

NEW
voices
Volume 1:
Cross-Cultural
Encounters in the
Australia-Japan
Relationship



New Voices:
Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Australia–Japan Relationship

The Japan Foundation, Sydney

New Voices

Volume 1: Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Australia–Japan Relationship

December 2006

© Copyright The Japan Foundation, Sydney, 2006

All material in *New Voices* is copyright. Copyright of each piece belongs to the author. Copyright of the collection belongs to the editors. Apart from any fair use as permitted under the *Copyright Act 1968*, no part may be reproduced without the prior permission of the author or editors.

The Japan Foundation, Sydney
Shop 23, Level 1 Chifley Plaza
2 Chifley Square
SYDNEY NSW 2000
Tel. (02) 8239 0055
Fax. (02) 9222 2168
www.jpff.org.au

Editorial Advisory Board:

Professor Kōichi Iwabuchi, Waseda University
Professor Purnendra Jain, Adelaide University
Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Australian National University
Professor Yoshio Sugimoto, La Trobe University
Associate Professor Alison Tokita, Monash University

Editor, Volume 1

Dr Yuji Sone, Macquarie University

Editors

Wakao Koike, Deputy Director, The Japan Foundation, Sydney
David Boyd, Program Coordinator, The Japan Foundation, Sydney

The views expressed in this journal are those of the authors, and do not necessarily coincide with those of the editors or members of the Editorial Advisory Board.

Japanese names are written surname first, except where the person concerned has adopted Anglo-European conventions. The long vowel sound in Japanese is indicated by a macron (e.g. *kōtsū*), unless in common use without (e.g. *Tokyo*).

ISSN: 1833-5233

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21159/nv.01>

Printed in Australia by Southwood Press Pty Ltd.

Typeset by Jaime Lee & Chilli Associates.
chillibabes@bigpond.com

Cover design by Warren Liang.

© Copyright The Japan Foundation, Sydney, 2006.

Foreword

This inaugural issue of *New Voices* seeks to support the work of early career researchers and postgraduate students in Japanese Studies and related fields. *New Voices* acts as a forum for young researchers to exchange ideas, by providing a platform for them to introduce their research interests as a prelude to more definitive publication elsewhere.

2006 is the Australia–Japan Year of Exchange, which commemorates the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Basic Treaty of Friendship between Australia and Japan. It is appropriate that *New Voices* should be first published during this year, when cross-cultural exchange is at the forefront of our minds.

I hope that *New Voices* will be of significance to young researchers, and will contribute to cross-cultural understanding between both Japan and Australia, and beyond.

Yoshiyuki Ueno
Director, The Japan Foundation, Sydney

Contents

Foreword Yoshiyuki Ueno	iii
Introduction Yuji Sone	v
The Occupiers and the Occupied: A Nexus of Memories Christine de Matos	1
Assessing Australian Attitudes to Japan in the Early Twentieth Century – A New Approach Ben McInnes	13
Researching the History of Women in <i>Chanoyu</i> Rebecca Corbett	23
A Long and Winding Road: Cross-Cultural Connections Between Brazil, Australia and Japan Cristina Rocha	35
A Tribute to the Japanese Literature of Korean Writers in Japan Elise Foxworth	46
<i>Yaneura</i> – The Attic Adam Broinowski	56
Lessons from Japanese Family Homestays Mayumi Parry	62
Making it Work: A Study of Australian Expatriate Language and Cultural Strategies for the Workplace in Japan Sean O’Connell	75
<i>Foreign Fathers</i> – Native English Speaking Fathers’ Contributions to Bilingual Child-Rearing in Intermarried Families in Japan Lachlan Jackson	87
Notes on Contributors	99

Introduction: New Voices Between Cultures

When I have an event here [Japan] and I suspend a rock, the Japanese say: ah, Western influence. We never suspend rocks. Rocks belong on the ground. If I go to Australia and use a rock and suspend it, they [Australians] say: ah, Japanese influence. You're using rocks. (Stelarc)¹

Stelarc is an internationally known Australian performance artist who had lived in Japan for nearly twenty years. Stelarc's comment above points toward the complexities and contradictions migrants often encounter in a host country that place them 'in-between' cultures.

The act of migration, moving from a place with which we are familiar to a different place, can affect us greatly, not because of cultural difference per se, but because of 'the inner dynamics of migration,' as Paul Carter discusses.² Carter categorises the experience of migrants in terms of two types: those who bring their own cultures to new environments and those who assimilate themselves to new host cultures, shrugging off their former cultural identity. Of course, migrants' experiences are not as clear-cut as this; nevertheless, the dichotomous thinking of 'here and there' in the psyches of both locals and newcomers remains.

After a period of nostalgia, a migrant begins to see her culture of origin from a distance. Aspects of the culture of the host country become part of the migrant's thinking, despite her uneasiness or unfamiliarity with the new culture. In this situation, the migrant is floating in the cultural ingredients of both her country of origin and host country: that is to say, the migrant belongs neither to there nor here. Stepping outside of their houses, however, migrants are made more conscious of 'difference' whenever they negotiate social relations in new terrain. Migrants experience the peculiarity of what might be called an in-between space (including artistic space, as in Stelarc's case), where cultural commonplaces can contradict each other and the differences between cultures can seem incommensurable.

The contradictory in-between space between cultures is, in fact, a fertile ground for academic exploration. The voices of the contributors in this inaugural issue of *New Voices*, indeed, speak of the negotiation of social and cultural spaces between Australia and Japan, relating personal experience to the problematics and context of their research. The *New Voices* project has been developed as the second phase of '*Australianese and Japaralians?: A Celebration of Transformation at the Australia-Japan Interface*', the 10th

¹ In the work Stelarc describes here, his body was suspended in the air by ropes from hooks piercing his skin, to counter the weight of stones at the other end of the ropes. This quote comes from a transcript of an interview with Stelarc by Geoffrey De Groen in *Some Other Dream*, p. 87.

² Carter, *Living in a New Country*, pp. 98–99.

anniversary forum of the Japan Foundation, Sydney, which was held in 2003. That forum surveyed a range of cultural transferences and transactions, focusing on how Australians who have lived in Japan and expatriate Japanese in Australia have transformed the challenges of their cross-cultural experiences into a positive, creative impulse. This issue of *New Voices*, on the other hand, aims to examine cross-cultural issues arising at the interface between the two countries in depth, with regard to the complexities such encounters can engender. *New Voices* is also conceived as a forum for discussions in Japan-related studies and attract Australian students and researchers to this area. The contributors have been encouraged to mix scholarly discussion with personal experience in order to make *New Voices* accessible to a wider audience.

The contributors examine the complexities of the relationship between Australia and Japan on professional and personal levels. Lachlan Jackson's research on the role of the English-speaking father in bilingual child-rearing in Japan, for example, stems from his situation as an Australian male lecturer with a Japanese wife and two children, living in Japan. Similarly, Sean O'Connell's study of the linguistic and cultural competence of Australian expatriates in the Japanese workplace directly relates to the fact that he is an interpreter and intercultural communication trainer. Others have turned personal interests in Japanese culture toward their academic research. For instance, an exposure to *chanoyu* ('Tea'), as an exchange student has had a great impact on Rebecca Corbett, leading her to pursue academic research on the history of women in *chanoyu*. Interestingly, Corbett emphasises that being a foreigner – thus, an outsider – has given her leeway and enabled her to critically examine established Japanese *chanoyu* scholarship. Elise Foxworth similarly points out that, because she is a *daisansha* (third person) in Japan, she feels she is more able to notice and appreciate minority arts and cultures in Japan, *zainichi* Korean literature (the literature of Koreans living in Japan) in particular. People who dwell in the in-between spaces of culture are often able to see things in ways that the locals cannot.

This perspective of the contributors has, directly and indirectly, sprung from the process of negotiation and adjustment in the encounter between Australia and Japan, which generates a new kind of exchange and creates new kinds of communication. In this regard, an initial feeling of amusement or astonishment about unfamiliar cultural characteristics may be regarded as a starting point for cultural understanding. Mayumi Parry's language education research, for instance, discusses the positive effects of the short encounter of Australian homestay students and their Japanese host families. Adam Broinowski's essay, on the other hand, examines the complexities of a cross-cultural exchange through the NIDA (National Institute of Dramatic Arts) student production of a contemporary Japanese play on *hikikomori* (a contemporary social phenomenon in Japan where adolescents to adults seclude themselves at home for a long period). The experience of the encounter with the 'otherness' of Japanese culture may remain for a long time in the minds of these Australian students.

Dr Christine de Matos, an historian, discusses engagement with the cultural ‘other’, in particular, the recollection of the encounter between Australian military personnel and Japanese workers in the postwar period in Japan. According to de Matos, in spite of the wartime propaganda and stereotypical images that had been circulated in each country about the other as an enemy, the encounter generated more positive memories than negative. Here, personal histories can be used to reread the textbook history of the relationship between Australia and Japan. Likewise, Ben McInnes’s historical analysis draws attention to a gap between the coverage about Japan by the city-based newspapers and the actual interaction with and understanding of the Japanese by rural Australians in the New England region of New South Wales. McInnes argues that the people in the bush had a neutral or positive attitude toward Japan and the Japanese people despite political and military tensions in North-East Asia in the pre-World War I period. These stories highlight how the cultural exchanges people make at a personal level often defy a fixed (political or otherwise) reading of exchanges between Australia and Japan.

It may no longer be useful or relevant to examine these exchanges in a geographically and ethnologically fixed way in a globally networked world, and particularly, in a multicultural society like Australia’s. Researchers who are themselves migrants can bring a multi-layered perspective to the relationship between Australia and Japan. Dr Cristina Rocha observes cultural understandings and misunderstandings between Australia, Japan and Brazil in terms of the circulation of images that perpetuate cultural stereotypes of each country. Living in these three countries has enabled Rocha to step outside the limits of a here/there framework. She is able to consider, in a global sense, the function of institutionalised cultural traditions, cultural trends, and what the notion of a hybrid culture might mean in this context.

I would like to thank, foremost, Masaki Baba, the former deputy-director of the Japan Foundation, Sydney, for supporting *New Voices* from the very beginning. Without his firm belief in the value of this project, this project would not have got off the ground. I would like to signal appreciation for the efforts of Wakao Koike, the current deputy-director, who immediately supported the intention of *New Voices*, and has greatly contributed to the editing process. On behalf of the editorial team, I wish to thank the editorial advisory board members, Professor Yoshio Sugimoto, Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Professor Purnendra Jain, Associate Professor Alison Tokita, and Professor Kōichi Iwabuchi, for generously offering their time to this project. Professor Sugimoto’s support from its early stages has been very encouraging. A special thanks to those scholars who were presenters in the 2003 forum and have given strong support to *New Voices*: Professor Hugh Clarke, Professor Hugh de Ferranti, Dr Alison Broinowski, Dr Peter Eckersall, Dr Peter Armstrong, Dr Chiaki Ajioka, and Xiangdong Liu. I would like to thank David Boyd, an editorial team member, for his input and editing skill and Catherine Maxwell, a former editor, for her involvement at the outset of the project. Thanks also to Jocelyn Hedley for copyediting, and Dr Kayoko Hashimoto and Meredith Morse for their useful comments.

New Voices is, of course, indebted to the contributors for sharing their intriguing personal stories and exciting academic research. The editorial team wishes them every success in future.

Yuji Sone
Editor, Volume 1

References

De Groen, G., *Some Other Dream: The artist, the artworld and the expatriate: conversations with Janet Alderson, Robert Hughes, Max Hutchinson, Robert Jacks, Bruce Latimer, Clement Meadmore, Jeffrey Smart, Stelarc, John Stringer* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1984).

Carter, P., *Living in a New Country: History, travelling and language* (London: Faber, 1992).

The Occupiers and the Occupied: A Nexus of Memories

Christine de Matos
University of Wollongong

Introduction

In Ōe Kenzaburo's *The Silent Cry*, the two protagonists, Jin and Mitsuburo, discuss conflicting memories of the Allied Occupation of Japan:

'Just after the defeat, when the occupation forces came in jeeps. Don't you remember? All the able-bodied folk ran off into the forest, leaving the old people and disabled behind in the valley. That's what I'm talking about.'

'But you're wrong, Jin,' I said. 'I know, because I was in the valley when the first jeeps arrived. A GI gave me a can of asparagus, but the grown-ups didn't know whether it was something to eat or what it was, so in the end I left it in the teachers' room at the primary school.'

'No – they cleared out, the whole lot of them!' Jin insisted calmly.¹

Memory: contentious, volatile, selective, relative. Ōe's protagonists remember the coming of the Occupation troops in different ways, and yet memory can be used to enrich and to (con)test the historical record; to remind ourselves that historical events have both long- and short-term impacts upon the lives of human beings in nuanced ways. As LaCapra has written:

Memory is a crucial source for history and has complicated relations to documentary sources... Conversely, history serves to question and test memory in critical fashion and to specify what in it is empirically accurate or has a different, but still possibly significant, status.²

This paper explores the 'different, but still possibly significant, status' of the memories of Australians who occupied Hiroshima Prefecture with the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) from 1946 to 1952 and the Japanese who lived under Australian occupation.

¹ Ōe, *The Silent Cry*, pp. 163–164.

² Dominick LaCapra, cited in Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa*, p. 4

Current Research Background: Hidden Histories of Occupation

On my first visit to Japan in 1986, I fell in love – with the country, the people and the culture. That visit inspired me to further my education and learn more about Japan, and since that time I have been able to integrate my fascination with Japan into my career as an historian by engaging with the history of relations between Australia and Japan in the postwar era.

Whenever I visit Japan, there are always cultural misunderstandings or differences to negotiate. For instance, in 2004 I spent three months in Hiroshima as a Japan Foundation Fellow in order to conduct oral history interviews and collect documents for my current research. It was the first time I had conducted formal interviews outside Australia. I found the process to be rather like a *miai* meeting in a Tanizaki Jun'ichirō novel – that is, a meeting for arranging a marriage. I had to engage a 'go-between,' someone known to me, to find and approach potential candidates and then 'broker' the interview. The 'go-between' was also present at the interview as facilitator and sometimes interpreter. I had been used to directly approaching potential interviewees and arranging the interview myself, so the slower process and loss of direct control took a little adjusting on my part. However, I was fortunate to have very competent and patient 'interview brokers'!

The interviews in Japan were part of the data collection for my current research project on the Allied Occupation of Japan. The Occupation is primarily remembered collectively as an American affair. Australia was a long-term, active participant in the Occupation, yet has not received a level of scholarly attention commensurate with that participation. My current research project is a social history that aims to help fill this gap by investigating the diverse direct and indirect interactions between Australians as occupiers and Japanese as the occupied in the Hiroshima Prefecture. In particular, it intends to analyse the intersections of gender, race and class in Occupation experiences and interactions.

The Allied Occupation of Japan began in 1945 and ended in 1952 (except in Okinawa). Australia's occupying forces arrived in early 1946 as a contingent of BCOF. The Australian base was in Hiro, while the BCOF headquarters was located in Kure. BCOF was comprised of Australian, New Zealand, British and British-Indian troops, but was always commanded by an Australian. At the height of its presence in 1946, Australia provided almost 12,000 troops to BCOF, and 45,000 Australians participated over the course of the Occupation. Australia also contributed diplomatically to the Occupation: an Australian represented the British Commonwealth on the advisory body based in Tokyo, the Allied Council for Japan; an Australian presided over the International Military Tribunal of the Far East; and a separate Australian delegation participated in the policy-making body for the Occupation based in Washington DC, the Far Eastern Commission. Additionally, many men in the forces were joined by their families, and Australian

women also came to Japan as nurses (Australian Army Nursing Service), as other medical practitioners (Australian Army Medical Women's Service) or as volunteers (for example, the YWCA or Red Cross). Also present were missionaries, reporters, intellectuals and travellers. An Australian community was transplanted in Japan, such as that at Nijimura, complete with homes, shops and schools, existing separate from, yet interacting with, the Japanese. This is a distinct phenomenon in Australian military occupation and peace-keeping history.

An essential part of the research project is the collection of memories of occupation from Australians and Japanese. The remainder of this paper shares some of the events from, interpretations of and even epiphanies about the Occupation from oral history interviews, novels and the official documentary record.

Remembered Moments: The Good, The Bad and The Poignant

Japanese

Some of the memories shared with me by Japanese men reflect the darker side of the Occupation. Matsuno Seiso worked for the BCOF watercraft squadron as a crewmember on a small boat. The coxswain of the boat was always an Australian soldier. Matsuno recalls that one of the main barriers between Australians and Japanese was language – and language, especially in terms of the Occupation, equalled power. Frustrations over communication, exacerbated by orientalist attitudes and the then emerging stories of mistreatment of Australian POWs by Japanese soldiers, often resulted in the abuse of Japanese labourers by Australian soldiers, especially in the early part of the Occupation. However, those who could speak the occupier's language – thus able to reclaim some level of agency and negotiated power – usually fared a little better. As Matsuno relates:

At first, the other workers couldn't understand English ... so the Australian soldiers were frustrated. They often got mad at the Japanese people, yelling at them. At the same time, soldiers had family members who were POWs ... so they really hated the Japanese. In my case, I could communicate a little bit, so we could understand each other. Most of them [the Australians] were nice people.

The coxswain ... was looking at the Japanese people like: 'what on earth is that?' That was when he was first interacting with the Japanese. At first they were staring at us but when we spoke for two or three days that all changed.

[One coxswain] didn't understand Japanese, although he invited the Japanese people's children or friends to come on board. They couldn't understand him so they were cursed at a lot. He kicked them too because he was frustrated at the language barrier. As ... I understand English ... he never yelled at me.³

³ Matsuno interview 2004.

Mistreatment of Japanese workers is a consistent theme in Australian novels written about the Occupation, including T.A.G. Hungerford's *Sowers of the Wind* and Hal Porter's *A Handful of Pennies*, thus mirroring Matsuno's personal experiences. One of Porter's characters, Dugald, regularly kicks his Japanese gardener and housegirl and does little to hide his hatred of the Japanese.⁴ Hungerford's characters regularly define the conflicting tensions between and within Australian Occupation soldiers over how to treat the Japanese people. One character, Colonel Lefevre, after arriving on the Kure wharf and finding some Japanese labourers huddled around a fire on a cold night, proceeds to literally kick out both the labourers and their fire. On being challenged over this behaviour by two other soldiers of varying ranks, he responds: 'My apologies ... I merely thought that, after the way they treated Australians and others, that to give these damned Japanese fires while they work seemed a little – ah – soft.'⁵ While these are fictional accounts, they marry well with the memories of Japanese workers such as Matsuno, and both Porter and Hungerford participated in the Occupation, thus their stories have emerged from direct observations.⁶ These experiences are also supported by the archival record. For instance, a complaint was made against an Australian soldier, apparently drunk and held as a POW by the Japanese during the Asia–Pacific War, who had struck a Japanese man working for the Occupation forces as a 'canteen boy' across the face for drinking sugared tea.⁷ While the soldier later apologised, his behaviour was part of a consistent pattern. A female Japanese working as a waitress at the ANZAC Club in Kure was kicked by the same soldier, and finally quit her job after he gave her caustic soda with which to clean, thus making the skin peel from her hands.⁸

Many Japanese contextualised the actions of some Australian soldiers within the White Australia Policy. As well as witnessing the mistreatment of their own, some Japanese saw similar actions conducted towards other Allied soldiers, especially Indian (who were part of the BRINDIV component of BCOF). Okamoto Kazuhiko remembers seeing Australian soldiers 'teasing the Gurkha soldiers right in front of us.' He then simulated their actions – the Australians were pretending to slit the Gurkha soldiers' throats.⁹

There are also more positive memories, especially from those Japanese who were able to forge closer relationships with Occupation soldiers due to their higher English-language skills. Yoshida Takayoshi, who worked as an interpreter for BCOF after returning to Japan in 1947 from the Soviet Union and China, where he had been taken as a POW, remembers the kindness of one sergeant who often flouted the rules and borrowed English-language books for him to read from the BCOF library (meant for the Force,

⁴ Porter, *A Handful of Pennies*, passim.

⁵ Hungerford, *Sowers of the Wind*, p. 59.

⁶ Both Hungerford and Porter participated in the Occupation, Hungerford in intelligence and Porter as a teacher in a BCOF dependents' school. Considering the level of anti-Japanese sentiment that still existed in postwar Australian society, the medium of the novel may have been a less contentious way to air criticism of Australia's military role/behaviour during the Occupation. Additionally, Hungerford's later autobiographical work *A Knockabout with a Slouch Hat* refers to Occupation incidents that closely resemble some of those in his novel.

⁷ AWM114, 423/10/56 'Statement by Takemoto Masao', 8 September 1949 and 'Statement by Motoki Sukekazu', 7 September 1949.

⁸ AWM114, 423/10/56 'Reason for Resignation', 5 September 1949.

⁹ Okamoto interview 2004.

not the Japanese). The two kept in contact for a short while after the sergeant returned to Australia. Another experience of Yoshida highlights the very affectionate relationship that developed between some Australians and Japanese. Yoshida relayed a story to me that haunts him to this day. An Australian warrant officer, like many Australian soldiers, fell in love with his 'housegirl',¹⁰ a lady from Yoshiura.¹¹ Yoshida acted as a go-between and translator for the two, as the warrant officer wanted to marry her. However there were two main obstacles to overcome: the lady was reluctant to marry a foreigner, and the warrant officer already had a wife in Australia.

Yoshida maintains that the warrant officer was 'sincere' in his feelings for the lady from Yoshiura. The officer returned to Australia, divorced his wife, and was planning to return to Japan to woo his Japanese love. Tragically, the officer was killed in a motor vehicle accident before, as Yoshida says, 'he was successful in his proposal'.¹² I was personally touched by the sincerity of Yoshida's reaction to this story, and obvious distress at the tragic outcome – it demonstrated a personal affinity for this foreign soldier that has had a lasting effect on his life. The 'war brides' who did come to Australia, Japanese women who married Australian soldiers, are often seen as a vanguard of changed attitudes towards Japan in Australia and the beginning of the end of 'White Australia'.

Other Japanese had quite a different relationship with Australian soldiers due to their political affinities. Okamoto, a member of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), allowed his home to be used by Australian soldiers who were associated with the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). These soldiers also gave Okamoto copies of CPA publications – 'I don't understand English so I sent them on to the party head office' – and monies to aid in the JCP's activities, such as running candidates in elections.¹³ Likewise, Watanabe Rikito, also a JCP member, remembers Australian soldiers waving red handkerchiefs in support at JCP public demonstrations and monetary contributions, but language was a constant barrier. When Australian soldiers dropped by the JCP office in Hiroshima, 'We basically sang *L'Internationale* together, shook hands, they gave us money, and then we parted. That was basically it'.¹⁴

There are also more comical stories arising from cultural differences. Isogame Haruo worked as a seaman in the BCOF water transportation squadron. One day when boarding a barge with co-workers and an Australian supervisor, they noticed:

a big octopus on the steps under the pier and we tried to catch it. But Sergeant Coplan [supervisor] got angry with us. He said it was the devil. I wondered why Australians disliked it. But it was a waste for a Japanese to let it go, so we took off our trousers and

¹⁰ 'Housegirl' was the term Australians used to describe the domestic workers they were allocated. Males were referred to as 'houseboys'. These workers were generally paid by the Japanese government.

¹¹ Yoshiura is a part of the city of Kure.

¹² Yoshida interview 2004.

¹³ Okamoto, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Watanabe interview 2004.

caught it. We brought over the big octopus but Sergeant Coplan turned pale and ran away to the office. That was fun... The next day he asked us 'did you eat the octopus?' and we said 'yes'. Then he said 'you will all die...'¹⁵

'they all wore skirts, didn't they?'

The ubiquitous image of the occupier as American affects some memories of the Australian role in the Occupation. Japanese historiography, novels and film about the Occupation is replete with American, not BCOF, soldiers. In the memoirs of an industrial dispute in Hiroshima in 1949 in which Australian BCOF troops were involved, two participants, Shinmi Itoe and Watanbe Tamiko, both refer to the soldiers as 'American'.¹⁶ Lack of awareness is confirmed by a survey conducted by BCOF in the Hiroshima Prefecture city of Ōura in 1947 that 'discovered that the townspeople did not know the nationality of the Occupation Force'.¹⁷ While some Japanese were able to tell the Australian troops apart by their uniform, especially their distinctive slouch hat, others had more trouble. At least one of the Japanese interviewed thought that all the BCOF troops, including Australians, wore 'skirts' – the kilts of the Scottish members of BRINDIV.

Australian

On the Australian side, Douglas Helleur was a 'communist catcher'. Helleur trained as a Japanese linguist in Australia at the end of the Asia-Pacific War, and was posted first to the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Unit (CSDIC), a translating and interpreting unit, and later to a military government team. Helleur worked closely with Japanese police in helping to curb activities like the blackmarket (he once said he preferred working with the Japanese police to the Americans). Finally, he joined 36 Field Security, the BCOF intelligence group, and was involved in the interrogation of Japanese soldiers repatriating from the Soviet Union, especially to gain military information about the Soviet Union for the Americans.¹⁸

Although Australians worked closely with the Americans in the intelligence domain, they held quite different attitudes towards the possibility of anti-Occupation activities from the Japanese. Helleur stated that in Field Security, they were supposed to spend about 15–20 percent of their time 'looking at the Japan Communist Party', but the Americans 'spent most of their time on JCP matters'.¹⁹ The following anecdote highlights the different attitudes towards communism and insurrection in Japan:

¹⁵ Isogame interview 2004.

¹⁶ Watanabe *et al.*, (eds), *Hiroshima under Occupation*, (*senryōka no Hiroshima*), pp. 157 & 162–163.

¹⁷ AWM52 8/2/33, 'BCOF Monthly Intelligence Review No. 20', p. 2.

¹⁸ Helleur interview 1999.

¹⁹ Helleur correspondence 16 May 1999.

During 1948, unknown to the Japanese, there was internal mail censorship, and a letter was picked out which contained some information that indicated a Communist plan for a general strike in August 1948, and it would be followed in October by an armed rebellion. This frightened the Americans ... I very rarely carried a pistol all the time I was in Japan – I might have carried it half a dozen times – but I was coming home one night to my place in Field Security in Tottori and I was driving past the American, or the Allied, Military Government, and a bloke came rushing out with a carbine. It was an M30 and he said ‘What guns have you got up the hill there?’ ‘I’ve got a 38 pistol and my colleague also has a 38 pistol.’ He said: ‘Here, you better have two of these,’ and he handed me two rifles with a couple of boxes of ammunition. So I said ‘What’s all that about?’ and he said ‘You’ll know when you get home.’ So I drove up the hill and five minutes later I walked in and said to my partner ‘What’s going on?’ ‘Oh,’ he said, ‘the Yanks are jumping up and down about a possible general strike and it’s going to be followed by an insurrection.’ I said ‘But the Japanese haven’t got any guns!’ and he said, ‘Yeah we know.’ Only about twenty per cent of the police force were armed, and even they weren’t allowed to carry a gun unless they had our permission. Anyway I said ‘I’ve got two beautiful rifles in the jeep. We’ll go down to the beach and try them out.’ We eventually shot away all the American ammunition and returned the two empty rifles.²⁰

The intercepted letter turned out to be from a Japanese male trying to impress his girlfriend.

