

## Japanese Lifestyle Migration to Australia : New Migrants in the Era of Transnationalism

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## **Japanese Lifestyle Migration to Australia: New Migrants in the Era of Transnationalism**

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**Keywords:** work and leisure values, lifestyle migration, globalisation, transnationalism

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### **Introduction**

In the era of globalisation, individuals are no longer “forced” to migrate in contradiction to the traditional migratory types (Glick Schiller *et al.* 1992). In Japan, economic migration had dominated from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the 1970s. Due to economic reasons, Japanese settlers had headed to the United

States, South America and other countries. Most of them, as farmers or workers in other primary industries, migrated permanently and settled in the local community (the exception being contract labourers, who returned home after their contract had expired). However since the 1980s, Japanese emigration began to change. Along with the increase in international marriages and business migration, new types of migration became common, for example retirement migration and lifestyle migration (Sato 2001). According to Sato (2001), lifestyle migration is characterised by the following factors. Firstly, economic reasons are less important than other reasons. Most Japanese lifestyle migrants do not have hand-to-mouth experience even after their migration because they are from the middle-class. Secondly, the majority of Japanese do not migrate permanently, and will return to Japan someday.

This lifestyle migration raises some important questions. What are the new values Japanese people hold that entice them to emigrate? What do Japanese emigrants look for in migrating? As lifestyle migrants, what are the patterns that characterise their settlement? More specifically, in their settlement process, how do they maintain the nexus with their home community? What are the theoretical implications of this new type of Japanese migration?

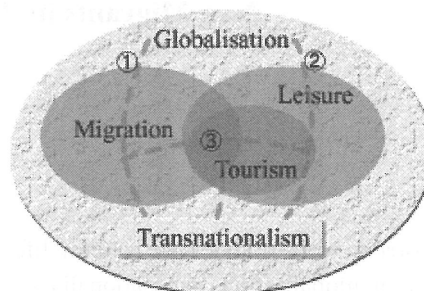
Based on the current situation of Japanese outbound migration and the questions above, this paper considers Japanese migration to

Australia as a case of a new type of migration in the era of transnationalism. Based on the fieldwork data, this article firstly describes the current status of Japanese migrants in Australia, secondly it examines the migratory and settlement process of current Japanese migration to Australia, and thirdly it addresses the theoretical implications of Japanese lifestyle migration to Australia from the perspective of leisure, globalisation and transnationalism.

### Migration Study in the era of Transnationalism

Brettell and Hollifield (2000) point out that contemporary migration needs to be studied in an interdisciplinary way because contemporary migration is no longer explained by simple categories or factors like traditional “push and pull factors”. Current migratory movement involves complex factors such as social interactions between newcomers and established residents (Lamphere 1992), transnational networks (Hannerz 1996), spaces of culture and identity (Morley and Robins 1995) and the relationship between space and society (Castells 1996). Transnational flows of information and images (Iwabuchi 2002) also enables transnational migrants to gain the information about their destination before migration and maintain the nexus with home after migration. Therefore, it is important in gaining a complete picture for contemporary migration studies to pay attention to the way these different fields interact. This interrelationship between different areas in the researcher’s project can be represented diagrammatically in the following way.

Figure 1: Study field in the research project



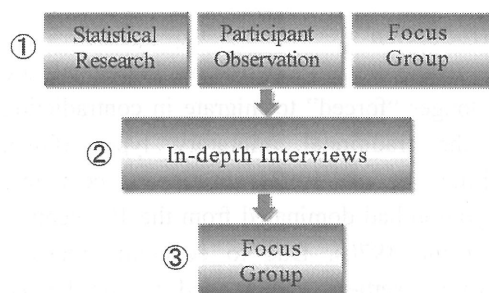
This research ties together migration, tourism, leisure, globalisation and transnationalism as figure 1 shows. Three dotted line ①, ② and ③ show the linkage between these elements. Dotted line ① indicates that migration is affected by globalisation and transnationalism, ② shows globalisation and transnationalism affects tourism as well as leisure, and ③ denotes the linkage between ① and ② is emerging due to transnationalism. This project presents Japanese migration to Australia as a research field of ③ in which ① and ② are combined together and illustrates this with an example.

## I Research Design and Methodology

### 1 Research Design

This research consists of the three stages as figure 2 below shows.

Figure 2: Research design



The first stage aims to grasp the background of Japanese migration to Australia. Statistical data was examined to determine the general tendency of the structural social transformation in Japanese society as well as the demographic profile of Japanese migration to Australia. Participant observation of migrants was conducted to obtain ethnographic data. A focus group with five people in a group was conducted to study current work and leisure value among Japanese.

Based on the findings from the first stage, the researcher conducted 35 in-depth interviews as the second stage. The interview process enabled the researcher to obtain migrants' narratives on their migration processes, concepts and practice of leisure before and after their migration, and impressions of Australia.

Finally in the third stage, one focus group meeting will be conducted in April 2007 in order to assess the appropriateness of the findings from the interview data and the results of the researcher's analysis.

## **2 Methodology**

This project employed a multi-method approach including participant observation, focus groups and in-depth interviews. The combination of methods enabled the researcher to collect a wider variety of data, which contributed to the reliability and validity of the findings.

Mason (1996:60) refers to participant observation as "methods of generating data which involve the researcher immersing herself or himself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interactions, relationships, actions, events and so on". Ethnography today in anthropology and sociology has been changed by, for instance, multi-sited approach (Marcus 1998), shift from participant observation

toward the observation of participation (Tedlock 1991), and a more self-reflexive process (Tsuda 2003). With this perspective in mind, the researcher became a member of the Japan Club of Queensland.

