GENDER AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE LIFE COURSE

OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores social construction of the life course of post-war Japanese immigrant (*shin ijuusha*) women in Canada, based on interviews with 48 Japanese women in Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa. First, why women leave Japan is explored. Their emigration occurs in contexts of tourism, Japanese longing for America/the West constructed through Western popular culture, and gender and the life course. Japanese women negotiate their lives, cleverly using multiple meanings attached to the migration experience.

Second, their lives in Canada are examined. Advantages Japanese women found in Canada include freedom and different perspectives, whereas they face serious disadvantages such as language/cultural barriers and difficulty finding employment. They cannot really recognize the existence of racism, however, because of their language/cultural barriers and of subtlety of today's racism.

Though dispersed and invisible, *shin ijuusha* networks have developed in Toronto since the early 1970s, with a major motivation to provide Japanese language education for *nisei* children. *Shin ijuusha* mothers tend to regret that their children have acquired only basic Japanese, but some have successfully connected their children to Japan/Japanese culture.

Japanese immigrant women often attach emotional meanings to immigration status. Some choose their status with their family in mind. Subjectively, they tend to feel they are "Japanese," hesitating to claim to be "Canadian." They have internalized the mainstream gaze and see themselves as "others" in Canada. Meanwhile, many women feel that Canada is their home. They tend to transform Canada to a homeland over their

life course, establishing meaningful social relations.

Third, *shin ijuusha* women's transnationalism is explored. They keep ties with Japan, especially for social connections. Many women provide transnational care provision for their aging parents in Japan, which is a new gender role invented after World War II. *Shin ijuusha* women's transnationalism is associated with life-course transitions. Spatial connection between Canada and Japan is still contingent in societal context, however.

Finally, how migration to Canada has changed lives of Japanese women is considered. Although the migration did not necessarily empower women, they tend to view it positively, because migration helped them to acquire plural perspectives that have deeply enriched their lives.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This doctoral thesis explores the lives of recent Japanese immigrant women in Canada. Since the Second World War, more than 20,000 Japanese people have immigrated to Canada (Statistics Canada 2008). They are called by Japanese Canadians *shin ijuusha*, meaning "new immigrant(s)," to make a distinction from other *Nikkei*, namely, pre-war Japanese immigrants (*issei*) and their descendants (Kikuchi 1996). This is because pre-war *issei* and *shin ijuusha* are quite different in socio-economic characteristics and reasons for immigration. While the majority of pre-war *issei* were originally male workers who came to Canada for better employment opportunities and were later joined by their wives, many of whom came as "picture brides," (Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Iino 1997), the majority of *shin ijuusha* are women with significant educational qualifications who came to Canada in search of new lives. Those *shin ijuusha* women tend to marry men of other ethnic backgrounds, and present transnational behavioural patterns by regular visits to their home country, Japan (Kobayashi 2002, 2003).

As a Japanese woman living now in Canada, I am one of those transmigrants between Canada and Japan. I start this thesis with my own experiences, both to acknowledge my positionality and to illuminate some key societal reasons for Japanese migration to Canada.

"Going to the West" was once my dream. Born and raised in Japan, somehow I

always felt the West near to myself. I grew up with Western storybooks. My favourite stories as a child were *Mary Poppins* and *Les Trois Mousquetaires*. There were plenty of translated Western books at hand, and I just loved reading them. As a teenager I became absorbed in movies from the West. In the intervals of busy studious life preparing for university entrance examinations, my high-school friends and I often went to a cinema to watch Hollywood movies. The society portrayed in those movies seemed quite attractive and exciting. Men in the movies looked to be considerate heroes whereas women seemed confident heroines. American music also fascinated me. I sang American pop songs in English, though I did not really understand the meaning of the words.

The West seemed a solid, attractive entity to me. It was something different from my culture, but also something not so different. In my mind the West consisted of various countries, especially the U.S. The West sometimes meant countries of white people, other times immigrant countries of North America where people of various colours living together.

People around me were also interested in the West. Whenever students who spent a few years in Britain or the U.S. came back to Japan, kids who had never been outside Japan enviously gossiped about them. "I hear her English pronunciation is really American and better than our teacher's." "How cool!" Some kids gathered around a returned student and asked about things in the West. Others were so envious that they avoided the returned student, feeling that "the Americanized" was showing off his or her Western experiences.

It was not only children who were curious about the West. Their interest was rather a reflection of adults' attitudes. Japanese media always reported detailed news from

the West, whether it was a U.S. presidential campaign or British Royal family scandals. Newspapers said that the West is democratic society: "In the West, even people who have an important social position, such as politicians and presidents, are friendly to ordinary citizens and not arrogant," "Women are not oppressed and many of them have professional jobs," "People of various colours have equal rights," and so on. Japanese media also minded how the West thought about Japan. Editorial writers of newspapers often introduced Westerners' critical views on Japan, such as Japan's closed society, homogeneity, unequal gender relations, and workaholism. They urged us to reflect on such Japanese shortcomings "to catch up with the West." I wished that my country could become like the West.

Japanese academia was in a similar situation to the media. As a university student, I decided to major in geography where learning what geographers do in English-speaking countries is highly important. Professors encouraged students to read journal articles and books in English. So I stuck to my desk and read English papers line by line with a dictionary. Geographers in Japan always lamented that Japanese geography was behind and not successful in attracting attention from overseas. Our goal was to catch up with geography in English-speaking countries with the hope of appealing to people overseas that what Japanese geographers were doing was interesting. The reality was, however, that few were confident in English, and I felt that we were in a never-ending race to catch up with the West.

The West always stayed in my mind. I hoped that I would actually go to the West some day, thinking that going to the West would positively change my life. I especially expected that Western experience would empower me as a woman, providing me with

new knowledge and the ability to speak English. I also thought that, if I stayed in Japan, my life would come to a standstill in the near future, especially because I was a woman. So I came to Canada to study in a university in 1997. My dream to go to the West, which was both romantic and pragmatic, finally came true.

I am only one of many other Japanese women who chose to come to the West. Especially since the late 1960s, a significant number of young Japanese women have come to Canada to change their lives. Some stayed in Canada temporarily as tourists, students or temporary workers. Others chose to become permanent residents (Kobayashi 2002, 2003). According to statistics, it is estimated that 21,615 Japanese immigrants lived in Canada in 2006, and approximately two-thirds of them were women (Statistics Canada 2008). The number of new immigrants has been steadily growing since the 1990s (Statistics Canada 2008; Kikuchi 1996, p.124). "Going to the West" is not only a personal decision but also a Japanese social phenomenon.

In post-war Japan, "going to the West" has a meaning more than just moving from one space to another. It has often a connotation of the happy ending, and in a sense, is very similar to the traditional notion of marriage. As some popular Japanese TV dramas end with a happy wedding scene, others end with a scene in which the hero or heroine departs for the West (that can be France, the U.S., or whatever country the Japanese think as Western), searching for new opportunities. "Leaving for the West" implies "And they lived happily ever after." People in Japan do not really further question what happens to the person after he or she has successfully arrived in the West.

For people who actually left Japan, however, arriving in the West is not an ending but just a beginning. What happens to the person after coming to Canada? Is it really

"And they lived happily ever after?" Providing a critique on Jane Austen novels, Yoshio

Nakano comments that her novels seem too easy as they end with such happy marriages,

but at that time, no author was too ill-natured to start a novel with a scene after a wedding

(Nakano 1972, p.453). Feminists, however, have challenged the myth of the happy

marriage, exposing unequal power relations and oppressions that are inevitably embedded

in the modern family. Feminists did so because it was the only way to address the

problems women face in a patriarchal society (Ueno 1990). Similarly, the myth of happy

living in the West needs to be challenged, if lives of migrants are to be enhanced, through

exploration of their daily reality and hardships in the new place.

From my eleven-year experience in North America, I can at least say that a life in

Canada as a Japanese woman is far from "And they lived happily ever after." Living in

Canada, which is a totally different place from Japan, is surely enriching my life, but at

the same time language and cultural differences make me constantly feel powerless and

out-of-place. I have had to become aware that the fact that "the West" that I so long

cherished in Japan was a product of my "Far East" imagination, not a compilation of

realities. Now I must face the sheer necessity to negotiate my life for my survival in

Canada, without a map to rely on. My emotions that have arisen in the West are complex

and mixed, and my experiences in Canada are both bitter and sweet. Such feeling has to

be shared by many other Japanese immigrants in Canada. Their realities, however, are not

sufficiently recognized both in Canada and in Japan, in spite of the increasing number of

Japanese people who have immigrated to Canada.

This doctoral study explores lives of *shin ijuusha* women through interviews to

illuminate their experiences. Specifically, this study addresses three main themes: (1)

coming to Canada ("Why and how do post-war Japanese women emigrate to Canada?") (2) living in Canada ("What lives do Japanese women live after they settle in Canada?"), and (3) moving between Canada and Japan ("How do they keep relations with their family left in Japan?"). Reasons why this research focuses on women and gender issues are that the majority of the recent Japanese immigrants are women, and that it is considered that migration from Japan to Canada is a deeply gendered process.

This thesis consists of ten chapters. The following chapter will review the existing literature in two areas, feminist geography and social geography of the life course, both of which this study is based on. Chapter 3 will aim to understand the societal background and outlines of both pre-war and post-war migrations, drawing upon existing studies. Chapter 4 will show research directions of this thesis and will elucidate demographic characteristics of the Japanese immigrants who participated in the interviews. Chapters 5 to 9 will analyze experiences of the interviewees. Chapter 5 will focus on their "coming to Canada," considering reasons and characteristics of their migration. Chapters 6 to 8 will address their "living in Canada": Chapter 6 will discuss advantages and disadvantages in their Canadian living; Chapter 7 will focus on issues regarding *shin ijuusha* social networks and communities formed in Canada; Chapter 8 will consider their perceptions about becoming Canadian/remaining Japanese in the context of their legal status and feelings of who they are, and will explore whether Canada has become their home. Chapter 9 will examine their "moving between Japan and Canada," considering their transnational behaviour between Japan and Canada. After those interview analyses, Chapter 10 will state the conclusion of this thesis, considering how immigration to Canada changed lives of Japanese women.

I acknowledge that, as I am one of those Japanese women migrants, my gaze on the researched can never be objective. I believe that their lives should not be easy, but they are not passive victims either. They may be feeling powerless in Canada, but at the same time should enjoy some freedom as they belong to the so-called first-world nations. During the research I have had both sympathy and antipathy towards them. My feelings are inevitably reflected in the entire thesis. I also acknowledge that the motivation of this study to illuminate lives of Japanese immigrant women is feminist and political. It is hoped that this thesis will provide suggestions on how to enhance lives of immigrant women, and will ultimately deepen understanding of globalizing Canada and Japan.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of the existing literature on feminist geography and social geography of the life course, as theoretical and epistemological scope for this thesis is based mainly on the two domains. It will be shown where these two disciplines came from, where they are going, and where this study is located in the stream of thoughts that feminist geography and social geography of the life course have created.

2.1 Feminist geography

Feminist geography examines how gender relations and geographies are mutually structured and transformed, drawing on feminist politics and theories (Pratt 2000a, p.259). Feminist geography today aims not only to understand the world but also ultimately to contribute to the empowerment of women, through actual social actions (Kobayashi 2005). Empowerment is a process in which women gain the ability to make a difference; women are seen not as passive victims but as people who have the power to make changes in their lives and in society (Muramatsu 2002).

Theoretical roots of the current feminist geography can be traced back to the second wave of feminism that occurred during the 1960s (McDowell and Sharp 1997). The second wave of feminism, which originated in the U.S. but soon spread to other countries including Canada and Japan, was to question and reject "women's societal roles" (e.g., homemaking; caring for others) for women's liberation. Women at that time

began to realize that just having the right to vote was insufficient to bring substantial equity between men and women. To participate fully in the public sphere, especially in the labour market, women needed to challenge the common sense that femininity is biologically determined and that staying at home to care for family is the natural role of women (Ehara 1999).

During the 1970s, feminists began to call the socially-constructed difference between men and women "gender," to distinguish it from the biological difference of "sex." This concept of gender played a crucial role to assert that women's roles, which had been taken for granted, are not biologically determined, and therefore are variable (Ehara 1999; Ueno 1995a). To advance feminist politics to reform society, feminists took a strategy to denaturalize and deconstruct women's roles for both individuals and groups. Feminists insisted that what a woman is supposed to do is constructed based on her current position set by current societal structures; if she acquires a new perspective on society and starts seeing her role as relative and changeable, she can reconstruct her gender into less oppressive terms. These empowerments of individual women's lives will eventually lead the society to become more equitable (Ehara 2002). This strategy has remained a key in feminist politics to date.

These feminist movements brought innovations into many academic disciplines, and geography was no exception. Feminist geography began to develop in the latter half of the 1970s, influenced by the second wave of feminism and other feminist social/human science disciplines. At first, the popular feminist research in geography was to make women visible. Geographers began to focus on women whose existence was neglected, and empirically showed how women are spatially constrained (Jones III *et al.* 1997).

Socialist feminism also became influential in geography, and scholars explored how women are oppressed because of patriarchy, capitalism and spatial constraint (Pratt 2000a).

From the late 1980s, feminist geography experienced another drastic development with the rise of new research that can be called a "feminist geographies of difference." In this new stream, feminist geographers started conceptualizing gender in a radically different manner: gender is no longer the term to indicate two independent categories of men and women; Gender is the act of differentiation itself, to asymmetrically divide people into two groups: men, who are active human subjects and the controllers of power, and women who are the Other and the controlled without power or with limited power. Geographers began also to see that gender is fluid and contingent, and that there is no underlying essential entity to support the differentiation (Young 1993; Pratt 2000a; also, see Ueno 1995a, 2001). In this new tide of geography of difference, geographers also became aware of other differentiations that divide people into "us" and "them," such as "race," ethnicity, sexuality, age, nationality, disability and so on (Domosh 1998; Kobayashi 1994a; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Longhurst 2000). Feminists argue that all these categories are socially constructed and therefore changeable.

Two major movements both in academia and in general society have roused feminist geographies of difference. One is the on-going efforts from the beginning of the second wave of feminism to destabilize the difference between men and women. The other movement is that other marginalized people, such as people of colour, the colonized and gays and lesbians, strongly objected that feminism had been for white, middle-class heterosexual women and had ignored differences among women (Kobayashi 2005;

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McDowell and Sharp 1997). Thus geographers started challenging other socially constructed categories, as well as gender, to advance politics to construct equitable society.

Postcolonialism and poststructuralism are two backbone philosophies that theoretically supported feminist geographies of difference. These two are intertwined with each other and not completely separable. These philosophies also reflect societal changes, especially in the latter half of the twentieth century. On the one hand, postcolonialism aims to reveal hidden racism and to criticize colonial unequal power relations between the West and the Other that continue to exist to the present (Gregory 2000a; Smith 1994). On the other hand, poststructuralism, the philosophy that deprived structuralism of determinism (Ueno 2001), sees that language is the medium that defines society. That is, the world is not represented by language; language constitutes the world (Noguchi 2001; Uchida 2002). The meaning of a signifier is derived from its difference from other signifiers, and thus gender (or "race," or any other social category) is created through differences (Pratt 2000b). Poststructuralism opposes premises of Western modern enlightenment thoughts. There are no such things as objective facts, universal truth and historical progress, all of which Western enlightenment philosophy had advocated. Knowledge, which used to be believed as the universal truth, is indeed subjective and has benefited Western, middle class men, while oppressing the Other (McDowell and Sharp 1997; Rose 1993; Peet 1998; Ueno 1990). Poststructuralism also rejected modern dualistic thinking. Now differences between men and women, "whites" and "blacks," heterosexual and gays/lesbians, culture and nature, mind and body, reason and emotions, are all obscure. Human subjectivity is a site of fluidity, disunity and contradiction. Thus

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poststructuralism opened up our thinking to concepts of multiplicity, contingency, indeterminancy, and the potential of political change (Pratt 2000b).

Poststructuralism has brought fundamental changes to geography. Now feminist geographers see that any social category including gender is socially constructed through discourse. The major feminist agenda has become to contextualize gender, showing how it has been historically and geographically constructed. It is ultimately to deconstruct gender and to invalidate current meaning effects of the societal category, presenting less oppressive alternatives (Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Iida 2001). In the 1990s, feminist geography has expanded from exclusive economic, structural analysis to discourse analysis (McDowell and Sharp 1997; Law 1999).

These fundamental philosophical changes within feminist geography led to developments of feminist epistemology and methodology. Feminist geographers today are critical of modernism in that it foments oppressions of "the Other," and are willing to focus on "the devalued" in Western enlightenment thoughts: subjectivity, body, emotions, private space, family and so on (Longhurst 1997; Domosh 1998; Teather 1999). Feminists conduct critical research, being aware of the partiality of knowledge and of the researcher's positionality (Kobayashi 2005; Longhurst 2000; Jones III *et al.* 1997; Rose 1997). Although they do not deny quantitative methods, they have placed an emphasis on interviews, ethnography and qualitative methods that can reveal voices and experiences of the oppressed (Jones III *et al.* 1997).

Feminist geographies of difference have opened up immense possibilities of political changes. This subdiscipline, however, has also raised significant concerns. Rejecting universal truth and historical progress, poststructurailsm has brought the risk of

unlimited relativism, and consequently it has led to chaos and cynicism among some geographers (Peet 1998). According to poststructuralism, everything is supposed to be within texts. We cannot know whether things really exist. Then what can we believe in now? What about oppression and pain that people feel as real and suffer from in everyday life? Also, feminist geographers now have to face serious dilemmas: the very philosophy they employ for women's political progress rejects the notion of progress; when gender is deconstructed, feminists lose their grounds to be women, which can decelerate their political movements (Alcoff 1988; McDowell 1997a, 1997b).

To remedy these negative implications of poststructuralism, feminist geographers began to employ a certain pragmatism to hold the social category of women for now (McDowell 1997b), believing in societal progress. Now there are movements to go back to "real issues" once again, not just to understand the world but ultimately to be involved in the world to make a difference (Kobayashi 2005). Today feminist geographers continue to challenge societal roles to liberate the oppressed, reconstructing gender to realize a less oppressive society.

The second wave of feminism, with its dramatic theoretical developments, generally improved women's positions both in and outside academia in the world, including Canada and Japan (Hall *et al.* 2002; Ueno *et al.* 2001), but there are still many remaining problems. Besides, new pertinent issues are emerging with the rapid societal changes that globalization has been bringing about, including space-time compression (Harvey 2000), increasing human mobility, more permeable borders and accelerating transnationalism (Boyle 2002; Nolin Hanlon 2000; Nolin 2001), and heightened tensions between the West and "the rest" (Hall 1990; Robins 1991; Massey 1994; also, Said 1999,

2002, 2006; Bhabha 2005). The existence of immigrants/transmigrants, especially of migrant women, is drawing attention of feminist geography today, as they are produced through, and at the same time facilitate, globalization. Important questions to be addressed include how transmigrant women negotiate gender through migration, and whether transnational migration is emancipatory (Yeoh 2005). A feminist geography of difference needs to keep uncovering complex social construction of gender and other categories in shifting times and spaces, to empower people who are oppressed in a variety of ways.

2.2   Social Geography of the Life Course

Meanwhile, geographers have explored relations between people, space and time from the 1970s, which developed into a domain that can be called social geography of the life course. The domain can be traced back to time-geography that Torsten Hägerstrand proposed in the 1970s (Teather 1999). Using a scientific method, Hägerstrand aimed to understand how people behave in time and space by focusing on constraints (limitations) on people in their daily lives. According to him, time and space are limited resources to individuals. To carry out projects, people need to allocate time and space, under the influence of constraints imposed by various factors, such as their own physical capabilities, availability of transportation, necessity to go to a workplace, laws to prohibit them from entering certain buildings, and so on. A typical individual's movements in a day can be presented in a three-dimensional model as a successive path that starts at the location of home, goes through "stations" (e.g., store, workplace) to fulfil needs, and ends again at home. When paths of people are shown together in one model, some paths are

bundled at the stations (Hägerstrand 1973, 1976, 1984; Sugiura 1985; Gregory 2000b). The model can be extended from daily paths to human life paths that start at one's birthplace and end with the location of death (Sugiura 1985). Thus it can be argued that Hägerstrand's time-geography was one of the first attempts to understand people situated in their space and life course.

