The Implication of "3.11" in the Migration Process of Japanese Communities in Australia

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1. Introduction

In this article I will examine the influence of the Great Eastern Japan Earthquake (the Earthquake) on March 11, 2011, and the accidents at the Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant caused by it ("3.11"), on Japanese immigrants in Australia in terms of changes in the way of expressing political objection and participating in civil society in Australia. In previous sociological and anthropological studies on Japanese immigrants in Australia, some important research—including the work of Nagatomo (2013), Hamano (2014), Yamanouchi, ed. (2014), and Nagatomo ed. (2016)—has been published in Japan. I have also continued to conduct research on Japanese immigrants and have published some articles since 2001 (Shiobara 2003, 2004ab, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2016; Ishii et al. 2009). I lived in Canberra and Sydney from 2001 to 2005 and carried out participant observations and interviews. I have visited Australia two or three times per year since 2005, interviewed key figures in the Japanese community and participated in their community activities. In this article, I will focus on some experiences of Japanese communities in Sydney and Melbourne, where the Japanese population is concentrated. In the two cities, political and social activities of Japanese immigrants related to the issue of "3.11" have emerged. However, I do not aim to emphasize them as either exceptional episodes or decisive turning points in the history of Japanese communities. Rather, my main interest is on how to situate the episodes in the settlement process of Japanese immigrants in Australia. Therefore, in this article I will describe the history of Japanese migration in Australia, while my main focus is Japanese community activities in Sydney. The reason I focus on Sydney is that it has the biggest Japanese population in Australia, and therefore the settlement process can clearly be observed, while, based on my research experience, I assume that similar processes can be seen in Melbourne.

As I describe later, the main members of Japanese immigrant communities in Australia after the Second World War, when links with Australia was re-established and developed in the early 1980s, were engineers, professionals and expatriate workers with managerial positions in Japanese companies. Therefore, they can be seen as forerunners of Asian immigrant communities mainly consisting of skilled migrants. It is assumed that skilled immigrants tend to participate in host societies in a business-oriented way, and are adverse to political activities and civic activism. As Aihwa Ong suggested, their way of belonging in the host country tends to be "flexible": they choose the country so that they can maximize their economic merits and minimize their risks.

They belong to the state temporarily because they move to other countries if necessary (Ong 1999). This means that skilled immigrants tend not to voice political objections to host governments, as it is easier for them to move to the next country rather than negotiate with the government. Yuka Ishii's research, collaborated with us in the mid-2000s, actually suggested that most Asian immigrants working professional and administrative jobs in Australia have less intention to participate politically in Australian society. As far as their business and middle-class lifestyle are guaranteed, they tend not to have a keen interest in political participation in Australia. Ishii named this tendency "silent minority" as onlookers (Ishii et al. 2009: 72-73).

As I argue later, at least until the end of 1990s, the common assumption of Japanese communities in Australia, most of whom the members of Japanese community organizations share, illustrate the idea of a "silent minority." When I began this study in Sydney in 2001, New South Wales (NSW) government officials who were in charge of multicultural policies tended to recognize the majority of Japanese residents in Australia as "rich and special" temporary residents who came from a highly developed country, unlike other Asian immigrants (Shiobara 2004b: 137). Leading figures of Japanese community organizations whom I interviewed tended to agree with this perception and distinguished themselves from other Asian immigrants in Australia. They tended to see themselves not "immigrants" but as "Japanese living in overseas (Zaigai nihonjin)" (Shiobara 2008: 151-156). However, as examined in this article, that tendency has changed since the 2000s. Executive members of Japanese community organizations sought to be involved with Australian society through multicultural policy programs. When the involvement process progressed in the late 2000s, some groups and individuals began not only to follow the policies but also to object to the failure of policies and to make their needs known to the government. Civic activities related to "3.11" in Sydney and Melbourne can be viewed in this context; they show the deepening incorporation of the Japanese population as immigrant communities in Australian society.

2. Establishment of Japanese community organizations [1)]

Before the Second World War, mutual aid organizations for Japanese residents were established in Australia, such as "Nihonjinkai" (Japanese associations) and "Dōshikai" (comrade associations) (Nagata 1996: 15-36). However, because of compulsive internment and forced repatriation during and after the war, these organizations almost entirely vanished, and the number of Japanese people who were permitted to remain in Australia was less than 150 (Nagata 2003: 95). Japanese migration to Australia restarted in the 1950s, and approximately 650 "war brides"—Japanese women who married Australian soldiers who were stationed in Japan—were permitted to enter Australia (Tamura 2001: xiv-xv). However, as the White Australia policy continued, these immigrants did not intentionally form networks with other Japanese people (Hamano 2014: 41-44). While the economic reciprocity between Australia and Japan improved, Japanese organizations such as "Nihonjinkai"

and "Gonichi kyoukai" (Australian-Japanese associations) were established in Australia, but the former were friendship associations that primarily consisted of Japanese expatriate workers, and the latter mainly promoted international understanding and communication between the Japanese and Australians (Mizukami 1993: 36-40).

