Japanese migrants in Australia and the problems of language maintenance: An examination of the differing views of war brides and later migrant women

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Abstract

This is a study of language maintenance and language shift in the Japanese migrant community in Australia. It focuses on female migrants, who by far constitute the majority of that community, and, unlike most studies which focus only on recent arrivals, ranges from the War Brides of the 1950s to the present. Using semi-structured interviews with migrants across several generations, it explores the complex mixture of motivating factors and obstacles which influenced the language choices of these women for themselves and for their children. The study pays particular attention to the impact of govern-

ment policies in the host country, whether the assimilationist White Australia policy in force to the 1970s or the multicultural policy which followed it, and to the influence of cultural ideologies in the homeland such as *Nihonjin-ron* (the ideology of Japanese uniqueness) and *Kokusaika* (internationalization). It also identifies the key role of community institutions such as the Japanese-language Saturday School, and explains the importance of intermarriage and how this could either inhibit or promote language maintenance depending on the shifting social context. The study further demonstrates how differences in social background and perceptions of gender roles and identities across the years, in both Australia and Japan, have had a major influence on migrant women's stance towards maintaining their language heritage.

1. Introduction

The issue of language maintenance and language shift is crucial in the multicultural country of Australia. Indeed, many researchers among the various ethnic communities have investigated their levels of language maintenance and described the factors involved (e. g. Clyne 1991, 2003, Clyne and Kipp 1997, Kipp and Clyne 2003, Pauwels 2004, Winter and Pauwels 2006, Borland 2006, Søndergaardi and Norrby 2006). Clyne and Kipp (2006: 18) point out that the high-shift groups tend to be those for whom there is little cultural distance from Anglo-Australians; on the other hand, low-shift groups such as Muslims and Eastern Orthodox groups are characterized by religious distance from the mainstream and this influences their culture and discourages exogamy. Clyne and Kipp also explain that language is not only a core value in each culture of the low language-shift groups but is also closely connected with other core values such as religion, historical consciousness and family

cohesion (Smolicz et al. 1990, Smolicz et al. 2001). The notion of core values here proposed by Smolicz (1981) is that they function as identifying values for a group and its members. This awareness of core values naturally is heightened by the experience of being a migrant in a society such as Australia which is both physically and culturally distant from many migrants' original community.

Within migrant communities, there may be differing attention paid to core values according to gender. The proportion of high language shift for Japanese migrants is notable especially in women which is remarkable and is believed to be caused by a high rate of intermarriage (Clyne 2003). This is in contrast with the view that, in general among migrant communities, women in the first generation seem to resist language shift more than men (see Table 1). Pauwels (1987: 228) and Holmes (1993: 163) note that first generation Australian and New Zealand immigrant women in ethnic communities such as Chinese, Greek, and Gujarati Indians are "the ethnic language models and major sources of linguistic input in the ethnic language for their children".

What causes the high-rate of intermarriage for Japanese women compared to other ethnic groups?

One major factor is considered to be Japanese homogeneity toward religion but in the form of religious ideas rather than religious institutions, texts or even rituals (Suzuki 1975: 131). This allows Japanese people to be tolerant of other religions and generally will not exclude other religious beliefs. Thus, religion is not a matter of concern when marriage takes place in Japan. Differences in religion and, by extension, culture are not impossible barriers for Japanese people and this includes language. Japanese women appear to be more adaptable and encompassing in their beliefs compared to other migrants.

Table 1. Language shift in the home by gender (first generation) 1996
(From Clyne 2003)

Birthplace	Male	Female	Difference (male-female)
Germany	52.0	44.6	7.4
Italy	18.4	10.5	7.9
Japan	12.5	17.2	−4.7
Korea	8.5	14.5	−6
Lebanon	6.5	4.4	2.1
Netherlands	66.4	57.0	9.4
Philippines	18.5	28.2	−9.7
PRC	4.5	4.8	0.3
Taiwan	2.5	4.1	−1.6
Turkey	7.2	4.5	2.7

Atsumi (1992: 17) argues that the prevalence of females among migrants indicates certain characteristics of the Australian-Japanese community. According to statistics provided by the Japanese Foreign Ministry[1] the entire population of Japanese permanent residents in Australia in 2014 numbered 45,868 persons (Male 16,680, Female 29,188). In Sydney, Japanese permanent residents numbered 17,712 (Male 6,539, Female 11,173). In Brisbane, the total was 11,067 (Male 4,074, Female 6,993). Thus, Japanese women in Australia outnumber Japanese men by about two to one. This general trend dates back to the first migrants after 1945. The so-called White Australia policy banned Japanese migration to Australia so that the only Japanese allowed to enter the country were women as war brides of Australian military personnel. According to Narita (1971: 66), War brides mainly live in the southeast cities such as Melbourne (VIC), Brisbane (QLD) and Adelaide (SA).

