australian citizenship) or sojourners (who do not have permanent residency and stay on a temporary basis), who were socialised in Japan, that is, those who were raised and completed their basic education in Japan.⁴ Additionally, so as to compare the life in Japan and that in Australia, the individuals under investigation must have lived in Australia for more than three months (at the time of the research a few of them stayed for less than three months, but were going to live

there for more than three months). Contemporary Japanese migrants to Australia conceivably demonstrate important differences when compared with previous and other ethnic minorities, as they tend to settle in middle-class suburbs upon arrival.⁵ Although the respondents for this research were scattered around the Melbourne metropolitan area, the vast majority of expatriate business families were wealthy suburbanites living in the middle-ring.

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 percent of the entire adult Japanese population of Melbourne.⁶ A total of 842 questionnaires were distributed, and the number of returned questionnaire was 253.⁷ In five questionnaires over half of the questions were not completed and so 248 were regarded as valid (Mizukami 1999).

All the respondents of this questionnaire were asked 'what do you most like/dislike about Australian life, when compared to Japan?' However, the overall view of Japanese residents cannot be simply categorised into neat positive or negative categories. 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 by listing a few elements. The most *likes* about Australian life were indicated by such indicators as 'mild climate, less societal pressure, and accessibility of 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 percent. To the question about most *likes* and *dislikes*, some respondents stated they could not find any particular elements, when compared to Japan. The nature of the contented or discontented disposition of these individuals did not appear to change significantly when they were asked about life in Australia. For them life seems to have going on much as it always has.

Categories of 'Most Likes'

Let me begin by describing what respondents have indicated on the most *likes* (about Australian life) category. After explaining the grounds of this, the corresponding most *dislikes* will be analysed. Then, some of the consequences and dynamics found within the view of these respondents will be generalised and illustrated. After systematising each respondent's answer, several categories are composed so as to clarify the characteristics of their main concerns about Australian life.

In the open-ended question for most *likes*, the majority of respondents were concerned with 'time' and 'space,' 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. They tended to feel that the leisurely life is derived not only from 'spacious living conditions,' but also from their sense of 'time' - many expressed relief at not being restricted by time as in Japan. In Australia they do not live 'by the clock' to the same degree. Additionally, it is worthy of note that various informants mentioned that they had confronted serious stress caused by relationships with others in Japan, but did not experience this in Australia, at least not as much as 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 criticism).' Thus, they perceived more freedom and less stress in Australia. Apparently, many felt less societal pressure because they were free from the force of social conformity. These views have obviously influenced their motivation on their preference to migrate to Australia.

The above mentioned three factors, latitude of 'time,' 'space,' and 'less stress,' enhance their sense of a relaxed life in Australia. In order to explain clearly the 'most likes' from respondents, several categories are now classified further. Although these categories are interrelated to 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] we live with time on hand.'

(a) *Relaxing time*

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 made statements that related to long vacations and so these are also 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 aspect as shown in Table 1. Female respondents, particularly female sojourners, tended to be concerned with this, as 38.4 percent mentioned 'relaxing time.' The following table illustrates how the positive views on Australian life were obtained from the open-ended questions.

Table 1 *Likes about Australian Life*

<i>Category of 'likes'</i>	Sojourners		Settlers		Total
	<i>male</i> (n = 80)	<i>female</i> (n = 86)	<i>male</i> (n = 17)	<i>female</i> (n = 54)	(%) (n = 237)
(a) Relaxing time (%)	20.0	38.4	17.6	27.8	28.3
(b) Natural and physical environments	58.8	55.8	23.5	57.4	54.9
(c) Less societal pressure	16.3	30.2	52.9	50.0	31.6
(d) Attitude of people	10.0	10.5	5.9	1.9	8.0
(e) Cost of expenditure	27.5	23.3	11.8	11.1	21.1
(f) English language	1.3	1.2	5.9	—	1.3
(g) Recreational facilities	11.3	7.0	—	—	6.3
(h) Other statements	1.3	—	—	—	0.4

Source : Mizukami (1999).