Hägerstrand's contribution was to distill the time-space relationships between agent, place and institution (Teather 1999), emphasizing the continuity and connectedness of events (Gregory 2000b). Although Hägerstrand's time-geography was positivist with a goal to search for universal laws of human behaviour, it was beyond two-dimensional, cross-sectional mappings. Also, his time-geography explored "constraints" on people in time and space, and thus had a potential for research on social structures, getting beyond the positivist "free man" premise. Therefore soon after time-geography became known in geography, feminists began to employ it to examine why women tend to be spatially confined (Miller 1982; Laws 1997), which became a basis of its later developments in social geography.

One of the biggest shortcomings of time-geography was its inability to capture human agency and fluidity of society: in the model, people and their behaviours are represented as dots and lines and exhibited in a container-like static space. Alan Pred, however, developed time-geography into a more social geographical model. Inspired by Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, Pred (1986, 1990) modified time-geographic diagrams and showed how changing routines produce, and are produced from, social meanings at certain locales (Pred 1986, 1990; Cloke *et al.* 1991; Gregory 2000b). Pred's work took human agency into account, and portrayed the becomingness of people and

social structures. Dyck (1990) incorporated structure and agency into time-geography within a feminist perspective, to explore how routines as a mother are produced and contested, responding to social and economic structures of specific times and spaces. These studies by Pred and Dyck shifted time-geography from scientific modelling to the direction of social geography, which explores relevant social issues and processes of social reform.

Other than these transformative developments, Hägerstrand's time-geography was obliged to change, criticized from two directions (Gregory 2000b). One is a criticism that his time-geography focuses on individuals on a small-scale for a short period and ignores larger structural changes (Hoppe and Langton 1994). Another criticism was made by Rose (1993) who accused time-geography of its modernist and masculinist natures. She pointed out the inherent anti-feminist nature in Hägerstrand's time-geography, as it regards space as neutral and therefore it fails to capture divisions between public and private spaces. Also, it excludes emotions, reduces human bodies into particles and ignores important social differences such as "race" (Rose 1993; Law 1999; Gregory 2000b; Teather 1999). Rose critically described time-geography as "the disembodied, the universal, the individualistic, the passionless, the masculine, the public" (Rose 1993, p. 29).

After these criticisms were made, time-geography was again to be transformed in the 1990s. This time, it merged with a feminist geography of difference that was a focus in the previous section. Influenced by poststructuralism and postcolonialism, the objective of time-geography has become to explore relations among people, times and spaces, examining discourse on gender, "race" and other social categories, with the ultimate goal of deconstructing them to construct a more equitable society. Major research questions

today include "How do people negotiate/reconstruct their socially constructed categories to be more empowered in times and spaces, especially when they live in the discourse that position themselves as the Other?" "Can we remake current gender, 'race' and class into less oppressive social categories?" and "Are alternative, less oppressive spaces/places possible?" Now "time-geography" may sound somewhat inappropriate for this discipline, since it is accompanied with its original scientific, positivist and modernist flavour. Instead, this study will employ the term "social geography of the life course."

Here, what the life course perspective is needs to be clarified. The life course research emphasizes interaction between historical events, personal decisions, and individual opportunities, considering how earlier experiences in life influence subsequent outcomes (Elder 1994 cited by Quadagno 1999; Also, Hareven and Masaoka 1988; Kohli 1986). Researchers explore transitions of individual social roles over lifetime (e.g., go to school – take a job – get married – have children – retire), illuminating what trajectory a series of transitions construct (Quadagno 1999). The life course perspective sees the life course as socially constructed and thus is useful to understand people's lives in broader context. The life course perspective has been proven as useful especially in the research on women and family. For example, in sociology, family is seen as a social network individuals weave in their life course (Ochiai 2000). It has been explored how women's life course, family, society and historical events are mutually constitutive (Hareven 1996, 2000).

Recent discussions call attention to being aware of diversity of the life course, especially depending on gender, "race" and class. It has been criticized that studies in the past were functionalist, detaching family from its societal context. For those studies, the

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norm was the nuclear family constructed by a North American middle-class white life course (Das Gupta 1995; Connidis 2001; Hareven 1996, 2000; Stacey 1990; Quadagno 1999). It is necessary to see that there are various life pathways, and that the life course is fluid and family is full of conflicts and contradictions.

Various studies have been conducted in social geography of the life course, but recent attention is particularly focused on the research to explore relations among immigrants, spaces and the life courses. It is because immigrants are "hot topics," because they construct and are constructed through globalization, as mentioned in the previous section. For example, Mohammad (1999) examined working-class Pakistani Muslims in England and showed how racism leads to reinforcement of women's traditional gender roles. Chan (1999) explored reciprocal relations between home and the identity of Hong Kong Chinese-Canadian migrants. Kobayashi (2002, 2003) focused on Japanese *shin ijuusha* women in Canada and illuminated their negotiation of gender and daily struggles. All these studies can be called social geography of the life course, since they illuminate people's negotiation of social categories such as gender at different times in the life course, though not all of them have considered one's entire life from birth to death.

It has also to be noted that geographers' perspective on "immigrants" is developing. Geographers used to regard immigrants as people who left their home countries for good and became permanent settlers of the destination country, but recently, researchers have become aware that many immigrants are often "transmigrants" who keep close ties both with home and host countries, presenting fluid and complex spatial movements (Skeldon 2005; Yeoh 2005). With this perspective development, more studies to see immigrants as transmigrants are conducted in social geography of the life course.

For example, Dwyer (1999, 2000) focused everyday negotiation of diasporic identities of young British South Asian Muslim women, and pointed out their emerging "hybrid" identity, which transcends the British-Muslim binary. Yeoh and Huang (2000) also explored the (re)construction of diasporic identities by focusing on women from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka who are domestic workers in Singapore. Yeoh and Willis (2005) illuminated the role of gender for married elite Singaporean transmigrant women in China. Mand (2005) examined how female Sikh transmigrants negotiate their non-marital status and how it is associated with the life course. Ley and Kobayashi (2005) focused on Hong Kong return migrants from Canada, illuminating their strategic transnationalism linked to different life stages. Preston *et al.* (2006) examined the relationship between transnationalism and citizenship participation of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, from a gendered perspective. Kobayashi and Preston (2007) also focused on Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, and found that their transnationalism is deeply associated with family relations and life-course transitions. Drawing examples of the UK and Canada, Kofman and Raghuram (2006) focused on skilled transmigrant women who contribute to social reproduction in receiving countries. Examining European studies, Kofman (2004) stressed the necessity to explore family-related transnational migration, especially in light of the life course.

The social geography of the life course has already produced fruitful research on transmigrants, but one deficiency needs to be pointed out: it has already illuminated a variety of population, but there are still only a few existing studies on recent Japanese migrant women in Canada. So far, it is only Kobayashi (2002, 2003) who has explored relations among Japanese immigrant women in Canada, spatiality and the life course, and

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more needs be uncovered about this population. Therefore, this thesis aims to remedy this deficiency.

This thesis intends to contribute to the domains of feminist geography and social geography of the life course, exploring the lives of Japanese (im)migrant women in Canada in the following manner: Japanese immigrant women will be situated in societal and historical contexts. Their situation will be compared with the one of pre-war Japanese women in Canada as part of the contextualization, and generational differences between them will be considered when necessary. It has been pointed out that the research on globalization needs to pay more attention to the social and the cultural, as it tends to focus on economic aspects (e.g., Yeoh 2005; Preston *et al.* 2006. Also, McDowell 1997a). Responding to the criticism, this study will try to capture Japanese migrant women's fluid and complex movements that transcend national borders, considering their social networks, above all family networks, as important elements. This thesis will also explore how the cultural, such as Hollywood movies, affect their migration. The scope of this thesis will be the entire life course of the migrants from the time of migration, not just a cross section of their lives. The interview method will be employed to explore migrant women's experiences, but it is not to conduct a phenomenological study of humanistic geography, but to reveal structured constraints of the migrants from a critical viewpoint and to consider possibilities for women's empowerment.

As stated in the introduction, I, the author, am considered as one of the Japanese transnational migrant women who keep ties both with Japan and with Canada. I am a Japanese/Asian woman whose first language is not English and not even European. As it is criticized that geography has been Anglophone-centric (Desbiens and Ruddick 2006;

Garcia Ramon *et al.* 2006), it is hoped that my different voice would also contribute to the diversification of geography.

This chapter has provided an overview of existing studies, establishing the standpoint of this thesis. The next chapter will illuminate the background of migration from Japan to Canada, to understand the societal and historical context of Japanese migrants in Canada.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING THE BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION

FROM JAPAN TO CANADA

Drawing upon existing studies and secondary data, this chapter aims to shed light on the societal background of pre-war and post-war migrations from Japan to Canada, and to provide an overview of both migrations. Migration of Japanese women and men to Canada needs to be understood in the following four contexts: (1) Japan's modernization and the Meiji period; (2) *risshin shusse* ideology (the cult of success) of modern Japan; (3) structure of the Japanese family from the Meiji period onward; and (4) Japanese relations with the West from the end of the Edo period. First, this chapter will illuminate the four contexts respectively, and secondly it will outline the development of pre-war and post-war migrations.

3.1 Societal Background of the Migration

3.1.1 *Japan's modernization and the Meiji period*

Japan's modernization began in the late 19th century during the Meiji period (1868-1912). Feudal Japan under the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1867) had been closed to overseas interaction since the early 17th century, and international trade and migration had been basically forbidden for more than 200 years. Japan was forced to change the policy, when Commodore Matthew Perry, however, appeared offshore of Uraga in 1853 with U.S. squadrons. He pressed Japan to open up, by displaying overwhelming military power. Japan did not have any choice but to open the country, signing the unequal treaty

with the U.S. that approved U.S. extraterritoriality and deprived Japan of customs autonomy. The Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France followed the U.S. to conclude similar treaties. Then Japan realized that it was such an "underdeveloped" country that was about to be colonized by the Great Western Powers, and that modernizing Japan was the only way to survive the dog-eat-dog world (Konishi 1967; Inoue 2006; Irokawa 2006, 2007; Sumiya 2006).

Japan went through the Meiji Restoration (Meiji Revolution) in 1868 to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate and eventually established a strong, centralized state under the emperor as a constitutional monarch. The Meiji government power was seized mostly by contributors to the Restoration, many of whom used to be lower-class samurai from the domains of Satsuma and Choushuu and some court nobles. The Meiji government implemented top-down modernization policies one after another: the feudal class system to divide people into samurai, peasantry, artisans, merchants and untouchables was abolished; new systems were quickly organized, including universal education, military conscription and taxation. All these systems were modelled after Western countries. Driven by slogans such as "enrich and strengthen the nation" (*fukoku kyouhei*) and "promote and encourage the new industry" (*shokusan kougyou*), Japan quickly developed its industry, economy and military power (Irokawa 2006, 2007; Sumiya 2006).

Japanese society drastically changed with modernization. People, especially ones who were not the first son to succeed within the *ie* (family), became no longer tied to their ancestral class, land, and business. Released from feudal restraints, Japanese people from the Meiji period gained spatial and social mobility. Ambitious people began to move to

urban places to realize the life they wanted to have, pursuing the dream of *risshin shusse* (societal success) (Irokawa 2006; Takeuchi 1997). Such a situation also provided a setting for large-scale emigration from Japan (Iino 1997; Azuma 2002). *Risshin shusse* ideology will be discussed further in section 3.1.2.

Japan's modernization was promoted top-down, and even modernism, the philosophy of modernization, was imported and introduced by those in power. Such modernization of Japan was in a sense grotesque, as modernism was originally a creation by the bourgeoisie who tried to be independent from people in power (Hashizume 2007). Japan's modernization did not end up a borrowed and superficial phenomenon; however, during the Meiji period, people's aspirations for freedom and democracy were expressed even at the grassroots level, and energetic political movements to demand democratic rights became so active that they even threatened the government that was acting autocratically (Irokawa 2006, 2007). Individualism began to grow during the Meiji and the following Taisho (1912-1926) periods, although at first it was limited to a small group of intellectuals. Sense of self started developing, and people began to be torn between a life as an individual and one as a societal member. Such a dilemma did not exist in feudal Japan where priority was given always to the Confucian concept of life as a member of a community (e.g., the nation; or household, *ie*) (Sumiya 2006). Such aspiration for democracy and budding individualism were to be swallowed by the Emperor system later, nonetheless (Irokawa 2007).

Japan's modernization during the Meiji Period was seemingly remarkably successful. Japan amended the unequal treaties by the end of the 19th century, and joined world powers at the beginning of the 20th century (Sumiya 2006; Imai 2006). Japan's

modernization constructed countless victims and the vanquished, however, as the development of rapid capitalism required people's self-sacrifice and severe exploitation of workers, including women and children. The advancement of the nation-state was openly given priority over people's wellbeing (Irokawa 2006). The Meiji government levied a heavy tax on farmers and peasants to get over the financial difficulties that had resulted by state-induced deflation required to enter world markets. As a result, agrarian people were heavily impoverished, which provided another setting for large-scale emigration (Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Iino 1997; Irokawa 2006). Also, narrowly escaping from being colonized, Japan chose to make itself a merciless colonizer of other East Asian countries. It gained hegemony over Korea and China with its victories in the Shino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). Japan imposed unequal treaties on Korea and China, knowing how those treaties were unjust through its own experiences (Sumiya 2006).

It is not exaggerating to say that the Meiji period was the most drastic and dynamic time in the history of Japan. The society was radically transformed, producing both positive and negative aspects (Irokawa 2007). Large-scale pre-war emigration needs to be understood in the energetic and innovative atmosphere of the time (e.g., Kudo 1983). From Meiji onwards, Japan was further transformed, experiencing other turning points such as World War I, the rise of democracy and the first wave of feminism during the Taisho period, the following fascism and the aggressive expansionism overseas, the extreme Emperor system, the subsequent complete loss of World War II in 1945, the post-war U.S. occupation and reformation, the economic revival from 1955, and the second wave of feminism in the 1970s (e.g., Imai 2006; Oouchi 2006; Hayashi 2006;

Dower 2007; Ehara and Kanai 1997). But the foundation of today's Japan was already formed through the modernization during the Meiji period. It is considered that present-day Japan is directly connected to the Meiji society.

3.1.2 *Risshin shusse* ideology

Risshin shusse is defined as "gaining a high position in society whereby one is recognized in the public eyes" (Matsumura 1995). *Risshin shusse* ideology (the cult of success) inspired Japanese people from the Meiji period to be successful: have a high ambition, study and work hard, climb up the social hierarchy, and finally become recognized and respected in their hometown (Saito 2007; Takeuchi 1997). The Meiji government implanted this ideology into people's minds through the newly established universal education systems. School children repeatedly sang a song *Aogeba toutoshi*, the words of which include a sentence to encourage *risshin shusse* ("Let's establish, get famous and work hard") as well as a sentence to be obedient and respectful to the established ("We look up to precious teachers' kindness"). The Meiji government found *risshin shusse* was the most fitting ideology for top-down modernization, maximizing people's productivity (Mita 1971).

People positively responded to the ideology, because it was such an innovative idea that did not exist in the feudal society. Its concept that the life course was no longer set by their family origins but by their own ability and achievements motivated individuals to work for themselves, for their families, and for the state (Mita 1971). Thus books to incite *risshin shusse*, such as *Gakumon no Susume* ("Encouragement to study") by Yukichi Fukuzawa and *Self-Help* (translated as *Saigoku Risshi Hen*, "Stories of

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successful people in Western countries") by Samuel Smiles became bestsellers during the early Meiji period (Takeuchi 1997). *Risshin shusse* ideology became people's internal driving force to voluntarily promote modernization in Japan, and thus is considered as a counterpart of Protestantism for Western capitalism (Mita 1971). Pre-war emigrants who left Japan also had *risshin shusse* in mind, hoping to bring the wealth earned overseas back to their hometowns (Kudo 1983; Iino 1997). Chapter 5 will argue that post-war emigration to Canada is still associated with the *risshin shusse* ideology.

       Risshin shusse ideology has been dominant in Japan since the Meiji period to date. It still encourages people to climb up the social hierarchy, although its emphasis has shifted from *risshin shusse* for the nation-state and *ie* to *risshin shusse* for individuals, with the loss of World War II and subsequent social changes. At least four problems can be pointed out, however, regarding this ideology. First, as *risshin shusse* is based on competitions for a limited slice of the pie, somebody has to be the vanquished, and thus it causes people anxiety about failure. Second, people began to lose a strong motivation for *risshin shusse* when the whole society became richer and the gap between the rich and the poor diminished in the post-war period. People do not feel that they have a choice but to continue the race, however, driven by the anxiety about becoming the vanquished. Third, *risshin shusse* ideology surely energized the society and produced dynamism of people at the beginning of modernization, but eventually it began to mean a petty and inflexible race trying to move up the existing hierarchy as much as possible. The scenario is already set, suggesting that the successful life course is entering a good junior high-school, a good high-school, a good university, and a good company and having a successful spouse and children. All schools have been highly classified around the deviations, and *risshin shusse*

has become just a tournament in this existing system. That is, a person is supposed to go through many selections in the life course starting with pre-kindergarten. If one loses in one tournament game, he or she loses the right to join the next game. But even if the person wins, it just means he or she has to go through the next game sooner. Thus people began to concentrate on winning only the immediate game for now, ignoring the fundamental question why on earth he or she is doing the race. Finally, *risshin shusse* is ultimately based on egoism, and the yardstick to decide one's success or failure is ultimately his or her appearance reflected in the public eye, not one's inner fulfilment. *Risshin shusse* ideology was helpful to Japanese people to escape from poverty, but it has led people to "voluntarily" aim at the standardized successful life course that is seemingly comfortable but in reality oppressive (Takeuchi 1997; Saito 2007; Mita 1971).

It has to be also noted that only middle-class men were able to join the *risshin shusse* race in the public sphere until recently. It was in the latter half of the 20th century when women began to join the game. Until then, women had aimed at the female version of a successful life course in the private sphere, which was constructed through women's gender roles as a wife and mother. Women's *risshin shusse* in relation with the modern family structure will be further discussed in the section 3.1.3.

3.1.3 *Structure of the Japanese family from the Meiji period*

With Japan's modernization, family structure was also restructured. In 1898, the Meiji government enshrined the traditional *ie* system into law (Senda 2002). An *ie* is a form of family, and its members share the family name, family property and family business that are to be passed down from generation to generation. The successor of an *ie*

is in principal the eldest son in the direct line. As a patriarchal head, he has obligations such as support of family members, *ie* property management, ancestor worship, and continuation and aggrandisement of the family name. On the other hand, younger and female *ie* members obey the head's authority. Males born in the *ie* as the second son or younger did not have the right to inherit the family wealth, and thus had to seek their own social position and livelihood outside the *ie*. Females born in the *ie* were "married out" to another *ie* at an appropriate age (Senda 2002; Koyama 2002). The wife of the patriarchal head who married into the *ie* often had strong power, controlling children and children-in-law, but had a subordinate position to the *ie* head (see Kishida and Ogura 1996).

During the Edo period, the *ie* defined public existence, being a part of the local community (e.g., a village). Also, actual conditions of the *ie* varied with class. From the Meiji period, the *ie*, however, became more private. *Ie* was set as the official family unit of Japan and directly controlled by the nation-state (Koyama 2002). Meanwhile, the ideology to regard Japan as one large family was also promoted. In this ideology, the emperor was regarded as the supreme and patriarchal head, and Japanese people or his subjects were regarded as his children who served the parent. The ideology became dominant over time, and bound Japan firmly until the end of World War II (Sumiya 2006; Tamanoi 1998).

As Japan's modernization proceeded, the so-called modern family appeared in the urban middle class, which was another change that occurred in Japan's family structure. After World War I, the market upswing rapidly advanced industrialization, and yielded many salaried workers who were hired to manage large organizations. Thus

nuclear families began to appear, each of which consists of the husband who is (ideally) such a salaried worker, the wife who is a homemaker, and their children (Ochiai 2007; Imai 2006).

The modern family has existed not only in Japan but in other parts of the world where a market economy and industrialization are developed and public and private spheres are divided. The modern family has the following characteristics: family members are connected through affection; privacy is important; it is based on the gender division of labour with the husband as the breadwinner and the wife as a housewife; parents have strong affection and educational interests in their children (Ochiai 2007). What was unique to Japan, however, was that the modern family structure and the *ie* system coexisted until the end of World War II (Ochiai 2002). Japanese modern families that appeared during the Taisho period belonged to their *ie* on the family register, but actually did not share the residence and finances with their *ie*. The breadwinner of such a family was a white-collar worker in a modern workplace such as government, school or military. Unlike traditional *ie* business, these occupations are not, however, passed down to the next generation (Koyama 2002).