This phenomenon of a largely female migrant body over several decades has

influenced the form of Japanese communities in Australia. Japanese communities are not a close-knit ethnic enclave, but tend towards a very loose social structure. This gives Japanese women greater freedom to shape their own lives. The result is a high proportion of language shift in the Japanese community (Clyne 2003). A related point is made by Atsumi (1992: 21) who notes that the proportion of Japanese who use only English at home increases in accord with their period of residence in Australia. This also, it may be argued, is due to the fact that Japanese do not live in an ethnic enclave, and they do not limit their interactions to members of the Japanese community. This situation for Japanese in Australia is in conformity with what Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985) claim: that it is the individual in a migrant context that constructs the group or chooses the group in which to belong rather than the group asserting its character on the individual. Studies of language shift applied to social network analysis (e.g Milroy 1987, Milroy and Li 1995, Hulssen, De Bot, Weltens 2002) indicate that a close-knit network structure is a crucial mechanism of minority language maintenance. On the other hand, the speakers who belong to communities with a less closed-network have frequent opportunities to contact other members of the wider society. As a result, the majority language tends to prevail over the minority language (Gumperz 1982).

   It is a natural consequence of the structural and cultural trends noted above that the first language of Australian-born and raised second generation Japanese migrants is more likely to be English than Japanese. However, the data for this research clearly shows that individuals of the second generation have been exposed to different rearing environments. For example, the evidence shows that English works as the language of communication among some

Japanese families, but for others it does not. Some families want their children to maintain the Japanese language, but others do not. These differing views may be based on individual background and reason for migration, as well as personal views on the English and Japanese languages, views influenced by language ideologies which are, in turn, related to politics, globalization and gender-related traits in Japanese culture. However, in order better to understand the dynamics of language shift and maintenance, it is clearly essential for us to focus on women and their experience over different generations.

In this paper, I explore the motivating factors and obstacles which influenced the language choices of those women for themselves and for their children. In order to achieve this aim, research questions are posed as follows.

1. Is mother's language choice for her child (ren) influenced by any marriage pattern?

2. How do differences in social background and perceptions of gender roles for those women relate with view of language maintenance and transmission?

3. What causes or influences mother's language choice for her child (ren)?

This paper is organized as follows. The second section introduces background of the migrants for this research. Section Three and four describe about data collection and details of participants. Section 5 explains the overview of language choice. Section 6-9 presents the results. The paper concludes following discussion.

2. Background of Japanese Female Migrants to Australia

The study of immigration of Japanese is concerned with the post war period and divided into roughly two parts: (1) war brides, and (2) the late 1970s to

the present.

Gender is a central organizing principle in terms of being the basis of migration and related processes, such as adaptation to the host country, continuance of ties to the original country, and the possibility of returning home (Boyd and Grieco 2003: 2). The Japanese society in Australia is female-centered and it could be said that the Japanese migrant history in Australia in terms of their permanent settlement had a starting point with war brides, and the form of immigration and the formation of sex in the Japanese community and how it changed compared with those in the pre-World War Two period. Japan was used to sending emigrants en mass either by way of a single man or family unit to Hawaii, North and South America from late 1860s to middle of 1900s as a measure against poverty based on national policy made, and those who wished to emigrate to each of these destination and took with them much of economic value (e. g. Tanaka 2016, Lone 2001). Australia was not an exception as a destination for such immigration. Many Japanese workers were unmarried males, economic migrants who returned to Japan when their contracts finished (Nagata 2002: 25-27). They mainly were engaged in the pearling and other shell industries along the north and northwest coasts of Australia.

In contrast, current Japanese immigration to destination places is made using their own choice for various reasons from person to person with regards to social context. Sato (1993: 14) explains that some Japanese people leave home to seek a society which allows them to enjoy freedom not found in Japan and where personal rights are protected and preserved. Sato refers to these as "spiritual migrants". Spiritual migrants seek the diversity which allows their way of living. Japanese societies in post war Australia are formed with women as the central figure unlike before the war was male dominated.

Social context in both Australia and Japan combined with the individual backgrounds and reasons for these migrants must be reflected with regards to their view toward language maintenance and transmission.

2. 1 War Brides

War brides "are women who married foreign soldiers of occupation" (Tamura 2003: xi). After Japan's defeat in 1945, millions of Japanese lost their jobs but some were employed in occupation military bases which provided a good salary and treatment. There was a variety of work available in these bases such as waitressing, housekeeping, typists and interpreters. Consequently most of the employees were young single females. During the war, large numbers of Japanese men were sent to the front so that post-1945 the number of women who reached marriageable age greatly outnumbered men. Naturally, under such circumstances, young women chose the companionship of occupation soldiers in the base. However, marriage between Australian soldiers and Japanese women was not well received because of the official Australian government policy designed to exclude Asian people and under which the procedures for immigrants entering Australia were deliberately complicated and very strict (Tamura 2003). According to Narita (1971: 65-66), there were about 600 war brides in Australia in 1959. They were initially admitted to stay on five year visas only. The majority lived in Sydney (approximately 400), with most of the others in Melbourne and Brisbane. Many Japanese war-brides became residents as a result of their husband's entitlement to cheap building lots; these lots allowed for the construction of affordable housing (Curson and Curson 1982: 494).

These war brides had been deprived of the opportunity to learn English in

their earlier years due to the wartime national policy in Japan[2]. However, they were all from the Kure region and some of them who worked at the base had the chance to listen to English regularly. As wives of Australians, they also received training for homemaking in order to get used to the ways of Australians quickly once they reached Australia[3]. In short, they had limited skills for life in Australia but they were undoubtedly determined to make a better life for themselves after the hardships of war and defeat.