Using focus groups aims "to generate data from the point of view of the participants; by skilfully moderating the group, the researcher is able to elicit objective facts about the attitudes and opinions of the members of the group" (Munday 2006). In addition, the data obtained in focus groups should be seen as within its own social context, in which the data are produced in the social interaction between participants and the researcher in the focus group (Myers and Macnaghten 1999; Wilkinson 1999).

As Burgess (1984:102) calls in-depth interviews "conversation with a purpose", the method is characterised by the flexibility allowed to both the interviewee and the researcher. The advantage of in-depth interviews is that the researcher can obtain a deeper understanding of informants' perspectives through their own words. On the other hand, the disadvantages of the method are the possibility of a gap in ethnographic context between informants and the researcher (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, Minichiello *et al.* 1990), the "researcher effect" (Hammersley 1992), and the interference of the presence of recording devices (Speer and Hutchby 2003; Lee 2004). However, as classic examples such as Willis (1977) show, building personal nexus and credibility can lead to a more detailed and informative narrative. The researcher's status of being Japanese in Australia was also beneficial in eliciting a more detailed narrative because it enabled the researcher to share common language and concepts.

### 3 Sampling Method

The participants in the interviews were Japanese settlers with permanent visa status and long-term residents staying more than three years in Southeast Queensland. To understand new values emerging among Japanese younger generations, working holiday makers and students were also included in the focus groups. The number of respondents was 35 for in-depth interviews, and 5 for the focus group. The respondents were recruited by snowball sampling (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981) through personal introductions and referrals from “gate keepers” in the Japanese community such as community leaders and members of community organisations.

The reason for using snowball sampling is that the method enables the researcher to access informants within a certain time limitation, given the researcher’s limitation of personal networks. Moreover with this method, the researcher can gain credibility from new informants due to the personal introduction from another informant (Denscombe 2003).

## II Japanese in Australia as New Migrants in the Era of Transnationalism

### 1 Community Profile based on Fieldwork

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006), the number of Japanese in Australia in 2005 was 52,970, a total of 25,315 permanent residents and 27,655 long-term residents<sup>1</sup>. In Queensland, there were 13,132 Japanese in 2005, including 7,221 permanent and 5,911 long-term residents. 2,460 were in Northern Queensland above Mackay including Cairns and surrounding areas, and 10,672 in the research area of Southern Queensland including Brisbane and the Gold Coast (see figure 3).

Figure 3: Number of Japanese on October 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 based on *Zairyu-todoke* (Overseas Residential Registration)

		Total	Perma nent reside nt	Long- term reside nt
Queensland -north	Male	830	377	453
	Female	1,630	850	780
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2,460</b>	<b>1,227</b>	<b>1233</b>
Queensland -south	Male	3,988	2,288	1,700
	Female	6,684	3,706	2,978
	<b>Total</b>	<b>10,672</b>	<b>5,994</b>	<b>4,678</b>
Australia -total	Male	19,405	9,189	10,216
	Female	33,565	16,126	17,439
	<b>Total</b>	<b>52,970</b>	<b>25,315</b>	<b>27,655</b>

Data Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006)

Imbalances in gender and age structure are prominent in this population. People in the prime working age range of 25-49 years make up 49.4% of the population, and females accounting for 63.3% (Nagata 2001). The gender imbalance largely results from the recent migration of Japanese women who have married Australian men (Coughlan and McNamara 1997).

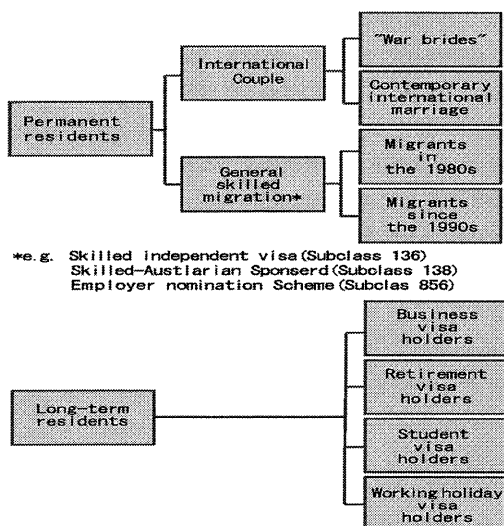
The 2001 census taken by the Australian government does not indicate that Japanese in the research area have a geographically populated suburb, like Sunnybank is for Taiwanese. However a concentration of population can be seen in short-term residents and part of the long-term residents (e.g. working holiday makers) who were not covered in the census. The researcher’s participant observation showed that a large population of Japanese working holiday makers can be observed in Surfer’s Paradise, although who have retired are distributed around the retirement villages and the Gold Coast suburbs. Brisbane is a common place for Japanese

language students however they are not concentrated in one particular suburb.

Japanese in the research area have one ethnic organisation in the Gold Coast and two in Brisbane except for business-related organisations. One of the clubs in Brisbane, the Japanese Society of Brisbane (JSB), is mainly for workers (and their families) in Japanese companies in this area, running a language supplementary school. The other, the Japan Club of Queensland (JCQ), in which the researcher conducted participant observation, is run mainly by permanent residents (including “war brides”) to the present. These two clubs in Brisbane have agreed to unite in 2007 and work together as a single ethnic community organisation.

Participant observation by the researcher indicated that there are roughly eight types of Japanese residents including both permanent visa holders and long-term residents in the research area (see figure 4). Typology itself is not the research objective however this typology helps the researcher grasp the current situation of the Japanese community.