Hugh Shackcloth’s experiences working in Army Signals in BCOF reflect the metamorphosis that many Australians experienced after arriving in Japan – moving from seeing the Japanese as enemies to developing an affinity for Japanese people and culture – and in having to navigate cultural differences and misunderstandings. Shackcloth was involved in training Japanese specialists to convert to a single communication line based on the PMG system (Postmaster General – equivalent to Telstra today). He held many meetings with the Japanese, and one such experience is detailed below:

Instead of me talking and the interpreter translating, I used to get my speech ready and then I’d go through it with the interpreter, and then underneath the Japanese I’d have my phonetic version of Japanese and then I’d read that. On this day it was fairly lengthy and the Japanese were getting very edgy. I thought ‘Well I don’t know, I don’t think I’m treading on anything here [causing offence],’ and I finally said to the interpreter ‘What’s wrong with them, they’re getting very nervous, edgy.’ He said ‘They badly need a smoke, you’ve been going for nearly an hour’ and I said ‘Well why don’t they smoke?’ He said ‘They wouldn’t dare unless you smoked.’ I said ‘Hell, I don’t smoke.’ So this is how we solved the problem: he passed me a cigarette and the lighter under the cover and I very ostentatiously lit it, and then said ‘Dōzo Please please for me.....’ And I thought ‘Good Lord, if that’s what nicotine does thank God I don’t smoke.’ I learned afterwards that the first thing I did to start any conference was to light up, even though I put the cigarette in the ashtray and let it burn, but they were happy then. In general I liked the Japanese people, I got on very well with them.²¹

²⁰ Helleur interview, *op. cit.*

²¹ Shackcloth, *op. cit.*

This transformation of wartime attitudes even occurred with former POWs, in contrast with the earlier example of the abusive Australian soldier. Joe was a POW in Thailand for three and a half years, and needed hospitalisation upon his return to Australia. He re-enlisted in the army at the end of the Occupation under a false name and went to Japan (most likely to participate in the Korean War). In a letter written to the nurse who took care of him while recovering from his POW ordeal, he conveyed his initial uncertainty when arriving in Japan, especially of not being able to look a Japanese in the face. However, ‘This feeling only lasted a day or two... now I natter away and laugh and joke with them and don’t feel at all unkindly towards them.’²² While in the POW camp, Joe had picked up some of the Japanese language. When queried on his language ability by Japanese associates, he at first answered honestly. Their reactions are interesting: one looked startled, ‘whipped off his cap bowed and said [very, very] sorry about 14 times in 14 seconds!’. Another simply went silent and was unable to continue to talk. Joe was most disconcerted by these reactions – he was not looking for sympathy or revenge – and from that moment told any Japanese he met that he had learnt the language from his brother who had spent four years in Japan.²³

The Australians were part of an Occupation force that, ostensibly, was to ‘democratised’ Japan. What did this mean to the average soldier? As there was an implicit orientalist assumption within the victor’s ideology – Australian, American or other allies – that their political, social, economic and cultural systems were superior to those of Japan, it was generally believed by Australian soldiers that ‘showing them how we lived’ constituted ‘democratisation’. One of the Occupation aims was the emancipation of women but, leaving aside the often abusive physical or sexual behaviour of many soldiers towards Japanese women that absolutely violated and made hypocrisy of this aim,²⁴ did Australian soldiers envisage a positive role for the force to play? Here is how Shackcloth viewed his role:

Not every Sunday but now and again, we went down to the village which was outside the walls and we found the ice cream man, the local Mr Whippy – it was ice ground up into a paper funnel and over that they poured raspberry or green or yellow or whatever the kid wanted in the way of flavour [*kakigōri*]. So this chap and I, we’d haggle with the vendor and we’d buy the lot, then we’d give him a few cigarettes and tell him to sit down over there out of the way. We blew the whistle and all the rest and got ‘em round and all the boys lined up in front so we used to, with fiendish delight, put the boys at the back and we used to serve the girls first. Did those boys hate that ... what we were trying to do in our little way was ‘Ladies First’. The expression on this chap’s face when he was sitting there puffing on his cigarette that he normally couldn’t afford and you could see him thinking: ‘Really Australians are mad, they buy it and then they give it away, they’re crazy!’, and so perhaps we were.²⁵

²² Joe[full name withheld on request], letter 8 November 1952.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ See Tanaka, *Rape and War*. Also read the Occupation novels by Hungerford and Porter.

²⁵ Shackcloth, *op. cit.*

Shackcloth's understanding of his role, while absolutely sincere, had little to do with gender equality and more to do with particular social etiquettes that emphasised gender difference and reinforced women's role in the (idealised middle class) domestic sphere. This is also evident in other actions, such as taking the 'woman of the house', rather than the man, a small gift when invited into a Japanese family's home for a meal, to show appreciation 'to the hostess because in our country the hostess is the lady that runs the house and she's provided the entertainment and the tea and that... is our way of saying thank you to her'.²⁶

Occasionally, Australian soldiers had personal experiences where they questioned the legitimacy of their role in Japan and the 'superiority' of their own culture. Such epiphanies are sprinkled throughout the occupation novels. Porter's character Everard-Hopkins has the following discussion at the bar, and this extract from the novel questions the validity of the underlying orientalist assumptions of the aims of the Occupation:

'Democracy,' continued Everard-Hopkins and his whisky, 'is a Western foible ... ideas, you know, based on a defiant conceit we imagine is our freedom – politics based on, of all sands, religion! Oriental life is based on, shall we say, firmer sand ... oh yes, certainly firmer, on a philosophy, on a harmony of subordination, on those unwritten codes so much more logical than ethics typewritten in triplicate. How naïve of the West to disprove an Oriental divinity without proving a Western one, particularly here where a series of cataclysms had turned cynical even the most unworldly...

'But I am intensely, oh intensely, interested in onlooking at the results of a vanity which suggests by its purgings and reformatations that the Seven Deadly Sins are better than the Eight Dusts of Anger, Selfishness, Covetousness, etcetera. Is thirteen a better unlucky number than the Oriental four, is it wiser to beckon palm-up as we do or palm-down as they do, is hanging more aesthetic than beheading? Do you understand what I infer? We are unable to prove, even to ourselves, that what we consider important is important, to us, let alone these...foreigners.'²⁷

In a telling phrase that even Everard-Hopkins was a victim of his culture's own orientalist discourse, Porter's companion goes on to correct him that 'Surely ... we are the foreigners'.²⁸

The following interview extract from Shackcloth reflects a similar, seminal moment of cultural questioning:

I'd stopped for lunch one day and looking across this valley I could see things moving up this hill, miles across. I got my field glasses out, and I could see legs underneath these trees going up, so I gave the glasses to an interpreter and said 'What's that?' He said,

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

'Oh, they're just putting the new trees in.' [When I asked about the process] they looked at me and they said 'Well, where would the animals and birds live if we cut all the trees?'

I sent my staff to work to follow back through when re-forestation started, ... and you how long to you think it was, four thousand years... We had been here [in Australia] one hundred and fifty years and we were down to twenty percent of our forests, the rest we'd cut and burnt and I thought then, we've got a lot to learn from these people ... It just used to leave me at times thinking, 'Good lord, we're backward, they look after the country and this is why their homeland means so much to them because it's a part of them.'²⁹

'I didn't think of him as Japanese'

While many Australians in the Occupation maintained a level of antipathy towards the Japanese, others managed to form positive relationships, exemplified by Shackcloth's earlier comment: 'In general I liked the Japanese people I got on very well with them.' Considering the climate in Australia at that time due to the effects of war propaganda, the experiences of POWs, and the fact that not long beforehand many Australian soldiers had been shooting to kill enemy Japanese soldiers in warfare, how did these changes come about? Such a comment was tantamount to heresy in Australia, and as Gerster has pointed out recently, one Australian newspaper ran a shocking headline in 1952: 'Our Soldiers Like the Japanese.'³⁰

In a recent casual conversation between myself and a BCOF veteran,³¹ he spoke of his affinity for many of the Japanese he met, and the difficulty he had relating this to other Australians when he returned from Japan. He explained to them that he 'didn't think of them as Japanese' – the label 'Japanese' had become tainted in Australia, associated with war, negative stereotypes and caricatures. To rise above such images, this soldier discarded that label – and instead came to view the Japanese as fellow human beings. Perhaps this is the real positive legacy of the occupation – a cross-cultural encounter that provided an opportunity to view each other's common humanity, in both its best and its worst forms.

Conclusion

The Allied Occupation of Japan constructed a space where cross-cultural exchange between Australians and Japanese occurred on an unprecedented scale. The exchange was largely driven by individuals rather than directed by the Australian government or the military, the latter instead imposing a 'non-fraternisation' policy intended to prevent

²⁹ Shackcloth, *op. cit.*

³⁰ Gerster, 'The Forgotten Veterans of World War II'.

³¹ BCOF 'Kids' Reunion, Canberra, 5 March 2006.

or reduce interaction. The stated aims of the Occupation were demilitarisation and democratisation, not the desire to gain a greater cultural understanding of each other. Considering the level of propaganda and images of cultural stereotypes that existed about the 'other' in both Australia and Japan before and during the Asia–Pacific war, the encounter proved to be more positive in many regards than may have been expected.

As in the case of Jin and Mitsuburo, memories of the Occupation are complex: sometimes fond, sometimes difficult; sometimes romanticised, sometimes exaggerated; sometimes clear, sometimes obscured by pain or time. The use of memories as an historical source is contentious, yet can give insight not only into the historical period under consideration, but its continuing legacy. This nexus of Australian and Japanese memories is the residual expression of the grassroots occupation experience; one that, despite stated allied or national aims at the time, proved to be a seminal cross-cultural opportunity for Australia and Japan, one that opened the path towards greater understanding and the development of positive relations.

References

- Australian War Memorial (AWM) 114, 423/10/56 BCOF CSDIC Translations, 'Statement by Takemoto Masao', 8 September 1949 and 'Statement by Motoki Sukekazu', 7 September 1949.
- AWM114, 423/10/56 BCOF CSDIC Translations, 'Reason for Resignation', 5 September 1949.
- AWM52 8/2/33, 'BCOF Monthly Intelligence Review No. 20', November 1947, p. 2 (copy courtesy of Yoshida Takayoshi).
- Gerster, R., 'The Forgotten Veterans of World War II', in *The Age*, 25 April 2006.
- Helleur, D., Correspondence, 16 May 1999.
- , Interview in Melbourne 1999.
- Hungerford, T.A.G., *A Knockabout with a Slouch Hat: An autobiographical collection 1942–1951* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Press, 1985).
- , T.A.G., *Sowers of the Wind: a novel of the Occupation of Japan* (Sydney: Pacific Books, 1961 (1958)).
- Isogame, H., Interview in Etajima 2004, transcription translated by Okamoto Sota.
- Joe [full name withheld on request], Letter, 8 November 1952, private collection, copy in possession of author.
- Molasky, M.S., *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Ōe, K., *The Silent Cry: A Novel* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1974).

New Voices

Okamoto, K., Interview in Kure-shi 2004, transcription translated by Hirashima Mihoko.

Porter, H., *A Handful of Pennies* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1958).

Matsuno, S., Interview in Kure-shi 2004, transcription translated by Hirashima Mihoko.

Tanaka, Y., *Rape and War: The Japanese Experience* (Clayton: Monash University Papers of the Japanese Studies Centre, 1995).

Watanabe, R., Tagawa, T. & Masuoka, T. (eds), *Hiroshima under Occupation: Anti-nuclear – Stories from the Early Hibakusha Movement, (senryōka no Hiroshima: hankaku – hibakusha undō sōsōki monogatari)* (Tokorozawa: Nichiyosha, 1995).

—, Interview in Hiroshima-shi 2004, transcription translated by Hirashima Mihoko.

Yoshida, T., Interview in Kure-shi 2004.

Assessing Australian Attitudes to Japan in the Early Twentieth Century – A New Approach¹

Ben McInnes

The University of New England

After living in Japan for almost seventeen years, and being constantly intrigued by the attitudes of the Japanese to Australia, upon my return I was naturally interested to learn about Australian attitudes to Japan. The paucity of news concerning Japan in the press suggested that it was not of major interest to the Australian public, and one tends to presume that, wartime apart, this had always been the case. An interest in Australian history fostered by prolonged absence was partly satisfied by undertaking volunteer work for the National Trust of Australia, at their property 'Saumarez Homestead', located in the rural city of Armidale, New South Wales, where I had taken up residence. 'Saumarez' is a large Victorian–Edwardian pastoral property, purchased by Francis John White in 1874. White and his wife Margaret raised their five daughters and two sons on the property, and became wealthy and socially important people in the township. While this may seem irrelevant to my experience in Japan, I was amazed to discover that Mary White, the eldest daughter of the 'Saumarez' family, had indeed travelled to Japan in 1903, and I soon learned that quite a number of other local people had done the same in the period between Federation and World War I. That residents of what was a rather isolated community in country Australia had gone to the trouble and expense to travel such a long way, taking steamships up the Queensland coast, stopping over in Manila and Hong Kong, and taking over six weeks to reach 'the land of topsy-turvydom', as Japan was referred to in the local press on one occasion, suggested that an investigation of attitudes to Japan in this part of Australia in the early years of the twentieth century might provide some significant data on the development of the Australia–Japan relationship.²

Several extraordinary events occurred in the Pacific Region in the first decade of the twentieth century – events which, while not directly involving Australia, are reputed to have had a profound impact on Australian attitudes towards Japan. Previous studies have concluded that the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 had an enormously positive effect on Australian perceptions of Japan. Australian public opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of the Japanese,³ who were seen as being 'engaged in a heroic resistance to

¹ This article is based upon research undertaken in the School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics, University of New England, under the supervision of Associate Professor Hugh de Ferranti. The author wishes to express his sincere thanks both to Professor de Ferranti and to Dr. Frank Bongiorno of the School of Classics, History and Religion, for several very useful discussions of the material in this work.

² The rural press reviewed for this research also revealed a number of articles concerning an event now largely forgotten in Australia, and even in Japan – the first Japanese Antarctic expedition of 1910 to 1912. This expedition, headed by Lieutenant Nobu Shirase, arrived in Sydney Harbour in May, 1911, enroute to a second attempt on the Antarctic, and was widely reported in the press. Preliminary investigations disclosed a number of facts that led me to suspect that an important figure not only in Japanese history, but also in the history of Antarctic exploration, had been unfairly neglected in recent research. As a result, Shirase's expedition has now become the topic of my doctoral research.

³ See for example, Hayne, 'The impact of the Battle of Tsushima', p. 274; Sandra Tweedie, *Trading Partners*, p. 34.

Russian encroachment'.⁴ That the Japanese Consul in Sydney, as well as Burns, Philp, and Company – agents of the Japan Mail Steamship Company (Nippon Yusen Kaisha, or, more commonly, N.Y.K.) – found it necessary to discourage Australian would-be volunteers with the announcement that despite the 'large number of applications ... being daily received ... there is no possible chance of any officers or men being allowed to join the Japanese forces other than Japanese,' illustrates the extent to which Australian sympathies lay with Japan.⁵ The warm welcome extended to the Training Japanese Naval Squadron upon its visit to Australian waters in 1906 bears ample witness to the nature of Australian sentiments immediately following the battle.⁶

From this point on, however, the literature has claimed unanimously that Australian attitudes towards Japan rapidly became negative. A number of explanations have been advanced for this shift. D.C.S. Sissons⁷ proposed the Russo-Japanese War as the source of both positive and negative sentiments towards Japan, with the negative feelings not assuming predominance until some time after the war, although he gave no convincing argument as to why this 'delayed reaction' should have occurred. A.T. Yarwood⁸ suggested that the cause of the sudden escalation in anti-Japanese attitudes in Australia was a result of the fear aroused by the threat of war between Japan and the United States in 1906 and into 1907, over the so-called California School Board Crisis. Yarwood claimed that Australians felt that the racial tensions behind the conflict were ominous for an Australia that had only recently introduced an *Alien Restriction Act*, a view with which both Takeda⁹ and Walker¹⁰ concurred. While agreeing with Yarwood's 'racial' explanation of a reportedly Australia-wide anti-Japanese mood, Neville Meaney¹¹ added depth to the argument by including Britain's withdrawal of naval forces from the Pacific, rumours of a collapse of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1910–11 as all contributing to increasingly negative attitudes towards Japan.

It is significant, however, that while all of these sources used data from the contemporary press extensively, it was drawn almost without exception from the press of the capital cities. Thus, although studies of the attitudes of Australians towards Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have implicitly accepted the premise that items appearing in the press form a useful tool for determining contemporary Australian attitudes, researchers have then also made the presumption that attitudes throughout Australia were essentially homogeneous. The unacknowledged premise has been that the results of investigations into the attitudes of city-dwelling Australians, as determined from the metropolitan press, could be extrapolated across the entire population to arrive at an Australian attitude towards Japan.

⁴ Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, p. 92.

⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 February, 1904.

⁶ See, for example, David Walker, *Anxious Nation*, pp. 85–97.

⁷ Sissons, 'Attitudes to Japan and defence 1890–1923'.

⁸ Yarwood, *op. cit.*

⁹ Takeda, 'Australia-Japan relations in the era of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1896–1911'.

¹⁰ Walker, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Meaney, *The Search for Security in the Pacific*.

One aim of the study presented in summary here was to test the validity of this presumption that the press of the capital cities provides an accurate indication of attitudes towards Japan in all sectors of the population, including rural-dwellers, in the period 1906 to 1914. Such a ‘test’ was considered important because the population group across which the extrapolation has been made – the rural population – constituted a far greater portion of the total population of Australia in the period under investigation than it does today. For example, in 1906, 48.5 per cent of the total population lived on rural properties or in towns of less than three thousand people, while only 34 per cent lived in the four cities of over 100,000 people. In contrast, by 1996 only 18 per cent lived in rural areas and almost 63 per cent lived in cities of over 100,000. Similarly, although over one-third of Australians were directly engaged in primary production in 1906, only approximately five per cent were engaged in this industry in 1996.¹² A division in country–city attitudes over a number of issues, including the administration of the legal system, transport, labour distribution, and government spending, was more than evident in the heated debate surrounding the decentralisation issue, in which the rural electorates struggled to retain political power against the growing might of Sydney. Whether this division was paralleled in other spheres, such as the stance taken on international matters, remains unaddressed.¹³ It is clear, however, that due consideration of *rural* attitudes is vital to the accuracy and validity of any statement of Australian attitudes in the early years of the twentieth century.

It must be emphasised that previous research in general has used not only press data, but also that to be found in a number of other sources, such as the *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, the writings and correspondence of politicians and other prominent persons, and defence force documents. It is not the intention of this paper to suggest that these sources are not an invaluable resource for investigations into Australian attitudes towards Japan. However, as the city press has been used consistently as one of the more important tools in such investigations, it is undeniably important that the validity of this tool as an indicator of Australia-wide attitudes be tested.

As in previous research, it was an acknowledged assumption of this study that a survey of press articles dealing with Japan during the era between the Russo-Japanese and Great wars would provide evidence of the attitudes of Australians at that time. While it could be argued that editorials might be attempting to inculcate certain attitudes in the readership, rather than reflecting already-held viewpoints, this was not felt to be an obstacle to the research. Although an individual editor might promote a point of view opposed to the generally held opinions of that newspaper’s readership, the tendency of data collected from that newspaper to prejudice outcomes would be largely counteracted by the use of data from several newspapers and journals, and from not only editorials,

¹² Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Social Trends 2000, Population – Population characteristics: 20th century: beginning and end*, <<http://www.abs.gov.au>>, accessed 26 August, 2005.

¹³ Decentralisation was addressed in much of the rural press in the pre-Great War era; of the New England press surveyed, the *Tenterfield Star* in particular carried a number of articles on the subject, including on 2, 9, 19, 23 and 26 July, 1913. In the last of these articles, Inverell is cited as the starting-point of the movement.

but also the range of other items appearing in the press (including news reports, readers' letters, trade and business reports, educational columns, and entertainment items).

It could be argued that the statements of politicians, for example, are a more accurate indicator of public opinion than the press, in that they would be unlikely to depart dramatically from what they understood to be mainstream public opinion. However, although political leaders are likely to 'trim their sails' to suit the mood of the voters at election times, it is clear that at other times this is not necessarily the case. In any event, by the early years of the twentieth century, Australian federal politicians often voiced extremely diverse opinions on a number of issues. Thus, basing an assessment of the attitudes of the public on the statements of any one politician alone, or even on the opinions expressed by a small group of politicians, would be fraught with dangers equally as severe as relying solely on the press.

In any case, although it is recognised that a more extensive study of the question of attitudes towards Japan would need to incorporate data from a variety of sources, the purpose of this study was not to arrive at a definitive assessment of Australian attitudes, but rather to test the validity of the presumption made in previous research that the rural press would simply echo the opinions of the capital city press, and could therefore justifiably be ignored.

A second and no less important goal of this research was to 'trial' a new methodological approach in this field, namely, the incorporation of quantitative analysis into what has been traditionally an area subject to purely qualitative methods. It should be noted here that this form of empirical research has not to this writer's knowledge been undertaken previously in a study of Australian attitudes towards Japan in the pre-World War I era. Although earlier research has discussed the general 'tone' of reports in, for example, the *Sydney Morning Herald* of a certain year as being positive or negative towards Japan, no actual records of the frequency with which items about Japan appeared, nor of the relative proportions of different types of items appearing in that year, have been presented. Clearly, arguments could be advanced as to the advantages or disadvantages of qualitative over quantitative methods in historical research, although a discussion of this topic is beyond the range of this paper. However, it would seem that a purely qualitative approach to this research area, where enormous amounts of data are available, serves only to expose the researcher to claims of bias; the plenitude of data means that numerous examples can be found to support nearly any argument put forward. On the other hand, a purely quantitative methodology, merely tabulating frequencies of publication of the various types of item, fails to take into account the relative weight being placed on items of any one kind by the press of the day; a passing reference to the trade relationship, for example, would be granted the same importance as a full-page article reporting the imminent threat of Japanese invasion. Although the dangers involved in combining qualitative and quantitative research were fully appreciated, it was considered that just such a combination of methods would shed new

light on the questions addressed in this study, and might foster a deeper understanding of the issues involved. Hence, although a quantitative analysis of the data was undertaken, the output of that process was then examined qualitatively, in an attempt to avoid the weaknesses and exploit the advantages of both methodologies.

Three periods were selected as covering critical points in the interval between the Russo-Japanese War and the upheavals of the Great War. In particular, the reportedly anti-Japanese years in Australia of the California Schools Board Crisis, the intervening period of what has been labelled the era of Australian 'Crisis Fever', and the months immediately prior to Japan's entering into the conflicts of World War I, were chosen as representing periods when, according to the literature, negative attitudes towards Japan in Australia were rampant.

The New England Region of northern New South Wales was chosen as the subject of an in-depth case study. This region was selected not only because of evidence of considerable numbers of individuals from this region having travelled to Japan and of their having personal interest in that country, but also for the fact that New England had a flourishing press at the time, making it a fertile source of data. The availability of contemporary local newspapers, for example, in the Dixson Library of the University of New England, was, of course, an important consideration in the undertaking of this study.

Nine New England newspapers were surveyed, as well as two major journals.¹⁴ Although published in Sydney, the journals were included not only because of their clearly intended rural readership, but also because evidence exists that they were widely read in the New England region during the period covered by this study. All editions of the source materials were scanned for all references to Japan and the Japanese people. These items were briefly summarised and recorded by date and source.

Data items were assigned to one of four groups: those items portraying, or tending to create, a positive attitude towards Japan; those portraying a negative view; those which were neutral; and those which tended to exoticise Japan, rather than reporting events or facts.

The second phase of analysis involved the counting of occurrences of items in each group, and tabulation of results. It was recognised early in the study that the assignment of data to one of the four categories did not always present the researcher with obvious, objective choices. In the interests of reducing researcher bias to a minimum, a number of procedures were established in advance to assist in the allocation of items to one of the four categories on the basis of other features of the item itself, rather than leaving

¹⁴ The newspapers were the *Armidale Argus*, *Chronicle and Express*, the *Bingara Telegraph*, the *Glen Innes Examiner*, the *Tenterfield Star*, the *Uralla Times*, the *Walcha News*, and the *Wyallda Standard*. The journals were the *Pastoralists' Review*, and the *Town & Country Journal*.

the decision to the researcher in each case.

Following quantitative analysis, a detailed qualitative investigation of items categorised into the four groups was undertaken, to determine the topics or news events around which the items in each category tended to cluster. By then combining these two sets of data, it was possible to discover whether the rural press was portraying an attitude towards Japan similar to that reported in the literature for the capital cities, or whether a different view was evident.

A summary of the results of the quantitative analysis is presented in Tables 1 and 2, below:

Table 1 Totals of item types for all press surveyed by year groupings

1906–07				1910–11				1913–14				Total
Positive	Negative	Neutral	Exotic	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Exotic	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Exotic	
195	69	252	64	101	37	121	29	138	29	101	23	1159
Total 580				Total 288				Total 291				

Table 2 Totals of item types for entire survey

Item Type	Number	Percentage of total (rounded to nearest whole number)
Positive	434	37
Negative	135	12
Neutral	474	41
Exoticising	116	10
TOTAL	1159	100

Previous research utilising data from the Australian capital city press has claimed that, although positive attitudes prevailed in Australia up to and including the years of the Russo-Japanese War, Australian attitudes towards Japan became increasingly negative following the U.S.–Japanese tensions of 1906–07. Spurred on by the annexation of Korea in 1910–11 and the uncertainties of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Australian fears reportedly continued to grow, such that Australian attitudes towards Japan have been generally portrayed as undergoing a rapid deterioration between 1906 and the Great War.

A test of the validity of the presumption that the press of the capital cities alone could provide an accurate indication of attitudes towards Japan of all sectors of the population in this period was considered important because the population group across which the extrapolation was made – the rural population – constituted close to half of the total population of Australia at the time. Thus, any diversity in attitudes made evident from such an investigation would have profound implications for the validity of the claims of previous studies.

Analysis of the data revealed that, in comparison with items suggesting negative attitudes towards Japan (approximately 12 per cent), a substantially greater number of items giving a positive image of Japan were published in the period surveyed (approximately 37 per cent). This fact alone raises serious questions as to the applicability of conclusions based on analysis of the city press to the New England region at least, if not to all rural areas. In-depth qualitative analysis of the data suggested that, in particular, the trade relationship already in place between the nations had tended to create a far more positive attitude towards Japan in the New England region than has been reported in the literature. Indeed, the data revealed that, with regard to the wool trade, the rural press assumed a competitive stance towards England for access to the Japanese market, and expressed pride in Japan's high regard for Australian wool. Other Positive items in the press suggested not only a level of admiration for the Japanese, but also a willingness to accept a wide variety of Japanese influences into rural Australian leisure and aesthetic interests in this period.

In addition to the large number of Positive items identified in the survey, an even greater number of Neutral items were also discovered. For the purposes of this study, Neutral items were defined as those items which were (a) a purely 'factual' report of news or other events, which (b) contained no statement of opinion or discussion of implications for Australia which would allow the item to be counted in any other category, and (c), which were not clearly reporting events which would be perceived as having a direct and negative or positive impact on Australia. The presence of Neutral items has not been identified in the city press by previous research on attitudes to Japan. If a proportionally large body of data did indeed exist in the city press, the failure to acknowledge this fact is regrettable for two reasons:

1. It might have resulted in a serious underestimation of the sophistication of the Australian general public regarding Japan in the pre-World War I era. Walker has made the intriguing claim that, 'One of the remarkable features of Australian history is the periodic rediscovery of our proximity to Asia.'¹⁵ It seems possible that Australians in the early years of the twentieth century were well aware of their proximity to Japan, but that post-World War II researchers, themselves influenced by a legacy of alienation and hostility arising from their wartime experiences, were unappreciative or dismissive of the closer

¹⁵ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

relationship with Japan enjoyed by an earlier generation. This conjecture invites investigation beyond the scope of this paper.

2. If the ratio of Neutral items to Negative items in the city press was comparable to the ratio identified in this study of the rural press, where approximately 3.5 times as many Neutral items appeared as Negative items, failure to note this fact may have significantly biased conclusions regarding the predominant 'tone' of Australian attitudes towards Japan.

In this study, it was observed that Neutral items were frequently concerned with events portrayed in previous research as 'triggers' to anti-Japanese sentiment in Australia. In other words, events which were treated neutrally in the New England region were among those that other studies have stated were being portrayed negatively in the city press. Based on the results of data analysis in this study, the implication is that attitudes in the New England region might not have been so easily swayed against a nation that was both a trading partner recognised as an important customer for the products of that region, and a country worthy of respect and intelligent regard in its own right.

With regard to Exoticising items, this study revealed that such items comprised only a relatively insignificant portion of all items concerning Japan published in the press in the years surveyed. This counter-intuitive discovery lent further weight to the argument that the sophistication of the Australian public regarding Japan in the pre-World War I era has been seriously underestimated by Australians of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The presumption that the press of a century ago would have been far more likely to exoticise Japan than is common today perhaps speaks more of current ideas held by Australians with regard to their own history, than of Australian attitudes towards Japan at that time.

In summary, the following observations can be made:

1. That attitudes towards Japan in the New England region of New South Wales in the period from 1906 to 1914, as represented in the press of that region, were overwhelmingly neutral or positive in terms of the attitude towards Japan portrayed.
2. That, contrary to the assumptions of previous research, Australian attitudes towards Japan were not homogeneous in the period under investigation. At least in the New England Region, attitudes in the pre-Great War era were found to differ significantly from the attitudes of city-dwellers as they have been reported in the literature.

Although this paper presents little more than the preliminary results of an initial research programme, the intriguing possibilities raised by the application of this new methodological approach to the study of what might justifiably be considered the formative years of the Australia-Japan relationship suggest the value of further investigation. Initially, it would be of great benefit to apply this same combination of quantitative and qualitative

analyses to the press of other rural areas of Australia in the same period, to determine whether similar patterns of data emerge as those identified in the New England press. Following this, the application of this method to the city press would allow an objective comparison of rural and city press data. Of course, the collection and analysis of other sources of data concerning the attitudes of rural Australians to Japan in the pre–Great War era would advance all such research enormously.

Clearly, the field of what might be termed ‘rural historical studies’ is one which has been sorely neglected in studies of the Australia–Japan relationship in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is hoped that the present study might not only stimulate further investigations in this area, but also serve to foster a greater appreciation of the historical role played by rural Australians in the shaping of the relationship. In addition, the otherwise less-than-obvious balance of attitudes in the press revealed by the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods might encourage more demonstrably objective approaches to historical research in the field of Australia–Japan relations.