2.2. *Japanese Female Migrants of the Post-War Bride Vintage: the Late the 1970s and Beyond*

As Curson and Curson (1982) note, English language proficiency is crucial for Japanese migrants in order to establish closer social relationships with members of the wider community. However, many of the later female Japanese arrivals in Australia felt that language was a significant barrier. More women than men in the late 1970s indicated that they had little knowledge of the English language. According to Marriott (1980), wives of Japanese businessmen seldom read books, newspapers or magazines written in English; this tendency was due to a lack of knowledge of English grammar. However, those who had a good command of English succeeded in establishing social relationships with indigenous Australians. Indeed, there is evidence which indicates that Japanese women who married non-Japanese succeeded socially by adapting to various factors, such as seeking opportunities to meet Australian relatives or have contact with people at work, and meet those who were less dependent on in-group friendship. Some migrants had a desire to become socially integrated with the majority of Australian society which would allow them the response of "we are Australians now" (Curson and Curson1982:

501）. This was not an uncommon occurrence. The evidence from interviews suggests that such tendencies or characteristics of Japanese migrant women at that time are little different to those who came to Australia from the 1990s.

Some of these young women may come to Australia after finishing high school, some tertiary education, or after working for a few years in Japan, then wishing to learn English（Piller and Takahashi 2005 : 59）and/or gain life experience abroad or obtain a certificate or degree required for their carrier （Hamada 2012 : 93）.

According to Atusmi（1992 : 17）, the prevalence of females among migrants is linked to Japanese educational and employment practices which make it harder for young men to go abroad than women. These women may be seen as the second major migrant wave after war brides.

3. Data and Methodology

The data and indeed the methodology of this research center on interviews with principal actors or subjects. For this analysis, the primary data was collected between February to July 2008 in Sydney and at various places in Queensland and consists of 21 IC recorded interviews. The subjects' ages range from their late 30s to their early 80s and includes those who migrated between the 1950s and early 2000s. Eight of the respondents were in endogamic relationships with the remainder being in an exogamic relationship. The average length of the interviews was 30 to 40 minutes. As Søndergaard and Norrby（2006 : 107）note, changing Australian government policies affected code（language）selection, and so the interviewees in this research are divided into four groups based on the period of their arrival in Australia.

The number of interviewees from the 1950s to the early 1970s is less than

those from the later 1970s to 2000s. The salient characteristics of the interviewees in each era may be summarized thus. Through the 1950s, immigrants were in wholly exogamic relationships as the Australian government did not generally allow Japanese people to migrate to Australia. So, at this time only women who married Australian soldiers were admitted. In the 1960s through to the early 1970s, where the number of informants is fewest (and when the White Australia policy continued to hold overall numbers down to the minimum), all are endogamous. In the period between 1981 to 1986, the Australian government encouraged those who were highly qualified and skilled to immigrate in accord with their new policy so migrant numbers increased, especially those who entered through business and those with a special qualification such as computer programmers, lawyers, cooks for Japanese cuisine etc. (Narita1990 : 5). Women migrating in this period were mixed, both endogamic and exogamic.

One of the major aims of the analysis here is to identify whether Japanese women immigrants of each vintage retain and transmit their first language to their children and what factors, causes, facilitation and hindrances affect language heritage preservation. The individual interviews were semi-structured, and were concerned with four issues : (1) their own immigration history and experiences. (2) social networks and community involvement. (3) language attitudes, and finally (4) language practice both within and outside the home. As to the procedure of this analysis, analysis was conducted pertaining to the subjects of this study. Next, finding and picking out important concepts, then to categorize them. Finally, the factors of motivation, facilitation and hindrance for language maintenance for these Japanese were examined. Important statements were seen in each of the factors.

4. Participants

The earliest arrivals are categorized as Group A. To contact and ask possible participants for cooperation in this research for War brides was not easy, consequently, the number of participants in this study is few, but as I mentioned earlier, they are key person which make a valuable sociolinguistic contribution in terms of investigating language shift and maintenance for the Japanese community. At the time of the interviews in 2008 they ranged in age from their late 70s to their early 80s. The length of stay in Australia overall averaged more than 55 years after marriage with an Australian soldier. One participant, Meg (ID3), is in a second marriage. Her former husband was Japanese. This respondent has a daughter born in Australia to her Australian husband and a son from her Japanese husband. Both these children, however, were actually born and raised in Australia.

Group B consists of two informants, both endogamous. There were few

Table 2. Background information 1-3 of Group A
－the earliest arrivals（1950s）

ID	Name	Marital info.	Arrival year	Reason for migration	Approx. age (2008)	Husband's (original) nationality and primary language used with family members
1	Miyoko	exog.	1956	marriage	late 70s	Husband: (Aus.) English Daughter, Son: English
2	Judy	exog.	1953	marriage	early 80s	Husband: (Aus.) English Daughter: English
3	Meg	exog.	1954	marriage	early 80s	Husband: (Aus.) English Daughter: English Son: Japanese

exog.＝exogamous　Aus.＝Australian

Japanese migrants in Australia and the problems of language maintenance

Japanese residents when they immigrated (almost all were war brides in those days).