(b) *Natural and physical environments*

The second category is related both to the physical and natural environment in Australia, which includes feelings of spaciousness and mild climate. It is not only social conditions, but also physical environments, that have influenced the perception of a relaxing lifestyle, as many voiced appreciation for 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 the natural or physical environments in Australia. This category 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 the natural environment, mentioning 'mild climate' and 'lots of green (plants).' 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 settlers mentioning this dimension, there are not any significant differences among female settlers, male and female sojourners, as over half of each group indicated most *like* for Australia's environment. In addition to the above physical features, 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 among their 'most likes,' another question revealed this to be 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 noted elsewhere in that research (Mizukami 1999), an analysis of the main reason for choosing Australia rather than other countries shows some respondents comparing public order with that of the United States of America and the answer that Australia is 'safe,' presumably means 'more safe' than America but the perception of safety will be different when Australia is compared with Japan.

(c) *Less societal pressure*

The third category of 'less societal pressure' is, to some extent, interrelated with the above two categories - less pressure can be a pre-condition for a relaxing lifestyle. However, this category is derived chiefly from concerns about pressures which are exerted from other people, as one of the typical statements exposes that they no longer felt the attention of other people's eyes (watchful scrutiny). In other words, the difference between the first (a) and third categories (c) is that the former comes basically from a concern 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 the societal pressure to conform is a rather serious problem for living in Japan. Thus, many mentioned that they experienced latitude in Australia.

Because they perceived less societal pressure, when compared with Japan, typical statements include, 'I can live in comfort with no pressure of watchfulness 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 difficult as in Japan.' Some stated that they did not have annoying neighbours. A few mentioned that there were no noisy relatives surrounding them.

Over 30 percent of the respondents were concerned with this aspect of social pressure. There is a difference between sojourners and settlers: in the sojourner group, only 16 percent of males and 30 percent of females mentioned that they appreciated less societal pressure in Australia, while almost half of both male and female settlers were concerned with this. Indeed, this result is related to the motivation of Japanese settlers coming to Australia or remaining in Australia on a permanent basis. There are some examples among the Japanese settlers to Australia where some of them emphasise the compelling social forces that operating here. They are generally categorised as voluntary settlers in terms of their choice of destination. They chose to migrate at a time of life when they felt they needed to 'get away.' However, they show a certain character of involuntariness in their acts of migration, and demonstrate some fugitive characteristics. The feeling or perception of immense societal pressure sometimes becomes an inducement factor for emigration.

In this research, some settlers expressed that in Australia they experience relief from social strains brought about by personal relations. It must be noted that social strain is not necessarily caused by tensions internal to Japanese relationships. However, they feel, or are concerned with, social conformity within Japanese society, or occasionally about the competitive nature of Japanese society. A few of them explained clearly about their desire for freedom from the societal pressure to conform, 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 facets of Australia's social climate. The reduction of societal pressure from social intercourse conceivably results from the attitudes of people surrounding the respondents. It is an external pre-condition for encouraging their sense of social freedom. According to some perception given by respondents, they regarded Australian society as less competitive and remarked, 'I can assert my own opinions (more easily here).' It is obvious that their feelings of less societal pressure derive from their perception of a relaxed and relaxing social climate which is created by people's attitudes in Australia. The next category is formed by their statements related to people's attitudes towards them in Australia.

(d) *Attitude of people*

Many respondents had positive views of people in Australia and remarked: 'They are kind, generous and friendly.' Some stated that 'people in Australia respect an individual' or 'people place a high value on lifestyle.' Ten percent of sojourner-respondents and only 2.8 percent of settlers indicated this aspect. Although this most *like* is not very large, the 'attitudes of people in Australia' is important for the contentment expressed about the social climate in the host society.