References

A. Primary sources

Armidale *Argus*

Armidale *Chronicle*

Armidale *Express*

Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Social Trends 2000, Population – Population characteristics: 20th century: beginning and end*, <<http://www.abs.gov.au>>, accessed 26 August, 2005.

Bingara *Telegraph*

Glen Innes *Examiner*

Pastoralists’ Review

Sydney Morning Herald

Tenterfield Star

Town & Country Journal

Uralla *Times*

Walcha *News*

Warialda *Standard*

B. Secondary sources

Hayne, M.B., ‘The impact of the Battle of Tsushima on Australian defence and foreign policy 1905–1909’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 72, 1987, pp. 273–287.

Meaney, N., *The Search for Security in the Pacific, 1901–14* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976).

Sissons, D.C.S., ‘Attitudes to Japan and defence 1890–1923’, Master of Arts thesis, University of Melbourne, 1956.

Takeda, I., ‘Australia–Japan relations in the era of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1896–1911’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney, 1984.

New Voices

Tweedie, S., *Trading Partners Australia and Asia 1790–1993* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 1994).

Walker, D., *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850–1939* (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 1999).

Yarwood, A.T., *Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion 1896–1923* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964).

Researching the History of Women in *Chanoyu*

Rebecca Corbett

The University of Sydney

At the time of writing I am living in Kyoto, conducting research for my PhD thesis on the History of Women in *chanoyu* (tea-ceremony)¹, supported by a Japan Foundation Fellowship. This research combines my academic and personal interests in Japanese history and *chanoyu*. In this paper I would like to discuss how I came to choose this subject for my doctoral research, before going on to describe this research and how I believe it will contribute to the fields of Tea history and Japanese women's history.

Research Topic

I first began studying Tea as an exchange student living in Kuroishi city in Aomori, northern Japan. At the time, I knew very little about *chanoyu*; I had seen a 'performance' of Tea in Kyoto on a trip with my Australian high school a few years prior to that. It was out of curiosity and a desire to learn more about Japan and Japanese culture that I asked my host sister if I could attend class with her at her aunt's house. This first real exposure I had to Tea was limited by my lack of Japanese language skills, yet over the course of one year, as my Japanese proficiency increased and as I attended weekly Tea classes, I slowly began to learn more about Tea. The class I attended was typical of Tea at the 'local' level, away from the centre in Kyoto. The teacher was a woman who taught Tea and Ikebana (flower arrangement) in her home to students who were all women, predominantly aged over forty. As I will discuss later, Tea in modern Japan is very much a women's activity. This was the world of Tea to which I was first introduced. At the time I was studying Tea as a hobby in Aomori, I did not realise that I would be able to continue studying once I had returned to Australia. I discovered, though, that since the 1950s the Urasenke school of Tea, which was the school to which my teacher belonged, had been promoting Tea internationally. Thus I was pleasantly surprised to find that I could continue my practice of Tea in Sydney, and have been doing so for the past six years.

As an undergraduate student at the University of Sydney, I studied Japanese history among other subjects. Women's history in particular was an area that interested me, and as I began to read more about Tea history, both as part of my Tea practice and for university study, I became intrigued by the lack of discussion about women. Knowing as I did that Tea in both modern Japan and internationally was considered to be a woman's

¹ The common English term 'tea-ceremony' is regarded by many practitioners and academics as a poor translation of the Japanese terms *chanoyu* (literally 'hot water for tea') and *chadō* (The Way of Tea) which are used to describe the various activities centered around *temae*, procedures for making and drinking *matcha* (powdered green tea). I prefer to use either the Japanese term *chanoyu* or in English 'Tea', as in Japanese *ocha* (tea) is the term most commonly used by practitioners to refer to the activity among themselves.

activity, I was surprised to find so little mention of women within its history; and to read that it was once a male activity, part of the masculine world of samurai culture in Early Modern Japan. I became interested in exploring how, when and why women came to study Tea and when and why the image of Tea became feminine. Thus, it was a combination of my academic study of Japanese history and private study of Tea that led me to undertake doctoral research on the history of women in *chanoyu*.

There are difficulties faced by a foreigner undertaking research on a topic so close to the hearts of many Japanese. Tea is regarded by many Japanese (even if they have not formally studied it) as uniquely Japanese, and is bound up in their notion of Japanese identity. Often it seems that Japanese believe Tea to be a subject which is difficult for a foreigner to grasp, let alone an area of research in which they can make a significant contribution to the field. Yet, in some senses being a foreigner and therefore an automatic 'outsider' can have its benefits. One finds, for example, that you have more freedom and leeway to critically analyse Tea discourse and established scholarship. Recently, there has been an increase in cross-cultural scholarship on Tea by foreign researchers which has taken such a critical approach.² It is changing the way we think about Tea history and culture, giving an alternative viewpoint to the dominant narrative produced and sponsored by the major Tea schools.

The history of *chanoyu* dates back at least four hundred years to the Tea master Sen no Rikyū, who is regarded as the 'founder' of Tea.³ In contemporary Japan, Tea is regarded as a feminine activity. The practice of Tea is dominated by women as both teachers and students at the local level, yet at the higher levels it remains controlled by men, with limited access for women to attain high positions within the Tea schools. Tea as a feminine activity is often associated with bridal training for young women, and as a hobby for middle-aged and older women.⁴ This is seen as being in contrast to the Early Modern Period when, it is generally said, women did not study Tea and it was a male activity, practised by both samurai and townsmen.

According to the standard accounts of Tea history, women began to practise Tea after the Meiji Restoration⁵, the political and social upheavals which ushered in a period of modernisation and westernisation in Japan from 1868. It is said that in the Meiji Period, the major schools of Tea opened up the study of Tea to women through incorporating it into the curriculum of girls' schools.⁶ Certainly this exposure to Tea at school would have had an impact on the number of female Tea practitioners. Though it is difficult to

² See, for example, Pitelka (ed), *Japanese Tea Culture*.

³ On the history of Tea see Kumakura and Varley (eds), *Tea in Japan* and Sen Sōshitsu XV, *The Japanese Way of Tea*.

⁴ For a discussion of women's Tea practice in contemporary Japan see Kato, *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan*.

⁵ See for example Sen Sōshitsu, 'Autobiographical Essay-3: The Diffusion of the Way of Tea', p. 6. International Division, Chadō Urasenke Tankōkai, Inc., *The Urasenke Tradition of Tea*, p. 15. Varley, Foreword, to Sōshitsu, Sen XV, *The Japanese Way of Tea*, p. x. s.

⁶ Kumakura, 'josei to chanoyu', p. 246. Yokota, 'Josei to chadō kyōiku', pp. 84–85. For detailed studies of the relationship between tea and girls' higher schools in this period see Kobayashi 'kōtō jogakkō ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō', pp. 45–59. Kobayashi 'meiji sho/chūki, joshi chūtō kyōiku ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō', pp. 12–22.

know the exact number of Tea practitioners and their gender at any given time, due to the lack of information provided by Tea schools, it is generally accepted that in the Meiji and Taishō periods (1868–1912 and 1912–1926) there was a dramatic increase in the number of female practitioners. However, historian of Tea Kumakura Isao notes, ‘it is not likely that this degree of sudden popularisation of *chanoyu* was due merely to its incorporation into women’s education.’⁷ Kumakura proposes other background reasons for this, such as the codification of *chanoyu* as ‘tradition’ and the acceptance *chanoyu* gained among intellectuals.⁸ I would also argue that we cannot simply attribute the contemporary popularity of Tea among women and its feminine image to the promotion of Tea through girls’ education in the Meiji Period. I originally began my doctoral research with this in mind, aiming to investigate this transitory period, and examine how Tea changed from a male-dominated world to a female-dominated one in the Meiji and Taishō periods.

However, my research took an unexpected turn when, as part of background research to the changes of the Meiji Period, I began examining Tea in the preceding Edo Period, or Early Modern Period (1600–1868) more closely. I very quickly found that it was not difficult to find evidence that showed that women were practising Tea prior to the Meiji Period. This led me to rethink my earlier assumptions about the history of women’s Tea practice, based on the standard historical accounts of Tea. My research therefore became focused on finding evidence for women’s Tea practice in the Early Modern Period, and examining this in order to understand women’s Tea practice at that time. Further, I have been considering how this relates to the increase in female Tea practitioners in the Modern Period and the current feminine image of Tea. This research also requires a critical examination of Tea historiography, as produced by both the Tea schools and academics, raising questions such as why the major schools of Tea in modern Japan and academic historians have written a history of Tea in which it is said women did not begin to participate until the Meiji period, when there is ample evidence to suggest otherwise.

Furthermore, it raises questions about our image of the Early Modern Japanese woman as ‘cloistered’ inside the home. As Yutaka Yabuta has suggested, there has been the view among scholars of Japan that ‘the Edo Period was the darkest of times for women.’⁹ This is based on a view that women in this period were severely restricted in their ability to participate in social and public activities due to the influence of Confucianism. Yabuta, however, in his own research on Early Modern women’s literacy and describing the research of others in areas such as art, travel, and marriage and divorce practices, has argued that we need to re-evaluate Early Modern women’s lives and recognise women’s participation in and contribution to Edo Period culture. My research on Early Modern women’s Tea practice also suggests that women had a more significant role to play in cultural production and practices in the Edo Period than current

⁷ Kumakura, ‘The History of Chanoyu in Early-Modern Japan’, p. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Yutaka, *Rediscovering Women in Tokugawa Japan*, p. 17.

scholarship would suggest.

Despite the contemporary dominance of women in the world of Tea practice, within the history of Tea, as told by academics and the Tea schools, there is very little mention of women, particularly prior to the Modern Period. The few women who are regularly cited as having studied Tea in the Early Modern Period are regarded as exceptions due to their high status, for example the Empress Tōfukumonin.¹⁰ That is, Early Modern women's Tea practice either goes unnoticed, or when it is discussed it follows what feminist historians have called the 'compensatory' and 'contributory' model.¹¹ In this model 'exceptional' women are held up as examples to compensate for the lack of women in previous historical accounts of the subject. It has been recognised that such scholarship examined women's contributions and achievements 'according to the standards of the male, public world, and appending women to history as it has been defined, left unchallenged the existing paradigm.'¹²

The only book to date specifically dealing with women in Tea history, Kagotani Machiko's *Josei to chanoyu* (Women and Tea), is an example of such 'compensatory' and 'contributory' scholarship. The book presents biographical information about a number of famous female Tea practitioners, both from the Early Modern and Modern periods. There is no attempt made to analyse the Tea practice of these women outside of the paradigms established by male centred Tea scholarship; rather, these women are held up as 'exceptional' examples to compensate for the lack of women in other Tea histories. Interestingly, male scholars often point out that there is already a book on female Tea practitioners, namely *Josei to chanoyu*. Though this book is now more than twenty years old, they see no need for a revision of the history of women and Tea. However, it is necessary for a history of Tea to be written which focuses specifically on women, and does not merely contribute some discussion of women to male-centred Tea history. By shifting our focus to women we can gain a more complete understanding of Tea history itself, as well as the history of women in Japan. That is, this new focus on women, rather than male Tea practitioners, necessarily moves us away from 'elite' – for there were very few elite female Tea practitioners – and towards 'ordinary' Tea practitioners. Understanding women's role in Tea history gives us a new perspective on Tea history as a whole. Moreover, through an understanding of Early Modern women's Tea practice, we have a better basis for understanding Modern women's Tea practice and the developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which saw Tea become regarded as a *feminine* activity.

¹⁰ For example see the biographical information about famous female Tea practitioners in Kagotani, *Josei to chanoyu*.

¹¹ Lerner, 'Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges', pp. 145–159.

¹² Greene and Kahn, 'Feminist scholarship and the social construction of women', p. 13

Sources

Historians have generally taken a top-down approach to Tea history, using the writings of Tea masters as their main source. This may be one reason why there is little discussion of women in the Early Modern history of Tea, for if they were not mentioned in official school documents then women may have escaped historians' attention. By using a variety of more popular sources, it becomes clear that women from a wide range of social classes studied tea in the Edo Period. I will now outline the types of sources which I have been using, and give examples of how each one offers a picture of the different types of women who were practising Tea in the Edo Period, and the differing ways in which they practised it. I aim to show not only that women were Tea practitioners prior to the Meiji Period, but also the variations in Early Modern women's Tea practice. Through these sources we can see what role Tea played in the lives of the women who practised it, and even what it may have meant to them. There was not one 'type' of woman who practised Tea, but many; and there were equally many reasons and motivations for their practice.

Saiken and Yūjō Hyōbanki

In *saiken*, (guide books) and *yūjō hyōbanki* ('who's who' books of the pleasure quarters), the top ranking courtesans (*tayū* in the early Edo Period, and later known as *oiran*), had their accomplishments listed next to their name. Tea is commonly listed among these accomplishments, for it was one of the necessary skills for a courtesan.¹³ The following description of the *oiran* Segawa III of the Matsubaya by her contemporary, the writer Baba Bunko, says that 'she learned all of the arts desirable for a high-ranking courtesan, such as *shamisen*, singing, tea ceremony, *haiku*, go, backgammon, kickball, flute, extremely well'.¹⁴ Many other courtesans are described as 'experts' or 'masters' in *chanoyu* in such texts. Learning Tea and performing *temae* for customers was one of the courtesan's many accomplishments, and among historians of the pleasure quarters the practice of Tea by courtesans is freely discussed.¹⁵ It could be suggested that Tea historians have ignored or dismissed this type of Early Modern women's Tea practice because they wish to shun any association with the 'disrespectable' world of the pleasure quarters.

¹³ For a discussion of the world of courtesans in Early-Modern Japan see de Sabato Swinton, 'Reflections on the Floating World', pp. 13–45. and Seigle, *Yoshiwara*.

¹⁴ Baba Bunkō, *Buya Zokudan*, p. 382. Translated in Seigle, *Yoshiwara*, p. 123.

¹⁵ See, for example, Yasutaka, 'The Pleasure Quarters and Tokugawa Culture', pp. 3–32.

Ukiyoe Prints and Paintings

As tea was part of the world of entertainment and pleasure at places like Yoshiwara in Edo (present day Tokyo) and Shimabara in Kyoto, it is not unsurprising to find numerous visual representations which show the connections between the women of the pleasure quarters and *chanoyu*. The style of Tea practised by courtesans in these pictures can be said to be luxurious and extravagant, in keeping with their image. It contrasts with the more demure, humble style of Tea associated with women in modern Japan.

In *ukiyo*e paintings and prints ranging from the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century, we see courtesans performing *temae* as part of the leisurely entertainments on offer in areas such as Higashiyama and the Shijo riverside in Kyoto.¹⁶ We also find pictures of courtesans practising Tea amongst themselves, thus it was perhaps something they enjoyed as a leisure activity, as well as a means of entertaining customers.¹⁷ In some of the pictures, the utensils for Tea are in the room with the courtesans, whilst they are engaged in other leisurely pursuits, again suggesting that Tea could simply be a form of entertainment amongst women and not always a ‘public’ performance.¹⁸ Historians and anthropologists, however, have tended to focus on women’s participation in Tea in ‘official’ or ‘public’ settings and, finding little evidence for this in the Early Modern Period, therefore come to the conclusion that women did not practise Tea.¹⁹ In contrast to this approach, I am using Etsuko Kato’s definition of a Tea practitioner as anyone who practises *temae* (the procedures for making Tea).²⁰ Once we accept this definition, it is clear that there were indeed many women who were Tea practitioners in Early Modern Japan, though their Tea practice may not always have been ‘public’ or ‘official’.

Paintings and prints of the Edo Period show that women were not only practising Tea amongst themselves, it was also one social activity undertaken at what might be termed ‘social artistic gatherings’. Such gatherings were focused on both literature and the arts and were popular among well-to-do, educated commoners and elite alike.²¹ Thus, we find screens which depict men and women together enjoying various entertainment such as music, dancing and Tea in relaxed gatherings at villas.²² We can see that women were also engaging in Tea as a form of social interaction with other women and with men in semi-public settings.

¹⁶ ‘Pleasure at Higashiyama’, 17th century, (Kyoto: Kōzu Kobunka Museum), in Akai (ed), *Chanoyu kaiga shiryō shūsei*, pp. 112–113. ‘Genre Painting Scroll of Shijō Riverside’, second half of the 17th century (Tokyo: Suntory Museum of Art), in *Chanoyu kaiga shiryō shūsei*, pp. 172–173.

¹⁷ Suzuki Harunobu, ‘Chanoyu and Flowers’, 18th century, in *Chanoyu kaiga shiryō shūsei*, p. 195. Isoda Koryūsei, ‘Tea-Room’, 18th century, in *Chanoyu kaiga shiryō shūsei*, p. 196. Torii Kiyonaga,

¹⁸ Katsukawa Shunshō, ‘Twelve Months of Ladies: Opening of the Fireplace in October’, 1783 (Shizuoka: MOA Museum of Art), in Kobayashi (ed), *Nikuhiitsu ukiyoe taikan*, print 57-1 and detail 57-2.

¹⁹ This is even the case in studies of women and Tea, such as Rowland Mori (1991), ‘The Tea Ceremony: A Transformed Japanese Ritual’, p. 87. and Kato, *The Tea Ceremony and Women’s Empowerment in Modern Japan*, p. 62.

²⁰ Kato, *The Tea Ceremony and Women’s Empowerment*, pp. 25–26.

²¹ For a detailed discussion of such ‘aesthetic networks’ see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*.

²² ‘Men and Women Enjoying Pastimes’, mid–17th century, in *Nikuhiitsu ukiyoe taikan*, prints 6-1, 6-2 and 6-3. ‘Men and Women Enjoying Pastimes’, 17th century, in *Nikuhiitsu ukiyoe taikan*, prints 5-1, 5-2 and detail pp. 158–161.

Diaries

Evidence from diaries and life histories of women from samurai, merchant/artisan and wealthy peasant families shows that women outside of the pleasure quarters were also practising Tea. This was particularly the case in the late Edo Period, as part of an overall increase in women's education.²³ As class boundaries were becoming blurred, women of various social classes could receive an education, as long as their family had the wealth and inclination to provide for this. Part of such an education could be studying Tea.

For example, it is recorded in the journals of Ito Yoshida, the daughter of a provincial artisan family, that she was sent to study with the national learning scholar Tachibana Moribe in the 1830s when she was fifteen. There, as part of a moral self-cultivation program, she studied calligraphy, *koto*, *shamisen* (musical instruments), *ikebana* (flower arrangement) and *chanoyu* (Tea).²⁴ In this instance, we see that even a woman of relatively low social standing was able to have an education which consisted of learning the 'polite arts'. Ito's education was both similar in content to that which a samurai-status woman may receive, and to the accomplishments required of a courtesan.

It is difficult to quantify how many women may have learnt Tea as part of their education, in the home, at *terakoya* (temple schools) or at private teachers' homes, due to the scarcity of sources dealing with such detailed aspects of women's lives. Yet, Ito Yoshida's example shows that it was possible for an *ordinary* woman in Early Modern Japan to study Tea. In her case, as it was part of a moral self-cultivation programme, we can assume that the motives behind Ito's Tea study were to learn etiquette and manners.

Instructional Manuals

Further evidence for the study of Tea by women of both samurai and commoner status, in order to cultivate 'feminine' skills and etiquette, is found in instructional manuals for women. These could be either specific Tea manuals or general instructional guides for women, *oraimono*. An example of the first type is a handbook for ladies studying tea, *tōji no tamoto*, written by the renowned tea master Oguchi Shōō, of the Sekishu school of Tea in the 1720s.²⁵ The book contains advice or instructions for its female readers, on various aspects of *chanoyu*, such as how to hold the utensils, how to wipe the lip of the tea-bowl after having drunk from it, and so on. Oguchi indicates that women should always sit behind their husbands in the tearoom. This was a book aimed at instructing wealthy or upper-class women in the etiquette and manners of Tea. We can see that this was clearly a different world of female tea practice to that of the pleasure quarters. This more demure

²³ See Tocco, 'Norms and Texts for Women's Education in Tokugawa Japan', pp. 193–218.

²⁴ Takai, *Tenpōki shonen shōjō kyōyo keisei katei no kenkyū*, pp. 9–101. Hayashi, 'Edoki no jōsei gunzō', pp. 208–246.

²⁵ Oguchi, *tōji no tamoto*.

style of women's tea, with its focus on etiquette in particular, can be seen as a precursor to the development of the 'feminine' tea of modern Japan.

In addition to the original version of *tōji no tamoto*, there is a copy with notes produced by the famous politician and tea master Ii Naosuke.²⁶ In it, he indicates that he disagrees with Oguchi's instructions that women should be seated behind their husbands; and he added further instructions such as what clothes were suitable for women to wear in the tearoom. He also removed several paragraphs of heavy Confucian writings concerning women's behaviour from the text. Ii put his writings into practice, having female guests attend his tea gatherings, including his mother, wife, mistress, daughter and maids.²⁷ Records of Ii's tea gatherings indicate that women were not only guests but also served as hosts at his gatherings.

An example of such a gathering held by Ii at his domain residence in Hikone, on the nineteenth day of the second month of 1853, saw his daughter Yachiyo act as host; with men as the first and second guests, and women – Tatsuo, Maki and Makio (most likely maids or serving women of the Ii household) – acting as the last three guests.²⁸ Thus we know that Ii held Tea gatherings in which men and women sat side by side and shared tea from the same bowl, thereby flouting Confucian moral codes which stated that men and women who were unrelated should not have close interaction. Yet, Ii followed Confucian thinking about women in his choice of hanging scrolls for these Tea gatherings. Rather than using scrolls with philosophical Zen phrases, which he commonly used for Tea gatherings involving only male guests, when women were present Ii favoured more simple scrolls, featuring a picture or seasonal poem, which worked on an emotional level rather than a philosophical one²⁹; thereby following Confucian ideas about what was appropriate for women and what they could understand.

While Ii Naosuke may have been an exceptional Tea Master for his time, the existence of both his copy and the original of *tōji no tamoto* indicate that there was not only female Tea practice during the Edo Period within the formal world of Tea schools, but a discourse which developed around that which was centred on using Tea as a means to teach women etiquette and manners, as in modern Japan.

Popular Literature

So far I have indicated that there were different groups of women who practised tea in the Edo Period: women of the pleasure quarters and wealthy women of samurai, artisan and peasant status. That 'respectable' women and women of the pleasure quarters should

²⁶ Ii, *tōji no tamoto*.

²⁷ See the records of Ii Naosuke's Tea gatherings in Tanihata, 'Ii Naosuke no chakaiki', pp. 81–183.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

²⁹ The utensils, including hanging scrolls, used for each Tea gathering are listed in the records of Ii's Tea gatherings, Tanihata, *Ibid.*, pp. 81–183.

have been engaging in the same cultural activities should not be surprising, for it was to the courtesans that ordinary women looked for inspiration in fashion, etiquette and manners; courtesans being regarded as the epitome of femininity.³⁰

We find further evidence for the practice of Tea by both groups of women in the popular literature of the day. There are several features of popular literature making it an ideal historical source. In particular, we can say that in order for a work of popular fiction, such as a novel by Ihara Saikaku or a puppet play by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, to be successful and appeal to its audience, it must reflect reality to a certain extent. Literature provides us with a mirror through which to view the social and cultural history of the Edo Period. There was strong a connection between the popular literature of the time and popular arts such as *chanoyu*.

In Ihara Saikaku's novel *The Life of an Amorous Man* (late seventeenth century), there is a scene in which the *tayū* Takahashi decides on a whim to hold a Tea gathering to celebrate opening the first jar of tea for the year, with the playboy Yonosuke as the main guest. Her choice of utensils bearing her family crest, which were to be used for this one occasion then thrown away, evokes the extravagant, luxurious style of Tea which I suggested before characterises the style of Tea practised by women of the pleasure quarters. The final sentence describing the scene compares Takahashi to the 'founder' of tea, Sen no Rikyu; clearly courtesans could be regarded as adept tea practitioners.³¹

We find a literary representation of an upper-class female Tea practitioner in the play *Gonza the Lancer* by Chikamatsu.³² Based on actual events that happened the year the play was written (1717), this play features a female character, Osai, who is the wife of a Tea master. While her husband is away on business in Edo, Osai has the responsibility of managing the household affairs. When it becomes necessary for one of his students to perform a high level *temae* for which he has not yet received the secret instructions, it is entrusted to Osai to decide whether he can perform the *temae* and to hand over the scrolls of instruction to him. She seems to take on the role of Tea master to some extent. While the play does not feature scenes of Osai performing *temae*, it is clear from her actions and the respect accorded to her by the student that she is familiar with all aspects of Tea. There are also indications that Osai is instructing the young son in Tea while his father is away, and also that the elder daughter has already learned *temae*. We can see in this play that women of the samurai class, particularly those from a tea family, may well have engaged in the study of Tea.

³⁰ See de Sabato Swinton, 'Reflections on the Floating World', pp. 36–37.

³¹ For an English language translation of the whole book see Ihara Saikaku, *The Life of an Amorous Man*, trans. Kenji Hamada (Rutland, Vt; Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle, 1964). However for this particular section of the book I have used the translation in Edamatsu Campbell, 'A Portrait of a New Woman – in a Cage', pp. 135–138.

³² Chikamatsu Monzaemon, *Gonza the Lancer*, pp. 270–312.

Conclusion

What this research shows is that there are still many gaps in our understanding of Early Modern women's history and Tea history, which need to be filled. The emergence of a feminine image of Tea and the contemporary dominance of women within the Tea population need closer examination, and cannot simply be attributed to the incorporation of Tea into women's education from the Meiji Period, though this was a certainly an important factor. Looking at women's participation in Tea during the Edo Period reveals that, rather than the smooth, seamless transition from a male-dominated world of Tea practice to a female-dominated one in the Meiji Period portrayed in Tea histories, women's participation in Tea has a much longer and more varied history than it is given credit for. This has implications not only for our understanding of Tea history, but for the history of women in Early Modern Japan more broadly; showing as it does that there were women, commoner and elite alike, who played an active role in cultural practices and production. Furthermore, women add a new dimension to the history of Tea in Early Modern Japan, highlighting the role that Tea played in the everyday lives of people from all backgrounds.

References

- Akai, T. (ed), *Chanoyu kaiga shiryō shūsei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992).
- Baba, B., *Buya Zokudan, 1757* (Tokyo: Yūhōdō, 1932).
- Chikamatsu, M., *Gonza the Lancer*, trans. Donald Keene, in Keene, D., *Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (New York; London: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 270–312.
- de Sabato Swinton, E., 'Reflections on the Floating World', in de Sabato Swinton, E. (ed), *The Women of the Pleasure Quarter: Japanese Paintings and Prints of the Floating World* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1995), pp. 13–45.
- Edamatsu Campbell, K., 'A Portrait of a New Woman – in a Cage', in de Sabato Swinton, E. (ed), *The Women of the Pleasure Quarter: Japanese Paintings and Prints of the Floating World* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1995), pp. 135–138.
- Greene, G. and Kahn, C., 'Feminist scholarship and the social construction of women', in Greene, G. and Kahn, C. (ed), *Making a Difference: Feminist Literary Criticism* (London and New York: Methuen, 1985), pp. 1–36.
- Hayashi, R., 'Edoki no josei gunzō', in Enchi, F. (ed), *Edoki no josei ikikata*, vol. 10 of *Jimbutsu Nihon no josei shi* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1977), pp. 208–246.
- Ihara, S., *The Life of an Amorous Man*, trans. Kenji Hamada (Rutland, Vt; Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle, 1964).
- Ii, N., *tōji no tamoto* (19th Century), original copy in the Hikone Castle Museum.

- Ikegami, E., *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- International Division, Chadō Urasenke Tankōkai, Inc., *The Urasenke Tradition of Tea: Essential Information for Beginning Students*, (Kyoto: Urasenke Foundation, 2000).
- Kagotani, M., *Josei to chanoyu*, (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1985).
- Kato, E., *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past*, (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004).
- Kobayashi, T. (ed), *Nikuhitsu ukiyoe taikan*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997).
- Kobayashi, Y., 'kōtō jogakkō ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō: kōtō jogakkō reishikogō, taishōki o chūshin ni', *Joseishigaku*, 12, 2002, pp. 45–59.
- , 'meiji sho/chūki, joshi chūtō kyōiku ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō – kyōto fu joshi gakkō o chushin ni', *Nomura Bijutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō*, 11, 2002, pp. 12–22.
- Kumakura, I., 'josei to chanoyu', in Kumakura, I. (ed) *chadō shokin 6: kindai no chanoyu*, (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1985), p. 246.
- , 'The History of Chanoyu in Early-Modern Japan', (trans. Zane Ferry), *Chanoyu Quarterly* 75, 1994, pp. 7–22.
- Kumakura, I. and Varley, P. (eds), *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989/1994).
- Lerner, G., 'Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges', in Lerner, G. (ed), *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 145–159.
- Oguchi, S., *tōji no tamoto*, (1720s), original copy in the National Institute of Japanese Literature Library.
- Pitelka, M. (ed), *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History and Practice* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).
- Rowland Mori, B.L., 'The Tea Ceremony: A Transformed Japanese Ritual', *Gender and Society*, 5:1 1991, p. 87–97.
- Seigle, C., *Yoshiwara: The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).
- Sen, S., *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen no Rikyū*, trans. V. Dixon Morris (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).
- , 'Autobiographical Essay-3: The Diffusion of the Way of Tea', *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 73, 1993, p. 6.
- Takai, H., *Tenpōki shonen shōjō kyōyo keisei katei no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Kawade shōbō shinsha, 1991).
- Tanihata, A., 'Ii Naosuke no chakaiki', in *Chanoyu bungaku*, volume 3, March 1996, pp. 81–183.
- Tocco, M.C., 'Norms and Texts for Women's Education in Tokugawa Japan', in Ko, D., JaHyun Kim Haboush and Piggot, J.R. (eds), *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 193–218.