Keiko's (ID4) children were born in Australia. According to her there were few Japanese residents when she immigrated (almost all were war brides in those days). Keiko's (ID4) husband is an Australian-Japanese whose parents are both Japanese born in Australia. Her husband experienced wartime detention in a concentration camp. Yoko's (ID5) children were born in Japan and brought to Australia in order to live with her husband who had been engaged in a fishery in Queensland.

Table 3. Background information 4 and 5 of Group B
－migrants arriving in the 1960s, and early 1970s.

ID	Name	Marital Info.	Arrival year	Reason for migration	Approx. Age (2008)	Husband's (original) nationality and primary language used with family members
4	Keiko	endo.	1972	marriage	early 60s	Husband: Japanese First son: English, Japanese Second son: Eng., Japanese
5	Yoko	endo.	1968	family call	early 70s	First son: Japanese Second son: Japanese

endo.＝endogamous   Eng.＝English

Group C consists of nine interviewees of whom seven are exogamous, the remainder being endogamous. Informants of this period expressed a variety of reasons for migration in Australia. The majority of the informants arrived in Australia as adults. Only one (Miho) (ID13) migrated as a child aged 12 with her family due to her father's job.

Group D is made up of 7 informants of whom four are exogamous with the remainder being endogamous. All the children were born in Australia. The

Table 4. Background information 6-14 of Group C
－migrants arriving in the late 1970s and in 1980s

ID	Name	Marital Info.	Arrival year	Reason for migration	Approx. Age (2008)	Husband's (original) nationality and primary language used with family members
6	Yoshiko	exog.	1979	marriage	middle 50s	Husband: (Iranian) English First son: English, Japanese Second son: Eng., Japanese
7	Eiko	endo.	1983	family call	late 40s	Husband: Japanese Daughter: Japanese
8	Chika	exog.	1987	W. H	middle 40s	Husband: (Aus.) English First son: English Second son: English
9	Kimie	exog.	1980	marriage	early 60s	Son: Japanese
10	Rie	exog.	1980	family call	middle 50s	Daughter: English First son: English Second son: English
11	Yoshie	exog.	1987	W. H	middle 40s	Husband:(Aus.)English Son: Japanese Daughter: Japanese
12	Setsuko	endo.	1977	family call	early 60s	Husband: Japanese First son: Japanese Second son: Japanese Third son: Japanese
13	Miho	exog.	1988	family move	early 30s	Husband: (Aus.) English Children: English, Japanese
14	Yukiko	exog.	1988	marriage	early 50s	Husband:(Aus.) English Daughter: Japanese Son: Japanese

WH＝working holiday programme

interviewees within exogamous relationships in this period use both the English and Japanese languages when dealing with their children. On the other hand, Japanese is the core language in the endogamous family. All re-

Table 5. Background information 15-21 of Group D
－migrants arriving after 1990

ID	Name	Marital Info.	Arrival year	Reason for migration	Approx. Age (2008)	Husband's (original) nationality and primary language used with family members
15	Mina	exog.	2001	return of spouse	late 30s	Husband: (Aus.) English Daughter: English, Japanese
16	Sayo	endo.	1990	family move	late 50s	Husband: Japanese First son: Japanese Second son: Japanese
17	Naoko	exog.	2000	marriage	late 30s	Husband: (Korean) Korean Son: Korean, Japanese
18	Rika	exog.	1999	marriage	early 40s	Son: English, Japanese Daughter: English
19	Reiko	exog.	1997	return of spouse	early 40s	Husband:(Aus.) Japanese First son: Japaense Second son: Japanese
20	Saki	endog.	1992	work of spouse	middle 40s	Husband: Japanese Daughter: Japanese
21	Kyoko	endo.	1990	work of spouse	late 40s	Husband: Japanese Daughter: Japanese

spondents arrived in Australia as adults.

5. Language Choice for Children

In virtually all cases both of endogamy and exogamy, the two languages, English and Japanese, are employed in communication between parents and children. Most children use Japanese when they talk to their mother before going on to compulsory education. However, once they start to attend school, there is a shift from their use of Japanese in favor of English. Whilst mothers talk to their children in Japanese, the children's response is increasingly in

English. However, there are differing attitudes at an individual level towards language in the home. Two of the interviewees practice a one parent-one language approach (Döpke 1998), where each parent consistently speaks only one of the two languages to the child. In this case, the Japanese mother uses Japanese only.

Others switch codes depending upon the child's understanding and attitudes as the occasion demands. For example, when the child refuses to answer or shows difficulties in understanding what the mother said. Among the interviewees, one parent has given up forcing her child to answer in Japanese since the child reached adolescence as the child showed no willingness to respond except in English.

6. Facilitating Factors

The environment for Japanese language education, Japanese ethnic schools (Saturday Schools) play a crucial role for language heritage maintenance in Japanese communities. Most women immigrants of the late 1980s to the present day have or had their children attend these Japanese ethnic schools. The Japanese ethnic school is a supplementary educational institution for language heritage maintenance and is conducted at local schools for a range of ages from pre-school to Year Nine. Sydney Japanese international school[1] accommodated children of Japanese resident employees through the 1970s and 1980s but also started to provide an International Course for local pupils.