In the 1970s, the White Australia policies were replaced by multiculturalism, and the number of permanent Japanese residents in Australia began to increase. The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) launched a support program for skilled migration to Australia. While permanent Japanese residents initially tended to live in areas that were similar to those of Japanese expatriate workers—upper-middle-class suburbs—they began establishing community organizations called "Japan Clubs" in the 1980s. The Japan Club of Victoria (JCV) was established in 1982, the Japan Club of Sydney (JCS) in 1983, the Japan Kookaburra Club (later renamed the Japan Club of Queensland: JCQ [2]) in 1985 and the Japan Club of Western Australia (JCWA) in 1991. In addition, the Japan Club of Australia (JCA) was established in 1991 as the national Japan Club umbrella organization (Hosaka 1998a: 180-181) [3]. The Canberra Japan Club (CJC) was established in 1997. [4]

The JICA consulted with Permanent Japanese residents in establishing the JCV, JCS JCQ and JCWA (Hosaka 1998b: 168-70). Each Japan Club received AUD 5,000 in subsidies per year from the JICA until 1994. According to my research in the early 2000s, the founding or executive members of each Japan Club stated that the main purposes of these clubs were initially friendship, information exchange, and mutual assistance among its members. While the Australian federal, state and local governments recognized the Japan Clubs as Asian immigrant ethnic community organizations, there was less communication between the Japan Clubs and the Australian government in the 1980s. Executive members of Japan Clubs were not generally interested in accessing the Australian government's multicultural policies (Shiobara 2004b).

3. Development of Japanese community language schools

According to Japanese government statistics, the number of Permanent Japanese residents in Australia rapidly increased after the late 1980s and overtook the number of Japanese expatriate workers in the mid-1990s (Shiobara 2008: 150). [5] In Japanese communities, the needs to participate in Australian society necessarily increased, and in the Australian social context, social participation of immigrants is often accompanied with the institutionalization of official multiculturalism. In the case of Japanese immigrant communities, it initially came to the surface as their need to transmit Japanese language to their children.

In the beginning of the 1990s, some leading figures of Japanese immigrant communities, specifically Japanese parents married to Australian citizens, grew concerned over the lack of opportunities to transmit the Japanese language to their children. In Australia, as in other countries, full-time Japanese schools and weekend supplementary schools, called *Zaigai kyouiku*

shisetsu (Japanese educational facilities abroad), which are affiliated with the Japanese government, provide educational programs based on the national curriculum of the Japanese Ministry of Education and Science. [6] The original purpose of the Japanese educational facilities abroad was to allow the children of Japanese nationals living outside of Japan to maintain their academic abilities and familiarity with Japanese school culture so as to reintegrate more easily into Japanese schools after returning from abroad. However, in the 1990s, many children who did not have plans to return to Japan attended these schools. According to Tetsuo Mizukami's research in 1995, among five Japanese supplementary schools in Canberra, Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney, [7] 10 of the 29 students in the school in Adelaide were children of permanent residents (Mizukami 1996: 106). In the two other schools, which I studied from 2001 to 2003, more than half of the students in each school were children of permanent residents, and most came from intermarried families (Shiobara 2016: 121).

As the number of children of intermarried couples increased, the different community educational needs of the children of temporary Japanese residents and permanent Japanese residents became apparent. While the parents of temporary residents wanted their children to develop their academic abilities to smoothly transition into school after returning to Japan, the parents of permanent Japanese residents wanted their children to maintain their Japanese language skills but did not necessarily expect them to attain the same level as that used in schools in Japan. However, as Japanese full-time and supplementary schools accredited by the Japanese government basically followed the national curriculum of Japan, it was difficult for these schools to address the needs of parents and children of permanent Japanese residents. As a result, many permanent Japanese resident parents sought ways to establish weekend Japanese language schools for children of permanent residents (Shiobara 2004a: 253). However, in 1994, the JICA Sydney Office was closed, and financial assistance for the Japan Clubs was eliminated. Therefore, Permanent Japanese residents who sought to establish Japanese language schools began to search for and apply the schemes of the Australian government's notion of official multiculturalism.