Figure 4: Japanese residents in the research area



## 2 Emerging New Values and Reasons for Migration

This section considers what Japanese emigrants look for in migrating and what sort of values they have. The fieldwork data indicates that the following five factors characterise this point.

- 1) Desire for a well-balanced life after experiencing company-oriented life
- 2) Value shift and increased mobility among the middle-class in the 1990s
- 3) Gender inequity in company, family and other situations in everyday life
- 4) Social obligations and traditional practices in Japanese everyday life
- 5) Leisure, education and living environment

The following five sections describe these factors based on the qualitative data from the in-depth interview as well as the focus group.

### 2-1 Desire for a well-balanced life after experiencing company-oriented life

The experience of a busy Japanese company-oriented life affected the migratory decisions of many migrants. Most interviewees with full-time work experience mentioned that they looked for a well-balanced life between work, family and leisure in migrating. The following statements illustrate this point. (The interviews were held in Japanese and translated into English by the researcher)

Mr U, aged 32, who had worked as a manager in a chain clothing store in Tokyo, stated:

“We were supposed to work the shift, but we had an unwritten rule as well. When the shop was open, the manager must be there at all times... I worked so hard. I often missed the last train and went home

by taxi...The reason why I quit the company was that I felt sick after working too hard.”

Mr M, aged 42, who had worked as a site foreman for a subcontractor of general construction in Yokohama said:

“In Japan, construction schedule must be kept definitely...I was in charge of several projects simultaneously, so I could not focus on one. As a result, I had to work weekends. I worked so hard from early morning till late evening. I had calls even in midnight...I found my lifestyle was poor. Everyday I suffered on crowded train... I did not even have time to ‘see’ my kids. It was hard to make time for them even on Sunday. Those exhausting experience made me escape to Australia.”

Mr N, aged 40, who had worked as a researcher in a Japanese manufacturing company’s laboratory, explained:

“I think that Japanese society has lots of unreasonable restraints and burden...I enjoyed my job, but as a worker I found that the work environment was terrible. For example, even if I finished my own task at 5:30 pm, I could not get home because I had to think about my colleagues’ feeling...Living in Australia, I can eat dinner with my family everyday. I think my expectation in migration was satisfied because I can do a natural part of life. I did not want to sacrifice any part of my life. In Japan, work accounted for 90% of my time, family for 8% and leisure for 2%. The rest of the time was for sleep. But in here, each three element is about 30% and the productivity does not differ

much.”

As the statements above show, almost every interviewee with full-time job experience in a Japanese company referred to the busy and self-sacrificing lifestyle as a part of being a Japanese company worker. Some interviewees mentioned that the strong work ethic and busy life in a metro city made them fatigued physically and mentally. In other words, the company-oriented lifestyle and the pressure of the work ethic can be seen as factors that affected migrants’ decisions to emigrate. The busy life in Japanese companies made workers choose migration as a way to have a well-balanced life.

## **2-2 Value shift and increased mobility among the middle-class in the 1990s**

As Nakamura (2004) argues, Japanese companies rationalised their business practice since the economic recessions in the 1990s. This included salary cuts, corporate downsizing, and the abolishment of the seniority system, lifetime employment and welfare programs. As a result, shifts in work and leisure values occurred among the Japanese middle-class in the 1990s, which led to an increased flexibility in choosing a way of life. This tendency was more prominent among the younger generation. The following statements reflect how business rationalisation affected Japanese workers’ loyalty to their company as well as work and leisure values and flexibility in choosing a different way of life.

Mr S, aged 36, who had worked as an architect for 9 years since 1994, in referring to business rationalisation, said:

“My unpaid overtime hours increased. I often worked until 11pm, sometimes till

I am. The peak of my salary was in second year, then it decreased year by year... They once promised not to cut our salary but they did it. I felt betrayed by our company."

Mr K, aged 39, who had worked as a computer engineer at the research and development section in a manufacturing company from 1991 to 2000, said:

"Annual pay raise was of course abolished but the atmosphere of our office changed. At the beginning, we were allowed to do any kind of research... However they came to push us profit-making researches. Some left the company to study at graduate school, other moved to business sections... Our company was famous for its welfare of workers but increasing number of workers left the company... They introduced only convenient side of Western management. Instead of lifetime employment, they introduced merit-based personnel system even though they did not have a measure system to estimate our achievement."

Mr A in the focus group, aged 32, who had worked as an engineer, described his work value after experiencing his company's bankruptcy:

"(My ideal work style is) Nine-to-five job, from 9 am to 5 pm, as long as I can get enough money to afford the bare essentials."

Ms H in the focus group, aged 27, who had worked as a nurse, in talking about her busy days, referred to the change in leisure practice:

"I sometimes travelled abroad... Speaking of my free time, I have come to enjoy relaxed time, for instance trips to beach and hot spring resorts."

Ms F, who worked as a *haken-style worker* (temporary worker from an agency), mentioned:

"When I worked at (company's name), I used to enjoy having lunch or dinner at nice cafés and restaurants with my friends. We often stayed at hotel on "lady's plan", a special plan for women... At that time, 'lady's plan' was starting to become popular at hotels and restaurants. We enjoyed staying a hotel on a special plan of 'room service of dinner and breakfast'".

The increased mobility in labour market means the collapse of the existing model of middle-class life plan among Japanese. At present approximately 30% of Japanese new full-time employee resign within 3 years, and this tendency is more prominent among younger generation (Kosugi 2003; Yajima and Mimizuka 2001). *Haken-style* work also became common among young females. According to the Ministry of Labour (1998), females make up about 70% of *haken* workers, and *haken*-workers aged 25-34 account for about 50% in both genders. The following discussion reflects the collapse of the existing Japanese middle-class model as well as the flexibility in choosing a different way of life.