Yasutaka, T., 'The Pleasure Quarters and Tokugawa Culture', trans. C. Andrew Gerstle in C. Andrew Gerstle (ed),
Eighteenth Century Japan: Culture and Society (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989), pp. 3–32.

Yokota, Y., 'Josei to chadō kyoiku', *Tankōsha Journal: Chanoyu kono hyakunen*, 55:1, 2001, pp.84–86.

Yutaka, Y., *Rediscovering Women in Tokugawa Japan*, Harvard University, Edwin O. Reishchauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Occasional Papers in Japanese Studies, Number 2000-2, May 2000.

A Long and Winding Road: Cross-Cultural Connections Between Brazil, Australia and Japan

Cristina Rocha
University of Western Sydney

Introduction

My first experiences of Japan were so early in life that they are hazy in my memory. My neighbours in São Paulo City, a sprawling megalopolis in Brazil, were Japanese migrants. I was seven or eight when I first saw their festivals and performance presentations from my parents' bedroom window. I remember my awe at their colourful costumes, masks and music. On a daily basis I remember the pungent smell of the soy sauce they produced in a factory in their backyard. We also shopped at a small neighbourhood supermarket called Shinohara. We bought paper and sticks for our kites from a general store owned by another Japanese migrant. We would tell our mother that we were going to ride our bikes to the 'Japonesa' to get kite material. At home, *caqui* (Japanese *kaki*) was my favourite fruit, but we also had all sorts of vegetables the Japanese migrants brought from Japan. We even called Japanese pumpkin by its Japanese name – *kabocha*.

In the mid-1980s I moved to an inner city flat in São Paulo City, and perhaps those early powerful memories surfaced when I went to Japan Town (a suburb called Liberdade) looking for ikebana (flower arrangement) classes. Living in a flat made me miss the garden so much that I decided I should have my own mini-garden at home. I found classes at a Sôtô Zenshû temple, and had a wonderful time being the only *gaijin* amongst a dozen *obachan*. Just being at the temple was like stepping into a different world: the smell of incense, the altar with flowers and offerings, the constant comings and goings of the Japanese migrants. During fundraising events for the temple, I would volunteer in the kitchen with my classmates. But the most striking aspect was the learning process itself. On the first day, I asked my ikebana sensei for books so that I could learn faster. At the time, I was studying for my Bachelor of Social Sciences, and reading was the way I had always acquired knowledge. To my dismay, Sensei told me: 'no books; watch, copy and learn'. She told me flowers and branches had a 'front' and a 'back', that there should never be an even number of them in the vase, that we had to choose them according to the seasons. What did this all mean? For the first months, I was unable to see what my sensei was trying to show me. I agonised to copy the arrangements with no book to help me. That was my first inkling into a Japanese way of learning and teaching.

From then onwards, my fascination with Japanese culture just increased – I went on to study *shodô* (calligraphy), then *nihongo* (Japanese language), and finally found *chadô/chanoyu* (tea ceremony). In 1991, I started MPhil research on chanoyu and the

Japanese identity, and was awarded an Urasenke scholarship to study it full-time in Kyoto for one year. In 1999 I moved to Australia, and started my PhD on Zen Buddhism in Brazil in the following year. Because I was brought up in Brazil, from early life I was surrounded by Japanese names, tastes, smells and sights. Had I lived in Australia all my life that would not have happened, although Australia is geographically much closer to Japan. The White Australia Policy – which hampered the possibility of a large migration of Japanese to the country when Japan sent migrants to the US, Peru and Brazil – coupled with the actual warfare between both countries during the Second World War has meant that Japanese culture is not as ubiquitous in Australia. In fact, one of the things I missed most once I moved to Australia was having a ‘Japan Town’ close by, so that I could be surrounded by the sounds and smells of Japan whenever I was missing them too much.

Flows and Counterflows: the Japanese in Brazil, Brazilians in Japan

Indeed, being surrounded by Japanese culture is part of life for most Brazilians living in the south-eastern states. Presently, there are 1.5 million Japanese and their descendants in Brazil, making it the largest Japanese community outside Japan. They are concentrated mainly in the states of São Paulo and Paraná, in the south of Brazil. The first Japanese migrants arrived in 1908 at the port of Santos, in São Paulo State. At the end of the nineteenth century, Japan was leaving a feudal system behind and embracing modernisation through rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. The consequent drastic social changes and economic difficulties hit the rural population especially hard. High inflation, combined with low rice prices and a new and rigorous land tax system, resulted in widespread poverty in rural areas. Consequently, the Meiji Government (1868–1912) saw emigration as a safety valve to relieve pressure on the land, while creating colonies that would grow food for export back to Japan. While Japan needed to find new recipients for her rural workers, Brazil was in dire need of plantation workers because of the boom in coffee production (1850s–1930) in the west of São Paulo State. This demand for a work force was made even more acute because it took place at a time when slavery was being phased out (it was finally abolished in 1888). Brazil was not the only country sought out by the Japanese Government as intense anti-Japanese sentiment built up in the US. Peru received the first group of contract labourers before Brazil, in 1899, but the high level of anti-Japanese sentiment there and the consequent violence associated with death by disease prompted officials to seek other ports.¹

In light of this situation, the Meiji Government promoted Japanese immigrants as hard working, diligent, adaptable, and eager to assimilate.² During World War II, however, like for other Allied Powers, there was an intense fear of the ‘yellow peril’ in Brazil, and a strong concern that the immigrants were still subjects of the

¹ For more on the Japanese immigration to Peru and the current state of Japanese descendants there, see Takenaka, ‘Japanese Peruvians and their Ethnic Encounters’, pp. 113–118.

² Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, p. 82; Lone, *Japanese Community in Brazil*, pp. 29, 39.

Emperor. Indeed, although the Japanese were not interned in camps as they were in the US, Japanese schools were closed, Japanese language newspapers were prohibited (there were four Japanese daily newspapers published in São Paulo with a total circulation of around fifty thousand), and speaking Japanese in public and private (including houses of worship) was banned.

Nevertheless, the positive images produced in the first half of the twentieth century – of Japanese people as hard working, diligent, honest, and intelligent – have endured in Brazilian society. It is noteworthy that in the 1980s and 1990s Japan was constantly portrayed in the Brazilian media in the same way it had been at the beginning of the century: the country that became modern, and hence ‘western’, overnight.³ Documentaries, TV commercials, movies, magazine reports and advertisements all saturated Brazil with positive images of Japan and the corollary connection between Japan and the Japanese–Brazilians.⁴ Being brought up in such an environment, I was astonished to learn that the same was not true of Australia. Upon arriving here, I realised that, for the older generation, the pain of World War II – when Australians feared a Japanese invasion, and the ill-treatment in prisoners’ camps was made known – meant that the Japanese were not admired as in Brazil, but still resented by some. I also realised that younger Australians, who had no memory of the war, were eager to learn Japanese and travel to Japan for tourism or on student exchanges. The same was true of the Japanese in Australia. It was interesting to see the ways in which Australia managed to attract large numbers of tourists and students by presenting itself as a place of open expanses, beautiful beaches and exotic fauna.

In Brazil, from the mid-1980s a new phenomenon intensified the flows of information, commodities, and images of Japanese culture in the southern Brazilian cities: the Brazilian–Japanese *dekasegi*⁵. Comprising a community of 268 thousand people in 2003, Brazilian workers make up the third largest migrant population in Japan, behind only Koreans (635 thousand) and Chinese (335 thousand).⁶ These numbers are more significant when we take into account that 18 percent of the 1.5 million Japanese–Brazilian population living in Brazil emigrated to Japan. Since the mid-1980s they have worked in jobs that are avoided by the Japanese as they are considered *kiken* (dangerous), *kitanai* (dirty) and *kitsui* (hard). Later on, Japanese–Brazilian workers themselves added two more Ks to the above three, describing their jobs as *kibishii* (strict) and *kirai* (loathsome).

Emigration to Japan is part of a global diaspora of Brazilians which was triggered by the country’s economic crisis of the 1980s–1990s. The first wave of Brazilian *dekasegi*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ For more on the favourable perceptions of Japanese culture and the Japanese in Brazil, see Tsuda, ‘From Ethnic Affinity to Alienation’, pp. 53–91. For current accounts of the globalisation and localisation of Japanese culture in the world, see Befu, ‘Globalization Theory from the Bottom Up’, pp. 3–22; and Iwabuchi, *Recentering Globalization*.

⁵ The term *dekasegi* literally means ‘working away from home’. It used to refer to rural workers migrating to the cities in search of work in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Nowadays, it is used to refer to those who go to Japan to work in order to escape economic turmoil in their original countries.

⁶ Source: Statistics on Foreign Residents, Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice of Japan.

arrived in Japan in the mid-1980s, and was composed of postwar *issei* (first-generation Japanese) and *nisei* (second-generation Japanese–Brazilians) who spoke fluent Japanese and retained Japanese citizenship. However, when Brazil's economic crisis worsened in the late 1980s and early 1990s, stable middle-class *nisei* and *sansei* (third-generation Japanese–Brazilians), who spoke only Portuguese and had little first-hand experience with Japanese culture, started leaving for Japan as well. By the mid-1990s, families with small children migrated on a more permanent basis. In response to the increasing numbers of Brazilians, new businesses were established in Japan to cater to this population. This included restaurants, clothing and grocery shops, newspapers, satellite TV, video rental shops with the latest Brazilian soap operas, and, more recently, schools so that the children can adapt once the family returns to Brazil.

Japan facilitated this boom of *nikkeijin* migration. In need of factory workers during the Bubble Economy of the 1980s and faced with a growing number of illegal workers from the Middle East and Asia, in 1990 the Japanese Government revised the Immigration Law of 1951. At the same time that it established criminal penalties for the recruitment of those foreign workers, it created a new 'long-term' visa exclusively for descendants. The reasons given were deeply related to race: Japanese descendants would maintain racial, ethnic and social homogeneity while helping Japan to overcome the crisis of lack of factory workers in an increasingly middle-class society.

The expectation that Japanese–Brazilians would behave and think like Japanese was, of course, flawed. Both sides – Japanese and Japanese–Brazilians – underwent cultural shock when they came in contact. The paradox of being considered Japanese (and called so) in Brazil, and becoming aware of the profound differences between themselves and the Japanese in Japan, came to many as a loss and, subsequently, a transformation in their identity. But the suffering also comes from a change in status on two fronts: from being regarded positively in Brazil due to their Japanese ethnicity, they became *persona non grata* in Japan due to their Brazilian origin; and from middle-class status holding white collar jobs in Brazil, they became part of the disenfranchised class holding blue collar jobs in Japan. Feeling unwelcomed, not speaking the language and thus not fitting into the society, Brazilian *nikkeijin* adopt an overtly Brazilian identity in Japan. As Tsuda puts it, they 'perform a Brazilian counteridentity'⁷ by wearing colourful Brazilian clothes, dancing in samba parades (many for the first time in their lives), and speaking Portuguese in public. However, according to Tsuda, this only contributes to strengthening the stigma: the Japanese feel disappointed at the Brazilian *nikkeijin*'s loss of Japanese culture.⁸

⁷ Tsuda, *Strangers in the Homeland*, p. 263.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Japan–Brazil Connections: *Chanoyu* as a Marker of Japanese Identity

I have never really had to grapple with such stigma. My identity as a scholar and someone who did not have Japanese ancestors made the Japanese not expect any previous knowledge of their culture from me. Everything I already knew or learned in Japan was praised as a great achievement. Moreover, in Japan I have always lived in Kyoto, far from Hamamatsu City, where Brazilian–Japanese dwelled because of the area's large number of auto-parts factories. Communicating in Japanese and English also gave me a status the *nikkeijin* did not have. Finally, studying *chadō* at the Urasenke headquarters and later researching the Sōtō Zenshū School of Buddhism meant that I was associated with 'high culture' and not with 'poor' migrants.

The first time I lived in Japan (1991–92), I dwelt at the Urasenke School and was thus intensively immersed in Japanese traditional culture. Dressed in kimono all day, sleeping on a futon and tatami mats, having baths at the *sentō*, I applied myself to learning all about seasonal feelings, flowers, pottery, fabric, Zen scrolls, lacquer, bamboo, wooden and paper utensils, the names of several generations of families that supplied utensils to Urasenke, as well as preparing and drinking tea. Having had that inkling of this way of learning while studying ikebana almost a decade earlier, I enjoyed this intense embodied experience. However, it was still not easy just to copy the teacher and be frowned upon when I asked questions.

After this intensive year in Japan, my MPhil thesis benefited considerably from a deeper understanding of the ways in which culture travels and is translated. It was crucial to first comprehend how *chadō* developed in Japan and what role it played in politics in the 16th and 17th centuries, when it was constructed as the quintessential traditional Japanese art. Only then was I able to fathom its significance in the construction of the identity of Japanese migrants in Brazil, which was the topic of my thesis. By uniting the teachings of a tradition, culture and appropriate behaviour, *chanoyu* became an ideal art for the transmission of values of Japanese culture, and is perceived as a true symbol of what it is to be Japanese.⁹ Indeed, at Urasenke I realised that, whenever foreign heads of state visit Japan, it is not to the industrial Japan that the visitor is taken, but to a session of *chanoyu* promoted for him or her to experience a 'taste of Japan.'¹⁰ Although *chanoyu* is not part of Japanese daily life, it is also to demonstrations of this art that the ordinary Japanese takes his or her foreign guests. The contact of the majority of the Japanese with the world of tea ceremony, if it happens, takes place in school, where there is usually a tea club. However, the vast majority do not keep an interest in *chanoyu* when they become adults; consequently they know very little about it. This lack of knowledge does not present itself as a problem, quite the opposite: it helps in the mystification of what the 'Japanese spirit' is thought to be – something distant, which hovers in the horizon,

⁹ Mori, *Chadō in Japan and Hawaii*, passim.

¹⁰ See *Urasenke Newsletter*, 1975–2006

as a mirror reflecting what the Japanese should or would like to be. The main point is that *chanoyu*, as an institution, is maintained so that the Japanese are able to use it to set the boundaries of their culture in face of ‘the other’. Indeed, anthropologist Barbara Mori notes, ‘When the Japanese were asked to choose which aspects of Japanese culture to introduce to foreign countries, *chadō* and flower arrangement ranked second only to shrines, temples and castles.’¹¹

Given this level of prestige and status as a vehicle for the transmission of traditional culture, it is easy to see why immigrants would be eager to learn it once they were given the opportunity. Had I not uncovered the ways in which *chanoyu* is constructed in Japan, I would not have been able to realise its importance as a marker of identity for first-generation migrants. By the same token, I would not have understood why second-generation migrants were not too keen to learn it since they had already started the process of becoming Brazilians. However, since the 1980s, when Japan became a leading economic power, *nisei* and *sansei* Brazilians have begun to take a renewed interest in their ethnic origins, to see themselves as Japanese and to study traditional arts, including *chanoyu*. In this period, the prestige of Japan in the world, and the recognition from mainstream society of its culture as a symbol of refinement, also attracted a new group of students to *chanoyu*: non-Japanese Brazilians. For them, *chanoyu* offered an introduction to Japanese culture and Zen Buddhism. *Chanoyu*, a ‘Zen art’, now attracts those Brazilians following the international trend of interest in Zen and Buddhism in general.¹²

My PhD research and recently published book on Zen in Brazil¹³ followed the same reasoning as the one on *chanoyu*. In order to understand how Zen and the Sōtō Zenshū School adapted its rituals and practices to Brazil, I learned about it in Japan before it was culturally translated. Establishing historical and transnational connections was central to an understanding of how and why Buddhism in general, and Zen in particular, has found a place in the Brazilian religious field and urban culture. It was thus clear from the start that if I wanted to encompass the transnational flows of Zen into Brazil, my field should be a multi-sited one.

Multi-Sited Ethnography: Connecting Sites in a Globalised World

In the past decade or so, several anthropologists have been reflecting on the implications of globalisation and transnational communities for the ethnographic method.¹⁴ From this perspective, traditional conceptions of the anthropological field as the territorially

¹¹ Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

¹² For more on *chanoyu* in Brazil, see Rocha, ‘Tea Ceremony in Japan’ and ‘Identity and Tea Ceremony in Brazil.’

¹³ Rocha, ‘Zen in Brazil.’

¹⁴ Clifford, Routes; Jean and John Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*; Comaroff and Comaroff, ‘Introduction’; Mary Des Chene, ‘Locating the Past’, pp. 66–85; Gupta and Ferguson, ‘Discipline and Practice’; George Marcus, *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*; George Marcus, ‘Beyond Malinowski and After *Writing Culture*’, pp. 191–99; George Marcus and Michael M. Fisher, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*.

fixed, stable, localised and bounded community have become inadequate. For instance, George Marcus has called for ‘multi-sited ethnography’ as a way of ‘examining the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space.’¹⁵ For him, ‘multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography.’¹⁶ Even within single sites, Marcus sees the awareness of a much larger world-system in the subjects’ consciousness and actions as crucial. In the same vein, James Clifford has observed that in such an increasingly interconnected world, ‘the ethnographer is no longer a (worldly) traveller visiting (local) natives,’¹⁷ rather both are travellers as well as dwellers. According to Clifford, if one is to understand ‘local/global historical encounters, [...] dominations and resistances, one needs to focus on hybrid, cosmopolitan experiences as much as rooted, native ones.’¹⁸

To this end, my book addresses both experiences. Whereas I focus on the ‘local/global historical encounters’ and the cosmopolitan experiences of my interviewees (as many of them were in fact cosmopolitans who travelled, and were aware of developments of Zen in metropolitan centres), I also focused on *how* they engaged in their Zen practices in Brazil. Accordingly, I conceived the book as a multi-sited research in order to track the flows of Zen from Japan, Europe and the US into Brazil, and as they made their way back into these countries as well as to Latin America.

I therefore deployed Appadurai’s global ‘scapes’ to illuminate the creation of an imaginary of Zen in particular, and of Buddhism in general, in Brazil.¹⁹ Among these scapes are: flows of people (Japanese immigrants into Brazil, Sōtōshū *kaikyōshi*/missionaries travelling among overseas outposts, and non-Japanese Brazilians travelling to the US, Europe and Japan to learn about and practise Zen), flows of technology (by looking at who writes and what is discussed on Brazilian Buddhist email lists, and how these compare with the international Buddhist lists), flows of media (looking at how media stories produced overseas influenced media production in the country, and how they in turn influence Brazilian followers), and flows of ideas (contained in movies, in foreign books translated into Portuguese, and in Brazilian books). Importantly, such flows were never univocal, and they have been significant in the creation of a conflicting reception of Zen among Japanese, Japanese-Brazilians and non-Japanese Brazilians in the country.

In very broad terms, from the start there have been two conflicting definitions of Zen Buddhism, both sides claiming to practise ‘authentic’ and ‘true’ Zen Buddhism. While some *kaikyōshi* and the Japanese community have asserted that Zen is comprised of devotional practices, worship of ancestors and funeral rituals; other *kaikyōshi* and

¹⁵ Marcus, *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*, pp. 79–104.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁷ Clifford, *Routes*, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁹ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*.

(mostly) non-Japanese Brazilian practitioners have claimed that Zen relies mainly on *zazen* in order to experience enlightenment. The same state of affairs has been observed in many Western countries where Buddhism emerged and developed as a result both of immigration and religious conversion²⁰. To be sure, this division is a superficial picture of Zen in Brazil. A more nuanced approach reveals a blurred area where Japanese–Brazilians, who have been Catholic for many generations, have become interested in Zen through *zazen*, while some non-Japanese Brazilians have developed a devotional attitude towards Zen.

Furthermore, the dynamic of these flows of people, technology, media and ideas is what we may call ‘rhizomatic.’²¹ Like in a rhizome, Brazil is one of the nodes, albeit less influential, in the web of the global flows of Zen. Indeed, Zen in Brazil was never isolated from the trends occurring overseas. The arrival of Japanese immigrants and the rotation of Sôtôshû missionaries amongst the diverse temples outside Japan, Brazilian intellectuals travelling to metropolitan centres and translating books on Zen, the media, and, more recently, the internet, have meant that Brazil has received inflows, but has also produced counterflows of Zen.

Conclusion: Being a Brazilian–Australian Scholar

While writing my book, I once again had to grapple with cultural translation. For my Masters dissertation I had addressed translation between two cultures (Japan and Brazil) and two languages (Japanese and Portuguese). This time, writing the book in Australia meant that I had to work across three cultures and three languages. When I was awarded a Japan Foundation Doctoral Fellowship to research the Sôtô Zenshû School in 2000, I had been living in Australia for one year. This fact had an impact in my research that I had not predicted. Not only did interviews have to be translated from Japanese and Portuguese into English, but writing in Australia meant that the book had to answer to the many questions Australians asked me about Brazil and the particularities of Zen and the Japanese migrants in Brazil.

Moreover, the historical connections between Australia and Japan were utterly different from those between Brazil and Japan, as I mentioned before. While I lived in Japan and was affiliated with the National Museum of Ethnology of Osaka in 2000, things had also changed for me. I was no longer regarded as a Brazilian scholar, but as a Brazilian–Australian one. Interestingly, for the Japanese it seemed that the war had not really left a mark in the same sense. Mostly, people smiled and told me of past or wished-for holidays in Australia. ‘Koaras’ and kangaroos were always mentioned affectionately. Given that Australia was a Mecca for Japanese tourism throughout the 1980s and 1990s,

²⁰ See, for example, Baumann, ‘Creating a European Path to Nirvana’ and ‘Global Buddhism; Fields, ‘Divided Dharma’; Nattier, ‘Visible and Invisible’ and ‘Who is a Buddhist?’; Numrich, *Old Wisdom in the New World*; Prebish ‘Two Buddhisms Reconsidered’.

²¹ The term was first used by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*.

it was obvious that it would steer memories of sun-drenched beaches and pleasure. Its proximity to Japan also guaranteed that many knew where Sydney was as opposed to São Paulo, my birth place. In this context, it was definitely easier to relate to my interviewees as a scholar from an Australian university.

It is noteworthy that, during my research, I realised that the way in which Buddhism is experienced in Brazil is not peculiar to that country. As is the pattern amongst Brazilians, there are increasing numbers of Australians and people in other Western countries who are shying away from their religion of birth and instead adopting 'spiritualities of choice'. Buddhism is now the fastest growing religion in Australia, having grown 80 percent between the 1996 and 2001 censuses. This surge is not only due to migration and refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, but also to large numbers of Australians converting to Buddhism. Studies done in Australia show that, as in Brazil, Buddhism is attractive because it provides a powerful antidote to the stress and violence of today's world.²²

What I find interesting is how Westerners imagine Buddhism and Buddhist monks/nuns. How they associate them with peace, love, happiness, and compassion. When I first lived in Japan in the early 1990s, many Japanese friends told me they thought that Buddhist monks were strongly related to money. In addition, Buddhism in Japan is not connected with happiness at all, but is associated with funerary rituals. Shintō is associated with life rituals, as marriages and births are celebrated in Shintō shrines. What is more, many Japanese related all these qualities (peace, love, happiness, and compassion) with Catholicism. By contrast, in Brazil, the largest Catholic country in the world, many think that Catholic priests and the Church are heavily associated money. In this light, the process of cultural translation is fascinating. What happens when Buddhism arrives in the largest Catholic country in the world? How it is imagined? What attracts Brazilians to Buddhism? These are some of the questions my book answers.

Looking back, I can see that I have always been interested in how the imagination is historically constructed and, in turn, shapes the way people behave. Starting from the prestigious role *chanoyu* acquired in Japan, to how it was constructed by the Japanese migrants in Brazil, to the images and ideas associated with Zen Buddhism and Japan (what we could call Orientalism in Brazil), my research work has always been centred on how ideas move around certain locales, and how they are translated and recreated in the new setting as hybrids which are not solely part of either the culture of the sending or the host countries. They are original creations. Nowadays, I am still connected with both of my main research topics: I study *chadō* in Sydney, I am the editor (with Rebecca Corbett in this volume) of *Tea Leaves*, the newsletter of the Urasenke Sydney Association, and I sit *zazen*. Now that I live permanently in Australia, I am soon to start new research focusing on Japanese-Australian religious connections. I would like to explore the ways in

²² For more on Buddhism in Australia, see Spuler, *Developments in Australian Buddhism*.

which some Australians have adhered to *Shinnyo-en* and how this new Japanese Buddhist religious movement has been expanding in this country.

References

- Appadurai, A., *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
- Baumann, M., 'Creating a European Path to Nirvāna: Historical and Contemporary Developments of Buddhism in Europe', *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 10:1, 1995, pp. 55–70.
- , 'Global Buddhism: Developmental Periods, Regional Histories, and a New Analytical Perspective.' *Journal of Global Buddhism* 2, 2001, pp. 1–44.
- Befu, H., 'Globalization Theory from the Bottom Up', *Japanese Studies* 23:1 2003, pp. 3–22.
- Clifford, J., *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).
- Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J., *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1992).
- , 'Introduction,' in Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J. (eds), *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F., *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
- Des Chene, M., 'Locating the Past', in Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (eds), *Anthropological Locations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 66–85.
- Fields, R., 'Divided Dharma: White Buddhists, Ethnic Buddhists, and Racism,' in Prebish, C. and Tanaka, K. (eds), *The Faces of Buddhism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 196–206.
- Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J., 'Discipline and Practice: "the Field" as the Site, Method, and Location in Anthropology' in Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (eds), *Anthropological Locations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1–46.
- George M., *Ethnography through Thick and Thin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- , 'Beyond Malinowski and After Writing Culture', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13:2, 2002, pp. 191–99.
- George M. and Fisher M., *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
- Iwabuchi, K., *Recentering Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).
- Lesser, J., *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
- Lone, S., *Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908–1940: Between Samurai and Carnival* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001).

- Mori, B., 'Chadō in Japan and Hawaii: A Symbolic Interactionist Analysis of Intra- and Cross Cultural Transmission, Adaptation and Change.' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1988).
- Nattier, J., 'Visible and Invisible: Jan Nattier on the Politics of Representation in Buddhist America.' *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* 17: V, Fall 1995, pp.42–49.
- , 'Who Is a Buddhist? Charting the Landscape of Buddhist America,' in Prebish, C. and Tanaka, K. (eds), *The Faces of Buddhism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 183–95.
- Numrich, P., *Old Wisdom in the New World: Americanization of Two Immigrant Theravada Buddhist Temples* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996).
- Prebish, C., 'Two Buddhisms Reconsidered.' *Buddhist Studies Review* 10: 2, 1993, pp. 187–206.
- Rocha, C., 'Identity and Tea Ceremony in Brazil.' *Japanese Studies* 19: 3, 1999, pp. 287–95.
- , 'Tea Ceremony in Japan and Its Appropriation in Brazil: A Metaphor of the Japanese Spirit,' in Helsloot, J. et al (eds), *Roots and Rituals: The Construction of Ethnic Identities* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 2000), pp. 527–37.
- , *Zen in Brazil: The Quest for Cosmopolitan Modernity* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006). Spuler, Michelle, *Developments in Australian Buddhism: Facets of the Diamond* (NY and London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).
- Takenaka, A., 'Japanese Peruvians and their Ethnic Encounters,' in Rustomji-Kerns, R. et al. (eds), *Encounters: People of Asian Descent in the Americas* (Lanham, Boulder, NY, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 113–118.
- Takeyuki T., 'From Ethnic Affinity to Alienation,' *Diaspora* 10:1, 2001, pp. 53–91.
- , *Strangers in the Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
- Urasenke Newsletter*, 1975–2006, published by the Urasenke School of Tea in Kyoto.