The change of national policy from a White Australia Policy to Multiculturalism in the late 1970s-80s clearly affected the promotion of language heritage maintenance. Under Multiculturalism, ethnic cultures and languages are highly respected and the concept now is "language as a resource" (Shimazu

2008: 138). Consequently, foreign pupils have been admitted to these Japanese ethnic schools in recent years. For example, Japanese resident women have taken their children to try a couple of short visits before they return to their homeland. Such short visits provide perfect opportunities for children to experience Japanese school life and its culture such as group lunch and the wearing of uniform gym clothing in PE classes. This provides motivation for the learning of Japanese language and culture. Thus, the learning environment in Australia for Japanese residents has developed since the 1970s. This coexists with the acceptance of multiculturalism and a system of instruction in the Japanese language within the compulsory component of education set up since 1992. Consequently, some women who migrated in the 1980's from Japan have opportunities for their children to learn Japanese in both Australia and Japan.

7. Motivating Factors

7. 1. Identity

All interviewees, whether in endogamic or exogamic relationships, wish their children to learn Japanese primarily as a means to further relations between child and parent.

One of the interviewees named Sayo (ID16), in an exogamic relationship, and who migrated from Japan in the 1990's, said, "I want my child to realize her roots come from Japan". Another parent, Rika, explained, "my children are half Japanese so I do not feel they are my children unless they speak Japanese". Cavaliano and Gatt-Rutter (1991: 77) insists that "language is a national identity" i. e., identity in Australia 'as an Australian' is strongly related to the English language. An aggregate of ethnic minorities constructs one

nation, e. g., Australia and those who belong to this nation are regarded as Australian and the English language has become an indicator of their identity. Children of Japanese immigrants born and raised there are also members of this society but they remain ethnically Japanese of course. One of the interviewees, Setsuko (ID12), in an endogamic relationship and who emigrated from Japan in the late 1970s, said, "It is strange for my children not to be able to speak Japanese even though they look Japanese because they have native Japanese parents". Sayo (ID16), who migrated in the 1990s, said "It is natural for me to speak to my children in Japanese just because we are Japanese". That is to say, Japanese endogamic women recognize that children whose first language is English are members of Australian society. At the same time, the fact they have Japanese features and are raised in a family which maintains the culture of Japan and its language will be enough to maintain their Japanese identity. Thus, if Japanese parents insist that their children are to be Japanese living in Australian society, it is crucial for them to expose their children to speakers of the Japanese language. Consequently, the Japanese language functions in seven of the endogamic families as the main language at home.

In addition, endogamic women wished to communicate traditional values to their children with a desire to motivate language heritage maintenance. This suggests that they appreciate the sharing of such values with their children. In this, not only does language ability matter but also common background knowledge, mutual feelings and the values of speakers themselves remain crucial issues. At least one endogamic parent worried about differences between herself and her children and wished to avoid misunderstandings in communication arising from any such divergences. In addition to this, a concern expressed amongst endogamic women with only a limited degree of English

language proficiency was to maintain their heritage language within the family in order also to maintain parent-child communication. One interviewee, Sayo (ID16) who immigrated in the 1990's, stated, "I want my children to keep Japanese (the Japanese language) because I feel the limitation of my proficiency in English".

Naturally, in the face of community and financial pressures, most Japanese residents have had their children attend local schools, resulting in their children's socialization in Australia. Consequently, children's use of language has shifted towards the use of English. This seems to be more easily accepted by exogamic married women who regard their children as being members of the Australian Nation and see them as "integrated" between Japanese and Australian. One exogamic interviewee stated that her aim for her child was "to understand both the local language (father's language) and her heritage language (mother's language) and to be a part of each culture…" In other words, she respects the background of her child and admits to her Australian ties. Similar to endogamic women, however, the child's mother uses her native language at home in order to maintain the child's ties with Japanese culture.

7.2. Communication with Japanese relatives

The second crucial factor revealed by interviewees is that they wish their children to communicate with their grandparents in Japanese. Most informants have a strong relationship with their extended family relatives and regard the speaking of Japanese as a necessity for intergenerational communication. One female respondent named Yoshie (ID11), an immigrant from the 1980s, stated, "I am wondering if my children will be able to speak Japanese a little

bit when talking to their grandparents. I must establish more close-knit rela-
tionships so that they will have good feelings toward each member of the
family". In this case the Japanese language plays an important role in connect-
ing relationships amongst relatives and helps promote the unity of the Japa-
nese family. There is an obvious case to be made that communication with
grandparents helps the child acquire the Japanese language. A grandparent
who migrated in the late 1980s, Yukiko (ID14), had her grandchild stay in her
home for three months. This grandmother communicated only in Japanese
during this period. She continued to employ their native language until the
child turned three years old. According to her, the child never changed code
into English. Japanese remains the tool of communication between them.

8. The Factor of Hindrance

In general, interviewees who immigrated from the 1950s and up to the late
1970s had a relatively negative attitude toward heritage language maintenance.
This is in contrast to those from the late 1980s onwards who had a largely
positive attitude.