Ms F in the focus groups, aged 29, described her reason for switching to *haken-style* working, followed by the response of Ms N, Mr A and the researcher:

(Ms F) "When I worked at a bakery, I worked

very hard. However, since I switched to becoming a *haken*-style worker, my way of thinking has changed. It is the difference of responsibility. ...I think I made a good choice in switching to *haken*-style."

(Ms N) "I find that *haken*-style became very popular among young women."

(The researcher) "Can you tell me the reason why it became popular?"

(Ms F) "I'd say because it is much easier to change your job"

(Mr A) "I think it is also because you don't have to care about *shigarami* (ball and chain) with colleagues, for example.

In the focus group meeting, a language student Mr K aged 19, also mentioned his feeling towards Japanese companies after seeing his father's life:

"Seeing my father, I do not want to work for a Japanese company... Without the pay rise, young workers quit their job easily. So executive officers and employees of my father's level got pay cuts and the money went to those in the lower levels...When I think of this kind of dilemma, I feel I do not want to do that."

Mr A in the focus group also described an intergenerational gap in loyalty to his company:

"I did not have a sense of belonging to the company from the beginning. My company was founded in the 1950s but collapsed about 6 years ago. I found that the president and workers who had worked for many years did have loyalty to the company. Seeing them suffering, I thought, 'How they could have loyalty like that?'...But, if I think back to the time

when the company went bankrupt, things like loyalty had already collapsed among staffs. ...everyone worked for money after all."

In summarising, social transformation in the 1990s in Japan brought about the changes in work and leisure values among Japanese. Loyalty to the company decreased among workers and the "myth" of Japanese-style management collapsed. Seeing the collapse of the existing middle-class model, younger generations became more flexible in choosing their way of life. It can be said that the increased mobility made it easier for Japanese migrants and long-term residents to make the decision to migrate.

### **2-3 Gender inequity in company, family and other situations in everyday life**

Gender perspective is also an important factor in studying Japanese value shifts as well as outbound migration. Some Japanese females migrate to escape from the gender role in companies, family and social life. The following extracts of interviewee show this point.

Ms F aged 30 currently working in a call centre, stated:

"Although the company tried to change the management system, the member of boss and higher levels were same. In that company, female workers cannot go up the promotion ladder. The way of thinking is still old."

Ms T, who had worked for several Japanese companies, explained:

"When I worked at (company's name), a

man said, "You won't work for years anyway, will you?" The man did not mean in a bad way, but I was shocked. If we worked at a good large company, then we were seen as single women who had wanted to enter the company to find a husband in the same company."

Ms T, who had worked at two companies in Japan before her migration, said:

"In the first office, I had to serve as a tea lady along with my own duty, and the salary system differed with gender...The second company was better...The salary system was based on experience."

Gender equality in family life matters for some Japanese females. The following interviewee, Ms T, said that she had decided to marry a foreigner from her teens upward because she did not want to be a typical Japanese housewife.

"I had always told my parents that I would not marry Japanese...I thought I could not be an 'ideal house-wife'. In Japan, it is taken for granted that woman give birth to a baby after marriage. Actually I do not want to have a baby..."

In the focus group meeting, every female respondent expressed their tolerance and flexibility in relation to international marriage.

(The researcher): What do you think of international marriage?

(Ms H): I want to do that if I can.

(Ms F, Ms N): Me, too.

(Ms F): I do not care about nationality.

(Ms H): I don't, either.

(The researcher): What do you think of

Japanese men?

(Ms N): I can not deny that Japanese men still have old and conservative way of thinking. Living in a foreign country, I was surprised to see the difference. Australian men help cooking and other housework as matter of course. I know Japanese men are also changing, but ...

As these narratives above show, for some Japanese women, gender equality has not yet become a reality in Japanese companies or families even though some companies and families promote gender equality. In migration, it can be said that gender inequity is one of the reasons of migration for some Japanese females, and the increased social mobility made migration a way to escape from the gender role in the home community.

#### **2-4 Social obligations and traditional practices in Japanese everyday life**

Obligations and practices in the local community can also be characterised as a factor contributing to the decision to migrate. Japanese society imposes many obligations and practices in everyday life, for instance, year-end gift-giving, New Year's card, local community's notice for circulation, souvenir giving after a holiday. Moreover, intolerance in many ways can be observed in Japanese everyday life. The following statements show that these factors become important for some Japanese deciding to migrate.

Ms A, in talking about her home town, said:

"I lived in Sizuoka, where neighbours knew each other for three generations. So we had to care about other's attention. My mother was always saying, 'Don't do that because it's undignified'...Here in

Australia, everyone does not care about others, and we do not even have a messy *kairan-ban* (notice for circulation)."

Ms T stated, in speaking of the Japanese wife's practices:

"I thought I could not do the practice of Japanese house wife. I did not want to send hundreds of new years' card to husband's colleagues and business-partners."

Mr N, in recalling his life in Ibaraki where he worked in a company's laboratory, told about his wife's experience:

"I enjoyed living in the local town in Ibaragi. But we had to be concerned with appearances. For example, my wife had to stay home because I worked full-time. Someone once told my wife that she should not work because we had a year old baby."

As the statements above indicate, social obligations and unreasonable practices in Japanese everyday life were bothersome for some Japanese. It can be said that social obligations and practices in daily life is one of the factors in Japanese outbound migration.

## **2-5 Leisure, education and living environment**

The living environment of Japanese urban cities remains below the average of other industrial countries. Some migrants from Japanese urban cities referred to the residential environment and other social conditions.