The earliest known effort to establish weekend Japanese language schools for permanent residents in Sydney was in April 1992, in which an executive member of JCS touched on the necessity of the club's own Japanese language school. This person was concerned that the children of permanent Japanese residents were forgetting the Japanese language and culture, and that the full-time Japanese school in Sydney did not satisfy their needs. This executive member and other permanent residents worked to establish a program for weekend "ethnic schools"—later renamed Community Language Schools (CLSs) [8] —and organized their own weekend Japanese language school. [9] Subsequently, in March 1993, the JCS North School—later renamed Sydney Saturday School of Japanese (SSSJ)—was established in Cammeray, located in the central-northern suburb of Sydney. This school was designated as an ethnic school by the New South Wales State government and received a subsidy of AUD 650 to fund its establishment. The school offered 3-hour classes every Saturday.[10] The student population was initially 36 but increased to

approximately 140 in 1995.[11] Later, the school became independent from the JCS.[12] The school is often known as "Hoshūkou (supplementary school) in Cammeray" among Japanese parents in Sydney, and the student population in January 2015 was 309 in 15 classes.[13] Unlike other Japanese CLSs that aim to teach Japanese as a "heritage language," SSSJ uses the same Japanese textbooks that schools in Japan use (Kokugo, or "National Language").[14] The parents tended to choose schools according to the type of Japanese language instruction offered. Parents who wanted their children to learn Kokugo, which children in Japan learn, enrolled their children in the SSSJ. However, in January 2015, only about one-tenth of the students at the SSSJ were children of Japanese expatriate workers; the others were children of permanent residents. Therefore, a gap exists between the type of Japanese language instruction needed by the students and the Japanese government's policy that requires the school to use the Kokugo textbook.[15]

In September 1992, prior to the opening of the SSSJ, the Japanese Sunday School of Sydney (JSSS) opened in Riverwood, a central-southern suburb of Sydney. The school was initially established only for the children of JCS members and was not affiliated with or funded by the NSW government, although the school received advice and information from the government in its start-up phase.[16] The student population was initially 17 in three classes. The JSSS also became independent from the JCS and was designated as a CLS by the NSW government in 2004. In 2014, approximately 80 students were studying Japanese at the JSSS.[17] Moreover, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, two other Japanese CLSs based on the JCS was established: the JCS Japanese School City Branch in 1999 and the Northern Beach Branch in 2001. Both schools offered kindergarten and primary school classes every Saturday. In addition to collecting school fees from students, they were funded by the JCS. Since 2001, they have been affiliated as CLSs and have received grants from the NSW government every year (Shiobara 2004a).

In February 2004, when I carried out participant observations at the JCS Japanese School City Branch, the student population was 139.[18] In May 2004, many teachers and some parents left the City Branch and established a new school, the N.S.W. Japanese School, in Lewisham, a central-western suburb of Sydney. This school was also designated as a CLS by the NSW government and receives government grants.[19] The student population of this school has rapidly increased. In 2014, the school celebrated its 10-year anniversary.[20] On the other hand, the student population of the JCS Japanese Schools has also increased. Although the City Branch experienced this partition, the student population recovered quickly. In 2009, the JCS Japanese School Dundas Branch was established in a western suburb, with 62 students in six classes, and was designated as a CLS by the NSW government.[21] However, the Northern Beach Branch became independent from the JCS in October 2013 and was renamed the Forest Japanese School.[22] In July 2014, the school had 70 students in six classes.[23] As a result, the JCS has two Japanese Schools and its membership base is composed of 100 families at the City Branch and 65 families at the Dundas Branch as of March 2015.[24] In October 2015, JCS Japanese School Edgecliff Branch was established in an eastern suburb area.[25]

In addition to the seven schools described above (SSSJ, JSSS, JCSJS-City, Forest Japanese School, N.S.W. Japanese School, JCSJS-Dundas, JCSJS-Edgecliff), there are two other Japanese CLSs in the Sydney region: the North Shore Japanese School[26] and the Hornsby Japanese School[27] in the northern suburb. Therefore, in December 2016, nine Japanese CLSs comprising approximately 1,000 students were affiliated with the NSW government. These schools receive funding and favorable treatment from the NSW government, such as gaining access to public school classrooms, but they are basically operated by parent volunteers. Most students at the affiliated CLS schools are the children of permanent residents and from intercultural families, while the schools also include some students from expatriate worker families and are required to accept children of non-Japanese descent who wish to enroll. The Japanese language taught in these schools is Japanese as a community language for the next generation of Japanese immigrants in Australia.[28]

In addition to these weekend schools, the Sydney Japanese International School (SJIS), a full-time primary and secondary school, was established in 1969. It is currently located in Terry Hills, a northern suburb of Sydney, and has been registered as an Australian private school since its founding. The school has had an international class in its primary school division (including kindergarten) since 1975 and classes for Japanese students taught in Japanese. In the international class, the teachers follow the curricula established by the NSW government for main subjects and offer joint instruction with Japanese student classes and Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) classes. In May 2013, 64 of 83 students in the international class were of Japanese descent, and most came from intercultural families.[29]

After the SSSJ was designated as a CLS by the NSW government in 1993, the institutionalization of Japanese language education into official multiculturalism did not develop until the late 1990s. However, as described above, this institutionalization rapidly developed in the 2000s. I once referred to the process as the "multiculturalization" of Japanese immigrants in Australia (Shiobara 2004a). It is important to recognize that this process took place because of the voluntary initiative of permanent Japanese resident parents rather than as a government initiative. One of the first people to initiate this change was a woman who participated in the establishment of the JCS Japanese School City Branch in 1999 and received information on government grants and assistance for CLSs. With the support of her friends and acquaintances, she applied and succeeded in receiving the CLS designation and grants (Shiobara 2005). It is believed that when this woman became a committee member of the JCS, the knowledge and experience of applying for a CLS designation were shared by other members and transmitted to the Northern Beach Branch (which later became an independent school known as the Forest Japanese School) and the N.S.W. Japanese School, which was separated from the City Branch. That is, the knowledge of how to negotiate the official multiculturalism institutions became a common intellectual resource shared not only by JCS members but also by other permanent Japanese residents.