(e) *Cost of expenditure*

The fifth category is the low cost of living. The positive views given by informants on the 'cost of living' relates to necessary expenditure. A few respondents answered that 'prices are low' in a general sense, but many remarked that prices of certain items are low, namely on consumer goods and foods, housing and rent.⁸ 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 noted that prices were high in Australia, referring to specific commodities. For example, the prices of automobiles, computers, books, stationery and electrical appliances. The view here obviously depends upon the perspective held by respondents on commodities and consumer items. However, most of them apparently expressed their appreciation of low consumer prices.

Many respondents pointed out that housing, rent and foodstuffs are inexpensive. There is a difference between sojourner and settler in their views on cost of necessary items of expenditure: the proportion of sojourners who were concerned about this aspect is 25 percent, over double the proportion (11.3%) of settlers who thought such expenditures were expensive in Australia.

Overall, over 20 percent of the respondents appreciate the low cost of expenditure in Australia. However, this factor does not appear to be as significant as their appreciation of social climate. In fact, their most *likes* are likely to vary according to each individual's perception. In terms of elements which each respondent mentioned, compared with elements which are related to good social climate, such other items are significantly smaller. For a few respondents, the following elements must have been significant sources for their most *likes*, but overall, the proportions are very small.

(f) *English language :*

As English is the official and dominant language in Australia, some respondents mentioned this in relation to *likes* and *dislikes*. Although there are some respondents (especially corporate wives) who are unhappy because they have to use English, there are a few others who form positive views of the use of English. Indeed, English as a dominant language in Australia is a significant factor for Japanese people choosing Australia as their destination for study. Some respondents appreciated that they had opportunities to use and learn English.

(g) *Recreational facilities :*

The next category of accessibility of 'recreational facilities' includes some different kinds of pastime activities such as sports, dining and cultural events in Australia. The views of respondents on recreational facilities in Australia are naturally related to hobbies, pastime activities and more broadly to their socio-cultural life. Although a large number of Japanese businessmen enjoyed golf,⁹ in this question, not many mentioned golf. Presumably it was quite natural for these 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*.

A few respondents appreciated the more readily accessible and cheaper sporting facilities that are available in Australia when compared with Japan. This includes some forms of entertainment, such as concerts. One indicated, 'there are various hiking-tracks.' A few pointed out that they could enjoy various types of ethnic food. 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 was given by only one or two respondents.

(h) *Other*

Other statements include: 'I can return to Japan easily'; 'study here is enjoyable'; 'There are many smoke-free zones'; '[Here is] good for child-education'; 'This is a multi-ethnic society'; and 'Computers have spread throughout the country.' As for their most *likes*, some indicated multiple elements which were introduced with the above, while others mentioned only one most important element. For example, some respondents highlighted the less societal pressure or the vast natural/physical environments or time-freedom. In overviewing their answers, the elements which related to good social climate are the most significant concerns amongst Japanese residents in Australia, as more than half of the respondents mentioned this.

Categories of 'Most Dislikes'

There are two major points to *dislikes* by the majority of statements by informants. One is related to the material conditions in Australia and the other is the attitude of people in Australia, especially their attitudes towards work. According to some respondents, people are not strictly punctual and sometimes they are simply unreliable. A number of respondents complained about Australian service. In terms of material conditions, namely consumer goods, some statements highlight negative views: 'I cannot enjoy shopping' and 'Commodities in Australia cannot bear comparison with those in Japan.'

(a) *Consumer goods*

The first category for most *dislikes* is about different physical environment when compared with Japan, namely the material conditions in Australia. As they often compared Australian daily life with that in Japan, their pursuit of Japanese elements in their life-style, notably within their desire to maintain a Japanese diet, sometimes did bring about discontent with life in Australia. Some people were discontent with the price of Japanese foodstuffs and the difficulty in obtaining them. The comparison between consumer goods in the two countries sometimes leads Japanese residents to complain about the prices of particular products - automobiles, electric appliances, books, computers and apparel. Their complaints about quality and price of some commodities, such as computers, electric appliances and automobiles are also included in this category. Almost one quarter of the sojourner-respondents mentioned consumer goods in Australia, while 17 percent of settlers were willing to express discontent with this matter (see Table 2).