The most crucial factor for female immigrants in the 1950s, according to the
interviewees, was the demand for 'assimilation' under the White Australian
Policy which stopped them transmitting their first language to their children.
As for immigrants of the late 1960s to the early 1970s, even after the ending
of the White Australia policy, the lack of any institution or ethnic organization
to teach Japanese made language heritage maintenance very difficult.

Three of the interviewees from the 1950s explained that, on arriving in Aus-
tralia, much of their language life revolved around learning English, not teach-
ing or maintaining Japanese. In circumstances which were completely dif-

ferent from those that existed in Japan, the Australian government did provide instruction in English to adult immigrants from non-English speaking countries since 1947 (Mise 1993: 56). However, these interviewees lived in suburbs far away from cities and centers of education, missing opportunities to receive English language classes provided by the government. Instead, through listening to the radio and watching television each day, combined with their work environment where there was interaction with local people, they gradually acquired the English language. However, so intensive was this effort, they had little scope to teach Japanese to their children.

As late as the late 1960s, the government had not taken educational measures on behalf of immigrant children, so assimilation continued to be the norm. One interviewee, Yoko (ID6), took her children to live with her Japanese husband who was working in Australia. As there was no public educational institution available for the teaching of Japanese, this interviewee provided a home Japanese language teacher for her children. Another informant, Keiko (ID4) from the 1970s immigrant range, agreed that a major reason for the failure of language heritage maintenance at this time was that there were no institutions teaching Japanese within her life scope. In her case, she found it very difficult to give instruction in Japanese to her own children; she tried to use Japanese within the family when their children were young, but she changed the code to English when their schooling started. From then on, the children naturally adopted English in their daily life, communicating with both parents in English. English had become the core language in the family. In addition, the only exogamic interviewee from the late 1970s sample insisted that she could not successfully teach Japanese to her child because of the non-existence of a public institution in this language (her child attended a Japanese class for just one

semester when it was made available by the local Technical and Further Education [TAFE] College). Overall, it is clear from the interviewees that, despite the establishment in 1969 of the Sydney Japanese School in the north of the city, children of Japanese migrants had very little opportunity to contact Japanese children other than those in the family domain, and that here, all the factors generally encouraged children to learn English, not Japanese.

9. Avoidance Motivation

9. 1. Discrimination and Hostility Towards Children of War Bride

This issue relates only to women migrants through the 1950s. The dominant policy and ideas of the White Australia years strongly affected the women's consciousness towards their ethnic language. One migrant named Meg (ID3) intended to transmit Japanese to her children but abandoned her efforts over hostility towards her children for speaking in Japanese. She mentioned that local kids bullied her daughter, accusing the Japanese of savageness saying such things as "they cut their necks by sword. So to teach Japanese is out of the question". Indeed, the government forced Japanese children to use English at school and in the family. Consequently, immigrant children had a tendency to look down both on their language and cultural background (Mise 1993 : 56). Along with these external pressures, there was also a sense of giving in to the reality of the war brides' situation. Another respondent, Miyoko (ID1), also expressed the wish that her children could have learned Japanese but explained that she had done nothing positive to make this wish come true because she felt, realistically, the speaking of Japanese was unnecessary "because all their neighbors were Australian".

9. 2. *The Attitude of Children Towards the Japanese Language*

Residents who arrived in the late 1960s and 1980s shared with their children some aversion towards the Japanese language. This led to mothers either relinquishing altogether their efforts to transmit their language heritage or facing greater difficulties in their efforts to do so. One hurdle for female migrants of the late 1960s (in common with war brides) was to motivate their children towards learning the Japanese language. In one case noted earlier, Yoko (ID5), hired a home teacher but her child protested, "how come I must learn Japanese here in Australia?" Opportunities to use Japanese remained in the family only. It is evident from the interviews that the lack of children's motivation for learning Japanese was partly due to the White Australia environment. However, the problem of the child's motivation continued in later years. In another case, Chika (ID8), an exogamic female immigrant of the 1980s, spoke Japanese to her child until he turned two years old. The child could not understand what his mother said and showed a strong abhorrence to her speaking Japanese toward him. This interviewee returned to the Japanese language very infrequently and had no contact with the Japanese community in Australia when her children were born. Consequently, her sons had no familiarity with the Japanese people around them. She used English when her Australian husband was present so that the frequency of English usage increased little by little. Finally she abandoned the use of Japanese altogether. When she gave birth to her second son, she communicated with him only in English.

9. 3. *Different Educational Experiences Between Generations*

Different educational experiences between parents and their children influenced the strength of the mothers' will towards heritage language main-

tenance. This may simply be illustrated by the experience of one female immigrant of the 1980s. This endogamic woman named Eiko（ID7）attended her first and second daughter's Japanese ethnic school（Saturday school）. One day her first daughter came home and said to her "I cannot bear sitting still in the same posture in this class". In normal school in Australia, the child is allowed to move freely so that the girl felt uncomfortable having to maintain the same seated posture throughout the Saturday class. It was natural for the mother to sit throughout the class as is common in Japanese schooling. However, it was unbearable for the child who received formal education in a local school. In this case, therefore, it was not so much the language as the cultural practice which was the barrier.