4. Politics on "heritage language"

In addition to the Japanese CLSs, the institutionalization of Japanese immigrant communities by social services for official multiculturalism of federal/state governments have proceeded since the 2000s. In operating these community activities, Japanese women, in particular, women of international marriage migrants to Australia, often play leading roles. For example, more than fifteen community playgroups for children of Japanese immigrants have established with support from NSW Playgroup Association (Playgroup NSW), which had a female Japanese board member in the late 2000s. The woman, who was also involved with operating Japanese CLSs, played key roles in developing Japanese community playgroup activities in Sydney (Shiobara 2015). The groups receive various support from Playgroup NSW. In addition, community aged-care services for Japanese elders were also developed.

However, despite the government's principle of multiculturalism, Australian society is based on English as an official language and the transmission of immigrant's parents' languages to their children is often seen as the realm of personal responsibility. Both CLSs and Japanese community playgroups are primarily volunteer activities run by parents, and therefore they are not sufficient as institutional guarantees for immigrants' language rights. However, at least until the mid-2000s, I never met Japanese parents who demanded the Australian government provide them the right to maintain Japanese as a community language in Australia, although they recognize Australia as a multicultural society where ethnic minorities can insist on recognition for their language. Since the late-2000s, a change was observed in community activities of Japanese immigrants in Sydney. In addition to satisfying their needs by utilizing the institutions of official multiculturalism, some Japanese immigrants also started obligations to and lobbying the Australian government to recognize their requirements. The movement initially emerged as part of parents' activities for transmitting Japanese language to the next generation of youth and children.

Since the late 2000s, the connection between educational activities for Japanese as a heritage language and Higher School Certificate (HSC) is widely recognized by permanent Japanese residents in Sydney. HSC is the university entrance qualification examination in NSW. Students take several subjects as preparation courses in the last two years of high school and then take the examination after graduation.[30] The subjects in HSC include languages other than English that have "beginners" and "continuers" courses.[31] As students of non-English speaking background (NESB) can enter the continuers courses, the better they know their heritage languages from their parents, the more likely they are to receive higher grades. However, the "background speaker" course is added only in the subjects of Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Indonesian, and Japanese high school students in NSW who attend Japanese CLSs were likely to be ordered to enter the course by the principal of their high school. However, for students from intermarried families who do not have any experience with school education in Japan, the curriculum of the background speaker course is too difficult; thus, some students cannot take the Japanese language course as an

HSC subject (Shiobara 2016: 128-129). As a result, the parents' efforts to transmit Japanese to their children placed the children at a disadvantage in terms of attending universities.

Some parents of Japanese CLSs students recognized the situation as racism against Japanese immigrants. They established an HSC Japanese Committee (HSCJC) within the JCS in 2007. It became independent from JCS in 2008 and was registered by the NSW government as a not-for-profit organization.[32] The main purpose of the HSCJC is to lobby the government authorities of the NSW, the NSW Board of Education, and the federal government to resolve the problem of Japanese language courses for the HSC.[33] HSCJC submitted a petition with over 1,000 signatures to the state education minister and the board of education.[34] It is very rare that a Japanese community organization lobbies the Australian government for any purposes. HSCJC also scheduled meetings to seek collaboration with organizations that play important roles for official multiculturalism in the NSW, such as the Australian Human Rights Commission[35] and the Community Relations Commission (Shiobara 2016: 128-129). These HSCJC activities are a form of ethnic politics, which clearly positions permanent Japanese residents as an immigrant community in Australian society and requires that the Australian government to abolish discrimination against them.[36]

In 2011, a "heritage language" course was introduced into the Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Indonesian language subjects of HSC. The course is not as difficult as the background speaker course but was still difficult for children who were born and raised in Australia, particularly children from intermarried families.[37] Moreover, students who have education experience in Japan are required to enroll in the Background Speaker Course, even if their educational experience in Japan was as short as a few weeks per year. Japanese parents in Australia often send their children to stay in Japan for a few weeks to attend school during Australian school holidays to help maintain their Japanese fluency. HSCJC continued to lobby the government to resolve the problem while providing information on newly established HSC heritage language courses in Japanese to Japanese parents who collaborate with Japanese CLSs and the Japanese community media. This offered the parents motivation to transmit the Japanese language to their children.[38]

5. The avoidance of "political" activities and long-distance nationalism

The lobbying of HSCJC on the policy for HSC suggested that through the development of Japanese immigrant communities, some permanent Japanese residents start to recognize themselves as members of ethnic communities who have rights to object to culturally unfair treatment in Australian civil society. Their lobbying activities could get wider support in the Japanese community because it matches Japanese parents' serious problem of their children's accessibility to Australian university.