Table 2 *Dislikes about Australian Life*

<i>Category of 'dislikes'</i>	Sojourners		Settlers		Total (%)
	<i>male</i> (n = 80)	<i>female</i> (n = 86)	<i>male</i> (n = 17)	<i>female</i> (n = 54)	(n = 237)
(a) Consumer goods (%)	26.3	24.4	5.9	20.4	22.8
(b) Inconvenient transport	10.0	27.9	17.6	18.5	19.0
(c) Reliability	26.3	29.1	23.5	35.2	29.1
(d) Alienation	5.0	1.2	—	13.0	5.1
(e) English language	6.3	9.3	11.8	9.3	8.4
(f) Recreational activities	18.8	8.1	—	7.4	11.0
(g) Prejudice and discrimination	1.3	4.7	17.6	5.6	4.6
(h) Other	5.0	8.1	5.9	1.9	5.5

Source : Mizukami (1999).

The problem relating to the material conditions are as follows: 'I cannot find high quality commodities or suitable apparel'; 'Goods at supermarkets are limited'; 'The standards for machinery and consumer goods are low'; and 'Japanese foodstuff is limited and expensive.'

(b) Inconvenient transport

The second category is relates to the inconvenience of public transport. Several concerns were basically about the lack of punctuality and the limited service provided by public transport. However, some other people mentioned inconvenience of transportation within Melbourne, and others expressed a concern about their sense of personal safety. When compared with 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.

The typical statements are: 'Trains are not punctual or are suddenly cancelled' and 'Without a car, it is very difficult to travel around.' Especially, female sojourners (27.9%) complain about the inconvenience of transport within the Melbourne area. However, the vast majority were from Japanese urban areas, many are concerned with the limited service provided by public transportation compared with what is found in Japan's metropolitan areas. Ten percent of male sojourners and 18.3 percent of settlers also complained about the inconvenience.

(c) Reliability

The third category is about the reliability of people in Australia, and thus it related to attitudes of people in workplaces and in service industries. Some business people complained about the attitudes of work associates toward their work and many housewives complained about the attitudes of shop assistants towards their customers. Some businessmen mentioned that even though a 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.

This category includes negative views of respondents such as: 'People do not take their jobs seriously,' '[They] 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.' Their complaints are basically divided into two basic areas: business people's concerns about their local colleagues or other business associates and the services provided in daily life. Among the four groups, a relatively high proportion of the female settlers (35.2%) were concerned about this.

(d) *Alienation*

As all the subjects in this research are either first generation Japanese settlers or sojourners, many are living away from their families. This category is related to the respondents' loneliness. Their statements include: 'I am apart from my family'; 'I feel lonely'; 'My social intercourse is limited'; and 'I have only a few friends here.'

Some respondents expressed their alienation, but the proportion is only five percent. None of the male settlers and 13 percent of female settlers felt alienation, while only 5 percent male and 1.2 percent female sojourners gave expression to a sense of loneliness. The outcome shows that ethnic Japanese, especially sojourners, do not tend to have problems of alienation, at least not that they talk about. 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 be their major problem. Rather controversially, there are larger numbers of Japanese people who appreciate that they do not face troublesome neighbours or relatives.

For some of them, their alienated social conditions can be sometimes related to their poor command of the English language. The next category is the 'English language.'

(e) *English language*

Although there are some people who enjoy the opportunities to use English, there are larger numbers of people who are discontented because they have to use English. The statement is as follows: 'I am forced to use English,' 'Because of my poor command of English, I cannot enjoy having time with my friends.'

Overall, only 8.4 percent point to the English language among their most *dislikes*. However, this does not mean that most Japanese residents, or the sample of this survey, have a good command of English. Rather, they can access Japanese print media in Australia, and the Japanese community in Melbourne also has a developed network among compatriots. Indeed, the numbers of those respondents who complained about the Australian services or quality and availability of consumer goods are much larger than those who complain because they have to use a foreign language.