The population of middle-class women who became housewives within such a modern family was still relatively small before World War II. The majority of women were in the working class and had to work also in the public sphere, undertaking double duties both at home and at work (for reference, in Tokyo during the 1920s, about 6% of the entire population was middle-class, whereas approximately 91% was working-class) (Kurashige 1987, cited by Saito 2007).

After World War II, the official *ie* system was abolished as a part of the U.S.

reformation of Japan, and the ideology of regarding Japan as one large family also disappeared. The traditional concept of the *ie* unofficially survived as an ideology in individual families, but its influence has gradually diminished over the years. The modern family structure and its gender division of labour/space were rather reinforced during the post-war high economic growth period. Family composed of the husband who is a white-collar office worker (so-called "salary man"), the wife who is a homemaker (*shufu*), and their child(ren) has become the most common family structure in Japan (Ochiai 2007).

With modernization of the family structure, the women's role was also reshaped from the Meiji period onward. During the Edo period, women were expected to contribute to their *ie* primarily through their reproduction role, giving birth to an heir. The modern state realized, however, that women could be useful not only for their *ie* but also for the state's development, if each woman at home supports her husband who is a labourer in the public sphere, and also if she bears children and educates them so that they become future contributors to the state's development. "Good wife, Wise mother" (*ryousai kenbo*) is the slogan that represents the above modern women's roles (Koyama 1993).

During the Edo period, there was a common idea that women were inferior and did not need education. From the Meiji period, however, equality between men and women began to be advocated. Also, given the new idea that women also need education in order to provide for their children's education, a universal education system for women was organized at the end of the Meiji period. Thus, women's situation became "improved" with modernization, albeit it was ultimately to take advantage of women.

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Men and women were regarded as essentially different, however, and equal legal rights were never given to women (Koyama 1993), until 1945 when the General Headquarters implemented reformation measures.

It was previously pointed out in the section 3.1.2 that modern men aimed at *risshin shusse* in the public sphere, entering good schools and a good workplace. On the other hand, until the late 1970s, *risshin shusse* for women meant her success mostly in the private sphere, within the "Good wife, Wise mother" framework. The pre-war successful life course for women was to enter a girls' school as a student, become a flowery worker until getting married, and become the wife of a white collar office worker and an affectionate homemaker mother. As only a small portion of women were privileged to have such a life course in the pre-war time, working-class women aspired to become middle-class homemakers, wishing to be released from the heavy and low-paying jobs they were undertaking in the public sphere (Saito 2007).

When the modern family structure became prevalent during the post-war high economic growth period, even women from working-class families in urban areas and from agrarian families in rural areas were able to pursue the above "successful" life course. In other words, the pre-war "women's *risshin shusse* life course" was popularized and became an average life course for average women in the latter half of the twentieth century. The successful life scenario takes a somewhat different appearance this time, however, indicating to enter a high school and then a *tandai* (two-year college), become an OL (office lady) in a good workplace to find a future husband there, and finally become a homemaker. Also, another path to be successful in the public sphere became

appealing from the late 1970s (Saito 2007). Saito (2007) describes the question of today's Japanese women who wish to live an ultimate successful life is "to be a CEO or the wife of a CEO."

Pre-war Japanese emigration to Canada was closely associated with Japanese family structure. Emigration was conducted originally to add wealth to migrants' *ie*, and men who were second, third sons and younger often became permanent immigrants in Canada because they could not expect to inherit their *ie* (Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002). Pre-war Japanese women married into a family formed in Canada, and fulfilled a job as a "Good wife, Wise mother," although they also had to work outside as unskilled labours (Kobayashi 1994b). In Chapter 5, this thesis will also argue that Japanese family structure and life course are still associated with Japanese emigration even in the post-war period.

3.1.4 *Japanese relations with the West from the end of Japan's feudal period*

Since the arrival of the black ships of Commodore Perry in 1853, emotions of Japanese people towards the West have been mixed with fear, admiration, flattery and hatred (Kishida 2001). In the late 19th century, the West pressed Japan as the giant capitalism civilization, displaying its enormous productive and military powers, science and technology. The influence and shock the West gave Japan was far greater than previous ones from China over thousand years. The most important question for Japan became how to learn the secrets of the wealth and strength of the West, to employ its civilization and to make Japan a strong country (Irokawa 2007).

Civilization and modernization were synonyms with Westernization for Japan, as

a Meiji modernization slogan "Get out of Asia, Join the West" (*datsua nyuuou*) stood for. Such modernization inevitably led Japanese people to self-abnegation, accompanied by strong frustration and an inferiority complex (Irokawa 2007). Through the process, Japanese people also internalized the unequal West-East relations and the existing racism with Caucasians at the top (Oguma 1995).

Japan tried various measures to Westernize itself. The Meiji government hired teachers and engineers from the West, and also encouraged the elite Japanese to study in the West (Inoue 2006). Acquiring an academic degree in a Western university almost guaranteed one's *risshin shusse* back in Japan (Oguma 1995). Besides, Arinori Mori, the first Minister of Education of Japan, advocated abolishing the Japanese language and employment of English as the official language of Japan, because he thought Japanese was a local and impoverished language (Kanaya 2007). Some opinion leaders seriously discussed the necessity of "racial hygiene" of the Japanese through intermarriage with Caucasians (Oguma 1995; Kanaya 2007). Finally, even a theory that the Japanese are not members of yellow race but are whites was advocated during the Meiji and Taisho periods (Oguma 1995). Oguma (1995) argues that such an odd theory was indeed a fantasy people created as a reaction to their sense of despair and inferiority complex.

In reaction to such trials of Westernization, nationalistic cultural movements, however, occurred. Meanwhile, internalizing the existing racial hierarchy, Japanese people also began to despise other Asians who failed to achieve modernization, and this attitude became the background of their atrocities in China during the Taisho and Showa periods (e.g., Irokawa 2007).

The complete loss of World War II "reset" values from the Meiji period (Saito

2007), but Japanese admiration and their inferiority complex towards the West was rather reinforced in the post-war period. With mixed feelings, Japanese people looked upon the immediate post-war landscapes in which starving children rushed to pick up candies and chocolates that American soldiers gave as almsgivings, and where young women turned to prostitution for American soldiers to obtain a richer life (Dower 2007). Abolition of the Japanese language was proposed again, this time by a leading novelist Naoya Shiga, arguing to replace the official language with French (Kanaya 2007). When the Empire of Japan was dissolved and reformed by Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander and the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces, Japanese people who had been tired of the War indeed welcomed it. But MacArthur reigned over Japan, believing that Japan must be ruled as "the white man's burden" (Dower 2007). The U.S. occupation from 1945 to 1952 reformed Japan, but it was also racist and colonialist, inflicting deep emotional wounds upon the Japanese people.

After the post-war high economic growth, Japan caught up with, or even got ahead of, the West with regard to material and economic affluence, science and technology. Japanese people have not recovered from the trauma constructed by the immediate post-war West-East relationship symbolized by MacArthur's remark that the Japanese are immature and "like a boy of twelve" whereas Americans are forty-five years old, if measured by the modern civilization scale (e.g., Uchida 2006; Dower 2007, pp. 374-376). In today's Japan, almost everybody feels like learning English, as people who can speak English are regarded as international and successful. People who lived in the West and returned to Japan are admired and envied. There is still a "one-sided love" towards the West and a sense of inferiority in Japanese people (Kanaya 2004; Ichikawa

2004).

Since the beginning of Japan's modernization, the West, above all the U.S., has been deeply influential upon Japan. Japanese understanding of the world itself has been constructed within Japan-U.S. relations, which are either, paradoxically, friendly or repulsive (Uchida 2003). Modern Japanese people have shown two split contradictory attitudes: on the one hand, they have tried external adaptation, pandering to the West and ignoring their own pride and emotions; on the other hand, they have held a grudge against the West, and thus have tried to expand their military or economic powers overseas aggressively and, arguably, irrationally, evidenced as Japan's expansionism during World War II and post-war trade conflicts with the U.S. (Kishida and Butler 1986; also, Dower 2007).

There is nonetheless a large discrepancy in views on Japan's modernization between the West and Japan itself. Japan's opening in response to the U.S. pressure was experienced as "rape" for some Japanese people, but it is generally considered in the U.S. that they helped feudal Japan to be civilized (Kishida and Butler 1986). The trauma of the Japanese created by the U.S. occupation is little known in the U.S. (Uchida 2006). Japanese people seemingly devoted to modernization/Westernization voluntarily, which makes the situation even more twisted. Kishida argues that such voluntary attitudes can be understood as "Stockholm syndrome," and suggests that mutual awareness of the discrepancy between the West and Japan is the first step for a mutual understanding (Kishida 2001; Kishida and Butler 1986).

Pre-war Japanese emigration to Canada was associated with this Japanese relation with the West. Pre-war Japanese people headed for Canada where modernization

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was more developed. The prime immigration reason was the more developed economy of Canada, but emigrants took the action to move to Canada also because of their admiration for "America" (Kudo 1983). It will be argued that post-war immigration is still related with this Japan-West relation later, in Chapter 5.

3.2 Migration from Japan to Canada

Pre-war large-scale emigration from Japan started during the Meiji period, reflecting the following social conditions: Japan's population soared during the Meiji period, producing surplus population (for reference, Japan's population was approximately 30 million in 1868 but reached over 60 million in 1912); people became socially and spatially mobile as the economic system supported urbanization and industrialization; people were motivated by the *risshin shusse* ideology; second, third sons and younger needed to establish themselves, finding their own source of income; and agrarian people became impoverished due to high taxes and the Matsukata deflation in the 1880s, which motivated them to go somewhere in order to survive. Although the majority of migration occurred as rural to urban movement within Japan, overseas emigration also expanded. Major destinations for Japanese emigrants included Hawaii, the Pacific regions and the Americas, and Manchuria (Kobayashi 1994; Irokawa 2006; Azuma 2002, 2007; Iino 1997; Chubachi 1999, 2008; Sakata 2002).

Approximately 20,000-30,000 Japanese men immigrated to Canada mostly from the 1890s to the 1920s as labourers, mainly in British Columbia. Rumours such as "There are gold trees in America" excited Japanese people, and they came to Canada originally to "decorate brocade back home," which meant to bring wealth back home and prove their

success. Major sending prefectures in Japan were Shiga, Wakayama, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, Fukuoka and Kagoshima. Some stayed in Canada as temporary workers to earn money for themselves and for their *ie* back in Japan, but others, especially second sons and down, chose Canada as a place of their permanent residency and became Japanese Canadians. Japanese workers engaged mostly in fishery, coal-mining, lumber and railway construction industries. As the number of settlers increased, mutual-aid immigrants' associations were gradually formed, including *kenjinkai* (association for immigrants from the same prefecture) and labour unions (Kobayashi 1994b; Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Iino 1997; Kudo 1983).

Japanese Canadians had to face severe racism in Canada. With the increase of Japanese immigrants, various anti-Japanese movements occurred as well, including a riot in the Japanese neighbourhood around Powell Street, Vancouver in 1907. Based on the logic that the solution to such problems was to reduce the number of Japanese immigrants, the Hayashi-Lemieux "Gentlemen's" Agreement was concluded in 1908, limiting future male immigrants to 400 per year. There was no restriction on immediate family members, however, and thus approximately 5,000 women immigrated to Canada through picture marriage (Kobayashi 1994b; Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002).

Picture marriage was a form of arranged marriage. Two families, often from the same village, exchanged photographs to introduce a bride candidate living in Japan and groom candidate living in Canada. When both families agreed, the marriage was set. They held a wedding ceremony without the groom in Japan, and the bride legally immigrated to Canada. Thus, women typically met their husbands for the first time after their arrival in Canada (Kobayashi 1994b; Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Kudo 1983). In some cases,

women got married and immigrated to Canada to follow their parents' decision, but in other cases they chose to be picture brides because it was the best way to achieve women's *risshin shusse*. Women went to Canada, attracted by the idea of "going to America" and hoping to "marry up" (Kudo 1983; Makabe 1983). After arrival in Canada, however, the life in Canada often disappointed them, because they had to fulfil two roles as "Good wife, Wise mother" at home and as a low-wage labourer outside the home (Kobayashi 1994b; Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002), often as domestics in white homes. Patriarchy and the Meiji ideal definition of the household were reinforced because of the economic and social marginalization of Japanese immigrants, and the structure of the family changed little until the second generation (Kobayashi 1994b).

How *issei* women and men kept ties with Japan varied. According to a study by Yamada (2000), *dekasegi* (migrant labour) men from Mio village, Wakayama, who engaged in the fishery in Steveston, B.C. had close connections with their families in Japan through frequent remittances and letters, and they went back to Japan on average every two or three years, during the off-season for fishers in Canada (Yamada 2000, p.84). On the other hand, interviews conducted by Kudo (1983) with *issei* women who came to Canada as picture brides reveal that *issei* women could not go back to Japan even for short visits. Both physical and societal barriers hindered: the physical barrier was that it took weeks to go back to Japan by sea and the cost was not easily affordable; the social barrier was that women did not have a choice but to live as "Good wife, Wise mother" after immigrating to Canada, and going back to Japan was against gender expectations, especially in cases where "going back to Japan" meant to dissolve the marriage and start over in Japan (Kudo 1983). These studies suggest that mobility and transnationality of

issei people were closely associated with gender.

With the increase of married immigrants, *nisei* (second-generation) the population also grew. Japanese communities were established in British Columbia during the interwar period. Discernible Japanese Canadian neighbourhoods were formed, for example, in Steveston and around Powell Street, Vancouver. In 1941, the Japanese population in Canada was 23,000 (80 % of which was Canadian citizens), most of whom lived in British Columbia (Kobayashi 1994b; Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Sasaki and Shimomura 1999).

Those communities were destroyed with measures implemented by the Canadian government during World War II. In 1941, shortly after Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, Japanese Canadians were regarded as "enemy aliens." Approximately 20,000 Japanese Canadians were forced to move from coastal British Columbia to inland areas among the mountains. Also in 1945, Japanese Canadians were forced to choose between returning to Japan or moving east of the Rocky Mountains to live dispersed. As a result, 4,000 were sent to Japan, and other people moved to eastern Canada, especially Toronto. It was not until the 1950s that Japanese Canadians were allowed to return to British Columbia (Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Tsuji 1990; Shinpo 1996; Sasaki 1999).

Those racist measures had a serious effect on Japanese Canadians, although public policy slowly overcame the effects of pre-World War II official racism. During the 1970s, "Multiculturalism" became a national policy of Canada that (at least in principle) respects differences of "race" and ethnicity in order to establish an equitable society. This policy helped to recover the confidence of Japanese Canadians and to strengthen the Japanese Canadian community. Finally in 1988, the Canadian Government redressed the

war-time measurements against Japanese Canadians, having responded to the redress movement of the Japanese Canadian community. Japanese Canadians obtained financial compensation both for individuals and for the community, and also confidence and a sense of solidarity (Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002; Tsuji 1990; Kurata 1997; Yamada 2000; Omatsu 1994; Nozaki 2003). Japanese-Canadian community is re-established today, but in a quite different way from the pre-war community in British Columbia.   There are no discernible Japanese Canadian neighbourhoods anymore, partly because they attempted to blend in to the landscape due to the traumatic experience of World War II (Kobayashi 1996; Tanaka 2003). Japanese Canadian population diversity is another characteristic, as the recent intermarriage rate has reached more than 95% (Kobayashi and Ayukawa 2002).

Migration from Japan to Canada was inactive for a while after World War II (Kobayashi 1996), but Japanese immigrants increased from the late 1960s because Canada abandoned racist immigration policies and started the point system that encouraged the flow of skilled migrants from non-European countries (Bouchard 2008; Eguchi 1996). As the Japanese Yen became stronger in the 1980s, the number of Japanese people who visited Canada increased, and some of them decided to become immigrants. After the working-holiday system between Canada and Japan started in 1986 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2008a), more and more young Japanese people came to Canada, including some, especially women, who chose to become immigrants. People in post-war Japan that achieved the high economic development from 1955 to 1973 no longer have significant financial reasons for emigration, but the number of *shin ijuusha* is steadily increasing, which will be addressed in this thesis.

This chapter has shown background of pre-war and post-war migrations from Japan to Canada and provided an overview of both migrations. As touched upon in Chapter 1, this thesis will illuminate the lives of *shin ijuusha* women and explores spatial relations among the migrants and the life course, focusing on three circumstances: (a) the situation in which they emigrated from Japan; (b) the conditions after they settled down in Canada; and (c) the situation in which they go back and forth between Canada and Japan. Addressing the above (a), this study will examine reasons and characteristics of their emigration. Examining the above (b), this thesis will explore the following topics: advantages and disadvantages of their living in Canada; issues of *shin ijuusha* social networks and communities in Canada; issues related to their belonging, that is, questions whether to become Canadian or to remain Japanese, and whether Canada has become their home. Then, their transnational behaviour will be a focus, illuminating the above (c). Finally, this thesis will explore how immigration to Canada changed the lives of Japanese women, considering whether it contributed to women's empowerment.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

I interviewed 48 *shin ijuusha* women living in Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa. This chapter explains how interviews were conducted and presents demographic characteristics of interviewees, to provide some ideas of who they are.

4.1 Method

Before explaining how interviews were conducted, the word "immigrant" for this study needs to be clarified. There are various definitions of an "immigrant." *The Oxford Dictionary of English* states that an immigrant is "a person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country" (Soanes and Stevenson 2005). On the other hand, *The Dictionary of Human Geography* says that immigration is "[a] form of [migration] that occurs when people [voluntarily] move from one nation-state to another" and immigrants are people who "change their permanent dwelling place" (Hiebert 2000).

Then "Japanese immigrants in Canada" have to technically mean people who came from Japan and acquired landed immigrant status and possibly Canadian citizenship, because both of the above definitions refer to permanency of one's residence in the accepting country. Other than landed immigrants and those who became Canadian nationals; however, there are Japanese people staying in Canada temporarily, such as travellers, students, working-holiday makers, and business people. And borders between those permanent residents and temporary visitors are often obscure in reality, as this thesis will confirm in later chapters. For example, it is common for Japanese people to start their

Canadian life as a traveller, student or working-holiday maker but later change into a landed immigrant to settle in Canada. It implies that temporary residents in Canada are already "immigrants in reserve." Meanwhile, "authentic" immigrants today frequently go back to Japan, despite that they are supposed to have settled down in Canada. Differences among temporary visitors are often unclear as well. For example, there are working-holiday makers who work in Canada but regard their stay as a longer version of travelling. In such cases, they resemble travellers who stay in Canada for consumption, but at the same time they are similar to labourers with a work visa who stay in Canada for production. International migrants are indeed fluid in today's world (Skeldon 2005).

Such fluid and diverse population movements cannot be understood if sticking to migrants' legal categorizations and focusing only on people for whom permanent residency is granted (Ohno 2008). Thus, although I asked mainly Japanese women who acquired landed immigrant status or Canadian nationality to participate in this research, I did not exclude people who were technically not immigrants yet, that is, ones who were applying for landed immigrant status and ones who were staying in Canada with a working-holiday, work or student visa. Travellers were not included, because they tend to stay in Canada only for a short period as tourists and thus it was difficult for them to be involved in this study. Chapter 5 will later show, however, that some interviewees used to be a traveller in Canada before becoming an immigrant.

Here, it has to be noted that a significant proportion of international migrants today are undocumented or illegal immigrants whose impacts on society are too large to ignore (e.g., Tanimura 2007). Although I am aware that issues of undocumented migrants are important, this study does not touch them. The number of undocumented Japanese

residents in Canada has to be relatively small in today's situation where the Japanese economy is strong and Japanese visitors can stay in Canada without a visa for six months (Government of Canada 2007). The relevance of undocumented Japanese immigrants is relatively minor if compared with that of migrants from other countries who come to Canada out of economic or political necessity.

Interviews were conducted in the period from December 2003 to May 2004. The main interviewees are 48 Japanese women living in Toronto, Kingston or Ottawa. They were recruited through the snowball method. Detailed demographic characteristics of interviewees will be presented in the section 4.2.

Five out of 48 women are *shin ijuusha* community leaders or people who know Japanese communities well. They are related to Japanese communities or who have been engaged in organizing or supporting Japanese immigrants' groups or associations, either on a professional or a volunteer basis. During interviews with those interviewees, emphasis was laid on questions on Japanese communities alongside their personal experiences.