A Tribute to the Japanese Literature of Korean Writers in Japan

Elise Foxworth
The University of Melbourne

Introduction

As a recipient of a Japan Foundation Fellowship in 2000, I was able to commence doctoral studies on the little-known Japanese literature of *zainichi* Koreans in Japan. The term ‘*zainichi* Korean,’ as opposed to ‘newcomer Korean,’ refers to Koreans and their descendants whose presence in Japan is a direct result of Japan’s thirty-five year occupation of the Korean Peninsula, which began in 1910. My overarching goal was to achieve a nuanced understanding of postwar Japanese society, one that encompassed *zainichi* Korean perspectives, which are generally overlooked by mainstream studies. Although I had studied Japanese society for over six years, held a Masters Degree in Japanese studies and had lived in Japan for five years, I nevertheless had had minimal exposure to minority culture in Japan. While lecturing in Japanese studies in Australia I became increasingly aware of a dearth of scholarship on Japan’s minorities in English-language textbooks, in both Japanese studies and post-colonial studies. I felt that if I were to continue to identify myself as a Japan specialist, and if I wanted to truly provide Australian tertiary students with accurate instruction in the complexities of Japanese society, I needed a more comprehensive understanding of postwar Japan. How, I began to wonder, did marginalised Koreans ‘understand’ postwar Japan and, more importantly, how did they articulate this in artistic or cultural forms? I decided to use *zainichi* Korean literary narratives as a lens through which to gain greater insight into Japanese society.

Overview

Zainichi Korean literature is, by definition, written by *zainichi* Koreans about *zainichi* Korean issues. *Zainichi* Korean literature takes up Japanese colonialism, post-colonial oppression in Japan, the Korean War, American imperialism, Korean political affairs, ethnicity, nationalism and inter- and intra-generational struggles. The project of much of *zainichi* Korean writing is not only to make racial oppression visible, but also to depict its effects on the subjectivity of its subjects. Historical, sociological, and political works written about *zainichi* Koreans do not necessarily tell of the lived experience of racism, nor do they facilitate a subtle or nuanced understanding of how racial oppression affects the individual. Creative fiction, on the other hand, offers meaningful insights into how racism feels, and invites the reader to identify with its subjects to a greater extent than other types of discourse.

Novels by ‘first-generation’ *zainichi* Korean writers such as Kim Sa Ryang and Kim Tal Su invariably take up the issues of Japanese colonialism, American imperialism, the Korean War, unification and a recovery of ‘Korean-ness’. Their themes are similar to those of other nationalist writers in newly independent countries in the early postwar era. Novels by second-generation writers such as Lee Hoe Sung, Kim Ha Gyong and Lee Yang Ji, by contrast, generally focus on poverty, unemployment and racism in early postwar Japan; domestic violence, the sense of alienation *zainichi* Koreans tend to feel in Japan or Korea and the painful process of self-determination. Finally, third- and fourth-generation writers such as Yū Miri, Gen Getsu and Kaneshiro Kazuki tend to take up a diversity of issues in their novels.¹ While their literature is unmistakably informed by the political, cultural and familial implications of what it means to be a *zainichi* Korean in Japanese society, there is some debate as to the legitimacy of labelling it as ‘*zainichi* Korean’ literature. This is partly because of a seeming lack of attention to issues of ‘ethnicity’ and related political concerns in their literature, but also because of debates surrounding the significance of categorising writers by their ethnicity and concerns as to the degree such categorisation either further ‘minoritises’ or ‘exoticises’ those writers.²

My doctoral thesis takes as its project an analysis of how identity issues are textualised in six semi-autobiographical novels of three second-generation writers, Kim Sok Pom, Lee Hoe Sung, and Kim Ha Gyong. These six novels highlight the various approaches to self-representation and identity formation adopted by second-generation *zainichi* Koreans, between the 1950s and 1970s. The three writers had radically dissimilar histories, so they articulate an enormous variety of cultural, historical and linguistic knowledge and experience. Their narratives thus destabilise Japanese stereotypes that veil the diversity of second-generation *zainichi* Koreans born before 1945, and offer markedly different views on ethnicity and national identity. Though they articulate the concept of identity in different ways in their fiction, their prose nevertheless reveals that identity fragmentation – the problem of negotiating incongruous, hybrid Japanese and Korean identities – was, in fact, a critical experience for second-generation *zainichi* Koreans of their era. The destabilisation of Korean identities, a result of Japanese colonial and post-colonial projects of disenfranchisement and racism, permeates and shapes their literature. The three writers not only provide gripping accounts of humanity, but also pose highly philosophical questions of existence; and give counsel on self-determination through their strategic uses of plot, characterisation, allegory, metaphor and a rich distinctive use of the Japanese language.

While ethnicity and national identity are major concerns of the writers, there is no single consistent national identity that can be considered representative for second-generation *zainichi* Koreans or for the Korean diaspora at large, despite common assumptions to the contrary. The three writers voice both essentialist and non-

¹ Yū is technically second-generation but considered third-generation.

² There is a growing interest in *zainichi* Korean literature and existing critiques by scholars, such as Takeda Seiji, Kawamura Minato and Melissa Wender, are evaluated in my thesis.

essentialist positions at different moments, and dispel simplistic stereotypic views about second-generation *zainichi* Koreans in Japan. In this article, I briefly introduce some of the key themes the three writers raise in their literature at large and then provide an abstract and brief analysis of one of each of their novels.

Themes of Kim Sok Pom's Oeuvre

Born in Japan in 1925, Kim writes about the experiences of Koreans living on the southern Korean island of Cheju, during the 1948–1949 Cheju Insurgency. The insurgency commenced on 3 April 1948, when Cheju Islanders took up arms against American imperialism in Korea, and in particular to challenge American-inspired South-only elections to be held the following month. The U.S. Military and South Korean militias responded by torturing and killing communists and suspected sympathisers, killing 80,000 islanders out of a total of 200,000. Over 40,000 islanders fled to Japan, giving rise to a distinctive group of *zainichi* Koreans for whom Kim is a celebrated voice. Key themes in Kim's literature include imperialism, notions of home, survival and popular nationalism. Kim questions the choices people have vis-à-vis their identity in a context of state violence and decay. Kim's depiction of state genocide illustrates how the problem of state and political hegemony affects identity politics. Kim's heroes find agency through political espionage, organised crime, shamanism and nostalgia for the motherland.

Kim Sok Pom's 「鴉の死」 *Karasu no shi* [The Death of the Crow]³

Set in the winter of 1949, just half a year after the massacre, Kim's 1957 *The Death of the Crow* traces the movements and thoughts of a young Korean spy, Jong Ki Jun. Ki Jun's story and the structure of the novel mirror the geopolitical position of the island. Situated at the crossroads of China, the USSR, Japan and Korea, Cheju is caught between several powerful forces. The story highlights how hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives as a result of the Korean War, and how the political and existential landscape was irrevocably changed in the short period from 1945 to 1950. Around the hero Kim introduces a number of other characters, who stand for the principal players on the Korean stage after Japan's defeat and the lead up to the Korean War. Communism, capitalism, the masses and traditional Mother Korea are all allegorised in three-dimensional characters; however, Jong Ki Jun is the individual caught in the middle of the antithetical forces they symbolise, and as such, is evocative of a *zainichi* Korean identity. The trajectory of events in *The Death of the Crow* follows suit. The novel highlights how Ki Jun, as a spy, finds himself caught in an uneasy intermediary position between the various political and ideological convictions that are fuelling the conflict, and depicts how he ultimately

³ All translations of titles and passages are my own.

comes to terms with the exigencies of his own disjointed circumstances.⁴

The poignancy and power of the novel lies in its penetrating and expert depiction of the spy, caught between two worlds and his emotional reconciliation to this state of *being*. Ki Jun regularly agonises over his position, grieving that historical circumstances have forced him to live a lie, forced him to be someone he is not, and forced him to hide his anti-American or communist feelings and identity. His situation is clearly an allegory of *zainichi* Koreans who must pretend to be Japanese to survive in Japanese society. Ki Jun's position is one in which he is marginal to both 'right' and 'left' political cultures; a metaphor for the marginal position of the *zainichi* Korean vis-à-vis both Japanese and Korean cultures.

In the climatic denouement of the novel, after witnessing his lover's execution Ki Jun shoots a crow sitting atop the corpse of another girl, a decidedly symbolic act that inspires the title of the novel. Then, in a seemingly senseless act, he turns and shoots two bullets into the body of the girl:

Ki Jun took one step forward... and fired into the girl's chest... 'Thank God,' he thought instinctively. Then he walked away. Everything was over. Everything was starting anew. All at once Ki Jun smiled broadly... He put his foot firmly down... The sky was monumental. Under that sky on Shinjanno road carts were rolling by, children were running, women were carrying baskets on their backs. None of this felt remote anymore... He knew that he must live (Kim, S. P.: 140-1).

The final act of killing the crow and shooting the girl's body allegorises Ki Jun's severance of his emotional link to his lover, to Korea, to his past and colonial recollections, and to an era that he can no longer retrieve; that is, a pre-colonial way of life. It thus ensures his own survival and powerfully signals his decision to accept his existence as a spy, a metaphor for the *zainichi* Korean. Ki Jun emerges a successful spy or *zainichi* Korean, committed to an independent subjectivity of his own. *The Death of the Crow*, then, is a metaphor for Ki Jun's emotional metamorphosis and acceptance of who he is and his intermediary position in the world.

Themes of Lee Hoe Sung's Oeuvre

Lee's early novels are heart-rending portraits of family strife, discrimination and internal conflict, all of which accurately characterise *zainichi* Korean life in Japan between the 1940s and 1960s. After winning the prestigious Japanese Akutagawa Prize for Belles-

⁴ See a discussion of this notion of 'different modes of existence emerging in the juxtaposition of the different ideological beliefs and personal experiences of characters' with regard to the Negritude writers mentioned in Boehemer *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p. 115.

Lettres for *The Cloth Fuller* in 1972, Lee Hoe Sung became the first *zainichi* Korean writer to achieve a degree of recognition by the Japanese public at large. Lee writes about Koreans who, like himself, came to Japan from Karafuto (Sakhalin) in the late 1940s after a period of forced residence there under Japanese colonial rule. Despite strong desires to return home, the looming Korean War prevented their repatriation to Korea and so an intended temporary residence was set up in an inhospitable Japan. Lee's early novels depict the struggles of second-generation *zainichi* Koreans growing up in a racist Japan, in Korean homes with violent first-generation fathers. His literature brought him recognition amongst *zainichi* Koreans as a consummate 'second-generation' writer. His *zainichi* Korean peers hailed his paradigmatic sketch of the process of identity formation – from Japanese to half-Japanese/half-Korean to Korean – as an accurate description of their process of self-determination.⁵ Key themes in his early literature include the ideologies of Imperial Fascism (servitude to the Japanese Emperor), postwar democracy, and Korean nationalism and their influence on the identity formation and self-determination of second-generation *zainichi* Koreans in Japan.

Lee Hoe Sung's 「砧をうつ女」 *Kinuta wo utsu onna* [*The Cloth Fuller*]⁶

The Cloth Fuller depicts the life of a young woman, Jang Suri, until her untimely death at the age of thirty-three, as remembered by her third son, Jojo. With *The Cloth Fuller*, Lee put his own childhood and mother's life story into print. The story is delivered partly through the grandmother's account of their family life in Korea, which helps to engender for the boy, and by extension for all *zainichi* Koreans, a sense of a Korean identity. By featuring the grandmother's *sinse t'aryong* – a Korean tradition of memorialising the struggles of life in rhythmic monologue-song form – Lee advocates looking to first-generation Koreans for cultural knowledge. Through hearing the *sinse t'aryong* the boy gains a positive sense of himself and his mother as well as knowledge of his people's history.

In her *sinse t'aryong*, the grandmother expresses her grief at Jang Suri's departure for Japan in the colonial era. 'Suri had married a Korean coal miner, who was taking her to the northernmost tip of Japan, the outpost of Karafuto. Her parents simply could not conceive of where that Karafuto might be' (Lee: 206). The geographic and emotional distance between Korea and Japan that Lee evokes works to veto Japan's territorial claim to Korea and Sakhalin:

Is it fate? Is it the result of Korea's devastation? Why would she want to go to that country of thieves? Wasn't it enough that they stole our land? Why did they have to steal our

⁵ For an in-depth discussion of this see Takeda, [*Zainichi*] *toiu Konkyo*.

⁶ Dr. Barbara Nelson provides a good translation of the novel, cf: Nelson in McCann, *Black Crane*, pp. 92–136. For this reason all the words in the title are capitalised and the title is placed in parentheses, not square brackets, as dictated by the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies Style Sheet. The translations in this paper, however, are mine. Indeed the title of the novel is translated by Dr. Nelson as '*The woman who ironed clothes*.' However, I prefer my translation, *The cloth fuller*, for the title.

daughter too? Oh what a fate. Oh Suri (Lee: 206).

Throughout the text Lee takes pains to depict Suri, the family and their familial experiences as distinctly Korean. His use of Korean symbols and imagery also paradoxically discloses the mechanics of the forces of assimilation. In this way, his work may be viewed as an antidote to the state-sponsored Japanisation of *zainichi* Koreans, so prevalent during both the colonial period and the time of writing the novel. *The Cloth Fuller* finishes where it starts, with Jang Suri's death. Holding her husband's hand, she encourages him to be still and live with pride as the Korean man he is (Lee: 227). Ultimately, *The Cloth Fuller* functions as a valuable historical resource for *zainichi* Koreans to awaken an awareness of their Korean roots and to heighten a sense of Korean identity.

Themes of Kim Ha Gyong's Oeuvre

In 1985 writer Kim Ha Gyong tragically committed suicide at the age of forty-six. Kim's life, death and literature were influenced by three facts: he had a severe stutter, he had a violent father and he was a *zainichi* Korean. Kim never achieved the degree of fame that Kim Sok Pom or Lee Hoe Sung did, but his novels provide both a compelling picture of life for Koreans in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s, and until then unprecedented views on ethnicity and identity. Kim's stutter put him on the margins of society in ways being a Korean did not, and this had a huge bearing on his analysis of racial discrimination and difference. Oppressed, poor, displaced and disenchanting, many of Kim's Korean characters find solace in nationalist discourse, political activism, or even repatriation to North Korea. However, Kim reveals grave misgivings about these undertakings, depicting them as ineffectual means of escape from existential pain, that serve only to alienate Koreans from their actual subjective lived experiences. Kim's novels and essays, largely autobiographical, are introspective accounts of the psychological ramifications of *being* and *feeling* 'different', and question how one should face a harsh, unjust and sorrowful life. Unlike the majority of his peers, Kim distrusted the notion that appropriating a 'Korean' identity could remedy the difficulties and tribulations that existence generated. He urged a more rational and dispassionate resistance to racism that did not rely on ethnocentric or nationalist doctrine. He was highly knowledgeable about *zainichi* Korean affairs and critiqued prejudice in his novels and essays; but his portrayal of 'ethnic pride,' whether Japanese or Korean, is censorious. Kim's heroes simply experience reality, rather than seek refuge in what the author depicts as ineffectual political or ethnic alliances or activities. Unfortunately, throughout his life Kim faced criticism for discounting ethnocentrism as a valid stratagem of resistance, and some link this to his 1985 suicide.

Kim Ha Gyong's 「錯迷」 *Sakumei* [Delusions]

Kim Ha Gyong's 1971 novel *Delusions* is close to a memoir of its hero and first person narrator, Shin Junichi (Shin Sun Il), a character based on Kim. He is a rational but depressed physicist working in a lab at Sendai University, conducting experiments on complex enzymes. *Delusions* is both a present-tense dialogue between the main character and his alter ego, Tei Yōshin (Chong Yong Shin), as well as an internal monologue of the protagonist reminiscing about his past. With Tei's voice and Shin's unspoken thoughts, Kim delivers a succinct history of the Cold War as it affected Koreans both on the peninsula and in Japan; and illustrates the life stages of a second-generation Korean living in Japan between the 1950s and 1970s.

The key consideration of the hero, though, is not history, politics, or race; rather it is the existential predicament of 'starvation of the heart', and, specifically, his own.⁷ Despite his crushing cynicism, he demonstrates an unyielding commitment to finding a lasting solution – a will to live:

I feel that starvation in the heart... What is it I have to do? I really don't know. I cannot feel at peace, I cannot feel settled... Is it just me? If someone doesn't live to his potential he won't know his own value. Isn't it our duty to live to our own potential everyday? (Kim, H. G.: 179)

Throughout the novel, Kim calls attention to the prevalence of domestic violence in the hero's *zainichi* Korean community, intimating its causal role in the hero's ambivalence about his existence. The tormented hero can find no valid reason to continue living:

The worst things in the world were the fights between my father and mother. They were so bad, so horrific and sinister. They froze my soul. (Kim, H. G.: 182)

What reason was there to live? (Kim, H. G.: 193)

Throughout *Delusions*, Kim dispassionately dismisses political activism, or a turn to ethnicity, as the means for alleviating existential trauma. Kim believed that it was the unfortunate fate of *zainichi* Koreans to be coerced into 'repatriating' to North Korea, which promised a decent homeland to *zainichi* Koreans.⁸ Kim depicts the Repatriation Movement not as a *commendation* of North Korea but as a *condemnation* of Japan; one that would lead only to further misery for *zainichi* Koreans. His characterisation of the

⁷ A concept borrowed from Mori Ōgai, the well-known Meiji era physician, theorist, and man of letters.

⁸ Repatriation is a misleading term as the tens of thousands of Koreans who left for the DPRK, from 1969 onwards, had been born in the ROK or in Japan and had hitherto never set foot in the DPRK.

mass exodus was unprecedented, but would, sadly, prove correct; North Korea was not the 'heaven on earth' that most of Kim's peers had claimed it was:

(In Niigata at the pier) The older folks all looked beaten, like they'd given up. They had crossed the Korea Sea a few decades earlier to come here!⁹ What did they want? What had they felt then? What did they get? Nothing. They only found despair in Japan and now they had to go somewhere new and start again. You could see fear and doubt in their faces. (Kim, H. G.: 207)

Additionally, Kim's protagonist depicts it as a personal escape for his sister from her father's violence; and the following passage should also be understood as a condemnation of domestic violence:

Akiko wasn't going back to build a country. This was just a pretext. She was going to North Korea because she couldn't bear to stay in our miserable house one minute longer. It wouldn't have mattered what possible problems faced her in the DPRK, they were nothing compared to the problems she had here. At least that was what Akiko, at seventeen, thought. (Kim, H. G.: 204)

Kim's protagonist is only interested in how to mitigate his 'starvation of the heart'. Shin never considered political activism as a solution.¹⁰ For Shin, such a choice lacked credibility or the potential to remedy a veritable 'starvation of the heart', which is emotional, not political, in nature. Shin's 'starvation of the heart' was psychologically bound to his experience of abuse and neglect at home, and its resolution was therefore unrelated to political activism. Kim portrays starvation of the heart as a universal condition, which an individual's minority status merely compounds. Forbearance and endurance, as opposed to diversion and escapism, are necessary to face reality squarely. Kim's hero remains committed to the *pursuit of salvation* of the heart and of love simply because his mind has the power to conceptualise salvation of the heart and love. He chooses to believe in these abstract phenomena despite having never experienced them:

As long as I don't give up the search for the sapphire island it won't disappear. (Kim, H. G.: 179)

⁹ The Korea Sea is known as the Japan Sea in Japan.

¹⁰ In this way Kim's 1970s protagonist really looks more like a third- or fourth-generation literary character from texts published during the 1980s or 1990s. Kim may have truly represented the subaltern, for whom an interest in politics would have been a luxury. He stood alone amongst his *zainichi* Korean literary peers, during the early postwar decades, for his apolitical and non-ethnocentric stance.

Conclusion

Minority literature in Japan, as in any nation, attempts to redress the imbalance created in social discourse that privileges majority and disregards minority voices. Reading *zainichi* Korean literature and engaging in cross-cultural exchanges promote a rich understanding of the Korean experience in Japan and of multiculturalism in Japan. During the course of my stay in Japan, under the auspices of the Japan Foundation, I carried out 140 interviews, mainly with *zainichi* Koreans but also with some Japanese. Many of the *zainichi* Koreans I interviewed told me, ‘Most Japanese avoid discussing minority issues with us for fear of being blamed for the social ills that still plague us.’ However, many Japanese told me that they ‘did not ask *zainichi* Koreans questions about minority issues for fear of pointing out someone’s “difference”, an act which might confirm an individual’s racialised identity or convey arrogance or pity’. Thus it seems that the cultural crossings I was able to make were, in some way, facilitated by my status as a third party – a *daisansha* – or an outsider. I find a similar phenomenon at work in Australia, my home away from home, where I have lived for thirteen years. For example, when I asked my Aboriginal friend, Delina, ‘What was it like growing up as an Aborigine in the 1960s and 1970s and what is it like to be an Aborigine now?’ she lamented, ‘That is a good question that Anglo-Aussies rarely ask me.’ The questions I posed – to *zainichi* Koreans or to my Aboriginal friend – and the answers I received did not reify racialised stereotypes, rather they exposed me to what scholar Karen Paley calls ‘insider information’. Misunderstanding and fear seem to be the culprits in the paucity of cultural exchange that characterise majority-minority relations. Open-minded inquiry and dialogue are necessary to overcome cultural isolation.

I am extremely grateful to the Japan Foundation for funding my field research and for endorsing the broad goal of my doctoral mission, which is to play a role, however humble, in facilitating the entry of *zainichi* Korean literature – specifically by Kim Sok Pom, Lee Hoe Song and Kim Ha Gyong – into the world-literary canon. Increased recognition of *zainichi* Korean literature amongst Japanese and post-colonial studies scholars in Australia will go a long way to achieving that end. I hope the introduction I have offered here inspires New Voices readers to further explore *zainichi* Korean literature and engage in cross-cultural dialogue at every opportunity.

References

- Boehmer, E., *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Kim, H. G., ‘Sakumei’ in *Kim H. G. Kim Ha Gyong sakuhin shūsei* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1971).
- Kim, S. P., *Karasu no shi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1971).

Lee, H. S., *Kinuta wo Utsu Onna* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1972).

Nelson, B., 'The Woman Who Ironed Clothes' in McCann, D. R. (ed.), *Black Crane: An Anthology of Korean Literature* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, East Asia Papers No. 14, 1979).

Paley, K., 'Religious Skirmishes: When the Ethnic Outsider Cannot Hear "The Loudest Voice"' in Meyer, M. J. (ed.), *Literature and Ethnic Discrimination* (Atlanta, Georgia: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 1–16.

Takeda, S., [*Zainichi*] *toiu konkyo* (Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko, 1995).

New Voices

Yaneura – The Attic

Adam Broinowski
The University of Melbourne

Introduction

While at Shizuoka University as an undergraduate exchange student, I began my involvement in theatre by learning Noh (Kanze school) from Professor Ueda-Munakata, a specialist in adapting and producing Shakespeare's plays in Noh style. After touring to Australia with him, I remained to write plays, perform with many theatre companies both in Australia and internationally (in styles ranging from acrobatics, dance, clown, physical theatre, realism and multi-media performance), direct productions, create installations and make a documentary on Japanese sub-cultures¹. In 2001, upon receipt of a Japan Foundation artist's fellowship, I returned to Japan to research avant-garde theatre. I was invited to become a core member of Gekidan Kaitaisha, and I stayed in the country for the next five years. During this period, I toured internationally in all of Kaitaisha's productions, performed a play in Japanese in Tokyo and Kyoto, made a solo production in Tokyo, completed an MA at the University of Melbourne and spent two years in research at the University of Tokyo. In 2006 I returned to Australia, where I enrolled as a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne. My research now is partially practice-based and focuses on several aspects of the body of work of three Japanese avant-garde theatre and performance artists in the twentieth century and the present. I am deeply interested in the continuing development of cross-cultural collaborations between artists from Australia and Japan.

This essay is a brief examination of Sakate Yōji's theatre production of *The Attic*, a work which received its Australian premiere at NIDA in March 2006, and with which I was involved as interpreter. Written and directed by Sakate, *The Attic* was performed and produced with great enthusiasm and commitment by final-year acting students and first- and second-year technical students, and played to a full house for the two-week season.

In this essay I briefly introduce Sakate's theatrical influences and his background with his company, Rinkōgun, examine the main themes explored in *The Attic* and engage in a discussion of the issues involved in the Australian production.

¹ Hell Bento!, made by Tetrapod for SBS independent.



Braving the winter in kimono:
studying *chadō* at Urasenke (1992–93).



Doing Tea in a *chakai* in Sydney (2004).



Cristina Rocha next to an historical teahouse in Kyoto (2005).



NIDA performance of *The Attic*. © NIDA. Photograph by Branco Gaica.



NIDA performance of *The Attic*. © NIDA. Photograph by Branco Gaica.



NIDA performance of *The Attic*. © NIDA. Photograph by Branco Gaica.

The Background

Sakate Yōji emerged as a theatre maker in the 1980s having been part of the *chūkaku* (socialist revolutionary) faction of the *zengakuren* (revolutionary student movement) in the 1970s. He had been strongly influenced by the first generation *angura*,² an energetic group of theatre practitioners who, as part of the *shōgekijō undō*,³ had taken back responsibility for the independent management and rights of their theatres. While remaining engaged particularly with European trends in theatre and philosophy,⁴ they re-directed their attention away from the modern realism of *shingeki* (lit. new theatre) towards re-imagining and invigorating pre-modern and 'Edo period' cultural traditions. Sakate and his generation⁵ enjoyed a boom in small theatre and employed comedy, parody and fantasy in their works. Yet, in the 1990s and despite new government funding infrastructure for the support of new theatre, Sakate's Rinkōgun⁶ were one of the few companies with a public presence to maintain a semblance of *angura* values in the *shōgekijō* context. Political urgency, social motivation, independence and the desire – and perhaps need – to re-invent Japanese theatre had dissipated. Currently, Sakate balances his company commitments with freelance work for larger companies. Married to an Okinawan and with several Rinkōgun members coming from marginalised backgrounds, his plays are concerned with US bases, ostracism, whaling, the death penalty and land mines.

The Play

It is no surprise, then, that *The Attic* depicts a variety of cases of *hikikomori* (lit. withdrawn, coll. shut-in),⁷ a social phenomenon in Japan where individuals withdraw from society and family and retreat to the confines of their apartments or bedrooms, refusing contact with the outside world for extended periods.⁸ In *The Attic*, these individuals range from adolescence to middle age.

An attic, cluttered and cramped and filled with old things covered in dust, suggests a space with an unusually charged atmosphere. It is a container crowded with neglected memories, and offers a sense of adventure for children and of nostalgia for

² The first generation *angura* were represented by Terayama Shuji (Tenjō Sajiki), Kara Jūrō (Jōkyō Gekijō), Suzuki Tadashi (Waseda Shō Gekijō), Satō Makoto, Kushida Kazuyoshi and Saitō Ren (Engeki Sentaa 68 / 71, synonymously known as Kuro Tenta), Ninagawa Yukio, Ōta Shōgo (Tenkei Gekijō) and Betsuyaku Minoru. See Goodman, D., <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/cjs/publications/michclassics/CTJ.html> for further detail. Sakate discussed this at the NIDA visiting artist lecture, February 2006.

³ The 'small theatre movement'.

⁴ For example: Artaud, Meyerhold, Sartre, Beckett, Barthes, Merleau-Ponty, Foucault, Bachelard, Deleuze-Guattari, Benjamin and Greek tragedy had strongly influenced the *angura*.

⁵ For example: Noda Hideki (Yume no yuminsha), Kokami Shoji, Tsuka Kohei. See Pulvers, R., http://www.performingarts.jp/E/art_interview/0601/3.html for further detail.

⁶ Others include Hirata Oriza (Seinendan), Shimizu Shinjin (Gekidan Kaitaisha), Miyagi Satoshi (Ku Na'uka), Kawamura Takeshi (Daisan Erotica which has now become T-factory).

⁷ *Hikikomori* is a term first coined by psychologist Saito Tamaki.

⁸ The Japanese Ministry of Health stipulates six months of withdrawal as the required time to be considered *hikikomori*. While their symptoms have ranged widely in popular discourse, there is yet to be consensus on diagnosing *hikikomori*.

adults. Characters come to this attic to deal with problems, to do business, to negotiate desires, to spy on or hide from others, to liberate imaginations, to reflect and to ask for help.

The Attic is innovatively set within an elevated metal-framed trapezoidal box, like a triangle without the top section. The attic's low, slanting ceiling makes it impossible for actors to stand fully upright, and its narrowness means that it is barely wide enough for someone to lie down. Such a set significantly challenges the actors to concentrate on refining subtlety, stillness, containment, tension and gesture as well as forcing them to ergonomically adjust to a variety of sitting and crawling positions. Supported by metal legs on castors, the raised box is framed within cinema-esque masking panels, and appears to be floating in a void. We follow the attic as it takes on different functions for people in different situations: a cabin in a blizzard; a bunker in a war zone; a stake-out room for detectives; a secret room for samurai to watch their enemies; a coffin buried beneath a house; a collector's item in a department store; an elevator; a cave; a cardboard box for the homeless. By the final scene the surrounding panels are dismantled to reveal the bare-boned metal structure in an exposed theatre studio.

Sakate's objective, while socially critical, is to heal rather than to scald, urging us to confront death and bring change through awareness. Balancing heroism with dysfunctional destructiveness in both genders and diluting the pain of *hikikomori* reality with humour, he asks the audience to see the complexity of the distinct cases.⁹ His underlying themes are parental responsibility, social and media exploitation and the divisions between adult and child. While the elegiac tone suggests a conclusion to Sakate's journey through myriad small theatres, he also suggests the continued creativity of childhood.