On the other hand, there have been only a few cases of Japanese immigrants' political activities and civic activism around issues beyond their everyday life. For example, while Japanese immigrant communities in Sydney participate in annual "Clean Up Australia Day" events (volunteer

activities involving cleaning neighborhoods), few of them join activities of civil society on global climate change, destruction caused by mining industries, and anti-war movements. Actually, many Japanese people I interviewed suggested that there is a strong shared sense of the avoidance of "political" activities among Japanese communities in Australia. One of the interviewees suggested that this is derived from their middle-class conservatism.[39] The exceptional case of political advocacy by permanent Japanese residents in Australia was a movement to realize expatriate voting for Japanese national elections in the 1990s, and whose leading figure was a permanent resident who also played a leading role in JCS and JCA. The movement aimed to collaborate with overseas Japanese (Zaigai houjin) and Japanese diaspora (Nikkeijin) in other countries. Influenced by the movement, the expression of permanent Japanese residents in Australia as the "Nikkei community" was spread in Japanese ethnic media in Australia (Hamano 2014: 110-121). While it might have been triggered by a desire to change their self-image from "Japanese living overseas," which was dominant in the 1990s, the movement for expatriate voting was typical of "long-distance nationalism (Anderson 1998)" in terms of eagerness to participate in politics of the home country. The word "Nikkei" was also strategically emphasized by the movement because of its collaboration with Japanese communities of other countries.

The Great Eastern Japan Earthquake and nuclear power plant accidents in Fukushima in March 2011 were sensationally broadcasted in Australian media and had a big impact on Japanese immigrant communities. Many individual voluntary movements of support for the disaster areas (Tōhoku region), such as calling for donations on the streets, resulted around Australia. It was an unprecedented situation for Japanese communities; most Japanese community leaders around Australia that I had been interviewing since the early 2000s frequently emphasized the lack of cohesion of Japanese communities. Many of them, for example, suggested that Japanese immigrants have less solidarity than other Asian immigrants in Australia, which prevented the development of their community activities (Shiobara 2008). While the decline of solidarity in ethnic communities, in particular, among Australia-born generations, seems to be a common problem in immigrant communities, the leaders recognized that Japanese immigrants generally have less loyalty to Japan. Moreover, the emergence of support activities among Japanese communities in Australia seems to contradict findings of many previous studies that deal with Japanese immigrants as typical "life-style immigrants" (Hamano 2014). If they migrated to Australia, as Nagatomo argued, to "escape" from Japan to accomplish their self-realization that was not possible in Japanese society (Nagatomo 2013), the earthquake would awake long-distance nationalism in them. However, it should be noted that the support activities based on the long-distance nationalism were not recognized as "political" activities by Japanese immigrants themselves.

Ms. A, an internationally married Japanese woman living in Sydney, migrated to Australia in the mid-2000s. She is one of the leading figures of Japanese immigrant communities in Sydney and experienced executive member of JCS and Japanese CLSs. While Ms. A took part in some volunteer activities and was interested in the nuclear disaster of Chernobyl when she lived in an

European country, she had not actively joined any anti-nuclear power plant movements or participated in other civic activism. After "3.11," she initiated support activities for the disaster area, collecting donations on the street and then opening a Facebook group page for Japanese immigrants who were interested in anti-nuclear power plant movements. Collaborating with Australian organizations and activists, Ms. A organized anti-nuclear events, such as movie sessions. She was also interested in environmental and human rights' issues regarding uranium mining in Australia, because she realized that Australia was one of the biggest suppliers of uranium to Japanese nuclear power plants. Ms. A formed partnerships with Australian NGOs on environmental and human rights' issues. Ms. A and her partners organized annual memorial events of "3.11" in Sydney. In 2013, collaborating Japanese and Australian NGOs she invited a farmer of Iidate village, close to the nuclear power plants in Fukushima, and an aboriginal activist of the anti-uranium mining movement in Australia to be guest speakers.