10. Discussion

The findings reported here show two major physical and psychological factors in facilitating and hindering the transmission of a mother's first language to her children. A key physical factor is the existence of a Japanese ethnic school（Saturday school）. There is a clear difference between women who migrated before the ending of the White Australia Policy in the early 1970s and the vintage after that. Women who migrated from the 1950s to 1970s explained that the main reason why they either failed to or abandoned the idea of transmitting their first language was because of the non-existence of institutions to maintain their heritage language. In contrast, most women who migrated after the 1980s in this study sent their children to a Japanese ethnic school（although, as we have seen, not always with the result the women desired）. This suggests that the timing of migration is the most crucial factor affecting the level of commitment to, and success in, transmitting the mother's

first language.

The testimony of the interviewees emphasizes the fact that there were no institutions or places to teach and learn ethnic language in Japanese communities until Australia changed its national policy from White to multiculturalism. As mentioned earlier, the construction of Japanese ethnic communities could not be realized due to the immigration policy in Australia. Consequently, the small numbers and scattered nature of Japanese migrants in the first postwar decades were not enough to establish their own ethnic institutions such as church and clubs to practice language and culture. This contrasts to other minority communities in Australia less directly targeted by the White Australia policy.

The appearance, mainly from the 1970s, of the Japanese ethnic schools (Saturday School) played a major role in language heritance maintenance, especially for migrants from the 1980s onwards. Ethnic schools, including Japanese ethnic schools, were established by the Australian government as part of an adjustment from the White Australia Policy to multiculturalism in which each ethnic culture and language was to be highly respected. Thus, language heritage maintenance for Japanese was conducted with the help of the national language policy in Australia.

Second, as to psychological factors, language ideologies affected the construction of migrant women's attitudes toward the English and Japanese languages and how these related to their sense of values and identity. These ideologies played a major role in deciding the level of commitment to, and success in, transmitting the mother's first language. Language ideologies here involve linguistic hierarchy. Philipson (1992) argues that Japan's or Germany's growing economic power in the 1980s helped in transforming the contemporary

linguistic hierarchy, influencing the language choices of female migrants then and later. Related to this, discourses of *Nihonjinron* (theories on being Japanese) and *Kokusaika* (internationalization) influenced migrant attitudes towards the value of English in Japan and, indeed, of the Japanese language in Australia.

　Here, let us return our focus to the experience of War Brides. They were impoverished citizens of a defeated and, in Australia, hated nation who faced a long-standing White Australia Policy. These factors all served as core constraints in disrupting and discouraging efforts to transmit Japanese to their children. In addition, the Japanese cultural characteristic of avoiding shame meant that the war brides often retreated from meaningful interaction with English speakers beyond their husbands. The war bride interviewee Miyoko (ID1) explained her experience when she was unable to be involved in conversations with her Australian husband's family due to her lack of English. She said, "I laughed "ha-ha" as everyone else did but I did not understand what they said. My husband's brother then asked me, "Did you understand?" I answered, "No, I don't understand but everybody else was smiling so I smiled". Miyoko (ID1) took action−'laughter'−in order to fit in with others. This desire to fit in and avoid shame influenced Japanese mothers' way of fostering their children, especially regarding fears of being sneered at or excluded from the group. As war brides already ran this risk due to their ethnic background and lack of English, it is natural that they decided not even to attempt to transmit their mother tongue to their children. The children meanwhile had a tendency to disdain non-English languages and speakers of languages other than English. This showed that they were influenced by the prevailing language education system based upon the White Australia Policy (Mise 1993:

56). It appears that War Brides, being Japanese speakers, worried that they were held in contempt by their own children for using the Japanese language. If this was the case, then war brides felt that they had to become members of Australian society as soon as possible so as not to lose dignity and trust for being Japanese (as one of the means, some Japanese war-brides, including Meg (ID3) and Judy (ID2) in this research, converted their original Japanese name into English). In this, many Australian husbands also insisted that their children should be brought up as Australian and that they should speak only English. Their wives consequently followed the husband's wish. This demonstrates gender-related traits of the Japanese social system in which "men were for wealth and military service, whilst women were good wives and wise mothers who protect the home front" (Wakakuwa 1995: 81).

After the war, Japan's traditional family system was largely abandoned to be replaced by a substantial degree of equality between men and women (Saito and Fukuchi 1995: 94). Consequently, language heritage transmission for Japanese women who immigrated in the 1950s was directly linked to shame in Japanese culture and gender-related traits in Japanese social structure, while later female migrants benefitted from greater freedom of choice, including the decision over their children's language. Having said this, the desire of the mother, as we have seen, could not always be harmonized with the wishes of the children.

Here, let us review the reasons appearing from the interviews why later immigrant Japanese women wished to transmit their mother tongue to their children. Three key motivational factors have been identified: (1) Sharing of identity, (2) maintaining close relations with Japanese relatives and (3) A wish to be bilingual in two highly valued languages.