In addition to forty-eight women, twelve male Japanese immigrants were also interviewed. For this thesis, I decided, however, not to explore men's experiences and thus excluded interviews with male immigrants, as male narratives obtained in the end were imbalanced when compared with their female counterparts, partly because the number of male interviewees was much smaller than females, but also because the interviews were much less detailed.. Nonetheless, four out of the twelve men are *shin ijuusha* community leaders and their comments on *shin ijuusha* population and communities, which are different from their personal experiences, will be cited as

necessary[1].

When interviewed, thirty-seven women lived in Toronto, eight in Kingston and three in Ottawa. All of the community leader interviewees lived in Toronto[2]. This research will not explore how spatial differences of the three places influence the lives of immigrants, because numbers of interviewees of the three research fields are unevenly distributed, and also because the number of participants in Kingston and Ottawa is not large enough to examine the significance of different places.

Interviewed women live in Canada as a minority. Statistics shows that, in 2006, the Japanese Canadian population, including *shin ijuusha* and other Nikkei, accounted only from 0.1 to 0.3% of the entire population in any of the three research sites (Statistics Canada 2008). During the fieldwork, I also found that no interviewee lived in a neighbourhood where a Japanese-Canadian population is spatially concentrated[3]. This thesis will come back to the issue of Japanese-Canadian communities in Chapter 7.

It was interviewees who chose the place of the interview. They typically specified their homes as the venue but sometimes chose other places (e.g., office) where they felt comfortable and where confidentiality was maintained. The majority of the interviews were one-on-one, but group interviews were organized when interviewees wished so. There were 36 one-on-one interviews and six group interviews of two to three people. All the interviews were conducted in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere.

The interview was semi-structured. It was designed to obtain the following

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[1] Interviews with these four male community leaders were conducted using the same method as forty-eight interviews with *shin ijuusha* women. For reference, all of the four interviews were one-on-one, and three interviews were tape recorded.
[2] Four male community leaders also lived in Toronto.
[3] Here, however, eight women whose neighbourhoods were unknown are not taken into account. They chose to be interviewed outside home and did not provide their home addresses.

information: (1) subject information (e.g., marital status; background of spouse; education; current occupation; immigration status), (2) why and how they came to Canada, (3) how they live in Canada (e.g., advantages and disadvantages of Canadian living, social networks with other *shin ijuusha* in Canada, education for children, perceptions of being Japanese/Canadian), (4) how they keep ties with family in Japan, and (5) how their coming to Canada has changed their life (See Appendix for details).

Regarding the above (1), it should be noted that education, occupation, age and background of spouse can be sensitive topics especially in Japanese context. In Japan, it is rude and even beyond common sense to ask what school they graduated from, what they do, what background their spouse has, especially to a person whom I meet for the first time. Asking their age is somewhat easier, although it could also be offensive depending on the situation. This sensitivity comes about because indexes such as education, occupation and status of spouse could too conspicuously indicate where in the social hierarchy of Japan a person is situated.

Thus I decided not to ask those questions independently and straightforwardly. Instead, I waited until they voluntarily talked about these things woven into their life stories. In case they did not touch those issues, I did not bring them up to maintain the rapport already established. As a result, the background of some interviewees came under "unknown" especially with regard to education and occupation. The majority of the interviewees did not mind talking about their backgrounds, and after all enough information has been provided for this study. Detailed results will be presented in section 4.2.

Although the interview was semi-structured, priority was given to topics

interviewees were willing to talk about. Thus there were interviews that ended up more in-depth on some issues. As I chose to let them deepen matters of concern over completing all the prepared questions, some interviewees were unable to answer all the questions within the time limits. Therefore, response rates to some questions are not 100%, but rich and insightful comments were obtained in return.

People were given options (English/Japanese) in the language for the interview. As a result, 46 people chose to speak mostly in Japanese, and two people spoke both in English and in Japanese. Interview lengths varied, approximately from fifteen minutes to four hours, but they generally lasted two hours. Voices of 38 interviewees were tape recorded with their consent, whereas only detailed written notes were taken for ten interviewees. All tape recorded interviews were transcribed.

Later chapters will cite quotes of interviewees for analyses. Interviews conducted in Japanese were translated by the author. Their narratives were often incomplete, repetitive, not in order and grammatically incorrect, as typical in any spoken language. Also, interviewees usually spoke without the subject word as typical in Japanese, and did not specify singular or plural of a noun, as common in Japanese. To translate those interviews to English, I filled, omitted or changed the order of their words, considering the context of their narratives. Parts where such editing was done will be shown with square brackets [   ]. My editing was kept as minimal as possible, however, to keep their original voices as much as possible.

To analyse experiences of interviewees, this thesis employs mainly a qualitative method and theoretical approach. But basic quantitative methods, such as a percentage calculation of interviewees who have a specific characteristic, will also be used to

understand trends of the interviewees. Statistics of interviewees whose number is not large-scale and who participated through the snowball method require careful attention. Such statistics are not suitable to be generalized, but they still provide some useful references and insights. It has also to be noted that any method can illuminate only a partial and subjective reality of society, and that quantitative method is no exception.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Interviewees

Table 1 presents demographic information of the 48 women interviewed. Despite that interviewees were obtained through the snowball method, their ages are well distributed, as presented in Table 1 (a). As Table 1 (b) shows, the three largest numbers of interviewees are from Kanto, Kinki and Chubu regions, respectively. This matches to the reality of Japan where the largest populations concentrate in these three regions in this order.

Table 1 (c) shows that 22 interviewees have a college/university degree or more, although nineteen people come under "unknown" for the reason stated in the section 4.1. Years of their entries to Canada (Table 1 (d)) are well distributed. Ages when they entered Canada, shown in Table 1 (e), concentrate from 20 to 29. These are somewhat younger than common immigration ages of the late twenties and the early thirties that Kobayashi (2002) pointed out. It has to be mainly because these are ages at the time of their first entry to Canada, regardless of their immigration status. A significant number of interviewees provided the year when they entered Canada as a traveller, student or working-holiday maker. They often became a legal immigrant several years later than their first entry year. This interesting phenomenon that a temporary visitor gradually

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changes into an immigrant will be examined in Chapter 5.

Table 1 (f) shows that the majority of interviewees are either landed immigrants or Canadian nationals. The majority of interviewees are married (Table 1 (g)). As Table 1 (h) presents, the majority of married interviewees do not have a Japanese husband from Japan, which corresponds with the fact that Japanese immigrant women tend to be married to men of non-Japanese ethnicity (Kobayashi 2002). Table 1 (i) shows that more than a half of the interviewees are mothers with child(ren).

As for their occupations, the largest and the second largest numbers of female interviewees are homemakers and salesclerks (Table 1 (j-1)). Among interviewees who have a paid job, the majority tend to have a Japan- or Japanese- related job, such as a business that is directed at Japanese people in Canada or at the Japanese in Japan, or a job making use of the Japanese language (Table 1 (j-2)). It seems there are few women who fall under so-called "career women" who have a professional or administrative position in a non-Japanese or a mainstream Canadian organization and who have an important position to do decision-making of the organization. The scarcity of career females in the interviewees may reflect the reality that it is generally difficult for Japanese immigrants to be on a professional career path in Canada, which will be a focus in Chapter 6.

Overall, these interviewees' demographic characteristics are well balanced and diverse. The collective voices of these interviewees will illustrate realities of Japanese immigrant women in Canada today. Their voices will be heard in the next chapter.

Table 1   Demographic Information of the interviewed 48 women

(a) Age (when interviewed)

25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	Unknown	Total
3	10	8	6	5	5	3	3	5	48

(b) Birth prefecture

Hokkaido	Tohoku	Kanto	Chubu	Kinki	Chugoku	Shikoku	Kyushu	Okinawa	Unknown	Total
1	3	16	8	11	2	0	2	1	4	48

Tohoku: Aomori, Akita, Iwate, Yamagata, Miyagi, Fukushima

Kanto: Tokyo, Chiba, Kanagawa, Saitama, Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma

Chubu: Niigata, Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui, Gifu, Nagano, Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Aichi

Kinki: Mie, Shiga, Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Wakayama, Hyogo

Chugoku: Tottori, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi

Shikoku: Ehime, Kagawa, Tokushima, Kochi

Kyushu: Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Oita, Kumamoto, Miyazaki, Kagoshima

(c) Education

High -school*	Vocational School	2-year College**	4-year College/ Univ.***	Master's* **	Ph.D.	Unknown	Total
4	3	7	10	5	0	19	48

* Includes ones who left college before graduation

** *Tanki Daigaku* in Japanese

***Includes 1 person who is a current student

(d) The year when they entered Canada for the first time

1966-69	1970-74	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	2000-04	Total
1	10	4	3	6	9	7	8	48

(e) Age when they entered Canada for the first time

18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	Unknown	Total
4	14	16	7	2	1	4	48

(f) Immigration Status

Student	Working -holiday	Work permit	Landed immigrant	Canadian National	Unknown*	Total
2	2	1	20 5 (applying)	11	8	48

*Either landed immigrant or Canadian national but was not specified during the interview

(g) Marital Status

Never Married	Married	Divorced	Unknown	Total
7	35	5	1	48

(h) Spouse

Japanese from Japan	Japanese Canadian	Mainstream Canadian	Other Canadian*	Spouse from other countries**	Total
9	1	11	4	10	35

* Includes Canadians whose ethnic background was not revealed to the author

**Their immigration statuses in Canada are unknown

(i) Children

Have child(ren)*	Do not have child(ren)	Unknown
28	18	2

* Includes 1 expectant mother

(j-1) Occupation

homemaker (12); salesclerk (9); student (3); self-employed (2); technician (1); flight attendant (1); designer (1); free journalist (1); free writer (1); nurse (1); librarian (1); teacher (1); office worker (1); unknown (13)

(j-2) Occupation (Japan-related or not)

Have a Japan/Japanese -related job	Have a job not related to Japan/Japanese	Total
14	7	21

CHAPTER 5

COMING TO CANADA

Chapters from 5 to 9 analyze experiences of post-war Japanese immigrant women in Canada. First of all, Chapter 5 explores their "coming to Canada," illuminating the earliest stage of their immigration. Specifically, this chapter explores reasons of their international migration to Canada, ranging from the moment they start thinking about emigration to Canada to the moment when they actually leave Japan to move to Canada. Section 5.1 examines reasons for their coming to Canada. Section 5.2 discusses what coming to Canada is for post-war Japanese immigrant women and how it is different from their pre-war counterparts, especially in light of whether their migration has broken or reconstructed Japanese tradition.

5.1 Reasons for Coming from Japan to Canada

When interviewed women were asked why and how they came to Canada and settled down, they answered in a variety of ways. Some gave me a simple and straightforward answer such as "study in Canada" or "marriage with a Canadian," while others told me complicated stories. Generally, reasons interviewees expressed tended to be multiple and more complex in longer interviews. Also, people often gave me simple answers at the beginning but revealed more complicated ones when the interview went further.

To grasp the processes of their migration, their stories were "dissected" and their objectives for coming to Canada were "extracted." In case their initial objective at the time of their first entry changed later, plural objectives are lined up in temporal sequence (Table 2 (a)). Table 2 (a) shows that many of them initially entered Canada not necessarily thinking about emigration, that many of them changed their reason for being in Canada from the point of their first entry to the point of their final immigration decision, and that there is often a time lag between their first entry and settling down.

Table 2 (a)   Objective to be in Canada

Marriage*	13
Study → Marriage	5
Travel → Marriage	5
Travel → Working holiday → Marriage	3
Work	3
Study	2
Working holiday	2
Work → Marriage	2
Working holiday → Marriage	2
Travel → Study	2
Working holiday → Travel → Marriage	2
Travel → Work	1
Study → Work	1
Working holiday → Work	1
Home stay → Marriage	1
Travel → Study → Work	1
Home stay → Travel → Marriage	1
Unknown	1
Total	48

* "Marriage" includes any marriage related migrations (e.g., became married to a Canadian husband in Japan and decided to move to the husband's home country, Canada; was married to a Japanese husband in Japan and decided to accompany the husband who obtained a job in Canada).

Table 2 (b) distills initial entry reasons (purpose they had when they came to Canada for the first time) and immigration reasons (purpose they had when they decided to settle down in Canada, becoming an immigrant). Major initial reasons are marriage, travelling, study, working holiday and work. Major reasons for their immigration are marriage, work and study.

Table 2 (b)   Initial reasons for coming to Canada and reasons for
                  settling down in/immigrating to Canada

Initial entry reasons*		Reasons for immigration**	
Marriage	13	Marriage	34
Travelling	12	Work	7
Study	8	Study	4
Working-holiday	7		
Work	5		
Home stay	2		
Unknown	1		
Total	48		45

* Interviewees who entered Canada to become a landed immigrant from the beginning provided one reason for coming to Canada. In those cases, their reason is counted twice both as an initial entry reason and as a reason for immigration.
** Two working-holiday makers and one work permit holder are not included, as they did not particularly show a willingness to immigrate to Canada at the time of interviews.

Before their formal immigration, they go back and forth between Japan and Canada, changing their purpose of staying. Post-war Japanese women very often emigrate to Canada "gradually," or step by step. Table 2 (a) shows their paths only in Canada, but actually a significant number of interviewees had been to other countries prior to or after their first entrance to Canada, such as for work, study and travelling: at least twelve had

been to the U.S. before their formal immigration to Canada; at least eight had been to other countries including Austria, Bali, Brazil, Britain, Cuba, France, Mexico, the Philippines, Poland and Thailand. If those paths in other countries were also taken into account, the degree of their "phased" immigration would become even more prominent. Their migration is transnational from the beginning, and is very inappropriate to show with a simple origin-destination model. Also, the degree of this "gradual" or "phased" immigration is becoming stronger over years. Thirty-seven percent of interviewees who arrived at Canada before 1986 did this gradual migration, whereas the number increased to sixty-nine percent for people who came after 1986. Actually, gradual immigration is more common as a way of immigration today. One interviewee who came to Canada in 2001 described one-time-and-for-good-immigration as "reckless."

Consideration of migration reasons situated in their narratives reveals contexts of why Japanese women came to Canada, illuminating the following three points. First, their migration often starts as an extension of travelling. Second, longing for the West constructed through Western popular culture is commonly the background of their migration. Finally, their motivation to leave Japan is deeply embedded in their gender and life course. This chapter will examine these three respectively, presenting words of the interviewees as evidence.

5.1.1 *International migration as an extension of travelling*

As Table 2 (b) shows, twelve women, or one-fourth of the interviewees, initially entered Canada as tourists. Their narratives show that some Japanese people started their immigrant life in Canada as an extension of travelling. In other words, the border between

the time for travelling and the time for immigrant living is often obscure at the early stage of their life in Canada:

[Utterance A-1] Age 35-39

> [Before I immigrated to Canada] I travelled abroad every year. I was wondering where I wanted to go, where I was able to live, and what place fitted me other than Japan. The more I travelled abroad, the more I wanted to live outside Japan. [...] I had been to Canada before, with my mother on a group tour. At that time, both she and I were very much pleased with this land, Canada. It was spacious, magnanimous and big. [...] University Avenue, for example, is that broad with three or four lanes, isn't it?   I thought, "Wow, what a magnanimous and big this country is." [...] I had such a good feeling at the Toronto Pearson Airport on the first day. Then I thought of settling down in Canada. [...] You get that kind of feeling when you come to the right place, don't you?

[Utterance A-2] Age 45-49

> [T]here was an acquaintance who immigrated to Canada, and he told me to visit him, so I came here on a group tour [...]. Then I travelled all over Canada, [...] including the Rocky Mountains, Vancouver [...] and the Niagara Falls. [...] At that time, I felt Canada was a quite good place. [...] It was much safer than the US, which was good, and there was a lot of nature. And the friend told me only good things [about Canada] (laugh). [...] Then he recommended me to immigrate as well [...]. I was surprised [and couldn't decide it on the spot], but [...] anyway, I went back [to Japan], pleased with Canada very much. [...] I started thinking about [staying in Canada longer]. [...] [After that, I quit the job I had in Japan, came to Canada to stay for half

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a year, and returned Japan again.] [...] [T]hen [in Japan] I met my current husband [who is a Canadian national], and came to [Canada to immigrate, marrying him].

[Utterance A-3] Age 35-39

A friend of mine and I went to Whistler for skiing. [During the stay] I felt this was a place I wanted to live at least once. After that, I visited Whistler alone a few times. [...] [After that,] I did a working holiday [in Whistler]. [Then I met my current husband who is a Canadian and ended up immigrating to Canada.]

All of the above women initially entered Canada as a tourist. They were not thinking about emigration to Canada at the time of their first departure from Japan. The above utterances also suggest that they initially chose Canada quite casually without much knowledge of Canada, and their destination could have been even somewhere else. The below utterances are to illustrate such a carefree feeling at the time they chose Canada as a destination at the beginning:

[Utterance A-4] Age 30-34

I came to Canada [for the first time] to travel more than ten years ago. [...] I was a university student [...]. [...] I came to Whistler near Vancouver for skiing with a friend of mine. [...] I found the atmosphere [of Canada] was good, and I had been hoping to study abroad somewhere. [During the trip] I thought [Canada] was [a] good [place for studying] because it was safe. [...] [But the initial reason why I chose Canada for the trip was b]ecause [the tour] was inexpensive. [...] The friend of mine and I were originally planning to go to Hokkaido. But we saw an advertisement of the Whistler tour the cost of which was only 20,000 Yen more on the Hokkaido tour.

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So I came to Canada by chance. I came here [at the beginning] not because it had to be Canada, but because [the tour] was cheap.

[Utterance A-5] Age 40-44

I had a friend whom I always travelled with. One day she and I made a reservation for a group tour to Italy, and we took a few days off from the company we worked for. [...] But afterwards, we were informed that the group tour to Italy was cancelled. She and I were talking, "We have already taken the vacation. It would be a waste if we didn't go anywhere." Then, [one of my acquaintances] told me, "My brother lives in Canada, so why don't you go to Canada?" Actually we had been to Canada, but we only visited the Niagara Falls then. So we decided to go to Canada [again], because we had already taken the vacation. Italy[, our destination,] turned into Canada. [Then I met my current husband in Canada, got married and moved to Canada.]

The interviewee of Utterance A-4 decided to go to Canada simply because the tour was inexpensive. The interviewee of Utterance A-5 chose Canada by accident. Her statement "Italy turned into Canada" (*Itaria ga Kanada ni natt[a]*) symbolically suggests that the mental world map of those migrants at the point of their first departure from Japan was vague and ambiguous, and that, until they actually experienced it, Canada had been just one of many other touristic destinations that were even mutually interchangeable for them. Indeed, as many as 23 interviewees[4] told me that the initial destination could have been somewhere else, or that they had actually considered different destinations as well before coming to Canada.

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[4] This includes ones who entered Canada not as a traveller.

So far, this thesis has shown voices of women who entered Canada initially as a traveller. Interviews illuminate, however, that ones who came to Canada for different reasons other than travelling, such as for a working holiday, had a similar motivation as a traveller's:

[Utterance A-6] Age 35-39

> I came to Canada as a working-holiday maker to work, to travel, to enjoy and to enrich my life. But the [official] reason for my immigration was my marriage that I decided later, I guess.

[Utterance A-7] Age 35-39

> I initially came to Canada as a working-holiday maker. [...] When I was thinking about doing working holiday, options available were New Zealand, Australia and Canada. I had already travelled Australia then, so I thought Canada was okay. [...] The image of Canada's nature attracted me. [...] I didn't have to stick to Canada, but I thought it would be nice to live abroad for a year or so on working holiday. I didn't imagine I would end up immigrating.

[Utterance A-8] Age 25-29

> Why did I choose Canada [to do working-holiday]? [...] Prices in Canada are cheap. And Canada is connected to America. It is easy to visit South and Central America from here. It would be harder to visit other countries from a country surrounded by sea, for example from Australia. [...] Canada was attractive [because of such a geographical proximity to other tourist destinations], and it has a reputation as a good country to live. [...] [Before coming here,] I also thought about doing a

working holiday in Britain [...], [but I was already older than its age limit]. [Those conditions n]arrowed down my options. [...] I wanted to go abroad to learn English.

[Utterance A-9] Age 25-29

Options available for working holiday were Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Other countries such as Germany were also available, but English-speaking countries were only [those countries]. But a friend of mine had already decided to go to Australia. [...] I intended to go to a different place from hers. I thought that she was fluent in English and that, if I had stayed in the same place, I would have depended on her. It wouldn't be good both for her and for myself. [...] Then I [happened to read a fortune-telling section of a woman's journal like *an-an* that said] the northeast was a good direction for me during the year. [...] I thought Canada would be good for me. [...] I had an image of the Rocky Mountains for Canada.