(f) *Recreational activities*

As for recreational activities, the vast majority did not refer to any sporting activities in the question of most *dislikes*. Several informants mentioned television programmes in Australia. The statements include: 'There are few outlets for entertainment'; 'There are not many interesting television programmes'; and 'I cannot watch Japanese television programmes.'

The previous section introduced the perceptions of Japanese residents to 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 prejudice and discrimination.

(g) *Prejudice and discrimination*

Some stated: 'there are discrimination and prejudice 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 percent of the Japanese residents mentioned discrimination and prejudice. Among settler respondents, a proportion of 17.6 percent males and 5.6 percent females were concerned with this dimension, while only 1.3 percent male and 4.7 percent female sojourners indicated discrimination and prejudice in Australia. In proportional terms, for Japanese residents in Melbourne, the perceived unreliability that exists in the Australian population is of more concern than any alleged discrimination and prejudice.

(h) *Other*

There was room given for idiosyncrasies among the views of the respondents. Their attitudes toward the host community included the 'other' category demonstrated a variety of answers. This 'other' statement related to pressure from the company's head office back in Japan, Australian government policies towards education, sudden changes in government policy, the level of Australian education, the supposed 'Australian' method of washing dishes ('People do not rinse when they wash dishes'), a different medical system and complaints about medical insurance, difficulties with making appointment with specialists, and so on.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

To two open-ended questions about most *likes* and *dislikes*, equal numbers of respondents (237) answered. However, there are a few respondents who mentioned only the *likes* and did not indicate any particular elements which they most *disliked*, while a few indicated only their *dislikes* and could not find anything that they most *liked*. In addition, in the answers to the two questions, only several respondents indicated more than one *dislike* element, while nearly one-third of the respondents indicated a multiplicity of *like* factors.

The following is a summary of this research outcome regarding the views given on Australian life. Nearly 30 percent expressed discontent with the unreliability in services and businesses, and over 20 percent were dissatisfied with the availability and kind of consumer goods on offer in

Australia. Discontent in these areas does not indicate dissatisfaction with daily life in Australia in any simple sense. Indeed respondents indicated a large number of elements which they liked. For instance, over half appreciated vast natural/physical environments, and more than 30 percent enjoyed the 'time-freedom' in Australia. In addition, nearly 30 percent of the respondents indicated 'less societal pressure,' and over 20 percent thought that expenditure in Australia was cheaper than in Japan (though there are a few respondents' who expressed the opposite view).

Through analysing the proportions of their major concerns, it can be said that Japanese residents tend to form positive views towards Australia, though they have some problems relating to Australian services or commodities when compared to their lives in Japan. Particularly, among sojourners, many deeply appreciate their natural and physical environments and that they do not need to worry about prejudice and discrimination. As there is a well-developed network amongst compatriots, the vast majority do not feel alienation in their new foreign milieu. Although there are always some exceptions, and of course this overview of responses does not apply to all the individuals in Japanese communities in Australia, in this survey, many expressed positive views on Australian society and life.

Notes

- * The phrase 'wide brown land' in the title for this article is taken from the well-known Australian poem, 'My Country,' by Dorothea Mackellar (1885-1968).
- 1 Nagai (1991: 265), a Japanese journalist, suggests that Japanese people create an image of Australia to be a tremendous tourist resort, such as the Gold Coast, with its koala and kangaroo sanctuaries and this is confirmed by the fact that it is a natural resource supplier to Japan as well as a recipient of large Japanese investment.
- 2 Especially, since the 1980s, the affiliation of Japanese cities with Australian counterparts has expanded considerably. According to the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, in 2003 (1st April), China was the second largest (290) in terms of the number of Japanese municipal affiliations, after the United States (435). And Australia was the third largest (105), followed by Korea (94) and Brazil (70) (Mizukami 2004).
- 3 This section is revised from a part of a doctoral dissertation, entitled *New Urban Ethnicity: Japanese Sojourner Residency in Melbourne* (Mizukami 1999), which was originally submitted to the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Monash University, Melbourne. The fieldwork for this research was conducted in the period of April 1995 - July 1998 in Melbourne. As for the questionnaire survey, after pre-testing the questionnaire with 10 respondents from the middle to end of April 1997, the questionnaire-distribution started on 10th of May and finished on 22nd October 1997.
- 4 The sojourner-subjects comprise 86 males and 87 females, while settler-subjects consist of 17 males and 58 females. In this research, the settler sample includes both permanent resident visa holders and those who