As we saw, *Kokusaika* (internationalization) attached to English ideology in domestic Japan had an influence on views of language heritage maintenance and shift, and of migrant attitudes toward the English and Japanese languages. Further to understand the role of *Kokusaika*, we may refer to Kubota (1998: 300) who explains: In the 1980s, a discourse of *Kokusaika* emerged as economic conflicts between Japan and its trade partners, particularly the United States, became intense. Japan as a world economic power experienced a need to communicate better with its international partners in order to ensure its economic prosperity while maintaining its own identity. A strategy that Japan employed in order to fulfill this need was neither to subjugate the nation to the West nor to seek a counter-hegemony against the West; it was to accommodate the hegemony of the West by becoming one of the equal members of the West and to convince the West and other nations of its position based on a distinct cultural heritage. The discourse of *Kokusaika* thus harmoniously embraces both Westernization through learning the communication mode of English and the promotion of nationalistic values.

This discourse of *Kokusaika* had a great influence on education reform in Japan, including the suggestion of introducing English instruction at elementary schools and the debate over making English as Japan's official second language (Iino 2010).

In accordance with *Kokusaika*, English was valued as a global language (Crystal 1999) but under the contemporary ideology of *Nihonjinron* and the rise of Japan's economic power, the Japanese language also came to be highly valued, not only in Japan but also in Australia. Thus, migrants from the later 1970s and 1980s tried to have their children attend Japanese school where the classes were conducted to the same curriculum as junior and high school in

Japan. Families with school-age children would choose a suburb either close to the Japanese school or at least near to that school's bus route. (Curson and Curson 1982: 492-494).

Thus, many Japanese migrants consider English as the most important global language but also are encouraged by national policy in Australia and by ideology in Japan to wish their children to learn Japanese[4]. This clearly affects Japanese women's motivation toward raising their children as bilingual. Overall, the interviewees are all well-adapted into Australian society and those who have a wide field of vision internationally have a greater self-respect of being Japanese. The sense of identity here connects to maintaining relations with relatives in Japan and of bilingualism. Many interviewees who migrated in the 1980s or later return to Japan once every couple of years or so and, while there, generally stay at their parents' home. This helps their children to recognize that they themselves have Japanese roots.

As discussed above, there are different tendencies towards language heritage maintenance for war brides and recent female migrants. The former experienced pressures to raise their children to be English-speaking Australians whilst the latter are encouraged as mothers to raise their children as bilingual. Supporting this shift are changing perceptions of gender roles in accordance with societal changes in modern Japanese society. Sugihara and Katsurada (2000: 311) point out that "identifying and learning the different values and social practices of other cultures in the midst of globalization, individuals have become aware of more options". The educational system established after World War Two taught ideas of gender equality. For women who arrived after the 1990s, this also helped to foster the concept of the unity of individuals whose two languages and cultures are independent.

The motivation and drive for language heritage maintenance are revealed from the individual experiences outlined above but so too are the difficulties in preserving language heritage in migrant families. It may be suggested that the degree of mothers' involvement with the homeland, relatives, and community networks relates directly to language heritage maintenance. This also suggests that mothers who have connection with their relatives in the homeland and positive attitudes toward learning Japanese tend to succeed better in language transmission. On the other hand, those who have less or no contact with Japanese in the community or homeland tend to be unsuccessful in language transmission.

11. Conclusion

This study has explored the factors and causes, facilitation and hindrances affecting language heritage preservation and documented the differing views on language maintenance between war brides and recent migrant Japanese women in Australia.

As to language use at home, the language pattern for exogamous married women displays a use of English to their husbands and children, whilst endogamous use Japanese to their spouse and children. This is a general tendency that is mentioned in previous research. However, it is closely seen from micro-level, endogamous married women could not always succeed in communication with their children in Japanese only or even with the harmonized wishes of their children. This suggests that a shift to English can be easily occur even in an endogamous family in the Japanese immigrant community.

Furthermore, it cannot be generalized based on the sample of three for war brides, though, the investigation indicates that there are remarkable

differences in the attitudes of the different generations. Attitudes toward maintaining language heritage for Japanese women who migrated in the 1950s and since the 1970s have been polarized in terms of government policy in Australia and societal change in Japan. These societal factors, linked with changing perception of gender and related to women's and children's identity, as well as shifting ideologies of language, have all affected migrants' views on heritage language maintenance. War brides in this research did not succeed in transmitting their first language to their children because they were afraid of their children being isolated from the Australian society and they assimilated into the society so as not to shame their family. They followed their husband and raised their children as Australians. On the other hand, recent Japanese migrant women have different perceptions of transmitting Japanese. Most recent Japanese women in this study wish their children to perceive their children as having two roots, Australia and Japan.

This study provides findings that were obtained through interviews. However, as Minoura (2010) suggests, data can become embodied according to the researcher's questions and what the researcher can grasp as its "partial realities". Meaning that the data the researcher obtains is partial and not describing the whole reality. That is, these findings were obtained using restricted cooperation. Consequently, I feel it would be necessary for further research to be made in order to refine these findings.

Notes

1）Annual Report on Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas（Gaimusho Zairyu Hojinsu chosa Tokei Heisei 26 nen Sokuhoban）2015 available at http://www. mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000086464.pdf

2）English language teaching was almost dead during the war. English was regarded as the enemy's language and the learners as spies against the nation.（Koike and Tanaka 1995 : 17）.

3）From the interview of Meg in this study.

4）90.4% of Japanese migrants（509 respondents）consider English as most important language and 72.7% of them（499 respondents）wish their children to learn Japanese. Takei MA thesis（2010）.

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