Their official status when they entered Canada was not a tourist, but they had a tourist mentality. How the interviewees of Utterances A-7, 8 and 9 selected Canada resemble to a way a tourist decides where to travel by looking at pamphlets that list many available destinations. Although they are/were "working"-holiday makers, their primary motivation to enter Canada was, obviously, not to earn money. Indeed, none of the 48 women fitted into the category of economic immigrants who come to Canada primarily for employment opportunities that are better than ones in their home countries.

Interviews confirmed that "working-holiday" is such an apt naming, as it is a concise summary of main purposes of people who use the system: work and holiday. To add a little more explanation, the "work" means only minimum work, the income from which supplements their daily expenses in Canada – some interviewees suggested that

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they had worked way harder in Japan and already saved some money before coming to Canada – and the "holiday" means the time for travelling they make during their working-holiday period. In addition to the two main purposes, it is very common that they have another motivation at the same time, which is to learn English. In short, working-holiday experience is "to work, to travel, to enjoy, to study English and to enrich the life," employing and modifying the line of Utterance A-6.

Those who come to Canada with a tourist mentality expect Canada to be a foreign land, or at least a different place from Japan where they were born and grew up:

[Utterance A-10] Age 45-49

> Japanese people have an image that Canada is a beautiful country, you know. When
> they come here to travel [...] and see mountains and lakes, such as the Lake Louise,
> they get a strong impression [that Canada is] like a fairyland. Then they feel, "I want
> to live in Canada!"

[Utterance A-11] Age 25-29

> Originally I was thinking to live in Vancouver, [...] but I found there were so many
> people from Asia. I was able to live only in Japanese. So I [soon] bought a plane
> ticket [to move to Toronto].

Japanese women make a first trip to Canada without much knowledge of the country, or vaguely attracted by Canada imagined through tourism such as its beautiful nature. Utterances A-10 suggests that some Japanese people find Canada unreal (even as a fairyland). In the case of Utterance A-11, she found the city she initially landed in was not foreign enough, and thus decided to move to another city. Japanese people expect or

receive a first impression that Canada is foreign or unreal; however, such expectation or impression is applicable only to the early stage of their life in Canada:

[Utterance A-12] Age 25-29

> I know somebody who acquired a landed immigrant status some time ago. She goes back and forth between Canada and Japan. She was saying she [would only visit Japan but] wouldn't live [there] anymore. [...] I don't know [whether she prefers Canada], but [she chose Canada as the place of her daily living because] Canada has become her reality over the years of her stay in Canada.

The Japanese woman mentioned in Utterance A-12 chose Canada as a place to live, not just to visit, because "Canada has become her reality." Also, having observed many *shin ijuusha* women and men, one male community leader said that those who had immigrated to Canada without a solid purpose of staying returned to Japan, after all. Perhaps ones ended up returning to Japan had realized that Canada could not become their reality.

Finally, it has to be noted that the degree of a tourist mentality and light-heartedness at the time of the first landing on Canada are different among individuals and among times of their departures from Japan:

[Utterance A-13] Age 40-44

> [Before immigrating to Canada] I didn't have an experience of travelling abroad. [...] I wasn't interested in living abroad. [...] I had never lived outside my home city. [...] I came to live here purely because my husband is from Canada. [...] I haven't travelled Canada even after I came here.

[Utterance A-14] Age 45-49

My parents strongly opposed my marriage [with a Canadian and my emigrating to Canada]. [...] When I left Japan, my father told me to prepare for the worst, saying "Since you are going, crushing our fierce opposition, you must be prepared for the situation you can never come back." [...] In two years, my husband and I visited Japan together. Then my mother told me that she had thought I would never come back because I emigrated, which made me surprised. I found they had been thinking about my emigration like pre-war emigration to Hawaii.

[Utterance A-15] Age 35-39

I don't think people of my generation, including me, have serious reasons and plans for coming to Canada beforehand. Things were different right after World War II, as they came to Canada driven into a corner. But [people of my generation] are like, "I feel like going to Canada," "I like Canada," [...] "Canada suits me," then "I feel like living here."

Utterance A-13 is evidence that not everybody arrives at Canada with a tourist mentality. Utterances A-14 and 15 suggest that migration to Canada has become an easier and more casual matter over the years. Also, a male community leader says, "I came to Canada [in the early 1970s], having sold out all my belongings in Japan and burnt bridges behind me. [...] [Looking at younger Japanese people who came to Canada recently, I feel immigrants' seriousness has changed.] [...] I wonder why they don't immigrate more seriously. [...] [Younger people] come here with a light heart and live casually. It is like living abroad only halfway. It might be all right unless they get a problem or something, but [it indeed bothers me]." These comments show that post-war migration is easier than

pre-war migration, and that migrations in more recent years tend to be less serious than in the early post-war years and even in the 1970s.

It was in 1986 when the working-holiday agreement was made between Canada and Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2008a). Around the same time, the Japanese Yen became strong enough for Japanese people to travel overseas at a reasonable cost (Figure 1). Those conditions have constructed Japanese women who easily and casually leave Japan. There is a tendency that the main purpose of Japanese women who come to Canada shifted from production to consumption, if pre-war and post immigrants are compared.

Figure 1   Developing appreciation of the Japanese yen over years

Value of Yen per U.S. dollar
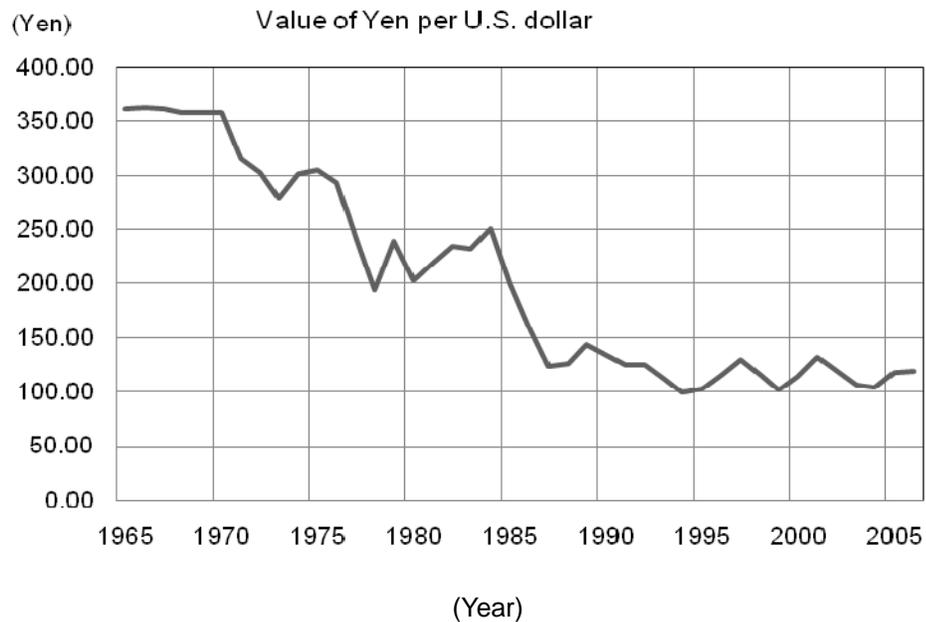
(Year)

End of period exchange rates. Figure created by the author based on data from United Nations (1971, 1976, 1984, 1989, 1998, 2008) for years from 1965 to 1975 and from 1977 to 2006, and Antweiler (2008) for the year 1966.

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5.1.2 *International migration constructed through longing for the West and its popular culture*

A significant number of interviewees came to Canada because they loved popular culture attributes that they associate with Canada:

[Utterance A-16] Age 30-34

I've loved rock music [...] since a high-school student. [...] Most rock singers I loved [...] were Canadians. I dreamed about going [to Canada] and going to their concert. [...] I think [the existence of the rock singers is related to the reason why I chose Canada to do working holiday]. I chose to come to Toronto because it is close to New York where many concerts are held.

[Utterance A-17] Age 30-34

I guess I came here partly because of the Hollywood movie influence. [...] People of my generation had contact with the world outside of Japan through Hollywood movies, you know.

[Utterance A-18] Age 35-39

I chose PEI as a place to live [when I came to Canada for the first time to do working-holiday]. [...] I love [...] A*nne of Green Gables*. I loved [L. M.] Montgomery's *Emily* as well.

[Utterance A-19] Age 55-59

I came to Canada because I admired *Anne of Green Gables*. [...] When I was a eighth grade, a portion of *Anne of Green Gables* was in our [...] textbook. Since then, I got absorbed in *Anne of Green Gables* translated by Hanako Muraoka, and started longing for Canada. Normal people [...] would not consider emigrating to Canada

[even if they love the novel], but I longed for so much. [...] After I started working, one day on a train, I saw an ad of training course for emigrants to Canada. [...] I really wanted to go to Canada, [...] so I decided to take the course.

The above utterances show that these women were attracted by Canada through music, Hollywood movies, *Anne of Green Gables*, all of which they associate with Canada. They often described their feeling towards Canada, using words such as *yume* (dream) and *akogare* (longing or admiration), and such a longing has been constructed through Western popular culture. Seven interviewees pointed out the existence of popular culture they loved as an influence over their leaving Japan. In these eight people, three pointed out *Anne of Green Gables*. The media and popular culture are very important element in post-war emigration from Japan.

Further examination of their narratives reveals that their longing feeling towards popular culture and Canada is ultimately longing for (North) America/the West:

[Utterance A-20] Age 30-34

[I decided to do working-holiday in Canada b]ecause I have longed for America since a child. [...] It may sound funny, but I longed for nice-looking white people. [...] I loved American movies, like *Superman*.

[Utterance A-21] Age 40-44

I had a mania for the West. [...] I once lived in San Francisco [...] because I hated Japan but loved America. I only listened to Western music. I loved movies like Hollywood movies. I loved [...] their glitter world. [...] When I left Japan, I thought I would live in America, with an American passport [...], speaking English.

Longing feeling towards America they have had was frequently expressed during interviews. Also, interviews illuminated that there are other things than popular culture that nourished their longing towards America:

[Utterance A-22] Age 35-39

> I had a strong longing feeling towards America. [...] I did a home-stay in California, and learned its taste. [...] I loved America. [...] Afterwards, [...] I worked about for two years to save money and went to the U.S. to study [English]. I wanted to learn [...] English, and I longed for America's spaciousness. [...] I had a mania for America. [...] [I was attracted by] the American openness. [...] In addition, Japanese people are, like, set up a barrier of self-containment. I didn't want to fall into it. [...] In Japan, if I don't do like others do, they look coldly upon me. [...] I ended up settling down in Canada, not in America, by mistake.

[Utterance A-23] Age 30-34

> Since I was a seventh grade or so, I already knew that I would be living in a Western country. [...] I was grown up in Okinawa, [seeing] many American soldiers [and] many American products, [such as] canned food, candies, [and] ice cream. American kids [who] spoke English [...] looked cool. [...] When I was thirteen, my favourite thing was watching a world map. "Okay, Japan is here, and this is America, this is Europe. What is their culture like?"   I was always curious [...].

[Utterance A-24] Age 30-34

> When I was a high-school student, I experienced a home stay [at a U.S. base thorough a Christian church program]. Then I had an admiration for the love they

have among family members, [...] or family-oriented [lifestyle], which is different

from the work-oriented [lifestyle] in Japan.

They say they were attracted by American materials such as canned food and ice cream (Utterance A-23), American customs and values such as openness and family-oriented lifestyle (Utterance A-22, 24), and Americans themselves (A-23). Eleven interviewees expressed that they initially preferred the United States as a destination, but they came to Canada for reasons such as Canada's cheaper prices, non-existence of working-holiday program in the U.S., and ease of immigrating to Canada. In short, they came to Canada as a substitute for the U.S. In a sense, the mentality of post-war Japanese immigrants has not shifted from that of pre-war immigrants who came to Canada believing it was "America" (e.g., Iino 1997).

Interviews have also shown that their longing towards America/the West has been constructed since they were very young (e.g., Utterances A-16, 19, 20, 23, 24). Such a longing often lies in their unconsciousness, and they are not always aware of their own feeling: some interviewees pointed out clear-cut migration reasons such as marriage or travelling at the beginning, but started talking about their longing feeling when the interview went further. It took time for them to dig out the hidden motivation.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the longing towards (and inferiority complex about) the West started being constructed in Japan when Americans arrived at Japan on the squadrons and threatened to open up the country. The admiration has been reinforced when Japan lost World War II and increased under American occupation in 1945, and is still rooted in Japanese people today (Kishida 2001). Western popular culture, including Hollywood movies, has been a medium to nourish the longing towards the West. Longing

is a feeling of somebody who has less power towards somebody who has more power. Thus it can be argued that Western popular culture has also reinforced unequal West-East relations.

Anne of Green Gables, written by a Canadian L.M. Montgomery (1874-1942), is no exception. In post-war Japan, the novel and its sequels have been very popular especially among young women, and there are even women described as "Anne freaks" (Ogura 2004a). In the study on post-war Japanese society and *Anne of Green Gables*, Ogura (2001) reveals that a translation of *Anne of Green Gables* was first published in Japan in 1952 as an outcome of the U.S. occupation policy. Its translator Hanako Muraoka is known for her outstanding language ability to translate from English to Japanese. She was a believer in the Emperor system before World War II, but turned into a pro-American ideologue with Japan's defeat. She faithfully cooperated with General Headquarters of the Allied Powers (GHQ) and its Supreme Commander, Douglas MacArthur, who took measures to rule the heathen country by the whites and Christianity (Ogura 2001).

Muraoka translated *Anne of Green Gables* to propagate the Victorian modern family ideal: the manly husband works outside, the womanly wife stays at home as a good wife, wise mother. In the novel, the heroine Anne, an active and independent girl who does not mind competing against the male rival Gilbert in school, voluntarily becomes a good wife, wise mother when she becomes an adult. Post-war Japanese girls found it fascinating that Anne's husband Gilbert is not her ruler but her equal who loves her, and that, although Anne becomes a housewife after all, the home she creates with her marriage is different from the oppressive traditional Japanese *ie*. Reading the novel,

Japanese girls have realized that they do not have to live a life forced by their parents and by the *ie* ideology, and that they may be able to create their own home based on romantic love. As a result, *Anne of Green Gables* has produced many Japanese women who once were active and independent girls in school but chose to become good wives, wise mothers as adults. And the existence of those women was convenient for post-war Japan's economic development based on the modern gender division of labour (Ogura 2001, p.145). Ogura also points out that the novel has constructed many Japanese women who have a strong attachment to the Prince Edward Island: "Japanese girls 'discovered' their home in the small island on the periphery of North America, the home for which they can have much stronger nostalgia than their real hometown" (Ogura 2001, p.144). Utterances of interviewees who immigrated to Canada because of *Anne of Green Gables* do not contradict Ogura (2001)'s argument:

[Utterance A-25] Age 55-59

> There are many Japanese immigrants of my generation and up [...] who long for *Anne of Green Gables*. We experienced Japan during the early post-war years when there was no [other] dream [than the novel]. [...] But I shouldn't have been moved that much, if I had read it in English. I think the translation by Hanako Muraoka contributed.

[Utterance A-26] Age 50-54

> *Anne of Green Gables* [was a reason why I chose Canada to study]. [...] I read every single book [of the whole series]. [...] [T]he decency [attracted me]. So many people [...] are not nice in the story, [...] but they accept the way they are. [...] [A]lso, [Anne] has confidence, right?   And I didn't have confidence at that time. [...] Anne [...]

[tries] to make a difference in certain ways [to] make things better. I [thought] that

was good [and] very idealistic. [M]aybe [*Anne of Green Gables*] stuck in my mind

[and affected my decision of coming to Canada].

Anne seemed confident and idealistic (Utterance A-26) and fascinated girls in devastated Japan during the early post-war years (Utterance A-25). Thus they longed for Anne's life, Prince Edward Island, and Canada. *Anne of Green Gables* and other Western popular culture have nourished the longing towards Canada/(North) America/the West in the recesses of Japanese minds, reinforcing the unequal West-East relations (the novel had also an effect to propagate the modern gender division of labour in Japan). Then the Western popular culture influenced interviewees' decision to immigrate to Canada.

From a feminist, anti-Orientalist and post-structuralist viewpoint, *Anne of Green Gables* is a medium that has fostered a sexist and colonial mindset in post-war Japan. But it is also true that Japanese women found Anne's modern Victorian woman's life was more attractive than the life bound by the *ie* ideology (Ogura 2001). To date, *Anne of Green Gables* remains very popular among the Japanese. In 2008, NHK television English programming employed the novel as teaching material, and Japan's leading theatrical troupe *Shiki* presented the musical *Anne of Green Gables*, both of which were to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the novel's first publication (NHK 2008; Gekidan Shiki 2008). Today, however, few Japanese are aware of the novel's original introduction to a defeated Japan.

5.1.3 *International migration constructed through gender and the life course*

The third point found through analyses of the interviews is that Japanese immigration to Canada is deeply related to gender and the life course. Kobayashi (2002) has already pointed out that the majority of Japanese immigrants are women, and that they tend to become an immigrant in their late twenties and early thirties. The characteristics of women who participated in this study do not contradict it: ages when they entered Canada for the first time concentrated also in their twenties, as shown in the last chapter (Table 1 (e)).

Why do Japanese women emigrate to Canada at a certain stage of their life course? Thirty-four interviewees pointed out that the direct reason for their immigration was their marriage with a Canadian/a spouse who lives in Canada. Then it can be argued that their emigration to Canada inevitably happened at the specific age range, because marriage tends to happen at the specific age range. For reference, the average first marriage age for women has remained in the twenties from 1960 to 2005, gradually becoming older after around 1970 when it was 24.2 years, rising to 27.8 in 2005 (Jinko Mondai Kenkyujo 2008). Traditionally in Japan, single women over 29 years old had been regarded as having passed marriageable age (Kobayashi 2003), although the recent tendency to put off marriage is quickly undermining that belief[5].

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[5] In Japan during the 1960s and 1970s, single women over 25 years old were described as "Christmas cakes": women need to be "sold" before they turn to 25, and if they are still unmarried afterwards, they are regarded as "unsalable stocks." Given today's situation that 27 % of women in their early thirties are still unmarried, however, marriage of 30- or 31-year-old woman is no longer regarded as late, and now women are described as "misoka soba" (soba noodles traditionally eaten on December 31st) (Ogura 2004b). Although the age limit has changed over years as above, the idea of marriageable age still exists and pressures many women in Japan.

Also, it has been pointed out that domestic migration of Japanese women is most active during a similar age range: the rate of domestic migration of women in their late twenties is highest, and that of women in their early thirties is second highest (Otomo 1996). Then, there may be a possibility that their international migration to Canada is just a "spatially extended" version of their domestic migration.

Exploration of their narratives, however, shows that marriage is only a part of the reasons, illuminating the social contexts of the international migration that are different from that of domestic migration. Interviews revealed motivations of their leaving Japan, showing why the emigrants tend to be women at a certain life stage. Here are utterances of interviewees who told why they had decided to come to Canada at that time:

[Utterance A-27] Age 45-49

[I came to Canada on a group tour to visit my landed immigrant friend, and he recommended me to immigrate as well.] At that time I was around 28 years old already, and I had worked for the same company for eight years. I felt it was high time to change my environment. I also wanted to take an action before turning into 30. So I began to think about trying living in Canada [at least] once.

[Utterance A-28] Age 30-34

I came to Canada because of my marriage [with a Canadian]. [...] I didn't know about Canada at all. So I wanted to see the country once. [...] Also, I was feeling stuck at work at the same time, which was indeed another reason.

[Utterance A-29] Age 30-34

I have longed for America [since] I was small. [After I grew up] I worked for five years or so in Tokyo, [...] and then wondered what I wanted to do next. Then, [I

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thought,] "Before I go to the next [stage], I want to live in a place that I so long

longed for." [...] [Also,] I didn't have any professional qualification, and [I thought

going abroad may help] my career. [...] [Going to America] was my dream for a long

time, so I wasn't able to move on to the next stage if I didn't realize it.

[Utterance A-30] Age 40-44

I got married [with a Canadian] in Japan [...] Meanwhile, we decided to move to

Canada. [...] I came to Canada without thinking much. [...] It wasn't [because I hated

Japan], but I was wishing to quit the job I had [at that time]. Also, I thought I would

be moulded if I continued to live in Japan. So, it was the last chance to get out of

Japan and experience something. I thought I wouldn't be able to do it if I got older. I

thought it would be good to get out [of Japan] a little bit.

All of the above utterances are ones of women who settled down in Canada

because of their marriage. Obviously, their stories cannot, however, be simply

summarised that "The reason for their migration was their marriage. Period."