Mr U, who migrated in the 1980s after working for a shipping company and currently doing

driving instructing as a semi-retired job, said:

"Why do so many people gather in Tokyo? It is because the government does nothing to counter it... If Tokyo is too small for its huge population, its functions as a city could be maintained for example by limiting the number of issued car licence plates, like in Singapore, or by implementing a park-and-ride system, as seen here, but no steps are taken. Things are 'unlimited' ... This can also be seen in how companies all close for the holidays at the same time and cause major holiday crowds and traffic jams."

Mrs O, aged middle 30s, migrated after working at a TV production company, said:

"We enjoyed working but in terms of working environment, it was not good... We thought it would be impossible to juggle work and family... Then we thought about migrating to America... But we also thought about moving to the Japanese countryside such as Bousou, Syounan, Okinawa and Shikoku."

Mr S mentioned about the living environment for his child:

"One of the reasons why we came here was our child. Growing a child in Japan is not good in terms of finance and living environment. Here there are lot of parks and beautiful nature. We thought we could grow our kid freely and easily."

Mr U criticised the Japanese education system based on his own experience:

"When I was at school I asked the teacher,

‘Why do we have to do this?’ and he answered, ‘Just do it. Don’t be smart.’ It was always the same answer. It was very one-directional. That was the reality of Japanese education. Our period may have been the worst for this, and therefore there were widespread campus riots. There were riots at my university as well. Of all the developed countries in the world, only Japan still has the mass exam system.”

Ms M, working as a clerk at a computer shop, whose husband runs a Japanese restaurant, stated:

“Our restaurant was suffering from lack of staff. So I began to help him out when my other work was off... We get home at 11pm everyday and cannot do anything on holiday because we need to take a rest at home.”

The accounts above indicate that the low quality of the living environment is one of the factors of Japanese outbound migration. This point is prominent for some migrants who had also thought about domestic migration to escape from Japanese urban life. In short, poor living environment can be considered as a part of social background to Japanese outbound migration.

Ms F, working at a call-centre, said:

“Job in here was far from my image that I had expected. It was very different from the image of Australian life. I found many inconveniences in many ways. I have lots of phone calls to answer...They get control over even the time for bathroom.”

### **3 Settlement Process**

This section describes the settlement process of Japanese migration to Australia including work and leisure practices, relationships with the Japanese ethnic community, and the nexus with home.

As these respondents show, some Japanese residents still work long hours in Australia. However other residents who work at the same office as Ms F also mentioned about the advantage of her work environment. Ms W, working at the same office as Ms F, said:

“Good thing about this job is that Australians are also working on the same floor. So I can feel the international atmosphere.”

#### **3-1 Work and leisure practices**

Japanese in Southeast Queensland can find a job with ease unless they have a particular preference. This is because of the large tourism industry as well as Japanese company’s overseas offices in Brisbane and the Gold Coast. As lifestyle migrants who migrated for a well-balanced life between work and leisure, the work ethic of Japanese in the research area is not as tough as they used to have. However those who started their own business or those who work in a Japanese company’s overseas office are still forced to work long hours.

Mr K aged 48, working as a sheet metal worker, in referring to advantage of living as working class in Australia, said:

“I have to work from early morning but I can get home around 4pm. I also can take two weeks holiday at one time. It would be impossible in Japan. Everyone would look coldly on me if I did take even a week off.”

Mr K aged 39, working as translator said:

“I do not actually ‘do’ leisure activities. I mean, we can enjoy lunch or BBQ in the nearby park. It seems to me that leisure is a part of daily life.”

Ms M, aged 37, who used to work as an event companion, explained:

“I enjoyed going to the beaches or mountains. It was in a heavy weight way. But in Australia, these things seem to be just a part of life. You can enjoy wild nature just after a couple of hours’ drive.”

As the statements above show, middle-class Japanese can be characterised as *petit bourgeois*, as Omae (1995) and Sennett (1998) describes that the current middle-class in the industrial societies are more likely to emphasise on their private sphere rather than the self-sacrificing work ethic. Although working style differs with individuals, Japanese residents in general enjoy the balance between work and leisure. This is because of shorter working hours and longer paid holidays. This is also because of their leisure activities. In Japan as Ms M said, leisure is an activity that individuals have to work at to have. However the interview data show that in Australia the leisure activity becomes a part of their daily life due to its easy access to wild nature and leisure facilities.

### **3-2 Relationship with the Japanese community**

The contemporary Japanese permanent settlers can be roughly divided into two groups and the relationship with the ethnic community differs with each of them. One is the rich middle-class, who migrated in the 1980s when

they were 40s to 50s. The other is the majority of current Japanese migration, those of middle-class aged in the late 20s to 30s. The involvement in the ethnic organisations is relatively higher in the former group. For instance, in Japan Club of Queensland (JCQ) where the researcher conducted participant observation for a year, the members aged over 40 make up more than 70% of the total. Members enjoy golf and other activities regularly. They also issue a monthly news letter as an information source. On the other hand, young migrants are not likely to join ethnic organisations<sup>2</sup>. Mr K mentioned in referring to “Japanese-ness”:

“I managed to escape from Japanese society. Why should I join into the Japanese-ness again? If we had a child, things might be different. But I do not find any reasons to join the Japanese club.”

Ms T expressed her feeling on Japanese organisations:

“Just after migration, I was invited to a dinner party of the Japanese club. I thought I did not want to be bothered to meet Japanese. I also thought they would have hierarchy like we had in Japan. I felt it would be too much of a bother if I had to pay regard to other members as a new member.”