According to Ms. A, however, many Japanese immigrants in Sydney tended to reject joining anti-nuclear power plant or anti-uranium mining movements because they thought they were too "political," even though they were eager to support victims of the earthquake and tsunami. She initially tried to spread the information on civic activism via the network of Japanese immigrants, but many Japanese people disliked her sending such "political" messages to their community. As a result, she opened another Facebook group. Ms. A also faced difficulty getting existing Japanese community organizations to support her organizing events on "political" issues of anti-nuclear power plants and anti-uranium mining.[40)]

6. Sign and limits of transnationalism

Like the activities of Ms. A, after "3.11" there were signs of another way of participating in Australian civil society, which were neither middle-class conservatism avoiding "political" activities nor long-distance nationalism. One of the few voluntary groups that addressed the collaboration was Japanese for Peace (JFP), established in Melbourne in 2005.[41)] A Japanese woman of international marriage was interested in the peace and anti-war movement in Japan, though she did not have experience participating in activism. In 2005, in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, she established JFP with fellow Japanese people. Collaborating with Australian environmental and anti-war NGOs, JFP made the event successful. Thereafter, the members regularly organized events such as peace concerts and movie sessions, with funding from the Victorian Multicultural Commission.

Mr. B, another core member of JFP, is a Japanese male who migrated to Australia in the mid-1990s with his partner, who was born in the United States. Mr. B had some friends in Japan working on civil society. Through his experiences as a consultant in Australia, Mr. B has a lot of information on environmental destruction and violations of indigenous peoples' human rights by members of the Australian mining industry. In Melbourne, as was the case for Ms. A in Sydney,

members of JFP faced political apathy and middle class conservativism. However, there were a few supporters of JFP and they tried to continue the activities.

After "3.11," JFP became involved with the Australian anti-nuclear and peace movements. Collaborating with anti-nuclear NGOs in Melbourne, JFP started a campaign against uranium mining because much of the uranium used in nuclear power plants in Japan comes from Australia, and the process of uranium mining causes serious environmental destruction and violation of indigenous peoples' rights, and Japanese companies have deeply committed to the development of uranium mines in Australia. In March 2012, on the first anniversary of "3.11," Mr. B and other members of JFP initiated a political rally in Melbourne CBD. In collaboration with Australian civil society, they succeeded in mobilizing hundreds of Australian citizens. Mr. B and other members also organized events such as conversations with aboriginal leaders who opposed uranium mining and, in cooperation with a Japanese NGO, inviting Fukushima activists to give guest lectures.

However, Mr. B complained that in spite of the impact of "3.11," civic consciousness did not take root in the Japanese community in Melbourne. According to him, while civic activities temporarily improved, they were replaced with long-distance nationalism. Some Japanese people understood the problem of uranium mining and nuclear power plants and tried to ally with Australian civil society, but they got lost in middle class conservatism, trying to maintain vested interests. JFP, a small volunteer group, did not have the power to maintain their political interests. Thereafter, because of personal reasons of the core members, JFP ceased activities and dissolved in 2015.

7. Negotiating with middle class conservatism

Ms. A's group in Sydney, on the other hand, succeeded in developing their activities, though they were originally inspired by JFP's activities in Melbourne. As they still faced middle class conservatism and avoidance of "political" activities in the Japanese community, Ms. A and her fellow members intentionally shifted their focus from anti-nuclear power plant and uranium mining to supporting disaster victims, particularly children and youth in Fukushima.

Ms. A remembered that in the case of Chernobyl, short-term homestay projects for children living near the nuclear power plant intended to maintain their physical and mental health had positive effects. Therefore, she initiated similar projects for children and youth of Fukushima with her Japanese partners. The first homestay project was carried out in August 2011, just after the nuclear power plant accidents. The Japanese volunteers received financial assistance and collaboration from companies and invited 10 children and youth from Fukushima to a ten-day trip to Sydney. They stayed at the homes of Japanese immigrants and joined welcome events and activities. While Ms. A was not very hopeful that a ten-day stay would have a positive effect on the children and youth, she was surprised to find that they drastically changed during and after the stay, and she decided to continue the project.

Thereafter, they conducted the homestay project annually. Australian and Japanese mass media reported the project, and the number of Australian and Japanese companies supporting it financially has increased year by year. As the project is gradually more recognized in society, they decided that it should be continued as a part of the JCS program. Therefore, in 2013, it was renamed the JCS Rainbow Project, and Ms. A became a committee member of JCS and thereafter became its vice president. While the homestay project is still organized by Ms. A and volunteer members as a part of the JCS programs, it has earned a positive reputation in the Japanese community, making it easier to get collaboration and financial assistance outside the community. Ms. A organizes the project with some core members, and many temporary volunteers joined the project through the networks Ms. A has cultivated as a leader in the Japanese community. Several core members are now Japanese immigrants younger than Ms. A. Furthermore, in 2014, a large Australian labor union interested in Fukushima affairs provided the program with plentiful financial assistance. Every year of the project, an aboriginal elder interested in Fukushima voluntarily invites Japanese participants of the homestay project to their traditional welcome ceremony. Mayors and politicians also invite the participants to a lunch, and public schools welcome their school visits. In this way, the Rainbow Project continues to improve involvement with Australian society. Ms. A and her partners have also teamed with charity organizations in Japan and constructed a transnational non-government network.