In the following section I address the intercultural nature of the production in Australia.

Australian *Hikikomori* – Cultural Differences

Before coming to Australia *The Attic* received an overseas production with students in the US. Despite this, the difficulties in arriving at a clear and precise understanding of the issues in the play remained significant. While NIDA students were prepared with a translation, related articles, *anime* and fictional and documentary films on the *hikikomori*, the play was written for a Japanese audience who are familiar with a social problem which currently (although not exclusively) afflicts society in Japan. It was not that the students were inept at handling the script's multiple situations and temporalities, nor that the struggles encountered with the broad age range of characters were anything

⁹ Comments made in rehearsal, and artist interview, Performing Arts Network Japan, http://www.performingarts.jp/E/art_interview/0502/1.html, 24th February 2005.

beyond the normal artistic process. Rather, the greatest obstacle the actors faced was the finding of an accurate emotional register in the relationships. Difficulties emerged for the crew, too, in their efforts to meet the exacting technical requirements within the time provided. This was due, obviously, to the lack of a shared language and commonly understood behavioural codes inherent in the words, a crucial factor for theatre makers if they are to arrive at a shared understanding of the intention of the work. A further difficulty lay in Sakate's expectation that actors and crew would think for themselves, quickly utilising their initiative and creativity for character development and set. In short, he wanted them to improvise, which was something with which these students were not so familiar.

While ways of performing codes of status between characters was one area of difference, another area was more practical. Working with students he had never met, without the time to deeply search for implications of language or to develop the students' knowledge of light and sound, Sakate could only work with a shorthand in physical timing and movement. These obstacles, combined with the desire to present a carefully nuanced theatre piece to an unknown Australian audience, made a few very intense weeks for students and Sakate alike.

On the surface, it was the casting that became a random, if not an entirely accidental, key to communicating the play's intentions, while at the same time localising the issues. For example, reductive as it is, three students of darker skin – one of them being the only Aboriginal actor in the year – were cast as the three homeless characters. While the original scene suggests unfair treatment of homeless *burakumin*,¹⁰ it touched on an equally fraught dimension relevant to local audiences. By contrast, the older brother, the teacher and the young girl – the three characters with whom the audience are supposed to identify, attribute authority or sympathise – were the whitest and blondest actors. Redressing the balance, the Aboriginal actor also played the father, another of the actors who played a homeless person also played the newsreader and all actors participated in the group scenes. After all, the play was written as an ensemble piece. The actors showed subtlety and skill in deliberately playing with these issues of identity through accents and stereotypes, naming their differences and making the representations resonate with their own diverse heritages, which in turn reflected the local terrain and signified problems the audience could engage with.

As Sakate wanted to remain as close to the original as possible, there were jarring moments of incongruence, such as the repeated line 'Japan will be ruined', or the *ojigi*-style¹¹ bow at the end of the young girl's monologue. The students' choice of hymn in the coffin scene as the 1950s tune *Happy Days*, reminiscent of carefree youth growing up in postwar USA and popular in Australian youth culture, brought a strange irony to

¹⁰ Traditional outcasts or untouchables in Japanese society, a term which Sakate used in rehearsal.

¹¹ A formal bow.

the scene, as well as suggested a conflict between popular (secular) and traditional (religious) mores. The two actors playing the duo roles of mediated Japanese masculinity – samurai, detective and soldier – drew from a ubiquitous popular culture: Kurosawa films; the *Monkey* television series; and *Brokeback Mountain* which had just won an Academy Award.

The Attic resonates across cultural borders with regard to life in advanced post-industrial nations, where it is increasingly possible to spend more time living in solitude and venturing into the fantasy worlds of ‘borderless’ media environments. It suggests the necessity to re-think the core values by which we live in these societies, and the dire need to problematise the politics of exclusion. While the reifying tendencies of packaging and selling *hikikomori* as ‘J-lifestyle’¹² perhaps signifies an orientalist perspective being re-exported to Western markets,¹³ through a sense of parody this issue has been reflexively posited in the play and further underlined in its re-staging at NIDA.

The undeniable importance of producing *The Attic* and other contemporary theatre in a prominent Australian theatre institution demonstrates the effectiveness of the continuing challenge to the traditional policy of exclusively teaching the canon of modern Australian and European drama, and the ongoing transition of Australian society. How Australian theatre-makers work with cultural material from local indigenous nations and from cultures in the Asian region will ultimately depend on their continuation to do so. Similarly, for Japanese theatre makers like Sakate, the satisfaction of seeing a production performed beyond its intended context, and the stimulation from its misunderstanding or re-interpretation is undoubtedly rewarding. Then, if the interest is there, the infinitely meticulous work of deciphering and determining interpretations and subjective responses can begin.

Although too early to identify outcomes, the NIDA students were stimulated by and benefited from their intensive time in *The Attic*. Having now travelled through the many worlds of subsequent productions, they are soon to graduate; but the impact of this production will no doubt germinate beneath the surface and possibly flower in further searches for meaning in unfamiliar worlds.

References

Goodman, D., *Concerned Theatre Journal*. Retrieved 20 June 2006, from <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/cjs/publications/michclassics/CTJ.html> .

Iwabuchi, K., ‘Complicit exoticism: Japan and its other, Critical Multiculturalism’, in Tom O’Regan (ed), *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media & Culture*, vol. 8 no. 2, 1994.

¹² Suga Hidemi, ‘Lecture at Laokoon Festival’, 2005; Uchino T., ‘Fukanosei no jidai no Engeki (2)’, 2005, pp. 180-194.

¹³ Iwabuchi K., ‘Complicit exoticism: Japan and its other’, 1994, p. 51.

Pulvers, R., *Artist Interview: Sakate Yōji*. Retrieved 30 June 2006, from http://www.performingarts.jp/E/art_interview/0502/1.html .

—, *The woman who wants others to sit up and take notice*, Artist Interview, The Japan Foundation Performing Arts Network Japan. Retrieved 20 February 2006, from http://www.performingarts.jp/E/art_interview/0601/3.html .

Suga, H., *Lecture at Laokoon Festival: 1968 as a turning point for today – its revolutionary and anti-revolutionary vector*. Retrieved 7 July 2005, from Kinki University Humanities Website.

Uchino, T., 'Fukanosei no jidai no Engeki (2): J to iu basho, to kindai geijutsu to iu seido ni tsuite', in *Butai Geijutsu*, (vol. 9), Kyoto University Performing Arts Centre, School of Art and Design 2005, pp. 180–194.

Lessons From Japanese Family Homestays

Mayumi Parry

Queensland University of Technology

Introduction

A dramatic increase in the numbers of students undertaking in-country exchange programmes between Australia and Japan has occurred over the last few decades. These exchange programmes are normally based on formal agreements between institutions. Most exchanges are organised by secondary schools, universities, government bodies and private organisations such as Rotary. Even primary school pupils have had opportunities to participate in exchanges or study tours in recent years.

Student exchange programmes are generally assumed to be an effective way to develop international competencies for students.¹ Furthermore, it is commonly believed that the best way to learn foreign languages is to immerse oneself in the language and culture of that language targeted² However, while the beneficial effects of time spent overseas are generally assumed, it is still not yet fully understood whether learners really acquire linguistic and socio-cultural competence, or how it occurs, while on exchange programmes.

Participants in student exchanges usually stay with one or more families during their time in-country. Even when there are choices (e.g. dormitory or shared units for university students), a homestay is generally acknowledged as the best option if students are to be immersed in the language and culture of the country.³ Indeed, most students surveyed in a study conducted by Hashimoto considered their host families to be the most or second most helpful factor in their language acquisition.⁴

I have a similar view on the value of homestay when learning both a target language and a culture. This belief stems from my own experience as a learner and as an educator who has observed numerous students. I had a three-week homestay with a family in the United States of America when I was 16. In Australia, I had informal homestay opportunities because I lived mostly in an on-campus dormitory during my one-year exchange as an undergraduate. Over recent years, I have been informally talking to students who experienced homestays in Japan. They report not only a great time, but also a genuine belief that the host family experience had accelerated their understanding of both Japanese language and, in particular, culture. As I reflected on all these stories,

¹ Nelson, 'Engaging the world through education', p. 25.

² Huebner, 'The effects of overseas language programmes', p. 171.

³ Campbell, 'home(stay)', pp. 109-110.

⁴ Hashimoto, 'Language acquisition', p. 211-212. In this survey, the cultural component was not asked explicitly.

I became curious as to the nature of the claimed cultural experience. It felt necessary to systematically examine exactly what it was that students gained or more broadly experienced during even short homestays.

The present study describes some aspects of the intercultural experiences that emerged during homestays with Japanese families. This was based on triangulated data collected from two groups of undergraduate students. I acknowledge the limitation of the study as the sample is restricted to 12 students. However, this is the beginning of my PhD project, in which I intend to investigate the effects of short exchange visits to Japan on learner's linguistic and non-linguistic development.⁵ It is intended that the future data collection will be enhanced. This study highlights the two themes of 'food matters' and 'gift-giving' that emerged in this initial investigation.

Previous Studies

A body of research on issues around exchange or study abroad programmes has developed in recent years. A perusal of the relevant literature indicates that it can be divided into two broad strands: 1) studies examining the impact or outcomes of programmes on students' growth or development; and 2) studies focusing on various factors that affect students' decisions on whether or not to participate in exchange. This section outlines previous studies in the first outcome group as they are more directly relevant to the present study.

Both the study by Clyne and Rizvi⁶ and the study by Marriott and Enomoto⁷ encapsulate overall outcomes of student exchanges. The former study was based on questionnaires collected from former undergraduate exchange students. The nominated outcomes included 'increased self-confidence and maturity', 'an appreciation and understanding of other cultures' and 'an international network of friends'.⁸ It should be noted, however, that most went to the USA and Europe, while those who went to Asia were relatively few in Clyne and Rizvi's study.

On the other hand, the latter study examined students who went on secondary exchanges in Japan. This study drew upon data gathered from a national survey as well as information gleaned from interviews with a sample of 19 students. It categorised some outcomes as 'socio-psychological gains', others as 'cultural enrichment' and yet others as 'gains in communicative competence'. Marriott and Enomoto also underscored the view that participation in an exchange programme favourably influences students' subsequent

⁵ I am currently in the process of honing the research questions for my PhD proposal. Any suggestions or comments are appreciated to m.parry@qut.edu.au.

⁶ Clyne and Rizvi, 'Outcomes of student exchange'.

⁷ Marriott and Enomoto, 'Secondary exchanges with Japan'.

⁸ For example, see Freed, 'Assessing the linguistic impact', pp. 153-158, for a list of studies; Freed, 'What makes us think'; Lafford, 'Getting into, through and out'; Matsumura, 'Learning the rules'.

continuation of Japanese language study.⁹

Meanwhile, various other studies across different target languages focused on specific aspects among potential outcomes of exchanges.¹⁰ The varying scope included 'improvement in fluency', 'acquisition of specific morphemes' and 'changes in communication strategies'.

Regarding learners of Japanese, Huebner's study was a comparison between groups of total beginners studying in Japan and in the USA. The acquisition of a highly important socio-linguistic aspect, politeness, was investigated by both Marriott¹¹ and Siegal.¹² Hashimoto's case study of an Australian student studying in Japan describes in detail how the Japanese host family can be a source of linguistic acquisition by the use of natural recordings of interactions.¹³ On the other hand, Hashimoto's more recent study,¹⁴ through in-depth interviews, highlighted cultural identity issues by showing how undergraduates better recognised Australia's multicultural aspects after a year- or semester-long exchange in Japan. Finally, students' processes of adaptation to Japanese culture were the focus in Okazaki-Luff's study.¹⁵ Based on survey results from former Rotary exchange students and supplemented by some interviews, this study describes the students' evaluation of difficulties as well as positive aspects experienced during their time in Japan.

Findings in all these studies captured exchange experiences from various angles and suggested that studying abroad, whether at beginner, intermediate or advanced level, somewhat positively impacted students' development in some ways.

Implications From Previous Studies

A review of the literature shows that diverse research has been undertaken, but there is still a paucity of research into students undertaking exchange to or from the Australia-Pacific region.¹⁶ As Marriott pointed out, studies on the evaluation of outcomes are vital if policy makers, educationalists and administrators are to properly plan exchange and study programmes.¹⁷ Another point that emerged from the literature review was that most studies concerned exchanges of one or two semesters. Research into shorter programmes, despite being more accessible for many students, seemed to be lacking.¹⁸

⁹ Marriott and Enomoto, p. 77.

¹⁰ For example, see Freed, 'Assessing the linguistic impact', pp. 153-158, for a list of studies; Freed, 'What makes us think'; Lafford, 'Getting into, through and out'; Matsumura, 'Learning the rules'.

¹¹ Marriott, 'The acquisition of politeness'.

¹² Siegal, 'Individual differences'.

¹³ Hashimoto, 'Language acquisition'.

¹⁴ Hashimoto, 'The impact of study abroad'.

¹⁵ Okazaki-Luff, 'The adjustment of Australian exchange students'.

¹⁶ Daly et al., 'Comparative predictions', p. 3.

¹⁷ Marriott, 'Changing trends', p. 70.

¹⁸ Exceptions include Bodycott and Crew, 'Language and Cultural Immersion'; and Parry, 'Short exchange to Japan'.

Background on the Sonoda Short Exchange Programme

The Sonoda programme allows six undergraduate students studying Japanese at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT) to go to Japan for five weeks over the Christmas holidays and study at the Sonoda Women's University near Osaka. The programme is offered each year and has been running since 1992. Although Sonoda is a Women's University, male students are also eligible to apply.

The programme incorporates 30 hours of Japanese language tuition, homestay with two families, school visits and cultural trips.¹⁹ According to Marriott's categorisation of exchange and study abroad programmes, the Sonoda programme belongs to the 'Limited Exposure' category,²⁰ allowing participants to experience limited exposure to the host language, culture and society.

Profile of the 12 students

The subjects of this study were 12 undergraduate students who participated in the programmes run over the Christmas holidays in 2004–05 and 2005–06. They were selected from a total of 23 applicants. The selection criteria included their interview performance, their grade point average (GPA), their likely benefit from the programme and their potential diplomatic abilities. Ten participants were females and two were males, with ages ranging from 18 to 25 years. The average age was 20.1 years. Participants were of four nationalities and five were international students.²¹ Three students had just finished their first year of university, five were in second year and four were in third year.²²

Regarding their Japanese proficiency level, ten students had just successfully completed Japanese 4 at QUT (approximately equivalent to Level 3 in the Japanese Language Proficiency Test) and two had just successfully completed Japanese 6 (equivalent to Level 2 in the proficiency test). Most students had never been to Japan before, but three had been on a previous three-week trip.

Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach to capture each student's experience. This approach offers intricate details of phenomena difficult to convey with quantitative methods, captures the individual's point of view and makes the world of life experience directly

¹⁹ This programme is partly funded by the Japan-Oceania Society for Cultural Exchanges.

²⁰ Marriott, 'Changing trends', pp.63-69.

²¹ The group consisted of seven Australians, three Taiwanese, one Bruneian and one Malaysian.

²² Their degree courses varied. They included Arts, Business, Education, Arts and Applied Science, Arts and Business, Arts and Education and Creative Industry and Education.

accessible to the reader.²³ Chen and Isa also contended that conceptual development was better where it was built on a solid understanding of variables inductively and directly generated from a vast array of qualitative data.²⁴

Four kinds of data sets were used: 1) diary entries; 2) students' post-trip reflective reports of 1,500–2,000 words; 3) questionnaires; and 4) semi-structured follow-up interviews.

1) Diary entries

Two students from the 2003–04 group voluntarily kept diaries. They commented how helpful the practice was to reflect on their in-country experience. The diary component was then formally introduced to the 2004–05 group. The students were asked to record any experience or observations, whether cultural, linguistic or general. No limits were imposed on the frequency or length of entries. There were, therefore, some individual differences in the quality and quantity.

2) Post-trip reflective essays

Students submitted an essay of 1,500–2,000 words after they returned to Australia. They were asked to reflect on their overall experiences in Japan and to report on their activities, evaluate their experiences, write any observations or discoveries about Japan and Japanese people, give advice to future participants and so on. No strict rule was imposed on the format.

3) Questionnaires

Based on the findings of outcomes in both studies by Clyne and Rizvi and by Marriott and Enomoto, I created a questionnaire. It aimed to allow students to formally evaluate the degree of potential benefits in various categories and to comment on any difficulties or problems encountered.

4) Semi-structured follow-up interviews

For the interview, it was anticipated that being interviewed with peers who shared the exchange might generate more descriptive accounts of their experiences and observations

²³ Denzin & Lincoln, 'Handbook of qualitative research', p. 10.

²⁴ Chen and Isa, 'Intercultural communication and cultural learning', p. 78.

than might individual interviews. For this reason, students were divided into groups of three. The interviews were conducted in English and lasted about two hours for each group. They began with general questions that asked the students to assess their time in Japan, followed by more specific questions that sought to clarify and amplify both their spoken responses and written accounts (i.e. diaries, essays and questionnaires) of in-country experience. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed with the participants' consent.

Thematic analysis was employed in order to interpret the data sets. A theme can be noted in discourse when three criteria are present.²⁵ These are recurrence, repetition and forcefulness. The two themes of 'food matters' and 'gift-giving' were prominent with most students.

Theme 1: Food Matters

During homestays, students were provided with at least two meals a day, breakfast and dinner, as well as lunch on weekends. Because it was an everyday activity, the topic was naturally brought up repeatedly in various ways by all participants. The experiences were broadly divided into two types: factual discoveries, and observations derived from interactions with family members.

Factual discoveries included learning what was eaten on a day-to-day basis (not just sushi) and how to use chopsticks. The participants all commented that homestay enabled them to observe and learn what and how Japanese people ate in real life on a daily basis. One Australian student said:

I was a bit concerned about meals with a Japanese family because I don't eat fish much and I thought Japanese people eat fish a lot, well, that's what textbooks said anyway. My host family served many meat dishes like *butadon*... they were all different from what I am used to but they were surprisingly nice. It was good to learn what they really eat in everyday life.

This is an example of factual learning though it is necessary to acknowledge some diversity among different households.

Meanwhile, students also encountered various interactions with families that forced them to ponder certain Japanese cultural patterns. Cultural patterns are defined by Lusting and Koester as 'shared beliefs, values, and norms that are stable over time and that lead to roughly similar behaviours across similar situations'.²⁶ They provide a basic

²⁵ Owen, 'Interpretive themes.'

²⁶ Lusting and Koester, 'Intercultural competence', p. 91.

set of standards that guide thought and action in given cultures and they are unconsciously experienced as a byproduct of day-to-day activities.²⁷

One example of such a situation was when students were questioned about their food preferences. This may sound like a simple question and answer interaction, but it appeared that it became a lengthy interaction at times, as illustrated by the following testimony:

We often went shopping together for ingredients for dinner. They asked me what I wanted to eat and what I normally eat in Australia. You know, I was prepared to try anything... really, I wanted to. So, I said so but the host mum kept saying something like 'Don't be silly. *Enryo shinaide*. [Literally, do not hesitate.] I will cook what you usually eat.' It was nice of them ... but...

According to this student, this was not a one-off incident. She tried hard to convince the host mother that she was genuinely interested in trying what they usually serve. The negotiation process often continued for considerable time before reaching a final decision or agreement. The student reported her concerns as to whether or not her persistence was considered rude:

I was really worried if I was not polite. You know Japanese people are such polite people... this politeness business scared me sometimes. I hope they did not think I was impolite but I wanted to eat what they eat and I did not want them to change because of me. I had to repeat myself to get my message across.

There seems to be at least two dimensions to this experience. First, how do sociolinguistic rules apply? According to a model by Neustupny,²⁸ a set of sociolinguistic rules should be applied at a contact situation²⁹ including rules of setting (i.e. where communication takes place) and rules of personnel (i.e. who communicates with whom). Given their relation as both host-guest and temporary family members, the process of determining the best response for the student to make was indeed a complex one.

Second, is it a common practice for host families to offer to adjust their meals? This point was made by Iino, who conducted interviews with Japanese host families. He pointed out in his study that Japanese families who hosted American students lived an 'unusual' or at least a 'different' life from their daily lives during their homestay programme, which affected too the daily meal menu.³⁰ Zuengler referred to such significant adjustments as 'overaccommodation'.³¹ The extent to which overaccommodation is

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁸ Neustupny, 'Communicating with the Japanese.'

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.9. It referred to a situation in which members of two or more cultures interact.

³⁰ Iino, 'Norms of interaction', p. 159.

³¹ Zuengler, 'Accommodation in native-nonnative interactions', p. 239.

prevalent is debatable, but it will be useful nonetheless to students to be aware of such a possibility prior to their trips.

It is also worth exploring some comments made among students about the phrase of '*enryo shinaide*'. During the follow-up interviews, a lively discussion was had on the frequent usage of this phrase. Some recalled situations where their host mothers used the phrase repeatedly, typically when continuing to offer foods long after satiation. According to Wierzbicka, an interesting Japanese cultural value is reflected in the word *enryo* (reserve or self-restraint).³² Fundamentally, it tends to stop people from saying clearly not only what they think, but also what they want.³³ Wierzbicka also contended that the Japanese place a taboo on the direct expression of one's wishes. An assumption that emerges from this theoretical viewpoint is that what one says may not necessarily be the persons' true feelings because of hesitation. While the author has no intention of endorsing a stereotype, the frequent use of the expression is potentially indicative of such assumption.

To summarise, interactions with host families in relation to food matters brought about more than factual observations. While some students seem to have occasionally felt uncertain about their hosts' and their own responses, the interactions simultaneously became enriched opportunities for the students to make some observations on linguistic, pragmatic and cultural aspects.

Theme 2: Gift-Giving

The Japanese are often portrayed as being deeply engaged with gift-giving. Indeed, many Japanese textbooks contain information on the importance of the custom.³⁴ But, for learners, knowing of culturally important behaviour is one thing and putting complex etiquette into practice is another. Many students voiced the fact that experiencing the cultural aspects firsthand was overwhelming at times. One student summarised a series of events she experienced as follows:

Although I had brought presents from Australia for all the family members, they all gave me presents in return, and so it would cancel out the presents which I gave them. So, I would buy more presents, only to get more in return as well. This was a very amusing situation.

Similar accounts of events were given by many other students.

What can be gathered from the data is that the students were equipped with

³² Wierzbicka, 'Japanese key words', pp. 243-248.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³⁴ For example, see Tohsaku, 'Yookoso!', p. 99.

the knowledge on the basic importance of giving gifts. However, the custom of return gift-giving, or *okaeshi*, was not clearly explained or totally understood. Befu referred to gift-giving practices, or *giri* (obligation)³⁵, in traditional Japan ‘as a central motivational value in maintaining the custom’ and as ‘reciprocity as a principle of interaction.’³⁶ A concept of ‘reciprocity’ was exemplified by Japanese conventional gift-giving practice requiring *okaeshi*.³⁷ The reasons for the practice are complex. For example, Befu explained the emphasis on returning gifts as satisfying the urge to repay the debt derived from *giri*.³⁸ On the other hand, it was argued that obligation was only a partial interpretation and *kimochi* (feelings) or a wish to keep good relations may be behind the custom.³⁹ Clearly, rules of giving and returning gifts in Japan require intricate knowledge. Without an explicit knowledge on these aspects, some students felt confused and uncertain as reflected in comments such as:

I brought presents because they let me stay in their house. If you return ‘thank you’ gifts, it loses the point of ‘thank you,’ doesn’t it? When do you stop?

My host family was very generous. We went shopping together and my host parents bought me lots of stuff... a jumper, gloves, scarf, you know. They were so generous. But, when I looked at the price tag of the jacket, it was so expensive. I brought one from Australia so I had one. So, I said, ‘*iranai* [I do not want it]’ and ‘*kattewa ikenai* [You should not buy it]’. I didn’t want them to waste their money. But, they bought it anyway. I guess I did not mind ... I was thankful, but it got to the stage when it was a bit irritating actually. I sort of learnt to try and go with the flow.

It should be noted, however, that many repeatedly used terms such as ‘kind’ and ‘generous’ in their stories. This evidenced that these experiences were not perceived in a negative sense. It is also worth noting that comments of confusions mainly came from Australian students. For example, Taiwanese students commented: ‘Perhaps we often think and act in the same way as Japanese people’. A possible explanation for this may be the distance between cultural norms. It is likely that the norms to which each student was accustomed differently affected their perceptions towards some characteristics of Japanese gift-giving practices.

To summarise this theme, all the participants were aware of the importance of gift-giving in Japanese culture in theory, but considered theory alone to be insufficient. Perhaps an explicit knowledge of the custom of *okaeshi* would have helped the students to make sense of their experience. While conscious attempts were made to conform to the norm, the extent to which it was practised in real life in Japan was overwhelming at

³⁵ For the extensive explanation on the term, see Wierzbicka, ‘Japanese key words’, p. 254.

³⁶ Befu, ‘Gift-giving’, p. 167.

³⁷ Lebra, ‘Japanese patterns of behaviours’, p. 96.

³⁸ Befu, ‘Gift-giving’, p. 166.

³⁹ Trias i Valls, ‘Wrapped gifts’.

times for many learners. One student commented, ‘we never know what this custom is really like until you are in it’. These interactions concerning gift-giving may have been great opportunities for observations through the cultural immersion, but what should be underscored is the requirement of more detailed briefing and follow-up sessions.

Concluding Remarks

This case study examined and described two themes of in-country experiences by undergraduate students from an Australian university during their short homestays with Japanese families in Japan. The study was limited to 12 participants, but multiple data sets enabled an in-depth examination of the experiences. It has shown how the students made some observations on certain cultural patterns through interactions with host families. The well known ‘when in Rome, do as the Romans do’ principle in intercultural situations was perhaps easier to say than do. The data indicated that the process sometimes entailed uneasiness or puzzlement or amazement.

Whether or not the students understood that the discussed concepts of *enryo*, *giri* and *kimochi* possibly underlie the customs and cultural values is questionable. While the intercultural experience enabled them to make some observations on hosts’ behaviours and languages, it did not automatically lead to understanding and appreciation of cultural values. Therefore, the importance of adequate briefing and reflection sessions must be emphasised in order to maximise the depth of gain in cultural understanding from homestays.

Nonetheless, a reality is that not all the necessary cultural aspects of language use can be teachable because the dynamics of situations often override the normalised ideal culture.⁴⁰ Learners can normally confront opportunities for such pragmatic demands only by being immersed in the culture. Hence, it reinforces the claim that homestay with Japanese families does indeed provide learners with rich opportunities to be engaged in meaningful cultural learning. As Neustupny pointed out, studying the Japanese language on its own is not sufficient to communicate with Japanese people. Learning about society and culture is essential for effective cross-cultural communication.⁴¹ Homestay, while a challenge to organise,⁴² can play a key role in providing opportunities to learn about the target society and culture. With all stakeholders’ constant endeavours, homestay schemes should continue to make a positive contribution to an enhancement of cross-cultural understanding for both countries.

⁴⁰ Iino, ‘Norms of interaction’, p. 172.

⁴¹ Neustupny, ‘Australia and Japan’.

⁴² Klepinger, ‘The Australian/Japanese homestay programme’.

References

- Befu, H., 'Gift-giving and social reciprocity in Japan', *France-Asie/Asia* 188, 1966–1967, pp.161–177.
- , 'Gift-giving in a modernizing Japan', in Lebra, T., and Lebra, W. (eds.), *Japanese Culture and Behavior: Selected readings* (Revised Edition) (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp.158–170.
- Bodycott, P. and Crew V., (eds.), *Language and Cultural Immersion: Perspectives on short term study and residence abroad* (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Institute of Education, 2001).
- Campbell, N., 'Home(stay) is where the heart(ache) is: A study of Chinese International students living with local families in New Zealand', *Australian Journal of Communication* 31:2, 2004, pp.107–134.
- Chen, L., and Isa, M., 'Intercultural communication and cultural learning: The experience of Japanese visiting students in the U.S.', *The Howard Journal of Communication* 14, 2003, pp.75–96.
- Clyne, F., and Rizvi, F., 'Outcomes of student exchange', in Davis, D. and Olsen, A. (eds.), *Outcomes of international education: research finding*, (Canberra: IDP Education Australia, 1998), pp.35–49.
- Daly, A., Troth, A., Barker, M., and Jones, S., 'Comparative predictions of international orientations across Australian and New Zealand university students', Conference papers presented for Biennial International Conference on Intercultural Research, 21–24 May 2004, Taiwan. Retrieved 10 June 2005, from <http://cunningham.acer.edu.au.ezp01.library.qut.edu.au/dbtw-wpd/textbase/ndrie/ndrie137503.doc>.
- Denzin, N. K., and Lincoln, Y.S., (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000).
- Freed, B., 'Assessing the linguistic impact of study abroad: What we currently know – What we need to learn', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 4:4,1993, pp.151–166.
- , 'What makes us think that students who study abroad become fluent? in Freed, B.F. (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), pp.123–148.
- Hashimoto, H., 'Language acquisition of an exchange student within the homestay environment', *Journal of Asian Pacific communication* 4: 4, 1993, pp.209–224.
- , 'The impact of study abroad on the cultural identity of university exchange students', in Liddicoat, A., Eisenclas, S. and Trevaskes, S. (eds), *Australian Perspectives on Internationalising Education* (Melbourne: Language Australia Ltd., 2003), pp.103–115.
- Huebner, T., 'The effects of overseas language programs: report on a case study of an intensive Japanese course', in Freed, B.F. (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), pp.171–193.
- Iino, M., 'Norms of interaction in a Japanese home stay setting: Toward a two-way flow of linguistic and cultural resources', in DuFon, M., and Churchill, E. (eds.), *Language Learners in Study Abroad Contexts* (NY: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2006), pp.151–173.
- Klepinger, L., 'The Australian/Japanese homestay program and its positive contribution to cross-cultural understanding', *The Internet TESL Journal* 1:1, 1995. Retrieved 28 February 2006, from <http://iteslj.org/Articles/Klepinger-Homestay.html>.