The below utterances are ones of women who came to Canada for a different

reason from marriage. But their narratives have much in common with the above

utterances:

[Utterance A-31] Age 25-29

[I came to Canada last year as a working-holiday maker because] I wanted to study

English. [...] [Also, I wanted to change my life.] Continuing to work in Japan

meant repeating the same thing over and over again. Even challenging a new thing

would make only a minor difference. But living abroad would bring me a big change.

[...] I guess [single women in their twenties come to Canada] wishing to change

something. [...] As a student, they can experience different things every day. [...] Their life is fun as far as they are a student. They play a lot. But once they start working, they may wish to change the life. [...] They continue to do the same job for ever. [...] They can manage the job, save some money, and spend a leisure time at same places. After that, the life would never change unless getting married or something.

[Utterance A-32] Age 35-39

I guess [women in their late twenties come to Canada] because it is the time they think about their life, like, "What should I do, when I will be turning to 30 very soon?" Let's say she is a [four-year] university graduate. She finishes a university at 22 years or so. She usually gets a job right away. But then, after a few years, she stops and wonders whether she is all right with such [life]. The biggest reason why a woman enters a company is to find a future husband in the company. [...] After 25 years old, she get pressures, asked "Are you getting married or not?" I also experienced that. A woman over 25 is regarded as "a woman before 30" [...]. Then, in case she is not married, she starts looking at her career instead. She asks herself, "With what career will I live?" I thought a lot about that. [...] I wanted to get out of Japan from the beginning, and it was such a good timing. So I was like, "Go for it!" I was determined to set [the direction of my career] before I turn into 30.

[Utterance A-33] Age 25-29

Considering [my future life in case I get a job right after my graduation], I thought, "That would be bad!," because I realized I was able to foresee my future too much. I thought I needed to go abroad once for a little adventure. If I continued to stay in

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Japan, I would be caught by those [existing] values. I wanted to go outside while it is

possible. [That's why I decided to come to Canada to study in a graduate school.]

[...] ["Being able to foresee my future too much" means that,] for example, after

graduating from the women's university [I attended], enter a major company. And,

date somebody I met in the company or somebody I met in a university club activity,

get married with him, become a homemaker and have children. When I get to that

point, I would never get out of Japan. [...] It is a very fixed designed route with no

way out, up to the point when I become a homemaker. Once having entered home,

there would be even less way out. [...] So [I thought,] "If there is any chance to run

away, it is now." [...] But having spent three years in Canada, I think, I will want to

go back to Japan after all, ultimately. I have done adventure and I have seen the

outside world. I will be satisfied with going back to Japan. [...] [It wasn't like being

able to foresee my future too much was smothering.]   I knew it would be [a] very

easy and comfortable [life]. I love to be comfortable, but my personality made me

think that it might [eventually] spoil me.

Utterances from A-27 to 33 illuminate three points regarding the context of their

emigration from Japan: (1) they wanted to quit the job they had in Japan to move on to

the next stage, feeling bored, stuck, or that they had done enough (Utterances from A-27

to 32), (2) they were hoping to grow themselves, such as by experiencing a new thing,

taking an action for their career, or gaining/improving skills (Utterances from 29 to 33),

and (3) they anticipated that they would fall into a preset and inflexible lifestyle if they

had continued to live in Japan (Utterances A-30, 31, 33). Upon departure, they expected

that going to Canada would solve all these issues. All of the above interviewees came to

Canada to change or to develop their lives. Their marriage needs to be considered also in this context to change or develop their lives. Utterance A-31 clearly shows that she considers coming to Canada and marriage in the same way, both as a means to change her life. Their utterances also imply that they felt they would not able to change or develop their lives in Japan. Then, why did they feel so?

Findings of a feminist psychologist Chikako Ogura (2004b) on young Japanese women's perceptions of work, marriage and the life course are helpful to understand their feelings. In her book *Kekkon no jouken* (Conditions for marriage), she portrays young Japanese single women who are materially affluent but who somehow have a feeling of despair of life, as they can neither find excitement nor make a significant difference to their lives. Her arguments are going to be shown below. It will be a little long citation, but it will provide insights:

Ogura finds that the most popular dream of young unmarried women in Japan today is marriage, contrary to feminist "enlightenment." It is not any marriage; however, they expect their future husband to earn enough money to support the whole family and also to help with domestic chores to some extent. And women themselves want to become a wealthy homemaker who can concentrate on child-rearing. After children are grown up, they want to obtain a job only for pleasure as an extension of their hobby (e.g., flower arrangement; essay writing) for self-realization. They intend to depend on the spouse financially throughout the life course. Meanwhile, they shun a marriage with a man whose class is lower than theirs, as marriage with such a man would not bring an affluent life, and they would have to work outside as in "miserable" unskilled labour to make their living. Although the romantic love ideology has spread in post-war Japan,

women actually regard the spouse's income as the most important condition for marriage. But they believe they can meet such a husband "naturally," carefully hiding the calculation, because their female gender is valued only when they look selfless and innocent. According to Ogura, it was around 1985 when young women began to expect their marriage partners to have economic strength and lifestyle stability more than sexual attractiveness. She points out the existence of their mothers in the background, who wish their daughters to achieve the dream they could not achieve, that is, to go to college, do hypergamy ("marry up"), and live in luxury (Ogura 2004b).

Ogura also points out that such "marriage for dependency" tends to be desired by two-year college graduates and graduates of middle- or lower-ranked four-year universities. Perceptions of marriage vary with classes. In Japan, social class is almost correlated to education level (see also Ueno 1995b). Ogura finds that women who are high-school graduates wish to have "marriage for survival": they do not dream about becoming a wealthy homemaker from the beginning. They must keep working in unskilled labour throughout lives to make a living, but their household income becomes enough for their survival only after they get married and their income is combined with that of their husbands. Generally, their unmarried life is financially hard, and thus they wish to get married for survival. Meanwhile, a small percentage of fortunate female "winners," who graduated from a four-year university and won professional careers, want to have "marriage for self-preservation": they do not expect their marriage partner to be wealthy, but hope he will respect their career and will take responsibility for a part of domestic chores. What these women are afraid of is a change of the life and self they have established (Ogura 2004b).

Then Ogura summarizes that today's unmarried young Japanese women's conditions for marriage change from "survival," to "dependency" to "self-preservation" with elevation of class (their education level), and that they generally regard marriage as a means to join a higher class or at least to remain in the original class. But it is difficult for women of any of the three classes to find such a convenient husband to meet their marriage conditions. They keep waiting for the right person who is actually rarely around, which is the fundamental reason for the Japan's growing tendency to put off marriage (Ogura 2004b).

Ogura considers why graduates of two-year colleges and of less prestigious four-year universities desire the "marriage for dependency." According to her, their personality has been known as "two-year college student personality" in women's studies, though more and more four-year-university students have begun to share it with the recent decrease of two-year colleges. Women with "the two-year college student personality" are different both from steady high-school graduates and from career-minded four-year university graduates. They are seemingly conservative, aiming to expand their power at home, holding the privileges obtained from their female gender. Ogura argues that they keep the "two-year college student personality," because the life of so-called liberated women who work outside is not appealing to them. Most of the women of their mothers' generation once became a homemaker, but at some point had to start an unfulfilling job outside home as an unskilled labourer to support living expenses, especially their children's education fees. But their husbands did not cooperate with domestic chores, because of their long labour hours outside and in conformity to the traditional male gender role. Thus those mothers are exhausted due to the double labour

duties both at work and at home. Learning a lesson from the mothers' generation, young women today know that their life would become just harder if they work outside. They also know that they will not able to have a fulfilling professional job that derives enough income and is compatible with domestic chores. In today's Japan where one's educational achievement in the teens pretty much sets the available life course, most Japanese women are aware that a creative and interesting professional career is available only for a small portion of fortunate elite women who were high-achievers in school.

Ogura states as follows:

> I have been somewhat displeased that almost all my female students specify "economic strength" as the condition [for their future husband]. But who can blame their inclination to "climb class" or "maintain class" with marriage? Encouraging them to work for themselves to be [financially] independent, and telling them to consider marriage apart from [the spouse's] economy are useless, to address the feeling of despair of average [young women] who adapted difficulties of the reality at their early stage and who do not stupidly think about changing the "the immovable situation." [...]
>
> For a long time, their often-made remark, "I wish I could find something exciting" has been a burden on me who is a teacher, a woman, and a feminist. Gradually, however, I realized that these women cannot find who they are, what they can do, nor their own individuality like no other. Although they are young, they have already resigned themselves [to their given life] in the country where they can foresee only a gloomy future, doing what others do so that they can be a part of the

group they belong to, studying for entrance exams and doing job hunting to the extent to meet their parents' expectation. [...]

They are somewhat worried that they may not able to become like their parents who provided them with the life in luxury. Keeping the present class is their prime concern, and its most effective stratagem is marriage. Plus, marriage is "adventurous" filled with possibilities to make exciting decisions on where to live, what house to have, and how to raise children. I don't think these women can overcome this temptation of marriage (Ogura 2004b, pp.69-70).

Ogura (2004b) showed that the prime concern for unmarried Japanese women in general is to climb/maintain class and have a fulfilling life course (and marriage is not an objective but a means), and highlights accompanying problems. Her work is valuable, because it discusses relations between education and class in Japan that are still regarded as taboo or at least as very sensitive, and also because it exposes young women's egoism and at the same time understands them. Saito (2007) also points out that Japanese women have been driven by the "modern story" that everybody aims at *risshin shusse* (success in career) since the Meiji period, but faces the sense of stagnation today, as they realize that both "becoming a CEO" and "becoming the wife of a CEO" are possible only for a very small portion of women. Expecting no career advancement in corporate society, office ladies decide to brighten their spirits by travelling abroad and designer goods shopping (Saito 2007). Shiine (1997) also draws lively picture of women in their twenties who were fascinated with consumption abroad, buoyed by the bubble economy in the 1980s.

The sense of stagnation some female interviewees expressed has something in common with Japanese women Ogura (2004b) and Saito (2007) describe. Narratives such

as "Even challenging a new thing would make only a minor difference [in Japan]." (Utterance A-31) and "I thought I would be moulded if I continued to live in Japan" (A-30) suggest that they were thinking the life in Japan were/would be standstill. Other women made similar statements, such as "[I came to Canada because] I wanted to do something different from others," "I wanted to escape from my parents," "I didn't want to fall into [a barrier of self-containment]." From the interviews, it is also inferred that they could not expect further career advancement in their work environment in Japan ("I didn't have any professional qualification" (A-29); also, the interviewee A-32 came to Canada to set the direction of her career that was not possible in Japan. As Ogura (2004b) shows, many Japanese women face the sense of stagnation already when they are college students. Their sense of stagnation has to be even stronger after they have worked for a few years ("[Women's] life is fun as far as they are students. [...] But once they start working, [...] they continue to do the same job for ever. [...] After that, the life would never change unless getting married or something" of Utterance A-31). So, these women aimed at a breakthrough in the sense of stagnation by coming to Canada.

By the way, although their motivation to leave Japan is constructed through gender, there were only four interviewees who expressed that they were uncomfortable because of gender discrimination in Japan and therefore came to Canada for more gender equality. As Chapter 6 shows, the majority of interviewees enjoy and appreciate the Canadian life that does not impose upon them social expectations, including gender norms, but it was not a direct emigration reason at the point of their departure. One interviewee said as follows:

[Utterance A-34] Age 35-39

I think Japanese women immigrate to Canada [not because they want to have freedom in Canada, but because they are strong]. [...] When I went back to Japan once [in the early 1990s], I took a taxi. I told the driver that I was living in Canada [...]. Then he said, "Wow, women today are impressive." He said he wanted his son to do such a thing, because the son was a man. [...] He encouraged the son to do a bicycle trip [...] but the son wasn't gutsy enough to do it. [...] So, rather, I think men became weaker. [...] They no longer have a spirit to challenge, I guess. [...] I don't think Japanese women even think about freedom, because it is as a matter of course. [...] It is pretty free in Japan. [...] So I don't think Japanese women come to Canada because Japan is uncomfortable without freedom.

That there were not many women who markedly pointed out gender as a reason for migration is different from the result of group interviews with Japanese immigrant women conducted by Kobayashi (2002). Two possibilities can be considered to explain why. First, the majority of the female interviewees for this research are recent immigrants who entered Canada in or after 1985. Kobayashi (2002) suggests that *shin ijuusha* women who immigrated to Canada earlier tend to be from relatively well-off families, have higher education levels and professional aspirations, whereas more recent immigrants have lower educational levels and are less inclined towards professional careers. A comment by a community leader interviewee in her sixties who entered Canada in the early 1970s is dovetailed with it: she thinks that gaining independence and a career was a major immigration reason for her generation of Japanese women, but she also noticed that things are different for recent female immigrants.

Japanese women's situation has changed in the last four decades. The women's liberation movement that occurred in Japan the 1970s took a severe bashing (Ida 1997). The percentage of women who work outside was lowest in 1975. But the percentage has kept increasing gradually since then (Ochiai 2007), the Law concerning Equal Opportunity and Treatment between Men and Women in Employment started in 1986, and the Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society in 2000 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan, Labour Department 2008; Cabinet Office of Japan 2008). Although many gender inequalities still remain, it is more realistic for women today to aim at a career path than it was in the 1970s. On the other hand, the Japanese economy became stronger in the 1980s. It made Japanese people affluent and popularized travel abroad that had been possible only for a small portion of the privileged population. Therefore, the necessity for career-minded women to find a way out abroad decreased in the last four decades, whereas the number of less educated (lower economic class) women who casually visit abroad increased. It explains why participants for this research tend to be less inclined towards professional careers. Recent migrant women seem closer to women with the "two-year college student personality" who Ogura (2004b) portrayed.

The second possibility why interviewees did not point out gender equality as their migration reason is that their actual working condition can be even harder in Canada. One interviewee appreciates Canada's basic equity philosophy including gender and age in general, but is having a hard time in her job hunting. She said, "The reality [for women from Japan to find a fulfilling job here] is pretty severe." The difficulties in obtaining a job will be discussed later in Chapter 6.

International migration of these interviewees is more nuanced and complicated than a simple story that oppressed women from the non-West came to the West for freedom. The sense of stagnation they had is surely related to gender construction in Japanese society; they came to Canada to realize what they could not do in Japan, negotiating their life courses. But they were generally more interested in having an adventure or growing themselves than in independence. Also, at least during the early stage, some were thinking about acquiring new human capital in Canada, such as an ability to speak English or a degree from Canada, assuming it will help to develop their careers back in Japan. At least originally, they tend to leave Japan not to reject it completely, but to get out temporarily. The oppression women face in today's Japan is layered and elusive.

5.2 Through Their Migration, Did Women Break or Reconstruct Japanese Tradition?

This chapter has explored reasons of women's post-war migration from Japan to Canada, examining migrants' narratives. It has illuminated three societal contexts of emigration: tourism, Japanese longing for America/the West constructed through Western popular culture, and gender and the life course. Emigration from Japan to Canada is constructed in these contexts intertwined.

What does their post-war migration from Japan to Canada represent? Kobayashi (2002) pointed out that pre-war *issei* Japanese immigrant women fulfilled the role of "Good wife, Wise mother" in Canada, and undertook migration with the goal of contributing to *ie* (family) and thus reconstructed Japanese tradition (patriarchy), whereas

post-war immigrant women came to Canada reject traditional gender roles imposed on them in Japan. The interviews conducted for this research also suggested that post-war Japanese migration is constructed through gender, and interviewees left Japan to negotiate their lives in a certain manner. But there were few *shin ijuusha* women who consciously associated their migration and gender issues, possibly reflecting generational and class shifts from earlier career-minded *shin ijuusha* to more recent immigrants who are less critical of existing gender roles in Japan. Thus, it is seemingly ambiguous whether these interviewees are breaking tradition in the context of gender.

Since Japanese migration to Canada represents a certain separation from their home country to enter another space, it is also meaningful to consider whether the interviewees contributed to reconstruction or breaking of Japanese tradition (that is, social values, norms and practices of Japanese people that are handed down from generation to generation), not only in the context of gender but from various angles. Overall, the interviewees' narratives show contradictory and paradoxical findings, indicating their migration reconstructed the tradition in some aspects but did not in others. Three dimensions are found in their narratives regarding constructing/breaking the tradition, which will be examined below.

5.2.1 *A finding to support migration to break tradition: "It is not ordinary to emigrate to Canada" discourse*

In today's Japan, living abroad is no longer unusual (e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2008b). Eleven interviewees indicated, however, that their emigration to Canada is not normative, and is a deviation from what Japanese people do.

[Utterance A-35] Age 35-39

As my friends have pointed out since a long time ago, I haven't lived a normal life, like, quitting the two-year college before graduation. [And my coming to Canada is a part of it]. [...] Natsuko-san, as you are studying abroad like this, aren't you also unique, measured by the Japanese standard?

[Utterance A-36] Age 50-54

I think Japanese people emigrated to Canada partly because their personality was strong [compared with average Japanese people].

[Utterance A-37] Age 35-39

I guess only weird Japanese come [to Canada], ones who cannot adapt themselves to Japanese society (laugh).

These remarks suggest that their migration to Canada was unconventional at least in their own perception, because they think it challenged social norms and practices of other Japanese people. Thus their migration can be interpreted as breaking of Japanese tradition.

5.2.2 *A finding to support migration to reconstruct tradition: emigration as family tradition*

There is counter evidence, however, that migrating to Canada is to reconstruct tradition, repeating practices of parents' or grandparents' generation: there were interviewees who suggested that they emigrated as their family practice.

[Utterance A-38] Age unknown

Getting out of Japan is my family tradition. My parents went abroad [as well].

[Utterance A-39] Age unknown

> I left Japan as my grandfather left Japan. [...] He left Japan, abandoning an old place
> to go to a new place. [I left Japan just like he did.]

[Utterance A-40] Age 60-64

> [I came to Canada p]artly because I was born in Yokohama. My family was used to
> people from overseas, and going abroad was not considered as unusual. [...] So I
> thought I would be able to go abroad as soon as I had enough money. So I worked so
> hard to save enough money. [...] I was determined to go abroad. Going abroad was not
> uncommon in people around me from the beginning. My cousin went abroad to study.
> My father-side ancestor went to the United States a long time ago, in the period of
> large-scale Japanese emigration. [...] I had dreamed about getting out of Japan at least
> once since a child.

These narratives imply that they immigrated as their family (ancestors) did, or as family tradition. Emigration was an already accepted practice in the generation that preceded (e.g., parents; ancestors). Thus their emigration can be read as a reconstruction of tradition.

5.2.3 *Exploring parents' responses to interviewees' migration*

Finally, responses of interviewees' parents to their migration to Canada are examined to consider whether the migration is reconstructing/breaking Japanese tradition. As tradition is passed on from generation to generation (from parents to their children), exploration of parents' views of their children going abroad provides insights.

One interviewee summarized a common Japanese parents' expectation of their children as follows:

[Utterance A-41] Age 35-39

> Ordinary parents of an ordinary person want their child to graduate from good schools, to have a good job in a good workplace, to live with a beloved spouse happily, and to live in their eyeshot, if not living together.

In short, Japanese parents typically expect their children to live the *risshin shusse* life course and to remain in sight, but their child's emigration to Canada can affect the realization of this expectation. The interviews show that their parents' attitudes towards their migration are roughly divided into two: pros and cons.

In cases of parents opposed to the emigration, it was mostly because they considered that emigration works against tradition (norms and practices that parents believed children should continue). Here are some examples:

[Utterance A-42] Age 50-54

> My mother opposed my going to Canada. [...] She wanted me to succeed [the business] she had in Tokyo.

[Utterance A-43] Age 50-54

> Some families have so-called "*ie* shame" decided by their own [*ie*] standards. [...] As for my *ie*, education level is one [of the standards]. Like, having not enough education is a shame. [I don't think] it should affect one, as [I believe] everybody is an [independent] individual. [...] [But] once a family member cannot meet the *ie* expectation, he or she gets heavily criticized. I was criticized by the whole clan, simply because I got married to a foreigner. [...] To my surprise, my brother wrote

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me a few years after my marriage, saying "After you left, our father and mother apologized to [related people], for example the *ie* your sister married into. [...] [They had to say,] 'We are sorry that a member of our *ie* troubled even your *ie* [by her marriage with a foreigner] [...]'"