For those who escaped from “Japanese-ness”, ethnic organisations are another kind of Japanese-ness because the image of the club evokes obligation and hierarchy inside. Instead of ethnic organisation, networks are a key for the new migrants. The unconstrained environment is also an important factor for their networking. The followings are the

example of social networking which young Japanese in the research area use.

Firstly, free Japanese news papers are common media among Japanese residents in this area. There are four papers of *Nichigo-press*, *Southern Cross Times*, *Buguse* and *Dengon-net*. Any paper can be picked up at food courts at major shopping centres, Asian supermarkets and tourism agencies. Along with Japanese news and information for daily life, every paper has classifieds such as accommodation, personal purchase and sell, play group for children, or sport teams to join, for example.

Secondly, online communities such as *Go-net* and *Go-navi* as well as online social networking site such as *Mixi* are also widely used among young Japanese residents. *Go-net* and *Go-navi* mainly focus on classifieds and Q and A column, which help Japanese residents share information, purchase and sell commodities. *Mixi* is known as the biggest online social networking site in Japan. The number of the members was over 5 million in 2006. Young Japanese residents use the internet sites for their personal networking as well as sharing information. “*Off-kai*”, which means “off-line meeting” in Japanese, are commonly held personally or with the group.

Thirdly, tourism agency offices are venues where young Japanese residents, particularly working holiday makers, gather to gain information. The offices provide free coffee and internet service to the members. Notice boards in the office are commonly used to purchase and sell commodities as well as to gain information on accommodation.

Fourthly, “Japanese language and culture meet-up group” as well as other voluntary networks are also common among young residents. The meet-up group is held twice a week and anyone who is interested in Japan can

join. It helps residents meet other Japanese or Australians who can speak Japanese. The same sorts of group have been formed in each university in the research area.

In summary, relationships with the ethnic community differs with individuals however it can be said that the younger generation is more likely to stay away from “Japanese-ness”. Instead of joining an ethnic organisation, young residents use and develop social networks by using media and informal social networks.

### **3-3 Citizenship, permanent residency, and nexus with home community**

Japanese in Australia can be characterised by the nexus with their home community. This point is prominent in 1) frequent returns to Japan, 2) high intentions of returning home in post-retirement years, and 3) the low percentage of migrants obtaining Australian citizenship. Comparing to other ethnic groups in Australia, in particular the factors of 2) and 3) are remarkable and can be perceived as characteristics of Japanese lifestyle migration to Australia. The following paragraphs argue the three points above.

In the age of transnationalism, migrants shuttle home frequently and are able to maintain the nexus with home due to the contemporary moderate airfares. Like other transnational migrants, for instance contemporary Taiwanese migrants in Australia, Japanese in Australia also shuttle home regularly and the accessibility to home affects their sense of migration. Ms T, a retiree married to an Australian, said:

“When we looked for a place to live, I thought about the city near an international airport. I thought it would be better to return home quickly in case my parents get sick.”

Mr S, running his own trade business in Brisbane, said:

“Sometimes I do not know which country I live in. Because I return home several times a year and spend weeks in Japan. That is why I do not have a sense of ‘migration’ much.”

The frequency of returning home differs with individuals. However as far as interview data are concerned, Japan is considered highly accessible by Japanese migrants and there are no major barriers to returning. This accessibility enables Japanese migrants to have transnational lifestyle and its perspective as Mr S stated that he did not have a sense of “migration”. As these points show, accessibility to home affects the sense of migration and enables some Japanese migrants to have sense of multiple belongings to both home and migratory destination.

For Japanese migrants in Australia, holding a permanent visa does not mean living forever in Australia. The interview data revealed that the intention of living permanently is not high among the Japanese residents. Except for the migrants of the 1950s, generally called “war brides”, 7 of 31 respondents, 22.6% of permanent visa holders among respondents, expressed their intention of living permanently in Australia. On the other hand, 17 informants (55%) mentioned about flexible choice case by case, and 5 respondents (16%) referred to their plan to eventually return to Japan. These data imply that contemporary Japanese migrants in Australia have unique “settlement” patterns. Although most of the contemporary immigrants to Australia have a transnational nature and maintain the nexus with home by having a sense of multiple

belongings to both home and Australia (e.g. Skrbis 1999), immigrants to Australia generally tend to live in Australia literally permanently and to try to bring other family or kinship members, and to be socially and economically incorporated into a local community. On the other hand, Japanese have relatively higher flexibility in their “settlement” as the data above on the intention of living permanently in Australia. This flexibility in their settlement and the strategy of keeping a choice of returning to home characterise the contemporary Japanese migration to Australia. The following statements illustrate this point.

Mr S, working as a computer engineer, said:

At the beginning, we thought about living here permanently. But after 5 or 6 years, now I think I’d return to Japan when I get old.

Mr K, a sheet metal worker and a father of four children, said:

“My wife says she wants to return to Japan someday. But we have four children who grew up in Australia and they will live here. I do not care about the place to live.”

Obtaining Australian citizenship means, for Japanese, losing Japanese citizenship since Japan has not introduced dual citizenship. In the 2001 census, the rate of Australian citizenship for the Japan-born in Australia was 22.6%, compared to average ratio of 75.1% for all over-seas-born people in Australia. The actual rate for Japanese can be much smaller in considering those who were not covered in the census, however it can be said that the majority of Japanese migrants in Australia tend to keep their Japanese citizenship. The qualitative

research shows that following three factors can be observed in keeping Japanese citizenship: 1) institutional security in case of returning to Japan 2) flexibility on future by securing the place to return, 3) the “proof of identity”.