were naturalised as Australian citizens. As for the discussion in understanding the concept of the 'sojourner,' see Siu (1952, 1987); Uriely (1994); and Mizukami (1996, 1999).

- 5 Most ethnic groups arrived in the 1950s and 1960s were concentrated in inner-city areas, and have shifted to outer residential zones. For example, migrants with Southern European origin demonstrated the apparent tendency in residential shift from inner area to urban peripheries (see McKay 1981).
- 6 According to the Australian 1996 census, there were 3,624 Japan-born persons in Melbourne and the number of those 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.
- 7 On 10 May 1997 (Saturday) 317 questionnaires were distributed at the International School of Melbourne: There were 220 students from 156 Japanese families (which include several international-marriage families). The researcher visited each classroom and all the teachers assisted me in distributing questionnaires. At that time, in order to avoid repeating questionnaire-distribution to the same parents, school-staff who sent child or children to this school were excluded. On 30 May 1997, the Japanese School of Melbourne distributed 140 questionnaires to the parents of students from this school, its staff and their spouses. Some other institutions to which the numbers of questionnaires were distributed were as follows: 41 to exchange students, under-and post graduate students and staff of Monash University on 11-13 May 1997; 30 to English language course students at Monash University English Language Centre, Clayton, on 27 May; 18 to staff and their spouses at a Melbourne branch of Mitsubishi Australia on 22 May; 20 to staff and their spouses of Denso Manufacturing Australia on 29 May; 30 to staff and their spouses at Melbourne office of Mitsui & Co. (Australia) on 29 May; 41 to staff and their spouses of Toyota Australia on 3 - 4 June; 30 to members and their spouses of JCV (Japan Club of Victoria) on 4 - 9 June; 20 to staff and their spouses of Consulate-General of Japan on 11 June; 19 to staff and Working Holiday makers at MTSC (Melbourne Tour and Study Centre) office on 11 June; 45 to staff and their spouses of NEC Australia on 18 June; and 20 to staff and their spouses of Daimaru Australia on 19 June. Other questionnaires were distributed as follows: The researcher forwarded some questionnaires to Japanese individuals at JCV fate on 9 July 1997 and at the Canterbury Christian Church on Sundays. Some associates of the researcher provided contact with other Japanese individuals and these questionnaires were sent by mail (Mizukami 1999).
- 8 In terms of the views of Japanese residents on cost of living, there is little relevant research. According to Suzuki's research (1988), the majority of the informants found the cost of living high. 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 the price of a popular Japanese car was twice as high as in Japan (1988: 42). On the other hand, my previous research (Mizukami 1992) showed, most respondents mentioned that the price of meat, fruit and vegetables were cheaper in Australia here than in Japan. However, the inexpensive prices did not automatically induce satisfaction as they emphasised the difficulty in getting Japanese food and that Japanese food is very expensive (Mizukami, 1992: 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 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 that value. The latter research confirmed the recognition by informants of Australia's low cost of living, when compared with Japan. When this questionnaire survey was conducted in 1997, one Australian dollar was less than 90 yen.

- 9 Iwaki (1986; 67), a Japanese conductor travelling the world, points out, in his collection of literary jottings on many cities, that Australia is a heaven for playing golf.

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