Interviewees' parents opposed to their emigration because they considered that it would break off their family business (Utterance A-42), or that it does not meet the traditional *ie* standard (A-43), although the case of A-43 seems a somewhat extreme example in Japan today. Parents who opposed emigration wished to continue the tradition, and therefore, this type of migration conducted against parents' objection (and shame) had a strong "destructive force" against the tradition.

On the other hand, things are a little more complicated in cases in which the parents were supportive of their migration, as reasons why these parents supported the migration decision are divided into three: (1) because parents respected their child's own decision, (2) because parents who themselves broke or wanted to break the tradition, and (3) because parents considered that their child's emigration was following tradition.

Here are examples of the above (1), in which parents approved of the child's decision to emigrate to Canada, paying attention to the child's wish.

[Utterance A-44] Age 55-59

My father is a rare person. [He is an open-minded person who reads various books.] So, [he did not oppose at all to] my marriage [with a Canadian], saying a child is not a parent's belonging, that the happiest thing for a parent is his child's happiness, and the best filial piety a child can practice is to get happy wherever in the world she is.

[Utterance A-45] Age 35-39

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All of my family members in Japan were like, "Do whatever you want." Especially, my mother said, "Everybody can live only one life, so you should live just as you wish."

There are seven cases in total where parents supported interviewee's emigration because they are liberalist or respected the child's decision. The next example is regarding the above (2), in which parents agreed to the migration because parents themselves had broken or wanted to break the tradition:

[Utterance A-46] Age 30-34

My family didn't stop me when I was leaving for Canada. My mother has lived her life, doing whatever she wanted to do. So, she doesn't stop [her children doing what we want].

There are four cases in total that parents supported children's emigration because parents themselves wanted to go abroad or were unconventional people. Final examples are of the above (3), in which parents agreed with the emigration because they considered that it was following tradition:

[Utterance A-47] Age 35-39

My parents of course are concerned [about my emigration]. But I'd been [a daughter who] went to Tokyo right after the high-school graduation, quit the two-year college without telling them, was a job-hopping part-timer, and started saying "I want to do an art-related work." They were angry at their incomprehensible daughter. But they gave up, like, "Fine!" When I came to Canada [for working-holiday], I decided [alone], and told them about it about one week before [the departure]. So, they were suddenly informed that their daughter would be gone in a week. And, when I decided

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to become an immigrant, it was because I was getting married. So my parents thought it was better, because the incomprehensible daughter would [at least] get married. They preferred their daughter immigrating as a married person to her living abroad in an incomprehensible situation. They are still somewhat unsatisfied, but they know they cannot expect more.

[Utterance A-48] Age 40-44

My parents did not oppose [my emigrating to Canada]. [...] Ha, ha, ha, they were afraid that their daughter would never get married if they opposed then. [...] My parents kept telling me to get married from around the time I passed 30. My mother kept saying me "So-and-so already got married," "Why are you [unmarried]?" even at the breakfast table. It was like, either my mother or I would have a nervous breakdown. [...] But my parents still let me live with them at home.

[Utterance A-49] Age 30-34

I was already over 30 at that time. [...] My younger brother had got married long time ago. In the whole clan, I was the oldest, and only I was unmarried. So, [their response to my emigration] was like, "As far as you can find a spouse, you can be anywhere." (laugh).

[Utterance A-50] Age 35-39

There was no objection [from my parents]. They wanted me to go to Canada [as a wife of a Canadian], rather than getting married to somebody [in a developing country].

[Utterance A-51] Age 45-49

My parents did not oppose [my emigration]. [...] I guess my parents thought that, if one of their children went to Canada, it would just contribute to their sunset pleasures. [...] I guess my parents thought that it would be nice and all right that at least one of their five children to get married to somebody abroad.

[Utterance A-52] Age 40-44

My father was taciturn, so I don't know what my father really thought about. But my mother is a person who thinks it would be nice if at least one of her children lives abroad. [...] She has four children. [...] She doesn't want [her child to live in] a strange place, but well, Canada is a place Japanese people to long for, you know. She was all right as far as my spouse was sincere.

Parents approved their daughter's emigration because it was accompanied with her marriage (Utterances A-47, 48, 49) or with her "marrying up" to a husband from Canada (Utterances A-50, 52). Parents mentioned in Utterances A-51 and 52 supported their daughter's emigration, traditionally regarding their child as parents' resource. In both cases, parents agreed to the migration, considering that their child was (still) following tradition. In total, parents of ten interviewees supported their migration, regarding it as reconstruction of tradition.

After all, there were only seven interviewees (including cases of Utterances A-42 and 43) who emigrated to Canada against their parents' expectation, which means they markedly challenged and broke tradition. Then, is their migration just a reconstruction of their traditional life course?

Things are a little more complicated. It seems interviewees themselves know about multiple meanings attached to migration, and creatively use the meanings according

to need. For example, an interviewee decided to immigrate to Canada to get married to a non-Japanese spouse. Marriage with a non-Japanese spouse seems to be a breaking of Japanese tradition. At the same time, however, she was very well aware that her parents would accept her emigration, believing the daughter was following the traditional life course by getting married at an appropriate age. She obtained "yes" from her parents, knowing they would interpret her emigration as a reconstruction of Japanese tradition (case of Utterance A-47). Also, there is an interviewee who came to Canada to get out of the inflexible life in Japan, which is associated with gender, but at the same time aiming at acquisition of additional human capital in the West that Japanese people long for, which would be useful for her future success (*risshin shusse*) back in Japan (case of Utterance A-29). These Japanese immigrant women both broke and reconstructed Japanese tradition, achieving seemingly contradictory goals at the same time (e.g., satisfying their parents wish and going to the West; escaping from and contributing to the life in Japan). *Shin ijuusha* women negotiate gender and life, cleverly use multiple meanings attached to migration.

Preston *et al.* (2006) say that negotiation of gender is a constant interplay of tradition and change: "tradition in many ways provides the stability that allows change to occur; and change is embraced because it allows tradition to be maintained" (Preston *et al.* 2006, p. 1648). It seems that their argument is applicable also to Japanese immigrant women.

This chapter has explored reasons of post-war migration from Japan to Canada and has discussed whether it is reconstruction of, or breaking from, tradition. Revealing specific societal contexts of migration, the chapter also illuminated women's negotiation

in making their spatial move happen. The focus range was from the moment Japanese women start thinking about emigration to the moment when they actually depart from Japan to move to Canada. Their actual life in Canada, which takes on a quite different aspect from their point of departure, will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN CANADA

The last chapter examined "coming to Canada" of Japanese women, analyzing why and how they immigrate to Canada. Chapters 6 to 8 will focus on their "living in Canada" and will explore what happens to their lives after they settle down in Canada. First of all, this chapter will illuminate what advantages and disadvantages Japanese immigrant women have found in their life in Canada.

6.1 Advantages of Living in Canada

The questions asked interviewees about what advantages and disadvantages they found in Canada were not multiple-choice but open-ended. Nevertheless, their answers displayed marked tendencies. As for advantages, the largest number of interviewed women pointed out freedom, the second largest number of people referred to gaining a different or deepened perspective, the third largest number of people pointed out a relaxed lifestyle, and also health care (see Table 3). The top three advantages interviewees talked about will be examined below.

Table 3   Advantages of living in Canada

Freedom	26
Perspective deepened/broadened	11
Relaxed/Slower lifestyle	5
Health care	5
Spaciousness	3
Canada's nature	2
Inexpensive cost of living	2

6.1.1 *Freedom*

More than half of the interviewees pointed out freedom as an advantage they have in the life in Canada. The below are examples of utterances on this topic.

[Utterance B-1] Age 35-39

> A good thing [about living in Canada] is [...] I can do what I want, freely. Here, there is no such thing as what I am supposed to be.

[Utterance B-2] Age 30-34

> Here, they neither interfere in somebody else nor make a [critical] comment just because he or she is different. People here are free. [...] In Japan, they do not tolerate one who disturbs harmony.

[Utterance B-3] Age 50-54

> Whatever clothes I wear, nobody criticizes me behind my back. There is no need to worry about what other people think of me. Canada is a multicultural country [that accepts differences]. So it is very comfortable to live here.

[Utterance B-4] Age 35-39

> [L]iving in Canada gives me freedom. I don't have to be tied with social obligations and human feelings. [...] [In Japan,] you are supposed to return something after you receive a present. [...] You have to bring a present to visit somebody. Those little things in Japan were bothersome. [...] I decided not to care about little things [in Canada].

[Utterance B-5] Age 40-44

> [One of the advantages of living in Canada is] I don't have to worry about what others think of me. Raising children, I don't have to do the same as other parents.

There is no such thing as "park debut"[6]. Here, I just bring my children to a park and let them play freely. [...] I often hear it is relaxing to raise children in Canada also from families of Japanese businessmen.

[Utterance B-6] Age 50-54

Everyone in Japan lives to meet somebody's expectations. Those expectations are of parents, families, relatives, and so on. I like Canada because such expectations do not exist here. [...] Ordinary Canadian parents do not think "Our children should become like such and such", unlike Japanese parents.

[Utterance B-7] Age 35-39

In Japan, people are tied to family and so on. In Canada, they see people as individuals. [...] Living in Canada, I can be myself.

Examination of the above utterances shows that the "freedom" the interviewees talked about can be summarized as "release from bothersome social expectations." Some of the social expectations discussed are closely related to their gender (e.g., wearing fashionable or appropriate clothes, mentioned in Utterance B-3, are expected more for women than men; "park debut" discussed in Utterance B-5 is for mothers), although no interviewees markedly pointed out that these expectations were imposed on them in Japan because they are woman. Interviewees appreciate that, in Canada, they do not have to fulfil social expectations pressured by people around them, such as parents, relatives, neighbours, and co-workers. In other words, they enjoy indifference towards their conduct. In a sense, the freedom they talk about sounds a little passive, as they do not

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[6] "Park debut" is a slang to mean that a mother brings her child for the first time to a park nearby so that the child can join other children and the mother can interact with other mothers there. Mothers can exchange useful information about raising children there, but not a few also find social intercourse with other mothers is stressful (Muto *et al.* 2000; Motoyama 1995).

mean active or enterprising freedom to achieve a specific goal or independence.

While interviewees positively talked about freedom, one concern arises: They may be free from social expectations, but it may be because they do not really participate in the society of Canada. Regarding this issue, one community leader woman makes the following comment:

> If in Japan, when your behaviour is being problematic, people around you like your parents or brothers [...] usually give you a bit of their mind, saying "What you are doing is not following basic human rules" or [...] "Society won't accept your doing." [...] But there are Japanese people living in Canada who are acting out of line, because they don't have [close] people who give them [kind advice]. [...] For example, ceremonial functions in Canada are way simpler than ones in Japan. [...] [So] they say it is free in Canada. But there are still basic rules [here], such as common sense and obligations. That's what people [here] live with. So, it is wrong that some say they have to do nothing because it is free here. [...] [For example,] if you receive a present, here you don't have to return another present like Japan. But people here still express thank you, sending a card. [...] [I have seen n]ot a few [senseless] Japanese immigrants [who think even such a thing is unnecessary, believing Canada is free]. [...] When they are in Canadian society, people [here] leave them, thinking these people are Japanese. When they go back to Japan, Japanese people leave them, thinking these people have gone to Canada [and are no longer Japanese]. [...] They don't have [culture] of either country, [...] [living in limbo]. Some [Japanese immigrants think] that [such a situation] is good, but I don't think it is good.

This community leader suggested that Chizuko Ueno's (2003) argument may be applicable to some Japanese immigrants in Canada. Ueno, a feminist sociologist, discusses "freedom" that Japanese women abroad often mention:

> In America and in Sweden, I have met Japanese women who said, "I like this place the best. This place fits me, because I can be free here." It was not like they arrived there after they had travelled other places a lot. It was not like they concluded that the place was especially free and fit them based on comparison with other places. One woman visited a foreign country for the first time in her life, the place she landed on happened to be Sweden, and she decided to settle down there. Many people misunderstand the freedom, secured by things that it is not Japan, that they are not watched by eyes from others, that they do not belong to the place, and that they are outsiders, for the [particular] characteristics of the [particular] place. (Ueno 2003, pp.9-10)

There is a possibility that there are Japanese immigrant women who do not really belong to any society in Canada, believing this lack of attachment is freedom.

6.1.2 *Broadened and deepened perspective*

The second popular answer as an advantage of living in Canada was that they obtained a different perspective after they moved to Canada:

[Utterance B-8] Age 40-44

> I learned a lot about the world. I experienced things that I should have never known if I had stayed in Japan.

[Utterances B-9] Age 50-54

I think it is good that I can see Japan from a distance, from a non-Japanese
perspective. I sometimes realize I should question what I took for granted in Japan.
After I started looking at Japan objectively, I also discovered good things about Japan.

[Utterance B-10] Age 40-44

I guess a good thing about immigrating to Canada is that I was able to see myself
objectively.

[Utterance B-11] Age 25-29

What I think is good about living in Canada is that it made me consider so many,
various things. [...] "Various things" include issues about my life. Also, there are
different people in Canada, and [I found] common sense I took for granted in Japan is
not at all common sense here. Like, how it is like to live alone in Japan is totally
different from that in Canada. Like, Canadian government system is different from
Japanese one. I started thinking those things [after living in Canada].

[Utterance B-12] Age 30-34

I think a good thing about coming to Canada is that it deepened my life very much.
There are so many things I couldn't know if I had stayed in Japan. My perspectives
have been broadened in Canada, meeting people from various countries, listening to
various opinions, and accumulating various experiences. But living in Canada also
gives me more sufferings. I live alone apart from my family. [...] Living alone in
Canada made me tough. I often suffer a lot, but I think it also deepens my life. I have
never regretted coming here.

The interviewees expressed that moving to Canada provided a different or
deepened perspective to see the world, Japan and themselves, and thus enriched their

lives. Overall, the tone with which they talked about this advantage was very positive.

6.1.3 *Relaxed lifestyle and health care*

The third largest number of people answered that an advantage of Canadian living is the relaxed lifestyles that Canada offers:

[Utterance B-13] Age 45-49

[An advantage of living in Canada is that] I can have quite a lot of time for myself, I guess.

[Utterance B-14] Age 40-44

A good thing I found after I came here? I can be relaxed. [...] I feel like time passes very slowly.

Interviewees appreciate that their life is more relaxed in Canada and the quality of their life has been enhanced.

The same number of people also pointed out that Canada's health care as an advantage:

[Utterance B-15] Age 45-49

Although taxes [here] are very expensive, various social services are really solid [in return]. I entered a hospital to have an operation [...] three years ago. If in Japan, I should have paid some of the expenses. But everything was free, except seven dollars I paid for the telephone bill [...]. I even had blood transfusion. [...] But everything was free. [...] So, I was really impressed.

They value Canada's health care system, while there are also a few women who expressed that it is harder in Canada to find a doctor they are happy with.

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6.2 Disadvantages of Living in Canada

Interviewed women also talked about disadvantages and hardships they experienced in Canada. Their answers again displayed marked tendencies, concentrating around three topics: language barrier, cultural differences, and difficulties in finding an employment opportunity (see Table 4 for details). The top three disadvantages will be examined below.

Table 4   Disadvantages of living in Canada

Language barrier/English	22
Cultural barrier/difference	13
Difficulty in finding a job	7
Racism	4
Cold winter	3

6.2.1 *Language barrier*

Not only the largest number of interviewees pointed out the language barrier as a hardship of their Canadian life, but also they discussed it eagerly, seriously and often desperately.

[Utterance B-16] Age 55-59

> [What is hard in living here is] the language, of all things. It was very hard at the beginning [of my immigration in the early 1970s], and actually it is even now. The language [issue] is the toughest.

[Utterance B-17] Age 50-54

> I was doing very well in Japan academically, but when I [...] started in school here [in the early 1970s], [...] my marks went way down [because of the language barrier],

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and that really [...] damaged my self-confidence. [...] I was the student rep in [high-school in] Japan, [...], so I used to speak into a big group of people. But I [was afraid to talk] in front of [...] my classmates here. [...] Once you lose self-confidence, it takes long, long time to [recover].

[Utterance B-18] Age 40-44

First and foremost, [my difficulty here is] language barrier. [...] It is okay to live daily life, but I cannot have deeper conversations. When reading a book or newspaper or watching movie, I don't understand perfectly, unlike in Japanese. I really get frustrated over my incomprehensibility. That is the thing I dislike the most [...] I haven't understood Canadian society yet because I don't understand its culture as well as language. Jokes or used expressions have their backgrounds. Because of the backgrounds, they are used in certain ways. But I haven't understood those backgrounds. [...] Also, the information I receive [in English] becomes a half [if compared with one in Japanese], because I can process it only slowly. [...] Thus I cannot grasp a comprehensive figure of the society, so I still haven't understood what country Canada is. [...] I may not understand it for the rest of my life.

[Utterance B-19] Age 50-54

I make many mistakes in writing in English, and I cannot be aware of what mistakes I made by myself. [...] I have [a complex] even now. [...] At one point I had depression and lost a lot of weight. [...] Language plays a huge role in life. [...] Sometimes my English hurts people, [because] I can only rely on a dictionary telling that this English [word] is equivalent for this Japanese [word]. [...] Sometimes I had a conflict with my co-workers, [...] because I tended to forget to add "please" when I

tried to express something [in English]. [...] Also, I often asked someone to do something too straightforwardly. [...] [I guess] they sometimes got offended [by my English]. [I didn't mean any harm, but due to of my too straightforward English,] I wasn't able to get cooperation from others.

[Utterance B-20] Age 45-49

We can be sentient when we speak in Japanese, because they are our real teeth served by a lot of nerves. You feel [a sense] right away. But other languages [that we learned as an adult] are dentures after all. [...] So maybe I will lose English if I get Alzheimer's dementia [in the future]. With Alzheimer's, I would forget to use dentures, you know. [...] I think English and dentures are the same thing.

[Utterance B-21] Age 45-49

What is hard is the language, of all things. [...] If I could get over this language issue and the climate [of winter], the rest [of Canadian life] should be fun. [...] The language [barrier] is reeeeeally a source of stress.

[Utterance B-22] Age 30-34

What's hard is the language, I guess. [...] Don't you feel our progress [in English] hits the ceiling at a certain point? [...] I was dating with a Canadian last year. Whenever I spoke, I was depressed, wondering why I couldn't speak English that little. [...] I can't talk about deep things. [...] I speak too directly when I want to say it in a nuanced manner. [...] I will surely have this language problem whole life long.

[Utterance B-23] Age 30-34

I have various hardships here, but I think the language is the root of all the problems. I cannot win an argument in English, for example. [...] [T]he adult society only

recognizes people who can prove a point in a discussion. There are times when I cannot complain well because my English is awkward. [...]

In English, I cannot be sure about anything until I, like a little child, confirm with my [Canadian] husband. Reading a contract, for example, I have to confirm with him, asking "This means such and such, correct?" In Japanese, I can be sure by myself. [...] I get so irritated because somebody has to cover me [who is] like a little child. [...]

[My husband has lots of relatives.] They hold a party very often. All of them are very nice people, but I always wanted to refuse to join it with an excuse. [...] My brain has to be in top gear to speak English, even when chitchatting. [It is difficult for me to continue a casual social conversation.] [...] When I am asked something, I answer it. Or I can ask a question. But then a conversation between the person and me ends. [...] I really, always feel it painful [in a party]. [...] I know I have to be much more proactive, but [...] when you think so seriously [what to talk], you cannot chat. [...]

So, every time I go out for a party, I come back in despair, feeling my English has a long way to go. [...] [At one point] I thought I couldn't go any further. So I said to my husband, "I really couldn't understand English at all again today."　But he [casually] responded, "Oh yeah?"　You know, he knows [English]. He is a person who cannot speak any foreign language other than English. [...] He has travelled Japan for ten days or so, but he stuck to English throughout his stay. [...] He has no idea at all about the sufferings of [his wife] who is now on a new land, surrounded by a foreign language not of one's own, trapped in [unfamiliar] people and society,

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the suffering an adult suffer from like a child. [...] I would be much more talkative [in Japanese].

My aunt [who lives in the United States] has an English-rejection syndrome. She says, "I just don't like English anymore, I don't." [But n]ow she has to take phone calls [in English] and learn English conversation. Then her body rejects it, and she started having a bold spot in her head. When one spot is cured, she gets another one. [...] It was her decision to come abroad, but I guess she couldn't imagine beforehand that her reality would be that hard. Human beings don't understand certain things unless we actually experience them. One's imagination beforehand does not turn to be the actual reality at all.