Firstly, Japanese citizenship means the eligibility for accepting the Japanese xenophobic social security plan. Ms T, aged mid 30s, referred to the advantage of Japanese National Pension Plan:

“I want to receive National Pension Plan when I get old. I had payed much money while working in Japan. So I want to get it back.”

As this statement shows, the pension plan provides a sense of security for migrants. Even though they obtained Australian permanent residency, keeping Japanese citizenship means that they have “home” to return in their old age.

Secondly, for most interviewees, Japan is a place where they can return anytime and they tend to keep the choice open by keeping their Japanese citizenship. Mr K refers to the advantage of Japanese citizenship to secure the choice of returning to Japan.

“I cannot find any difference between citizenship and permanent residency. My children will choose their nationality soon. But I would not...I would keep Japanese citizenship to be flexible about my future.”

As this statement by Mr K shows, a sense of flexibility is a key for some Japanese migrants. Immigrants of other ethnic groups in Australia in general try to obtain Australian citizenship to upgrade their social qualifications or to be more transnational institutionally (e.g. passport). However, Japanese migrants are more likely to keep the Japanese citizenship to secure the

choice of return to home. In other words, keeping Japanese citizenship enables Japanese migrants to enjoy “flexibility based on security”.

Thirdly, the Japanese *Koseki* (census registration) system is not just a registration for Japanese but a part of identity under Japanese patriarchy. Ms T.T, a wife of a retired Australian man, said:

“In Australia, we can have two passports. There are some Japanese who hold two passports. I hear that it cost 38,000 yen (\$400) to write off my name. Who would pay 38,000 yen to ‘kill’ herself?”

As Ms T.T. above described writing off her name from the registration as “killing” herself, citizenship matters for individuals’ identity. This point is also prominent in the following statement by Mr S, who married to an Indonesian woman:

“At the moment I do not feel that I will settle back in Japan. For some time I was thinking about applying for Australian citizenship. But I did not go ahead with it. My wife is from Indonesia, which does not have a good political relationship with Australia. Even if I were to obtain Australian citizenship, it would seem a little strange, because I am Japanese through and through.”

As Mr S above described obtaining Australian citizenship as “a little strange” because he is “Japanese through and through”, the issue of identity is closely associated with the choice of citizenship. In that sense, for some Japanese migrants, Japanese citizenship is seen as the proof for his or her identity.

In summary, Japanese remain Japanese

citizen even after obtaining Australian permanent residency in order to secure the institutional security under Japanese social system, the flexibility on future, and the proof of identity. Namely, Japanese citizenship provides a sense of security while they enjoy their expected lifestyle abroad.

### **III Japanese Lifestyle Migration Reconsidered: from the Perspective of Leisure, Globalization and Transnationalism**

This section considers the theoretical implications of contemporary Japanese migration to Australia from the perspective of migration, leisure, globalisation and transnationalism. It is argued that the Japanese in Australia can be perceived as a new type of migration emerging out of new linkages between migration, leisure, globalisation and transnationalism.

#### **1 Globalisation, Transnational Flow of the Middle-class, and Japanese Lifestyle Migration**

Globalisation has brought about complex transitional physical and cultural flows, leading to rapid and extensive changes in diverse social spheres (Appadurai 1996; Friedman 1990; Giddens 1990; Glick Schiller *et al.* 1992; Kearney 1995; J. Tomlinson 1999; Urry 2005). The increased transnational flows such as population, technology, finance, media and ideology (Appadurai 1996) brought about a shift in migration (Glick Schiller *et al.* 1992). For instance, transnational networks function in migratory process (Massey *et al.* 1987) and transnationalism has changed the meaning of home for migrants (Al-Ali and Koser 2002).

Globalisation and transnationalism also brought about the emergence of new types of

migration. For instance, along with traditional migratory types (Gonzalez 1961), lifestyle migration (Fountain and Hall 2002; Sato 2001), tourism related migration (Cooper 2002) and retirement migration (King *et al.* 2000) can be seen as new types of migration.

One of the characteristics of these “new” migrants is that most of them are middle-class in their sending country. As Ip *et al.* (1998) notes, middle-class migrants from Asian NICs (Newly Industrialised Countries) increased not only in Australia but also in the United States and Canada. Ip *et al.* argue that the factors such as better education opportunities for children, better living conditions (e.g. houses and amenities), fewer crowds, more open space, better climate are motivations for Taiwanese in migrating to Australia. However Ip *et al.* pointed out that, for Taiwanese middle-class migrants, economic considerations and business opportunities are also important factors interacting. As far as the researcher’s observation concerned, this Taiwanese case represents a model of contemporary middle-class migration to Australia, in which migrants emigrate for not only a better lifestyle but also a better economic opportunity.

Considering the model above, Japanese migration to Australia differ from the contemporary flow of middle-class migrants in terms of migration reasons. As far as the in-depth interviews and the participant observation concerned, economic reasons are less important for Japanese migrants in Australia. For instance, the majority of young Japanese migrants since the 1990s experienced downward social mobility in migrating to Australia, and still remain in the same social status in Australia. Some interviewees also responded that a balance between work and leisure was more important than the income from Japanese company. In that sense, Japanese

in Australia are new type of migrants and different from other new middle-class migrants in terms of the reasons for migrating. Put simply, in Japanese lifestyle migration to Australia, lifestyle has become a way to have a selected or chosen lifestyle even if it meant downward social mobility.

## **2 New Linkages between Migration, Tourism, Leisure and Transnationalism**

Although leisure was first conceptualised as free time other than working hours (Smith and Godbey 1991), leisure is not simply a matter of spare time. Rather, leisure and work can be perceived as practice and social process (Clarke and Critcher 1985; Green *et al.* 1990; Williams 2003), as it is prominent in the social constructivists' view. As Green *et al.* (1990:19) assert, "work and leisure are no longer regarded as separate spheres but instead as a complex set of experiences involving degrees of freedom and constraint". In short, leisure is a practice that one pursues subjectively (A. Tomlinson 1981).