- Lafford, B., 'Getting into, through and out of a survival situation: A comparison of communicative strategies used by students studying Spanish abroad and at home', in Freed, B.F. (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), pp. 97–121.
- Lebra, T., *Japanese Patterns of Behaviour* (Honolulu : University Press of Hawaii, 1976).
- Lustig, M.W. and Koester, J., *Intercultural Competence: Interpersonal Communication across cultures (Second edition)* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1996).
- Marriott, H., 'Changing trends in Australia-Japan and Japan–Australia student exchanges and study abroad programs', *Japanese Studies Bulletin 14:2*, 1994, pp.50–74.
- , 'The acquisition of politeness patterns by exchange students in Japan', in Freed, B.F. (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), pp.197–224.
- Marriott, H., and Enomoto, S., 'Secondary exchanges with Japan: exploring students' experiences and gains', *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 12*, 1995, pp.64–82.
- Matsumura, S., 'Learning the rules for offering advice: A quantitative approach to second language socialization', *Language Learning 51:4*, 2001, pp.635–679.
- Nelson, B., 'Engaging the world through education: Ministerial statement on the internationalisation of Australian education and training', Australian Government, October 2003. Retrieved 22 June 2006, from http://aei.dest.gov.au/AEI/AboutAEI/PoliciesAndPriorities/MinisterialStatement/Minstatement_pdf.pdf .
- Neustupny, J.V., *Communicating with the Japanese* (Tokyo: Japan times, 1987).
- , 'Australia and Japan: Cross-cultural communication problems', *Vox 1*, 1988, pp.28–32.
- Okazaki-Luff, K., 'Ōsutorariajin ryūgakusei no nihonbunka eno tekiō (The adjustment of Australian exchange students to Japanese culture.)', *Ibunkakan Kyōiku 6*, 1992, pp.143–155.
- Owen, W., 'Interpretive themes in relational communication', *Quarterly Journal of speech 70*, 1984, pp.274–287.
- Parry, M., 'Short student exchange programs to Japan: Just fun or educational?' in proceedings of papers presented to the Social Change in the 21st Century Conference, 28 October 2005, Centre for Social Change Research, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.
- Siegal, M., 'Individual differences and study abroad: women learning Japanese in Japan', in Freed, B.F. (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), pp.123–148.
- Tohsaku, Y., *Yookoso! Continuing with Contemporary Japanese* (Second edition) (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1999).
- Trias i Valls, Ma. À., *Wrapped Gifts: Ritual Presentations and Social Obligations in Contemporary Japan* (PhD Thesis: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1999). Retrieved 20 September 2006, from <http://lucy.kent.ac.uk/csacpub/Mono19/Html/>
- Wierzbicka, A., 'Japanese key words and core cultural values', in *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words: English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 235–292.

Zuengler, J., 'Accommodation in native-nonnative interactions: Going beyond the "what" to the "why" in second-language research', in Giles, H., Coupland, N. and Coupland, J. (eds.), *Contexts of Accommodations, Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.223–244.

Making it Work: A Study of Australian Expatriate Language and Cultural Strategies for the Workplace in Japan

Sean O'Connell
The University of Queensland

Introduction

Australia has maintained a steady and strong business relationship with Japan for over three decades. In fact, Japan ranks first in terms of important export markets¹ for Australia. As a result, it can be assumed that, on a micro-level, the possibility of more expatriates from Australia being stationed in Japan will increase to facilitate business communication and transactions between Australian and Japanese companies. With the creation of multinational workplaces, including Australians and Japanese working together in Japan, comes an increasing necessity for Australian expatriates to have linguistic and cultural competence. While this has been identified in intercultural communication research², the implementations of such findings related to Japanese language proficiency and how it benefits Australian-Japanese workplace communication is seemingly sporadic despite the investment into Japanese language education by Australia.

Japanese language and Japan-related studies have been popular in Australia³ for over 20 years. According to the Japan Foundation⁴, Japanese language learners in Australia were estimated to number at around 380,000 in 2003, an 80,000 increase on the numbers recorded in 1998. Additionally, other research shows that Japanese is regarded as one of the top four Asian languages to be taught in Australia's LOTE (Languages Other Than English) education⁵, with the motivation to learn Japanese at tertiary level linked to the view of career prospect enhancement. However, this type of research outwardly fell short in identifying the effectiveness of having Japanese proficiency, and more importantly, its role in enhancing cultural competence (i.e. the ability to function effectively in a host culture) in business communication. Indeed, a number of intercultural communication researchers⁶ argue that the level of second-language proficiency among expatriates is a determining factor in achieving effective intercultural workplace communication. While this notion may seem obvious, there are few pieces of empirical evidence that show how

¹ Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade, 'Australia-Japan Economic Framework.'

² Irwin, H., 'Communicating with Asia.'; March, R.M., 'Working for a Japanese Company. Insights into the Multicultural Workplace.'; Kubota M., 'Factors Affecting Japanese Proficiency Levels in Native English Speakers.'

³ Lee, D.Y., 'Japanese Education in the Australian Context'; Ramzan, Y., 'Japanese Language Instruction in a Multicultural Context: promoting Citizenship and Interculturality.'

⁴ Japan Foundation, 'Survey Report on Japanese Language Education Abroad 2003.'

⁵ Rudd, K., 'Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future. A Report Prepared for the Council of Australian Governments on a Proposed National Asian Languages/Studies Strategy for Australian Schools.'

⁶ Du-Babcock, B., & Babcock, R., 'Patterns of expatriate-local personnel communication in multinational corporations.'

Fisher, G.B. & Härtel, C.E.J., 'Cross-cultural effectiveness of Western expatriate - Thai client interactions: Lessons learned for IHRM research and theory.'; Selmer, J., 'Language Ability and Adjustment: Western Expatriates in China.'

Australians with second-language and cultural competence achieve effective business communication.

Accordingly, this paper seeks to contribute to broadening knowledge specific to an Australian–Japanese intercultural business communication context by examining the effectiveness of Australian expatriates with high Japanese language proficiency and cultural competence.

Researcher's Role

In my role as an intercultural communication researcher, I have always related my own experiences to the context of my research. In the discussion presented in this paper, it is therefore important to explain the impetus behind my research. Like many of the participants in my Masters (previous) and PhD (present) research, my ties with the Japanese language and culture began at high school. Now, as an interpreter, intercultural communication trainer and researcher, being mindful of communication style and cultural differences, and how best to negotiate them to achieve communication goals, is vital. Consequently, the findings presented in this paper, as well as my present research in its entirety, not only serve to expand current knowledge, but also provide an opportunity for self-reflection regarding my own communication strategies as an expatriate in Japan.

Focus

This paper focuses on a description of findings from my previous and present research. Specifically, it illustrates the importance and impact of high Japanese proficiency and cultural competence on workplace communication between Australian expatriates and their Japanese co-workers. The paper is organised as follows:

- a) background information regarding the Australia–Japan business relationship, Japanese education in Australia, and the researcher's role;
- b) explanation of the research framework (high context/low context and communication accommodation theories and expatriate–local personnel studies);
- c) description of the previous and present study methodology;
- d) discussion of findings from both studies; and
- e) conclusion.

Research Framework

This section describes two theoretical frameworks used in my research: High and Low Context Communication, and Communication⁷ Accommodation Theory⁸. It then gives a brief review of the current expatriate and local personnel research literature.

High and Low Context Communication

For the past thirty years, the High and Low Context Communication context spectrum has been used to examine communication style differences and how such differences affect the communication process in intercultural contexts. People communicating in a high-context environment, such as Japan, receive more of the information from within the context. Subsequently, less of the meaning of a message is provided verbally or explicitly. In contrast, in low-context cultures, including Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the U.S., the verbal part of the message itself contains more of the information and the majority of the transmitted information is embedded in explicit verbal codes.

However, despite the common assumption that these English speaking nations share similar styles of communication within the low-context spectrum, there are significant differences that warrant a specific investigation to avoid inaccurate generalisations. For example, differences in expressions of achievement and status as well as conflict resolution styles are evident between Australians and Americans. Australians will generally avoid giving compliments or recognising status, whereas Americans value this style in business. Furthermore, while both appreciate explicit, verbal expression, Australians thrive more on honesty, colourful statements and shifts in subject as part of conflict resolution than smooth and patterned expressions used by Americans.⁹

Considering my research context, this framework is particularly relevant as Japan and Australia sit at opposite ends of this polar dimension. In Australia, it is imperative that the sender of a message encodes it clearly as they tend not to search for information from the environment. The receiver of the message is responsible for seeking confirmation and clarity should the verbal message be unclear. Conversely, the communication flow and subsequent role expectations differ in the high-context Japanese culture. In other words, the verbal part of the communication may be vague or indirect as both sides are expected to analyse the context to complete the communication process.

⁷ Hall, E.T. & M.R., 'Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese.'

⁸ Giles, H., 'Accent mobility. A model and some data.'

⁹ Renwick, G.W., 'A fair go for all: a guide for Australians and Americans'

Communication Accommodation Theory

This theory is used to explain the adjustments in speech style during interactions as well as communication behaviours, attitudes, and perceptions. There are four main focal points: approximation strategies, discourse management, interpretability and interpersonal control. In my present research it is used to analyse the workplace communication strategies of Australian expatriates with high Japanese proficiency and cultural competence when communicating with their Japanese co-workers. Naturally, to test each of the four main foci in its entirety would be far beyond the scope of my present research.

Consequently, one focal point is used: approximation strategies (convergence, divergence and maintenance). Convergence means that one person in the communication process adapts his or her normal style of communication to closely match that of the other person. This could involve, for example, copying para-verbally (tone, speed etc.) or style (directness or indirectness). This is usually done to increase the sense of similarity in order to gain consensus or cooperation. Divergence, on the other hand, refers to an opposite style of communication. For example, where one interlocutor uses an indirect style of communication, the other may diverge by intentionally adopting a direct style. Finally, maintenance means that a person neither converges nor diverges, but instead maintains their usual style of communication.

Expatriate and Local Personnel Communication

Expatriate studies are primarily located within the field of intercultural communication. Such studies have received significant attention over the past decade due to the advancement of globalisation and the issues of international communication born from it. Nevertheless, a dominant tendency to focus on issues of cultural adjustment, management performance and effectiveness¹⁰ is evident. Conversely, workplace communication studies have not gained as much attention. This is in spite of a strong claim by intercultural communication researchers¹¹ that the impact of second language proficiency and cultural competence is largely due to the need for expatriates to accommodate their methods and styles of communication to the host culture for ultimate effectiveness.

While limited, the notion of accommodation is a common theme within studies of expatriates with high second-language proficiency. For example, language proficiency has been identified as a way to attain intercultural effectiveness in communication between Western expatriates and Chinese local staff¹². In other words, high second-language (Chinese) proficiency was found to enhance expatriate adjustment due to an

¹⁰ Birdseye, M.G., & Hill, J.S., 'Individual, Organizational Work and Environmental Influences on Expatriate Turnover Tendencies: An Empirical Study'; Fisher, G.B. & Härtel, C.E.J., *op. cit.*

¹¹ Selmer, J., *op. cit.*

¹² *Ibid.*

increase in trust and ability to explore the host business culture through language.

Specific reference to communication accommodation and high/low context communication differences is evident in another study of Western expatriates (British and American) in Taiwan¹³. Results expounded that high second-language proficiency and cultural intelligence created a higher expectation by the local personnel for expatriates to follow social norms and rules of the host country. Put simply, expatriates are seen more as insiders because they are able to pick up on the subtleties and deep structured meaning of what is said. Consequently, it was found they consistently accommodated towards low-context communication in objective professional topic areas and high-context communication in interpersonal and private topics, especially when conversations were related to face-threatening issues. This illustrates one of the characteristics of accommodation, or in this case, expectations to follow suit or converge.

The Study: Methodology and Participants

Using a mixed-method approach, both pieces of research began with a survey of a large sample from which a smaller sample was selected for a qualitative style of inquiry. This was done to illicit in-depth perceptions and evaluations of Japanese proficiency, cultural competence and communication accommodation from the participants.

Accordingly, this section of the paper provides: a) an explanation of the data collection tools used; b) a description of the participants in both studies; and c) an analysis of the findings in order of the research conducted.

Previous Research

The central goal was to obtain a widespread and accurate analysis of the current levels of Australian expatriate Japanese proficiency and cultural competence. It began with a questionnaire consisting of closed- and open-ended questions related to (a) basic participant profile: position, length of assignment etc.; (b) Japanese language and business culture education and training; (c) familiarity of Japanese communication style; and (d) areas that cause confusion or communication breakdown.

At first, the aim was to shed light on the amount of language and cultural training Australian expatriates received to achieve intercultural competence. However, as the research progressed, it was discovered that a relatively low amount of structured training was provided by companies. This meant that the Australian expatriates were expected to develop those skills themselves. As a result, the methodology evolved into a focus

¹³ Du-Babcock, B., & Babcock, R., *op. cit.*

interview that centered on (a) the importance of Japanese skills and cultural competence; (b) how those skills have helped or would have helped bridge a gap; and (c) areas of Japanese communication that were confusing or hard to accept.

For the questionnaire, a total of 90 participants (50 Australian expatriates and 40 New Zealand expatriates) were secured. There were a variety of sojourn lengths among the subjects, with an average of 4.5 years, as well as an array of work they engaged in spanning trade, finance, tourism, construction and retail industries and roles from subordinate through to executive positions. For the purpose of this paper, I will limit my description to that of the Australian expatriates.

The participants were all directly involved and in contact with Japanese clients and staff. In the focus interview, 25 Australian expatriates from the original sample were selected based on the criteria as a result of being identified as having high Japanese proficiency and cultural competence. The interviews were all approximately 60 minutes in length and consisted of questions which allowed the participants to expand freely on the above-mentioned themes. In terms of Japanese proficiency evaluation, the method of evaluation differed in the previous and present research. In the previous research, the evaluation was a combination of self-evaluation by the expatriates and my observations as the researcher.

Present Research

The self-evaluation and anecdote design of the previous research revealed limitations regarding validity as perceptions from their Japanese co-workers were not sought. Accordingly, in the present research, I have sought to validate the evaluation in order to reliably identify Australian expatriates with a high level of Japanese language proficiency. This was triangulated using: 1) self-evaluation; 2) other-evaluation (Japanese co-worker); and 3) my observations as a bilingual researcher. Additionally, both sides were provided with the FSI (Foreign Service Institute) scale¹⁴ as an accurate guide for Japanese evaluation. The FSI scale is made up of five levels from S1 to S5. S1 is the lowest level, signifying the ability to use simple language in Japanese such as greetings and everyday social expressions. As the level rises, so does the ability to S5, which is defined as a fully bilingual level.

The present research questionnaire also included closed- and open-ended questions; however, its focus and the participants it was distributed among differed. The participants were recruited from among three companies – two trade-related organisations (one 100% Australian and a 50/50 joint venture) and one construction related organisation (100% Australian-owned). In total, 12 Australian expatriates and 48

¹⁴ Jones, R., The FSI oral interview.

Japanese personnel participated. The questionnaire stage was also used to identify and recruit a smaller number from the original sample for the final ethnographic stage of my present research.

Findings and Discussion

Under the central theme of this paper, 'making it work', the findings are split into two sections, language proficiency and cultural competence, and workplace communication, to illustrate the impact of the Australian expatriates' Japanese language and cultural competency has on their workplace communication in Japan.

Language Proficiency and Cultural Competence

Firstly, Japanese proficiency varied in the previous research. Thorough analysis of the data from the questionnaire and interviews found that approximately 65% possessed high Japanese proficiency, whereas the remaining 35% evaluated themselves as having only basic Japanese proficiency, such as basic greetings and other phrases for basic daily conversation. One of the expatriates labelled the two types as 'new breed' and 'old guard' expatriates. 'New breed' expatriates refers the type who have a high level of Japanese proficiency gained through LOTE and other education opportunities. The 'old guard' expatriates were described as the type that have limited Japanese proficiency and relied on in-house interpreters as link-pins in their communication with Japanese staff and clients. In spite of the existence of so-called 'old guard' expatriates, with 65% of the participants possessing high levels of Japanese, the 'new breed' expatriates were identified to have an increasingly dominant existence within the Australian expatriate dynamic.

Interestingly, when asked whether they felt knowing the characteristics of Japanese business communication (e.g. decision-making consensus and communication style differences) was necessary to function effectively in Japan, all participants responded affirmatively. As a result, it was clearly evident that their level of cultural competence was high. Of particular significance was the 85% response recognising high and low context differences by the 'new breed' expatriates. This was further explored in the focus interviews with the following comments representative of their perspectives:

At first, I was always trying to finish their sentences for them without realising that's all they had to say as if they were expecting me to extract information from elsewhere. After five years working in this environment, I now understand that their vagueness is not actually vague, but an important part of achieving a smooth interaction by relying on the context. (Australian expatriate#25)

Once you have the language skills to explore the cultural subtleties, you get better at

deciphering the hidden message. Australians are a lot more verbal and explicit, but you can't always use that the same way if you want to get the message across. (Australian expatriate #20)

Despite a four-year interval (2001–2005), the results of the present research questionnaire confirmed a continued emphasis of the importance placed on high Japanese proficiency. All of the twelve Australian expatriate participants had studied Japanese in Australia, and nine of them had been to Japan at some stage as exchange students for one year or more. Everyone except one participant self-evaluated themselves as possessing high Japanese proficiency. Using a ratio of approximately 4:1 (Japanese worker : Australian expatriate), I expected to discover some discrepancies in evaluation assuming that some of the expatriates may over-evaluate themselves. However, a comparison of the self and Japanese co-worker evaluations revealed that approximately 75% (nine out of twelve) were placed at the S4 level, or individuals whose Japanese proficiency was equivalent to that of native-like proficiency.

Another aim of the questionnaire was to attain information regarding when both sides felt it was necessary to accommodate to a high-context style of communication. The following are examples of when it was felt necessary:

Having a high level of Japanese is such an important inroad to understanding how the culture influences the way Japanese communicate. Without my language skills I wouldn't be able to truly understand the differences and know when to adapt my normal style of communication to the Japanese style. (Australian expatriate #5)

I find that when we converse in English we can be more verbal and explicit, but in order to maintain harmony in the workplace, I think that my Australian colleague is more effective in Japanese if he uses a Japanese-style of communication (saying less to mean more) so that we can read the context. (Japanese co-worker #32)

It's nice to feel that my communication goals have been achieved by showing the willingness to adopt a less straight-to-the-point approach. My colleagues and clients tend to be more active and cooperative if they are allowed to guess what I mean. (Australian expatriate #12)

Workplace Communication

In the previous research, approximately 75% of the Australian expatriates claimed that a conscious change in their normal style of communication was required in workplace communication. For example, one expatriate pointed to the effective workplace communication as 'being able to know when you should be more indirect, subtle and less-wordy, like the Japanese are, to get the message across smoothly' (Australian expatriate #14). When asked to elaborate on this comment, the participant claimed that

using his own direct approach invited an initial understanding but did not help to achieve cooperation.

In the present research, an average of 72% of the workplace communication was conducted in Japanese, including staff meetings, daily task discussions as well as after-work functions. Among the three organisations surveyed, two required only a limited amount of English proficiency from the Japanese staff, whereas the other organisation required an equally high proficiency in Japanese from both the expatriates and Japanese staff due to client diversity. Nonetheless, the third company participants also reported that over 75% of its workplace communication was done in Japanese.

The level of cultural competence was found to be high, as shown by the awareness of communication accommodation issues. Results indicated a tendency by the expatriates to adopt convergent strategies in order seek cooperation from their Japanese co-workers. For example, an Australian working in a joint-venture stated: 'You can't always spell everything out verbally. That is somewhat of a wildcard that I tend not to use much if I'm seeking cooperation and understanding' (Australian expatriate #11). Similar perspectives were derived from participants in the other organisations also indicating expectations of adjustment. For example: 'I really feel more comfortable in my communication with my Australian colleague when he uses a less direct approach and allows me to read between the lines' (Japanese co-worker #4) and 'I know that the Australian style of communication is normally more to the point, but our communication is a lot smoother, especially when seeking mutual support and understanding, if the Australian doesn't try to spell everything out' (Japanese co-worker #15). The above responses clearly show how the use of high Japanese proficiency impacts the cultivation of cultural competence to function effectively in their workplaces.

Although the analysis indicates a positive impact of high intercultural communication competence, there were two other important discoveries related to cultural differences that Australian expatriates still found hard to accept. One example was with reference to the concept of *nemawashi*. One Australian expatriate who works at a senior level in Japan for a trade-related organisation remarked that 'while most Japanese business communication and culture are comprehensible, the concept of *nemawashi* just doesn't make sense for Australians' (Australian expatriate #3). This perspective was shared by 45% of the expatriate participants, saying that it seemed to be inefficient in terms of time. When asked to elaborate, one expatriate stated:

the main difficulty is the slow or lack of decision making and the need to always seek higher authority for seemingly small decisions that business people are used to making on the spot in Australia. This is perhaps due to a lack of empowerment of staff with manager titles in Japanese companies, and they seem not to have the authority to make decisions as would staff in the same position in Australian companies. (Australian expatriate #12)

The above comments suggest that even being able to understand the subtle nuances of Japanese communication and culture does not always mean that everything is accepted. Additionally, the use of silence was identified by approximately 85% of the Australian participants, stating that it generated confusion, especially in the first stages of their work in Japan. However, their responses suggested that long-term expatriates now see it as merely a non-response mode of communication. The lack of explicit signals in general was another part of non-verbal communication that many of the participants saw as part of the high context versus low context differences between the countries.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to describe how high levels of Japanese proficiency and cultural competence help Australian expatriates to 'make it work' in terms of workplace communication. In particular, it focused on the perceptions and evaluations of intercultural communication competence and how cultural differences were explored and recognised through the use of these competencies. The first section aimed to show how this research relates to the product of LOTE (Japanese) education in Australia based on the fact that few studies have shown how the priority placed on Japanese language education is producing positive results to enhance intercultural workplace communication.

The second section provided two appropriate theoretical frameworks to analyse the development of cultural competence through high Japanese proficiency. This was clearly shown by responses in both studies that indicated the differences in communication styles, i.e. high versus low context communication. A strong awareness of the need to adapt to a high context style to improve both the ease and efficiency of communication was evident from the responses of the Australian expatriates. In other words, Japanese proficiency in fact helps to explore cultural differences between the expatriates and their Japanese personnel. This finding not only supports previous findings in other studies mentioned, but it also contributes to the notion that, without high Japanese proficiency, sufficient interpretation of how communication styles between Australians and Japanese differ cannot be made.

In terms of methodology and findings, the mixed method approach proved successful and valid for a number of reasons. Firstly, a mixture of open- and closed-ended questions made it possible to identify a significant number of 'new breed' expatriates. Furthermore, this approach clearly illustrated how language proficiency positively impacted the development of cultural competence. As shown in the findings section, the common tone of having to 'read between the lines' or to use indirect, subtle approaches to communication to gain cooperation show the awareness of high/low context communication. Secondly, by incorporating Japanese co-worker evaluations and perceptions in the present study, a reliable evaluation design was achieved to validate the data. Furthermore, the perceptions regarding communication accommodation were

forthcoming from both sides. Findings from other expatriate studies mentioned in this paper also hold true for my research regarding the expectation by local personnel. Put simply, the higher the level of Japanese is, the more expatriates are expected to follow suit in relation to social and cultural norms of the host nation.

Considering the findings of these two pieces of research, the potential of my research to contribute to Japanese studies in Australia is significant. However, it should be mentioned here that, without further development of this research, the findings presented will remain limited in terms of validity and reliability. As such, the first stage questionnaire results will now be used in the ethnographic stage of my current PhD project. Two of the three organisations from the original sample will participate. As the researcher, I will visit both organisations 2–3 times per week for 3–4 hours to observe the workplace communication between one Australian expatriate and four Japanese co-workers. It is anticipated that this in-depth participant observation, supported by live verbal data, observation of non-verbal communication and in-depth interviews, will allow for a rich, descriptive analysis of the communication strategies employed by Australian expatriates to facilitate effective workplace communication with their Japanese co-workers.

In conclusion, this paper has clearly elucidated how this research can contribute to the broadening of knowledge in the field of intercultural communication through rich, context specific (Australian–Japanese workplace communication) data. It supports the call for research into communication accommodation skills as a workplace communication strategy in the Japanese language. As a result, a general proposition that can be offered from the findings of the two studies is that high Japanese proficiency positively affects an expatriate's ability to recognise differences in more depth, thus giving them the cultural competence required to bridge them.

References

- Birdseye, M. G., & Hill, J. S., 'Individual, Organizational Work and Environmental Influences on Expatriate Turnover Tendencies. An Empirical Study', *Journal of International Business Studies*, vol. 26, no. 4, 1995, pp.787–803.
- Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade, *Australia-Japan Economic Framework*. Retrieved 5 May 2006, from <http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/japan/trade/framework.html> .
- Du Babcock, B., & Babcock, R., 'Patterns of expatriate-local personnel communication in multinational corporations', *Journal of Business Communication*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1996, pp. 141–164.
- Fisher, G.B. & Härtel, C.E.J., 'Cross-cultural effectiveness of Western expatriate-Thai client interactions: Lessons learned for IHRM research and theory', *Cross-Cultural Management: An International Journal*, vol.10, no. 4, 2003, pp. 3–28.
- Irwin, H., *Communicating with Asia* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1996).

- Giles, H., 'Accent mobility. A model and some data', *Anthropological Linguistics*, vol. 15, 1973, pp. 87–105.
- Hall, E.T. & M.R., *Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990).
- The Japan Foundation, *Survey Report on Japanese Language Education Abroad 2003* (Urawa: The Japan Foundation, 2004).
- Kubota M., 'Factors Affecting Japanese Proficiency Levels in Native English Speakers', *ASAA e-journal of Asian linguistics & language teaching, issue 5*, 2003. Retrieved 14 February 2006, from http://www.arts.unsw.edu.au/languages/asaa_ejournal.
- Lee, D.Y., 'Japanese Education in the Australian Context', paper presented to the 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Canberra, 29 June – 2 July 2004.
- March, R.M., *Working for a Japanese Company. Insights into the Multicultural Workplace* (London: Kodansha Europe, 1996).
- Ramzan, Y., 'Japanese Language Instruction in a Multicultural Context: promoting Citizenship and Interculturality', paper presented to the 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Canberra, 29 June – 2 July 2004.
- Renwick, G.W., *A Fair Go for All: A Guide for Australians and Americans* (USA: Intercultural Press Inc., 1991).
- Rudd, K., *Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future. A Report Prepared for the Council of Australian Governments on a Proposed National Asian Languages/Studies Strategy for Australian Schools* (Brisbane: Queensland Government Printer, 1994).
- Selmer, J., 'Language Ability and Adjustment: Western Expatriates in China', *Thunderbird International Business Review*, vol.48, no.3, pp. 347–368. Retrieved 18 August 2006, from <http://www.interscience.wiley.com> .

***Foreign Fathers* – Native English Speaking Fathers’ Contributions to Bilingual Child-Rearing in Intermarried Families in Japan**

Lachlan Jackson
Ritsumeikan University

Introduction

Who are you? What makes you so? These superficially simplistic questions pertain to the question of *identity*. Sociological understanding of this term suggests that our identities are socially constructed; that is, that they are both learned from and negotiated during our interactions with others¹. In view of this, it can be said that the family, initially at least, is the principal cultivator of one’s cultural identity.

Cultural identity is shaped by a range of components – for example, culinary, religious, and musical traditions – and it has been shown that different ethnic and cultural groups afford such elements varying degrees of importance². Nevertheless, language is an integral facet of cultural identity for the vast majority of people³. Language is, after all, the medium through which we socialise our children, and it can tell us a great deal about the cultural values of any given group.