For the fifth year memorial events of "3.11" scheduled in March 2016, Ms. A landed an exclusive interview with Julia Gillard, the former prime minister of Australia, who was in power in March 2011. Gillard was one of the first political leaders outside of Japan who visited the disaster area just after tsunami. The interview was video-recorded and showed on the stage at the memorial event. Unlike in Melbourne, the memorial activities commemorating "3.11" in Sydney are still active and developing, led by Ms. A's group. One reason is that, as I have described earlier, in Sydney, institutionalization of the Japanese community as an immigrant community has proceeded with more strength than in Melbourne. In addition, Ms. A carefully adjusted the intentions of her political interests with values of middle class conservativism and the avoidance of "political" activities in the Japanese community, making it possible to access the institutional resources and networks of the Japanese community, resulting in more Japanese residents and companies becoming involved and promoting collaboration with organizations in Japan.

To encourage wide participation, Ms. A's activities in Sydney do not emphasize opposing radical issues such as nuclear power plants and uranium mining, like JFP in Melbourne did, even though Ms. A remains interested in those issues. However, another important change is that, unlike in the 1990s and 2000s, younger Japanese immigrants rooted in Australian society, like Ms. A, now play key roles in the activities of the JCS. According to Ms. A, some of them personally sympathize with such radical issues, and she believes more Japanese people are becoming interested in the nuclear power plant and uranium mining issues; for example, a series of articles on the issues recently appeared in a Japanese ethnic newspaper in Australia.[42)]

For the sixth Rainbow Project in August 2016, Ms. A's group invited a group of Fukushima high school students who were trying to maintain traditional events of the local area affected by the nuclear power plant accidents. Performances of the students were staged with the support of Australian citizens, schools and non-profit organizations. Ms. A's group organized various events, such as concert of a young Japanese violinist and voice actor, to help young people become interested in the Fukushima and Tohoku issue.

8. Conclusion

In this article, I have examined the implication of "3.11" in the migration process of the Japanese community in Australia. The case studies suggest the direction of the change in how Japanese immigrant communities are involved in Australian society. Like Japanese CLSs and community playgroups, members of Japanese communities, in particular those in Sydney, have experienced institutionalization toward the government's multiculturalism policies. The experience of the HSCJC suggests that permanent Japanese residents can now launch lobbying efforts toward Australian society by utilizing institutional resources and networks for their own purposes. It may suggest a turn from the "silent minority" or onlooker tendency of typical skilled immigrants to one of more "rooted" immigrants in the host society. Moreover, the emergence of social movements against nuclear power plants and uranium mining, such as JFP and the Rainbow Project, suggests that some Japanese immigrants have developed a cosmopolitan consciousness and desire for transnationalism (Iwabuchi 2016).

Of course, as Ms. A and Mr. B suggested, cosmopolitanism and transnationalism are largely limited by and have to compromise with the long-distance nationalism and middle class conservativism of Japanese communities. I argue that, at least today, Ms. A's strategy is the "realistic" way of the transnational civil society in Japanese communities in Australia. However, I suggest the possibility of transnationalism/cosmopolitanism in Japanese communities in Australia by describing my personal experience.

I was in Sydney on March 11, 2011. I remember my shock when I watched the scene of tsunami on TV at the lobby of the hotel where I was staying. After contacting my family, friends and students in Japan, I went to Alice Springs for my research. Everyone I met there gave me a look of pity when they learned I was from Japan. Australian mass media were broadcasting the serious situation at the Fukushima nuclear power plant, as well as the destruction by the tsumani. An elderly taxi driver who had migrated to Australia from Vietnam as a refugee said to me, "Once upon a time I lost my home. I came here as a refugee. You might become a refugee, too, because your home might vanish. You are a refugee, too. We are the same."

When I heard his words, I felt a strange sense I still cannot explain. It was a sense of the possibility of losing "Japan" as my home country, whose existence I had taken for granted. It might be my nationalistic attachment for Japan in the catastrophe, but at the same time, it was a feeling of

connection to people in the similar situations in the world, like the elderly Vietnamese-Australian taxi driver, and a desire to be in solidarity with them. I suppose many Japanese residents living outside Japan, including Ms. A and Mr. B, had a similar feeling just after "3.11." It might be settled at the bottom of our mentality in everyday life, but will never vanish. This transnational imagination might be a seed of further transnational activities in Japanese immigrant communities in the future.[43)]

Notes

1）Section 2-4 of this article is a translated and revised version of Shiobara (2016).

2）The JCQ merged with the Japanese Society of Brisbane (JSB), an expatriate worker-based organization, in 2007 and was renamed the Japan Club of Brisbane (JCB) (http://jc-b.com/index.html). The JCQ was originally established by Permanent Japanese residents who belonged to the JSB; therefore, the 2007 merger can be understood as a "re-merger" of the two organizations (Nagatomo 2013: 211-214).

3）The JCA was dissolved in 2000 and reorganized as "Zengo Network," an Internet-based organization consisting of a website and a mailing list, but later suspended its activities (Hamano 2014: 87-131).