In the globalisation process, leisure is affected by transnationalism. Leisure practice became more transnational as is shown by the popularisation of overseas tourism for instance. Information technology enables prospective tourists to gain information as well as images, and moderate airfares make tourists' "cultural experience" (MacCannell 1999) easy to have. As a result, the number of overseas travellers increased particularly to the major tourist destinations where overseas tourism investment and promotion had focussed. In summary, the more globalisation proceeded, the more leisure practices and tourism became more transnationalised.

Transnationalism impacted on not only migration and leisure themselves, but also the relationship between them. Due to the

increased physical and cultural mobility as a result of globalisation, the overlapping field between leisure and migration is increasing (Williams and Hall 2002). This increase of the overlapped field between leisure and migration can be characterised by 1) the increase of tourism related population flows, 2) migration as a "step for migration", and 3) migration as "transnational leisure".

Firstly, overseas tourism development resulted in the increase of population influx. The more tourism develops in a place, the more it attracts flows of tourists, tourism investment and labour from overseas (Cooper 2002). As globalisation proceeded, the transnational financial and population flows increased and these flows increasingly facilitated each other.

Secondly, the increased transnational flows enabled migrants to use tourism as their step for migration (Oigenblick and Kirschenbaum 2002). Prospective migrants are able to visit their expected migratory destinations by visiting as tourists. As Oigenblick and Kirschenbaum (2002:1089) discuss, the social capital accumulated by tourists and immigrants is "a resource for prospective immigrants" and prospective migrants are able to make a preliminary examination of the social capital. Accordingly, some tourist sites attract not only tourists but also migrants.

Thirdly, migration has become a way to pursue leisure practice transnationally. Maintaining the nexus with home, these migrants enjoy the lifestyle at migratory destinations. The examples of this kind of new migrants can be seen in certain destinations such as British and German migration toward Spain's Balearic Islands (Salva-Thomas 2002), migration of retirees and artists toward Akaroa, New Zealand (Fountain and Hall 2002), and Japanese migration to Australia (Sato 2001). In

summary, the new linkage between migration, leisure and transnationalism brought about new type of migration.

Within the situation above, the leisure practice of Japanese in Australia can be characterised by its transnational nature. Migration enabled Japanese to do their leisure practice transnationally. As interview data shows, Japanese lifestyle migrants enjoy the balance between work and leisure in Australia. Leisure, for them, is not a luxurious activity but a part of everyday life, for instance having a BBQ at local parks and driving to the beaches. This kind of leisure as a part of living is hardly pursued due to the lack of facility or commercialised leisure industry in Japan. By living abroad, Japanese residents in Australia enjoy a style of leisure that can not be done in Japan. In that sense, migration has become a way to have leisure practice transnationally.

In summary, globalisation and its cultural and physical mobility enabled migrants to pursue leisure practice transnationally. Contemporary Japanese migration to Australia can be seen as an example of new types of migration which emerged out of the new linkages between migration, leisure, globalisation and transnationalism.

#### **IV Conclusion**

The qualitative research on contemporary Japanese migration to Australia reported on here shows that the new values that emerged among Japanese facilitated Japanese outbound migration. The social transformation and the collapse of the middle-class model as a result of business rationalisation by Japanese companies led to the increased flexibility in choosing way of life. It brought about the decline of loyalty to the company among workers, and workers became more likely to look for a more

well-balanced life. Younger generations came to stay abroad to avoid the constraints of Japanese life such as gender roles in family, social obligations and unreasonable practices in Japanese everyday life, and the pressure of following the expected models of life. In that sense, it can be said that young Japanese illustrate what Bauman (1997) calls “the hub of postmodern life strategy as the avoidance of being fixed”.

Japanese residents in Australia can also be characterised by the settlement process as follows. In general, work and leisure practices are well-balanced. Intergenerational difference can be seen in the relationship with the Japanese ethnic community. Moreover, they keep the nexus with their home community even after their migration by shuttling home regularly as well as keeping Japanese citizenship.

Japanese migration to Australia can be seen as a new type of migration from the perspective of leisure, globalisation and transnationalism. The emerged new linkages between these factors enable Japanese to pursue leisure practices transnationally. Keeping the nexus with their home community both institutionally and emotionally, they enjoy leisure activities which they could not do with ease in Japan but with the security of being able to return to Japan if they wish. In short, Japanese lifestyle migrants in Australia relish flexibility based on security, and the transnational migration has become a way for upgrading lifestyle.

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<sup>1</sup> The long-term resident in the data by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs means Japanese (other than permanent residents) staying more than three months. For instance, it includes workers of overseas office of Japanese companies, overseas students, researchers, teachers, and working holiday makers. The figure bases on *Zairyu-todoke* (Overseas Residential Registration) and the Japanese overseas residents staying more than three months, including working holiday makers and overseas students, are required to be registered compulsory as a system. However in practice, as far as the researcher's observation for two years concerned, some Japanese residents, particularly working holiday makers and relatively short-term overseas students (e.g. exchange students, language students) do not follow the registration requirement. On the other hand, most relatively longer-term residents, such as workers and

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students staying more than a couple of years, are registered. Therefore, the data can be seen close to the number of parent population in this research project.

<sup>2</sup> This makes an exception of compulsory admission to JSB (Japanese Society of Brisbane). JSB requires admission to the club to enrol a child in JSB's language supplementary school.