What then, are we to make of families in which the parents do not share a common mother tongue? It is reasonable to assume that such parents who attempt to raise their children bilingually also aspire to expose their children to both cultural heritages. Interestingly, however, bilingual, bicultural child-rearing has, to date, been both construed and portrayed in somewhat didactic terms. On the one hand, the predominant societal expectation is that the raising of bilingual children is the natural, instinctive, even obvious duty of all intermarried parents. On the other hand, it has also been portrayed as problematic and difficult. To be sure, one recent study of intermarried Japanese mothers in the United Kingdom revealed that, while children of intermarried families are often thought to simply ‘pick up’ a second language ‘naturally’, the language work undertaken by the parents – particularly the minority language native speaking mother – is grossly underestimated⁴. In addition, recent studies have shown that simple exposure to two languages does not guarantee active bilingualism, and that parental language practices and attitudes towards bilingualism are critical factors in determining its development⁵.

¹ Leeds-Hurwitz, ‘From Generation to Generation’, p. 1.

² *Ibid* p. 6.

³ Heller, ‘The Role of Language in the Formation of Ethnic Identity’.

⁴ Okita, ‘Invisible Work’.

⁵ See, for example, DeHouwer’s discussion of her Impact Belief Theory in ‘Environmental Factors in Early Bilingual Development’.

The research project detailed in this paper seeks to explore both the diversity and complexity of roles that native English speaking intermarried fathers residing in Japan play in the implementation of bilingual child-rearing strategies. Firstly, a working definition of the term *bilingualism* will be proposed. The study's rationale will then be outlined before a brief discussion of the shortcomings in the current literature. Following this, provisional research questions will be posed. Next, the methodological framework of this research project will precede a discussion of a preliminary case study of one Australian–Japanese intermarried family in Japan. Importantly, it is acknowledged that this is a single case study, that is, limited to one family. Presumably, the father – as a ‘white’, middle class native English speaking professional – experiences the bilingual child-rearing process quite differently from non-Japanese fathers in Japan from other ethnic or social groups. Stated simply, the reader is urged to be mindful of the fact that this is a single preliminary case study that fits into an ongoing broader research project.

Defining Bilingualism

Older definitions of bilingualism inferred the complete mastery of two languages, but more recent interpretations have catered to the subjectivity of the term⁶. Recognising bilingualism as a relative concept, Mackey has shown that bilingual proficiency can vary in terms of degree, function, alternation, and interference; and, as one might expect, bilingualism means different things to different people⁷. Defining the term bilingualism is further complicated in that there are different types of bilinguals. Common terms used to describe such categories include: balanced/dominant bilinguals; early/late bilinguals; and active/passive bilinguals.

For the purpose of this paper, the term bilingualism is employed to denote the knowledge and use of two languages in varying contexts of everyday life. This broad definition highlights the fact that proficiency in both languages varies in terms of key skills and situational contexts, and is consistent with the way in which the term has been used in other recent studies⁸.

Rationale

In the interest of disclosure, it should be noted that I am an intermarried native English speaking Australian. With my Japanese wife, I have been raising our two children in Japan for the last eight years. In this sense, it could be said that I am a quasi-participant observer in this study, because my interest in the subject is manifest in a personal

⁶ Liddicoat, ‘Bilingualism – An Introduction’.

⁷ Mackey, ‘The Description of Bilingualism’.

⁸ See, for example, interpretations of the term in either Shin’s ‘Developing in Two Languages’, or Yamamoto’s ‘Language Use in Interlingual Families’.

curiosity to better understand my own individual circumstances, and those of my family. Through personal experience over the years, particularly from engaging in numerous interactions with other intermarried families in Japan, two contradictory paradigms seem to have emerged. No doubt due to the high social status that English proficiency is afforded in Japan, social attitudes regarding English–Japanese bilingual child-rearing are overtly positive. It is fair to say that children born to a native English speaking parent are considered ‘lucky’ to have access to authentic English, and it seems to be considered *atarimae* (only natural) that such children should become proficient in the language. For instance, a stranger recently asked my daughter in English ‘What’s your name?’ and whether she could speak Japanese. This social expectation, however, runs contrary to the experiences of many intermarried families, and the raising of bilingual, bicultural children in Japan can prove anything but *atarimae*. The language work that must be undertaken is often time consuming and emotionally taxing, and, despite the best intentions of all, some families seem to be far less successful in their efforts than others.

Literature Review

In searching for answers to this complex riddle, I began to adopt a cross-disciplinary approach to the existing literature. By examining prior studies from the areas of family studies, sociolinguistics and bilingualism studies, several deficiencies in the literatures began to shape the future direction of my research project.

Though a comprehensive review of the sociological literature from the rather diverse area of family studies is beyond the parameters of this paper, research pertaining to intermarriage warrants brief discussion. Whilst this body of literature continues to grow, the majority of such studies have adopted the perspective of the mother living as a minority, and have found these women to be both marginalised by culture and subordinated by gender⁹. Conversely, the experience of men in mixed marriage – especially when it comes to the language work of bilingual childrearing – remains largely unclear. It is hoped, therefore, that the research project outlined in this paper – which specifically seeks to develop current understanding of the experiences of intermarried men – will in part contribute to filling this void. Unlike the majority of prior studies of intermarriage – which have tended to paint rather uniform pictures of such couples¹⁰ – this study attempts to account for the variation of circumstances, diversity of experiences, and range of perspectives of its participants.

Language choice and patterns of use are, of course, contextual. From the field of sociolinguistics, Joshua Fishman is credited with conceptualising the notion

⁹ See, for example, Okita’s ‘Invisible Work’, Liamputtong’s ‘Mothers and the Challenge of Immigrant Mothers’, or Imamura’s ‘Strangers in a Strange Land’.

¹⁰ See Cottrell, ‘Cross-National Marriage’ for a detailed discussion of this tendency. A noteworthy exception to this characterisation is Luke & Luke, ‘Interracial Families: Difference Within Difference’.

of language *domains*, which he argues are subject to the controlling factors of group, situation, and topic¹¹. Domains, which Clyne has also described as ‘conceptualised spheres of communication’, include such settings as work, school, church and, of course, the family¹². Although the family is obviously the pivotal domain in cultivating cultural identity through the process of language socialisation, it has not enjoyed the same amount of scholarly attention from sociolinguists as other domains¹³. More specifically, most prior studies that have examined the interlingual family domain have predominantly focused on North American or European contexts¹⁴, and have often been based on the authors’ observations of their own children¹⁵. This study attempts to add objective, new data from the English–Japanese context, thereby furthering current understanding in this field.

From literature in the area of bilingualism studies specifically, three fundamental questions emerge regarding bilingual child-rearing: the family’s language use strategy; the effect of the parents’ second language (hereafter L2) proficiency on the child’s bilingualism; and the extent to which the gender of the minority language speaking parent influences bilingual development.

Various prior studies have advocated the perceived merits of the implementation of a specific language strategy¹⁶. The more well known of these strategies include One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL), Minority Language at Home (ML@H), Time and Place (T&P) and the Mixed Strategy (MS). This research project attempts to add rich context specific data to contribute to current understanding of how the implementations of these strategies are experienced by the families under investigation.

The extent to which the parents’ L2 proficiency influences the child’s bilingual development has been the focus of extensive debate. One perspective is that the language competency of the parents in their respective spouse’s language is indeed an influential factor in the bilingual development of their children¹⁷. It is argued that when children are aware that their native L2 speaking parent is competent in the majority language, their motivation to use the minority language is diminished. On the other hand, other studies have failed to identify a direct correlation in parents’ abilities to speak their respective spouse’s language and the attainment of active bilingualism in their children¹⁸. Because this research project seeks participants with varying degrees of Japanese language proficiency, the effect of L2 language proficiency on bilingual child-rearing in the Japanese–English interlingual family context will be further scrutinised, thus further contributing to current knowledge in the field of bilingualism studies.

¹¹ Fishman, ‘Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?’

¹² Clyne, ‘Community Languages’, p. 54.

¹³ Boxer, ‘Applying Sociolinguistics’.

¹⁴ Harding & Riley ‘The Bilingual Family’.

¹⁵ See, for example, Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, ‘Growing Up in Two Languages’.

¹⁶ For a more detailed explanation of commonly used language strategies in interlingual families, refer to Barron-Hauwaert, ‘Language Strategies for Bilingual Families’; Tokuhama-Espinosa, ‘Raising Multilingual Children’; or Romaine, ‘Bilingualism’.

¹⁷ See, for example, Lucacevich, ‘The Influence of the Japanese Parent’s Gender on the Acquisition of Japanese by Children of Japanese–Australian Mixed Marriages’.

¹⁸ See such a counter-argument to the above view in Noguchi, ‘Bilinguality and Bilingual Children in Japan’.

The pervasive view concerning the gender of the minority language speaking parent is that minority language speaking mothers are more likely to successfully raise bilingual children than minority language speaking fathers¹⁹. Mothers, it is argued, tend to spend more time with, and adopt more appropriate speech when speaking to their children²⁰. Several Japan-specific studies adhere to this belief, arguing that the socio-economic expectations placed on fathers in Japan render them often unable to perform the quality and quantity of language work undertaken by native minority language speaking mothers²¹. However, other studies from a variety of language contexts have refuted the claim that there is any significant correlation between a child's bilinguality and the gender of the minority language speaking parent²². Again, this research project attempts to contribute to current understanding of this issue by focusing on the role of fathers in the bilingual child-rearing process in English–Japanese interlingual families residing in Japan.

Provisional Research Questions

The project outlined in this paper revolves around three provisional research questions:

- 1) What variables shape the type and amount of language work undertaken by intermarried native English speaking fathers in Japan?
- 2) What impact does the Japanese language proficiency of the father have on the language work undertaken?
- 3) What does the specific context of this study tell us about language work at the broader level in terms of location of residence, L2 status, and the gendered differences of the parents?

Methodology and Research Instruments

This study focuses on native English speaking intermarried fathers in Japan as cultural and linguistic minorities. The project is an investigation into the 'language work'²³ that these men perform in the bilingual rearing of their children. As such, the project is qualitative in nature. Unlike quantitative research, which is 'deliberately unconcerned with rich descriptions because such detail interrupts the process of developing generalisations', qualitative research seeks detailed pictures pertaining to the unique experiences of individuals.²⁴ As such, the study does not attempt to generate findings from

¹⁹ Clyne, 'Multilingual Australia'.

²⁰ Lyon, 'Becoming Bilingual'.

²¹ See for example Kamada, 'Report on Bilingual Family Case Studies in Japan'.

²² See, for example, Dopke, 'One-Parent-One-Language', or Noguchi, 'Bilinguality and Bilingual Children in Japan'.

²³ This term has been borrowed from Okita's 'Invisible Work'. It is employed in this study to refer to all of the strategies, decisions, and practices undertaken by the fathers in their attempts to raise their children bilingually.

²⁴ Denzin & Lincoln 'Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research', p. 10.

commonalities that can be ‘proven’ in any statistical sense. Rather it attempts to canvas the diversity and complexity of experiences, attitudes and paternal practices of the men under investigation. This study, as Stake would have it, is just as much (if not more so) a study of the particular as it is of the common, because it seeks to elucidate the ‘important atypical features, happenings, relationships, and happenings’ pertinent to each individual participant²⁵.

The research project consists of eight family case studies. All families are comprised of a native English speaking father – Japanese mother intermarried couple. All families have at least two children, one or more of whom currently attend elementary school (age 6–12 years). The three research instruments – which will collect data from both the father and the mother from each family – are explained below.

The first research instrument is the Language Learning History and Use Questionnaire (L.L.H.U.Q.). The English version of this questionnaire targets the fathers, while the Japanese version of the questionnaire is completed by the mothers. The questionnaire consists of four sections: family background; language learning history and proficiency; family language use patterns; and attitudes and perceptions about being bilingual. Some of the questions contained in the L.L.H.U.Q. are originally designed, while others are either replicated or modified from previous studies²⁶.

The second research instrument is the Parental Activity Logbook (P.A.L.). Both mothers and fathers are asked to record their activities over a seven-day period. Participants are asked to record their daily activities with a particular focus on their interaction with their children. The participants are asked to record the language in which they speak to other members of the family, and in what context. By collecting such data, it is hoped that an indication regarding the amount of time the participants spend with their children, the kinds of activities they engage in, as well as the contextual language use patterns, will emerge.

The third, but most important, instrument in the research design is the in-depth interview. These semi-structured interviews are used to construct unique case studies, and are an attempt to canvas the diversity and complexity of the individual circumstances of the families involved in the study. Interviews are conducted in the homes of the participants, a setting that provides an additional opportunity for me to observe the family in its ‘natural’ setting. Parents are interviewed separately; the fathers in English, while the mothers may elect to participate in the interview in either English or Japanese. Participants are then given the opportunity to verify the accuracy of their interview transcript. Data is then coded for analysis, and finally case studies are compiled.

²⁵ Stake, ‘Case Studies’, p. 439.

²⁶ The previous studies that influenced the design of the L.L.H.U.Q are: Barron-Hauwaert’s ‘Language Strategies for Bilingual Families’; Noguchi’s ‘Bilinguality and Bicultural Children in Japan’; and Yamamoto’s ‘Language Use in Interlingual Families’.

Case Study – A Preliminary Discussion

The couple investigated in this case study were assigned the pseudonyms ‘Simon and Sonoko Smith’. Simon is a 37-year-old native English speaking Australian. Sonoko is a 36-year-old Japanese. The Smiths have two daughters, aged eight and five. The family resides in a suburb of a major city in central Japan.

Simon originally came to Japan over 15 years ago to study Japanese. He holds both an undergraduate degree in Japanese language and a M.A. in Japanese Interpreting and Translation. Simon also spent two years in the Japanese tertiary system as a research student. He currently teaches in the university system.

Sonoko is the children’s main caregiver, and she also works part time, both as a lecturer of English at a local university and as an interpreter. She too holds a M.A. in Japanese Interpreting and Translation, as well as a Bachelor’s degree in English.

The Smith family clearly can be described as an interlingual family. Simon is an English dominant active bilingual. He self-reports his speaking, listening and reading skills in Japanese to be at a near native level, and estimates his written Japanese as below the age appropriate native speaker level. Sonoko reports Simon’s Japanese speaking, listening, and reading proficiency to be at native speaker level, and his Japanese writing ability to be at the near native level.

Sonoko is a Japanese dominant active bilingual. She self-reports her speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills in English to be at the near native level. Simon estimates Sonoko’s English speaking, listening and reading skills to be at the near native level, but reports her English writing skills to be below age the appropriate native speaker level.

Both of the Smiths’ daughters can be described as bilingual, but to varying degrees. The elder daughter (eight years) can be described as a Japanese dominant active bilingual with near age appropriate native speaker level speaking and listening skills in English. She is reported as possessing below age appropriate writing and reading skills in English. The younger daughter (five years) can also be described as a Japanese dominant active bilingual, although her age appropriate proficiency in English is comparatively not as strong as her sister’s. The younger daughter is reported to be able to read and write a few words in English, and is said to be able to carry out ‘simple conversations’ in English.

The Smiths’ daughters are currently being educated in a public school and kindergarten respectively. The language of instruction at both of these institutions is Japanese. Simon and Sonoko report that there are few to some opportunities for the children to interact with native English speakers in the area where they reside, and

unsurprisingly state that the children most often play with children who only speak Japanese.

Simon reports that the language strategy the family is attempting to implement is Minority Language at Home (ML@H). However, he acknowledges that the family follows this strategy inconsistently. In the home, he uses roughly 80% English and 20% Japanese, while Sonoko appears to use both English and Japanese with approximately equal frequency. The elder daughter reportedly uses slightly more Japanese than English, while the younger daughter predominantly uses Japanese.

When analysing language use patterns between family members, Simon and Sonoko's self-reporting is slightly inconsistent. Simon and Sonoko both report that they use English and Japanese amongst themselves. However, while Simon claims to use English exclusively with the children, Sonoko reports that Simon interacts with the girls in both English and Japanese. It is reported that the younger daughter tends to speak to Simon in Japanese, while the elder daughter uses both English and Japanese. Unremarkably, both children speak to Sonoko in Japanese. Sonoko reported that she uses a mixture of English and Japanese when speaking to the children. Simon and Sonoko also state that the girls use Japanese amongst themselves, something that, when compared with other studies, is not surprising²⁷. In this sense, it can be said that the Smiths' language strategy is strictly neither ML@H nor OPOL, but something somewhere between.

As a departure point, the L.L.H.U.Q. provides some insight into what motivates the Smiths in their attempt to raise their children bilingually. Sonoko writes that she wants the children to be bilingual in order that, in the future, they may be able to live wherever it is they go. Simon is hopeful that the children will complete their higher education (senior high school and university) in Australia, and this is a major motivating factor in his bilingual child-rearing efforts. Although Sonoko justifies the family's current residency in Japan as indispensable in exposing the children to their Japanese heritage, Simon perceives another, more pessimistic reason to raise the children bilingually. He does not want the children to grow up as Japanese monolinguals, because, as he puts it, 'in the final analysis, I don't think that our kids will be accepted as full members of Japanese society. They'll always be different, and that's not the situation I want to put them in.'

Both Simon and Sonoko acknowledge the gap between a societal expectation that the children should 'naturally' be bilingual, and the realities that the demanding task of bilingual child-rearing entails. Simon explains:

superficially, it [bilingual development] appears like it should be natural, but really, I don't think it is natural at all, because...the kids themselves are trying hard to fit in

²⁷ The proclivity for sibling interactions to be conducted in the L1 is well documented. See Yamamoto, 'Language use in Interlingual Families', p. 34.

with their peer groups here... Unless I really push the issue, it [bilingual development] is not going to happen at all... It costs a lot of money, it takes a lot of effort, and requires a lot of... emotional investment on both of our parts.

Simon's comments attest to the 'invisible work' that Okita propagates; however, unlike the majority of fathers described in her study, it is clear that Simon, despite not being the children's main caregiver, still takes an active role in the language work required for his children's bilingual development.

Specifically, Simon undertakes a variety of tasks that can be considered as 'language work'. His P.A.L. revealed that he interacted with his children in English through such daily activities as getting the children ready for school/kindergarten, playing sports and games in English, exclusively speaking English during meals, watching English movies together and reading to the children in English. He also periodically undertook somewhat more structured language work such as doing 'English practice' with his children. This involves literacy instruction – supervising the completion of English workbooks etc. Simon believes, however, that the most effective type of language work he can perform for his children is to take them on annual trips back to Australia each August. He explains:

I've taken the incentives approach. I say, 'We are going to Australia in six weeks' or whatever, ... 'so you know, you don't want to be stuck in the corner speaking Japanese, because, you know that [cousins' names deleted] don't speak any Japanese, and Grandma doesn't speak Japanese, so lets speak English.' And to be honest, they are probably more keen than me about it.

The Smiths report trying to follow the Minority Language at Home (ML@H) strategy, albeit inconsistently. Of the problems associated with maintaining a strict English environment in the home, Simon states 'I don't want them to dread studying English... I want to, obviously, keep it realistic... also, I'm *not*... their school teacher, I'm their father, and our personal relationship is more important than that'.

The effect of Simon's high level of Japanese proficiency on the children's bilingual development can be viewed in a number of ways. Although the children are aware of the fact that their father is competent in Japanese, consequently making it at times difficult to get them to respond to him in English, this does have its advantages. Simon observes that other non-Japanese intermarried fathers who are not competent in the Japanese language do not appear to receive any degree of respect from their children, who reportedly resent the fact that their fathers have not made the effort to learn 'their language'.

Another issue to emerge from the interviews was the reported differences

in parental styles between Japanese and Australian parents. Of course, it should be acknowledged that not all Japanese (or, for that matter, Australian) parents share identical philosophies on child-rearing. Nevertheless, Sonoko and Simon both felt that Japanese parenting norms were far more liberal than in Australia, and they also both reported incidents where their preferred 'Australian' style of parenting had come under the unfavourable scrutiny of Japanese friends and acquaintances as being overly strict.

Related to these differences in the cultural values of parenting, the issue of gender roles was also raised. Previous studies such as Okita's have tended to assume that because families in both Japanese and 'Western' contexts have traditionally distributed domestic labour along gendered lines, women, who more often than not are the child's primary caregiver, perform the vast majority of the language work in the bilingual child-rearing process. The Smith family highlights the fact that this assumption warrants careful scrutiny. A large number of native English speaking men in Japan work in the field of education. These jobs in particular are often comparatively well paid, have flexible working hours and generous vacation allotments. Put simply, native English speaking fathers may be interacting with their children far more than was previously assumed. Furthermore, they may be engaged in a great deal more of the language work than was formerly supposed.

Conclusion

This paper is based on the assumptions that language plays an integral role in the shaping of one's cultural identity, and that the family is the primary domain in which language socialisation occurs. Bilingual child-rearing, it is argued, is an important priority for many intermarried families, because it is considered the pivotal means in which to expose children from such families to their dual heritages. The paper outlined the ironic gap between, on the one hand, the social expectation that children in intermarried families 'naturally' acquire their second language, and the reality, on the other hand, that the language work undertaken by the parents is anything but effortless and natural.

A brief survey of the literature revealed some striking gaps in current knowledge. From the field of family studies, it was shown that while much is now known about the circumstances of women in mixed marriages, the experience of intermarried men remains largely unclear. Sociolinguistic studies of interlingual families, which have been for the most part limited to European or North American contexts, have tended to assume that mothers perform the vast majority of the language work. Prior studies have inconclusively debated whether or not L2 proficiency affects bilingual development in children. The literature has also argued that the gender of the minority language speaking parent influences bilingual development, whereby minority language speaking mothers are more likely to raise bilingual children than minority language speaking fathers. The data collected for this case study reveals that we may need to reconsider this assumption.

From this single case study, it is impossible to definitively answer the questions raised above. However, for the Smith family, it can be said that neither the gender of the minority language speaking parent (Simon), nor the minority language speaking parent's (high) L2 proficiency appears to have had a significant impact on the bilingual development of the children. For the Smiths, it seems more likely that the quality of interaction between Simon (as the minority language speaker) and the children, his relatively consistent use of English at home, and the provision of annual trips to Australia have proved to be the decisive factors in the children's bilingual development.

It should be emphasised that this paper offers a preliminary discussion of the first case study from a larger research project. It is, therefore, necessary to conduct further case studies to ascertain the variety and complexity of circumstances, perspectives and experiences of other intermarried native English speaking men in Japan.

References

- Barron-Hauwaert, S., *Language Strategies for Bilingual Families – The One Parent One Language Approach* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004).
- Boxer, D., *Applying Sociolinguistics: Domains and Face-to-Face-Interactions* (Impact Studies in Language and Society Vol. 15) (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002).
- Clyne, M., *Multilingual Australia* (Melbourne: River Seine, 1982).
- , *Community Languages: The Australian Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Cottrell, A. 'Cross-National Marriage: A Review of the Literature' in *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* vol. 21, 1990, pp. 151–169.
- Cunningham-Andersson, U. & Andersson, S., *Growing Up in Two Languages: A Practical Guide* (second edition) (London: Routledge, 2004).
- DeHouwer, A., 'Environmental Factors in Early Bilingual Development: the Role of Parental Beliefs and Attitudes' in Extra, G. and Verhoeven, L., *Bilingualism and Migration* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999) pp. 75–96.
- Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y., 'Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research' in Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (second edition) (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000) pp. 1–28.
- Dopke, S., *One-Parent-One-Language: An Interactional Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1992).
- Fishman, J., 'Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?' in Li Wei (ed.) *The Bilingualism Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000) pp. 89–106.
- Harding, E. & Riley, P., *The Bilingual Family: A Handbook for Parents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Heller, M., 'The Role of Language in the Formation of Ethnic Identity' in Phinney, J. and Rotherman, M. (eds.), *Children's*

Ethnic Socialization: Pluralism and Development (California: Sage, 1987) pp. 180–200.

Imamura, A., 'Strangers in a Strange Land: Coping with Marginality in an International Marriage' in *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* XXI:2 Summer, 1990, pp. 171–197.

Kamada, L., 'Report on Bilingual Family Case Studies in Japan', *Bunkei Ronso* (Studies in Humanities and Economics) 30:3, Hirosaki University Faculty of Economics, 1995, pp. 113–129.

Leeds-Hurwitz, W., *From Generation to Generation: Maintaining Cultural Identity Over Time* (New Jersey: Hampton Press, 2006).

Liamputtong, P., 'Motherhood and the Challenge of Immigrant Mothers: A Personal Reflection' in *Families in Society*, 82:2, 2001, pp. 195–201.

Liddicoat, A., 'Bilingualism: An Introduction' in Liddicoat, A. (ed.) *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (Melbourne: National Languages Institute of Australia, 1991) pp. 1–20.

Lucacevich, S., 'The Influence of the Japanese Parent's Gender on the Acquisition of Japanese by Children of Japanese-Australian Mixed Marriages' in *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* 6.1, 2000, pp. 45–67.

Luke, C. & Luke, A., 'Interracial Families: Difference Within Difference' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21:4, July 1998, pp. 728–754.

Lyon, J., *Becoming Bilingual: Language Acquisition in a Bilingual Community* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996).

Mackey, W., 'The Description of Bilingualism' in Li Wei (ed.) *The Bilingualism Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000) pp. 26–54.

Noguchi, M., 'Bilinguality and Bilingual Children in Japan', in Noguchi, M. & Fotos, S. (eds.) *Studies in Japanese Bilingualism* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001) pp. 234–271.

Okita, T., *Invisible Work: Bilingualism, Language Choice and Childrearing in Intermarried Families* (Impact Studies in Language and Society) (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2002).

Romaine, S., *Bilingualism* (Language in Society 13) (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

Shin, S., *Developing in Two Languages: Korean Children in America* (Child and Language Development 5) (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005).

Stake, R., 'Case Studies' in Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (second edition) (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000) pp. 435–454.

Tokuhama-Espinosa, T., *Raising Multicultural Children: Foreign Language Acquisition and Children* (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 2001).

Yamamoto, M., *Language Use in Interlingual Families: a Japanese – English sociolinguistic study* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001).

Notes on Contributors

Adam Broinowski

Adam Broinowski has been a member of Gekidan Kaitaisha, researcher at the University of Tokyo, and is presently a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne/VCA. He has worked in theatre for more than ten years, beginning with Noh, followed by circus, physical theatre, naturalism and experimental theatre.

Rebecca Corbett

Rebecca Corbett is a PhD candidate in the Department of Japanese and Korean Studies at the University of Sydney. She is researching the history of women in *chanoyu* (Tea) for her doctorate. From September 2005 to July 2006, she was based at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, supported by a Japan Foundation Fellowship.

Elise Foxworth

Elise Foxworth has a Masters Degree in Japanese Studies from Monash University. She is currently working on a doctoral dissertation: *Ethnicity and Identity in the Japanese Literature of Three Korean Writers in Japan: Kim Sok Pom, Lee Hoe Sung and Kim Ha Gyong*, at the University of Melbourne. She lectures in Japanese Studies.

Lachlan Jackson

Lachlan Jackson is both a lecturer in the Faculty of Policy Science at Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, and a PhD candidate at the University of Queensland. Lachlan is interested in issues relating to bilingualism, the transmission of intergenerational cultural identity, the discourse of 'Japaneseness', and cultural and ethnic diversity in Japan.

Ben McInnes

Ben McInnes was a resident of Tokyo from 1983 to 2000. Since returning to Australia, he has been a student of Japanese at the University of New England, Armidale, where he is currently engaged in doctoral research into the first Japanese Antarctic expedition of 1910–12.

Christine de Matos

Dr Christine de Matos is a Research Fellow in the Centre for Asia-Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS) at the University of Wollongong. She is currently researching a social history of Australians and Japanese during the Allied Occupation of Japan. Dr De Matos was a 2004 Japan Foundation Fellow.

Sean O'Connell

Sean O'Connell received an MA in Advanced Japanese Studies from Sheffield University and is currently doing a PhD in Intercultural Communication from the University of Queensland. His research interests lay primarily in communication accommodation, expatriate adjustment and intercultural workplace communication.

Mayumi Parry

Mayumi Parry has taught Japanese as a foreign language at tertiary level in Australia since 1993. She originally came to Australia as an exchange student. Her research interests are the effects of interactive multimedia applications on teaching language and culture, peer assessment and the effects of participating in exchange programmes.

Cristina Rocha

Dr Cristina Rocha is an Australian Research Council Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney. She is the managing editor for the *Journal of Global Buddhism* (www.globalbuddhism.org). Her writings include *Zen in Brazil: The Quest for Cosmopolitan Modernity* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

Yuji Sone

Dr Yuji Sone is a lecturer in performance and digital culture at Macquarie University. His research focuses on the cross-disciplinary conditions of mediated performance and the terms that may be appropriate for analysing such work, especially from cross-cultural perspectives such as Japanese culture and performance. Yuji was the coordinator of the Japan Foundation, Sydney's 10th Anniversary Forum in 2003.