4）Additionally, the Japan Club of Tasmania was established in the early 1990s but did not actively communicate with other Japan Clubs and did not join the JCA (Shiobara 2004b).

5）The number of Permanent Japanese residents increased to 33,971 in 2008 (Nagatomo 2013: 15).

6）Ministry of Education and Science, Japanese government (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/002/002.htm) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

7）Ministry of Education and Science, Japanese government (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/002/006/001/002/005.htm) last accessed on October 4, 2014). According to an interview with executive members of the Sydney Saturday School of Japanese (January 31, 2015 in Sydney), the school has also been accredited as a Japanese educational facility abroad by the Japanese government since 2013. Japan Overseas Educational Services, a Japanese government agency, introduces SSSJ as a "Supplementary School in Sydney." (http://www.joes.or.jp/g-kaigai/gaikoku02.html) last accessed on October 4, 2014.

8）Community Languages Schools affiliated with the NSW government are part-time schools separately from full-time schools for children of immigrants to learn the languages other than English (community language/heritage language). In many cases, a weekend CLS uses public school classrooms and is operated by volunteers from immigrant communities. In 2015, there were 277 CLSs in NSW comprising more than 30,000 students. A CLS designation allows the school access to grants and benefits from the State Education Department. (http://www.dec.nsw.gov.au/what-we-offer/community-programs) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

9）*JCS dayori* no. 95 (April 1992).

10）*JCS dayori* no. 114 (November 1993)

11）*JCS dayori* no. 120 (March 1995)

12）*JCS dayori* no. 129 (December 1995)

13）Interview with executive members of the Sydney Saturday School of Japanese (January 31, 2015 in Sydney).

14）SSSJ website (http://www.sssjapanese.webs.com/)　last accessed on April 25, 2015.

15）Interview with executive members of SSSJ (January 31, 2015 in Sydney). Japan Overseas Educational

Services recognizes SSSJ as a Japanese educational facility abroad. However, it seems that the school teaches students Japanese as a heritage language. SSSJ uses textbooks of Japanese as National Language (Kokugo), but according to my interview with executive members of the school (January 31, 2015 in Sydney), the teachers attempt to adjust their curriculum to children of permanent residents, consisting of most of the students, who need education of Japanese as a heritage language.

16) *JCS dayori* no. 102 (November 1992).

17) JSSS website (http://sydneyjss.web.fc2.com/summary.html) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

18) My field notes on January 31, 2004.

19) School guide for N.S.W. Japanese School (20 Jan. 2014 version) and a notice for parents from the school in November 1, 2012.

20) N.S.W. Japanese School website (http://nswjs.seesaa.net/archives/201405-1.html) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

21) JCS Japanese School Dundas Branch website (http://dundas.japanclubofsydney.org/) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

22) Forest Japanese School website (http://forestjapaneseschool.org.au/) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

23) *Forest Japanese school gakkou dayori* (July 8, 2014).

24) *JCS dayori* no. 364 (April 2015).

25) JCS Japanese School Edgecliff Brance website (http://edgecliff.japanclubofsydney.org) last accessed on December 9, 2016.

26) North Shore Japanese School website (http://www.nsjs.com.au/) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

27) Hornsby Japanese School website (http://hornsbyjapaneseschool.org.au/index.html) last accessed on April 25, 2015. In addition, other than in the Sydney region, there are three Japanese CLSs in NSW. (http://www.dec.nsw.gov.au/what-we-offer/community-programs/find-a-school) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

28) Japan Overseas Educational Services also recognizes North Shore Japanese School as a Japanese educational facility abroad.

29) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japanese government website (http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/world_school/02pacific/sch2010100102.html) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

30) Board of Studies in NSW website (http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/hsc/) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

31) Board of Studies in NSW website (http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/syllabus_hsc/course-descriptions/languages.html) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

32) HSC Japanese Committee website (http://www.hscjapanese.org.au/) last accessed on April 25, 2015.

33) Ibid.

34) *HSCJC Newsletter* No. 5 (March 2013).

35) *HSCJC Newsletter* No. 4 (20 December 2011).

36) In Australia, some ethnic groups had participated in ethnic politics since the 1970s. There are still Ethnic Communities Councils in each state, and the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) is active.

37) HSCJC website (http://hscjapanese.web.fc2.com/m_sabetu.html) last accessed on October 7, 2014.

38) HSCJC website (http://hscjapanese.web.fc2.com/index.html) last accessed on October 7, 2014.

39) Interviews with Mr. B (a member of Japanese For Peace) January 5, 2016 in Yokohama, Japan.

40) Based on interviews with Ms. A carried out from August 2011 to March 2016.

41) Based on interviews with Mr. B and other executive members of JFP, and participant observations in events held by JFP, from September 2007 to January 2016.

42）*Nichigo Press* website (http://nichigopress.jp/category/interview/genpatsu/) last accessed on March 18, 2016.

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