The interviews show that the language barrier is a serious obstacle for them to developing human relations with others, including husbands, boyfriends, relatives and co-workers (Utterance B-23, 22, 19). Also, it makes them dependent (Utterance B-23) and undermines their self-confidence (Utterance B-17, 19, 22), making them feel isolated (Utterance B-23), out-of-place (Utterance B-18) and even ill (Utterance B-19). Their discussions on the language barrier tend to be long and poignant.

It is often expected that one's ability to speak a foreign language improves as she or one stays longer in a country where the language is spoken. The result of this study does not support that expectation; however, percentages of women who find English as a disadvantage are high even for ones who have lived in Canada for more than twenty years (Table 5). It means that the language barrier stays as an obstacle for *shin ijuusha* throughout their life in Canada.

Table 5 Interviewees who pointed out English as a disadvantage, by length of stay in Canada

Length of stay	Number of respondents	Number and percentage of women who pointed out English as an disadvantage
0-4 years	8	5 (62.5%)
5-9 years	7	4 (57.1%)
10-19 years	15	4 (26.7%)
20-29 years	7	4 (57.1%)
30 years or more	7	5 (71.4%)
Total	42	22 (52.4%)

Other than the 22 women who pointed out the language barrier as a disadvantage, there are three more women who brought up this issue in other parts of the interview. It is very difficult for many *shin ijuusha* women to become comfortable in English.

A psychoanalyst Hayao Kawai says that Japanese and a European language are too different, and some who have forced themselves to use the two languages even have emotional disorders (Kawai and Yoneo 2002). Also, a linguist Takehiro Kanaya points out that it is hard for Japanese speakers to learn English, because English and Japanese are distinctive in thinking. A speaker has to change her or his way of thinking, and even personality, when switching between Japanese and English (Kanaya 2004, 2007)[7].

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[7] Kanaya (2004, 2007) argues differences between English and Japanese as follows: In English, the subject is established. An English speaker fixes one's viewpoint at the object and formulates sentences, whereby the sentences become objective. On the other hand, the subject does not grammatically exist in Japanese, and a Japanese speaker's viewpoint moves around the thing to be described (this "moving viewpoint" explains why the sequence of tenses does not happen in Japanese; even when describing a past event, a present tense is used once the speaker's viewpoint is placed in the past). Also, a Japanese speaker does not express "who" does a thing unless necessary, and tends to avoid formulating sentences that sound deliberate, because a phrase that something naturally happens is preferred to an expression that the subject makes it happen. Thus, English is a language "to do," whereas Japanese is a language "to be." Kanaya also finds that old English neither had the subject, suggesting that English became a language to emphasize the subject and objectivity at a certain stage of the history. As modernization in the West was a process to establish the subject to look at objects from the fixed viewpoint (Hashizume 2007), it would be interesting to consider the possibility that present English is a construction of modernization (and Japanese is a language that has not been completely modernized), but this thesis does not discuss it further.

Facing the language barrier, how do Japanese immigrants try to overcome the difficult situation?   Interviewees talked about it as follows:

[Utterance B-24] Age 50-54

Now, I can make myself think that small mistakes [in English] are okay as far as what I say makes sense and as far as I am doing my job fine.

[Utterance B-25] Age 45-49

The key is not to worry about [English]. [...] Don't be shy, [...]. Have the nerve.

Their tactics ("make myself think [...] okay"; "not to worry") sound somewhat spiritualistic. But after all, all they can work on is frame of their own mind, facing the fundamental difference of two languages that they can do nothing about.

6.2.2 *Cultural differences*

The second largest number of interviewees pointed out cultural differences as a disadvantage. As discussions on the language barrier, the way they talked about cultural differences tended to be enthusiastic and sometimes poignant:

[Utterance B-26] Age 40-44

Human beings [in any culture] have a certain way of mutual communication that we learn growing in the culture. Like, this means this, that means that. I don't think I can overcome such cultural differences in this context. [...]

[When I was attending a school in Canada,] I didn't talk to somebody I didn't know well or not yet introduced. I talked with only close people, you know. [In Japanese culture] it is normal [not to speak to a stranger unless there is a particular reason]. And one day, a [...] woman whose face I knew for some time [in the school]

gave me a ride home. In the car, she said to me, "I thought you didn't like me." I

replied, "What? That's not true at all." Then she said, "But you didn't talk to me, did

you?" [...] [I was surprised] how she interpreted [my attitude]. Then I realized people

here talk with each other even between strangers. But Japanese people don't have

culture to take a chance to actively talk to a stranger. [...]

My [Canadian] parents-in-law call us often. [...] But what they say [...] are like,

"My neighbour Mary did such and such" or "[So and so] entered an elementary

school." My [Canadian] husband speaks something similar [with his parents]. Then

they talk for thirty, forty minutes. They do it frequently. [...] I wonder what meanings

those conversations have. [...] In the birthday card my mother-in-law sent me, she

wrote like, "My husband is travelling some place." Her message was like a diary [to

write down what's happened]. [...] I don't [openly] question the meaning, because I

would feel badly if I did. I am thankful to her who sent me the card. But, I thought,

"Her message isn't meaningful to *me* at all." [...] [When I write to a friend,] I

somewhat expect she will respond to my message. [...] But to a message like a diary,

[...] I don't know how to respond. [...] Because I cannot find a point in such

conversations, it is hard to live in this society that requires me to have such

conversations. [...] It is hard to have surface social conversations. [...]

[Also, in English,] words tend to be "inflated." ["Good" actually means so-so.]

But the Japanese take those words as they are. When a Canadian says it is great, a

Japanese person really thinks it is great. And Canadians change what they said, you

know. [...] A Canadian said "It is all right" confidently, but one hour later, she said,

"Oh, it didn't go well." If a Japanese person says one thing such confidently and

changes what's said easily, it is a shame. It harms one's reputation.

[Utterance B-27] Age 35-39

What is hard is that I am not supposed to emotionally depend on somebody [in Canada]. [...] I can do what I want to, but it eventually redounds on me when something happens. [...] There are times I feel people here are cold. [...] [Working holiday makers from Japan spend only for a short time and do not have many social contacts with Canadians, so they can only see good things[, but things are different for immigrants]. [...] Individualism here is very hard on me.

[Utterance B-28] Age 25-29

They talk a little too much [here]. [...] Their conversations have not much substance. [...] I can talk only about fun things with white Canadian friends, such as today's party or romance. I can talk those superficial things a lot, but do not have opportunities to sit down [to talk about deep things] face-to-face. [...] I wonder whether [mainstream Canadians] think talking about those topics is intrusive with each other. [...] I feel their human relationships are distant. Or., they may be considerate. [I don't know.]

[Utterance B-29] Age 35-39

[Sigh.] There are lots of hardships. [...] What is hard is that there are too many Canadians who don't keep words. [...] There are many businesspeople like that, which pisses me off. I wonder what they are thinking. [...] They are never punctual. [...] Japanese people care for others, like "excuse me" or "sorry." [Canadians] don't pay mind to those things at all. [...] There are no, no, no, no, no caring attitude towards others. No.

They talked about cultural differences as disadvantage in a variety of ways. Interviewees express that people in Canada are blunt, cold, rude, too confident, and do not apologize when necessary, and that they find those occasions stressful. Some remarked that they are expected to be independent in Canada, which is also stressful, because it means that they have to force themselves to be assertive, or that they can no longer depend on others. These points can be summarized that interviewees found individualism in Canada as a disadvantage.

Narratives of the interviewees show that the cultural differences they experience actually come from differences between dominant discourses of Japan and Canada. They feel that Canada is individualistic, because they moved from a place where compassion and thoughtfulness for others is more valued than one's independence and self-assertion. Also, advantages and disadvantages they talked about are often two sides of the same coin: for example, "people here are cold" is the reverse side of "I don't have to be tied with social obligations and human feelings."

Also, words have various meanings, as stated in Utterance B-26, "Human beings [in any culture] have a certain way of mutual communication that we learn growing in the culture. Like, this means this, that means that. I don't think I can overcome such cultural differences in this context." People who did not grow up in the language may understand literal meanings of the words, but may misunderstand the context of the words. Ueno (2003) also suggests that, in a society where people do not know each other, strangers actively exchange words to show they are not enemies. On the contrary, in Japan "courtesy distance" is required between strangers, and expressionless attitudes are rather a proof of safety (Ueno 2003, pp.33-35). Remarks such as "People in Canada do not keep

words" and "They talk too much" suggest that Japanese now face different ways of communication in Canada, but cannot read between the lines.

Alongside the language issue, Japanese immigrant women are deeply troubled with these cultural barriers, suffering from out-of-place feelings. They often expressed irritation and disappointment against Canada. There were even moments when their narratives sounded as unreasonable bad-mouthing about Canada, which reflects their deep every-day frustration. Also, it was probably because they unleashed their everyday frustrations that they do not usually express to others, regarding me as one of them and expecting empathy. Some expressed that they did not notice cultural differences at the early stage of their life in Canada, but realized them gradually.

There is no textbook to tell them what exactly cultural differences are and how they have to behave to be in-place. Thus by themselves they explore where the incomprehensibility comes from and how to cope with the out-of-place feelings, through their own experiences and observations. It is a lonely struggle, but some interviewees provided profound insights into people and society of Canada and of Japan.

6.2.3 *Difficulties in finding employment*

The disadvantage that the third largest number of interviewees pointed out was difficulties in finding a job they want in Canada.

[Utterance B-30] Age 35-39

> When I was in Japan, I had no difficulties in finding a job. I graduated from a
>
> university, you know. But in Canada, they probably don't recognize me as a person
>
> with a BA, even when I say so. If I had graduated from a Canadian university [...],

my vitae should have been more recognized. [...] [When I settled down in Canada], I tried to find a job and applied for jobs. But I couldn't find a job at all.

[Utterance B-31] Age 30-34

If one wants to get a job [in the field where I want to work], he or she needs to pass the exam in Canada. [...] Now I am in a college to get certified. [They recognize only Canadian or American degrees.] [...] But I am awaking to reality these days. [Professors say] only Canadians can get the job. I noticed that Canadian nationals get a job [even] before graduation. [...] I am still in the process of applying for a permanent resident status, [...] so I am not allowed to have a paid employment [and I cannot accumulate employment experiences to write on my vitae]. [...] I feel, "I am no good anymore!" [...] [You might think things will be fine after I became a landed immigrant, but considering that my vitae that has no information of my immigrant status has never been selected,] I suspect they reject my vitae just looking at my [Japanese] name on them.

[Utterance B-32] Age 35-39

What is hard in Canada is to find a job. [...] If you want to do an office work, good academic background is required. Immigrants have no [previous] connections in Canada, which is a handicap. All we can do is to explore possibilities all by oneself. [...] It is usually very hard for an immigrant woman to advance her career [in Canada]. It still might be possible for her just after marriage. But once she has a child, it is impossible [for her to have a career], unless she finds a rare chance to have parents near you and they can look after her child. I have seen many [Japanese] women [in Canada] like that.

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[Utterance B-33] Age 35-39

It is hard for immigrants to find a job. My husband was a medical doctor in his home country, China, [but his qualification is not recognized in Canada]. We were in a vicious circle. It was hard for him to get an additional education in Canada [because the tuition fee is expensive], and thus he was able to find only a low-pay job. [...] [Through struggles] he finally found that a certification to become a [medical] technologist [...] could be issued [if studied in an American university]. I backed up [his studying in the US]. [After he got the certification he finally found a job in a hospital as a technologist.] The first step in Canada is hard for immigrants.

[Utterance B-34] Age 40-44

They don't hire ones from overseas easily. For them, I have a person with language and cultural barrier. [Because I could not get a job,] I felt I was rejected. And I was really, deeply depressed for a long time. But I began to accept it as my reality. After I started thinking that I can go back to Japan [if things do not work out], I felt better.

In Canada, it is difficult for *shin ijuusha* women to find a job that matches their education and ability, but they realized the harsh reality after they came to Canada. During the fieldwork, I met a Japanese woman who was in training to become a massage therapist in Canada. She was hoping to become a scholar before and had specialized knowledge, but had given up finding a white-colour job in Canada. Some experienced depression, because they could not find an employment opportunity (also, see Shinohara 2003). Underemployment is a common problem among Japanese immigrant women.

It is generally difficult for them to obtain a professional or high-wage office job

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in Canada. Japanese companies in Canada may hire them as office workers, but people hired locally by Japanese companies tend to be given positions subordinate to workers sent from the head office in Japan. Furthermore, Japanese companies often expect female local hires to fulfil traditional Japanese gender roles. Ueno (2003) says that Japanese women who left Japan to escape from traditional gender roles often face more a sexist situation as a local worker of a Japanese company in the destination country (Ueno 2003, p160).

6.3 Experiences of Racism

Before starting interviews, I envisaged that a significant number of interviewees might point out racism as an answer to my question about disadvantages in their life in Canada. Only four spontaneously pointed out racism as a disadvantage of their Canadian life, however. Here are their utterances:

[Utterance B-35] Age 45-49

> What is hard [about living in Canada] is racism. [...] I am treated, though not always, as a second-class citizen. [...] [One day] I came close to colliding because the car didn't stop at the stop sign. It was her fault, but she chased me and said, "Go back to your country." I had already obtained Canadian nationality. [...]
>
> In my son's school, there are parents who ignore me when I greet them. [...] [Because my son looks like a mainstream Canadian] I was considered as his nanny for a while.

[Utterances B-36] Age 50-54

> It is true that I receive prejudice [from Canadians], which I realized while working

in a company. They had prejudice against me, like "She is Japanese and has accent in English," and looked down on me. Canadians women [who were my co-workers] got a quick promotion. But I don't know how to flatter boss. I didn't go for a drink after work with my co-workers. [...] I didn't want to do that much to get promotion either. All I had was my working skill. Not all Canadians were prejudiced, [...] but I remember I received prejudice. [...]

They often conduct a questionnaire survey in a shopping mall, you know. [...] They don't talk to me very much, saying "Excuse me, could you help this survey?" They choose Canadians [with blonde hair or blue eyes]. But they don't want to talk to Chinese, Vietnamese, or Asians.

[Utterance B-37] Age 50-59

There is racism in Canada, after all. It is a lie that racism doesn't exist here. [...] Racism is persistent. Of course, racism doesn't exist as far as they don't have a vested interest. But if, for example, their own child would like to get intermarried, they may start objecting to having a Japanese child-in-law. [...] They discriminate on the basis of education level, as well as skin colour. [...] I believe they discriminate on the basis of both cultural and skin colour differences. [...] They think [people of colour are] incomprehensible. They also fear. They fear change. They fear somebody different comes into their territory such as their circle of friends or workplace.

[Utterance B-38] Age 50-54

When I was doing a volunteer at my child's school, [...] there was a mother who derisively laughed at me, just at my appearance. I wondered whether I was doing

something wrong.

Other interviewees did not raise the issue of racism, so I specifically asked them whether they had ever experienced racism in Canada, after they finished pointing out all disadvantages they could think of. Their answers to the question were divided into three, "Yes," "Yes and No/Not sure," and "No," each of which represents one third of people who answered the question (Table 6). First of all, a few utterances of people who answered "Yes" will be shown below.

Table 6   Answers to the question "Have you ever experienced racism in Canada?"

Yes	7
Yes and No (Not sure)	7
No	7

[Utterance B-39] Age 35-39

> Yes[, I have experienced racism]. The place I lived before […] was [a small town in Ontario]. [...] I was the only Asian there. [...] So, they pointed fingers at me. [...] I was thrown snow [balls]. I didn't know what to do. [...] Adults didn't do, of course. But kids like ones in high-school threw something, like candies. I was really sad on those occasions.

[Utterance B-40] Age 30-34

> Racism? Yes, I have experienced, of course. [...] But I don't remember what specifically happened. [...] There is racism in any [country]. [...] I hear from other people that they experienced racism. I think I myself experienced it only once. And I don't even remember the only experience. [...] Anyway, I think something happened,

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but it must have been something trashy.

The next utterances are people who said "No."

[Utterance B-41] Age 40-44

I have never experienced [racism] in Canada[, though I experienced many times in the U.S.]. [...] [I]n Canada, there is an agreement that everybody shouldn't make racist comments in public. [...] There is no conspicuous discrimination in Canada, because people are polite.

[Utterance B-42] Age 35-39

Have I [ever been discriminated in Canada]? [...] Hmmmm, no.

The next utterances are of interviewees who answered "Yes and No," that is, they experienced something uncomfortable but they are not sure whether it was racism, or they attribute it to other reasons.

[Utterance B-43] Age 45-49

Discriminated?   Well, let me see. If any, it is because of my language. A Canadian didn't understand what I said and ignored me. I was offended. [...] Such incident happened many times.

[Utterance B-44] Age 40-44

Well, I am not sure whether it was discrimination, but for example, a cashier, who was happily greeting and chatting with a person before me, didn't even greet me when my turn came. [...] I wondered why this person changed so suddenly. [...] She didn't say a word when I said thank you. I wonder what that was. [...] I know not everybody is like that. [...] There are times when I meet friendly cashiers. [...] [But] I get nervous at a counter. I [sometimes] feel that the face of the receptionist gets

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somewhat frozen at me although she was just smiling at a person before me. But I often wonder whether they are racist or they are just unhappy because my English didn't make sense to them.

[Utterance B-45] Age 30-34

I think there is discrimination, [but] it is because I can't speak English, rather than racism. In places such as at a bank or at a cashier, there are times I am downplayed. [...] Like, the cashier person who could help me right away suddenly started counting money. [...] On those occasions, I feel I am taken lightly.

[Utterance B-46] Age 35-39

Only they can tell whether their doing is racist or not. When someone treats me badly, I don't know whether it is because I am Japanese and Asian, or because the person has a bad personality or is in bad mood by chance. I can never tell, so I cannot say for sure. But I have a plenty of bad experiences [that I was ill-treated]. When I went shopping alone, clerks didn't talk to me and treated me bluntly. I went back to the same store on the same day wearing the same clothes, but at that time with my [mainstream Canadian] husband. Then clerks talked to him, "May I help you?" [...] The same clerks spoke more to my husband because he is white, but not to me. [...] They gave off a negative vibe. But, luckily, I have never experienced overt discrimination.

Two points can be made. First, "racism" in their discourse usually means only obvious, overt racism, such as being thrown snow balls (Utterance B-39). That is why many interviewees answered that they have never experienced racism. Second, even when interviewees are mistreated, they are unsure why exactly it happened, and tend to

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interpret that it was because of the language barrier (Utterances B-43, 44, 45). Developing

this uncertainty, some interviewees even argued that racism is created in one's

imagination or they can overcome racism with their own state of mind:

[Utterance B-47] Age 30-34

> I think only a small minority [of Canadians] has prejudices. It is the mass media [that
>
> gives publicity to racism.]

[Utterance B-48] Age 50-54

> I think there is racism in Canada, but I can overcome racism with my smile.

[Utterance B-49] Age 35-39

> I have lived in Canada for ten years but still have Japanese accents. [...] It is true that
>
> I couldn't get a job because of the accent. But thanks to that, I also look younger and
>
> can get help often. [...] So, it is ultimately up to the frame of my mind [whether I
>
> receive a bad influence by being a Japanese person in Canada]. [...] It depends on
>
> the frame of my mind whether I interpret my treatment as [racial] harassment or not.
>
> For example, [when my Canadian boyfriend and I were] at Toronto airport, a female
>
> officer told only me to go to a different room and scrutinized my bag. [...] I found
>
> there were actually only Asians in the room. I felt uncomfortable and got angry.
>
> Even after we got home, I was upset, saying loudly it was harassment. Then my
>
> boyfriend told me to calm down, saying it was sexual harassment rather than racial
>
> harassment. He said that probably the female officer [got jealous] because we were
>
> happily walking together, and she made me to get scrutinized. [...] Looking back, I
>
> think [what my boyfriend said is] probably right, but [when I was told to go to a
>
> different room at the airport,] I thought it was because I am Asian. After all, it was

because I had the preconception that there are many people who look down on Asians. But as far as I am free from the idea, [this place] is a heaven. [...] Once I get negative, everything [around me gets negative]. [...] [How I interpret the situation] depends on my attitude. [...] You should have a touch mind to survive, in any country.

During the interviews, some were uncertain that they had an experience of racism, or associated their negative experiences with the language or cultural barrier. Others expressed that they should be able to overcome the problem with their own positive attitude. There were also interviewees who stressed that it was not a problem only in Canada, with comments such as "There is racism in any [country]" (Utterance B-40), "You should have a tough mind to survive, in any country" (Utterance B-49). By generalizing the issue, they meant that it was pointless to complain particularly about Canada, which led them to overlook the problem they were facing. Overall, interviewees' responses to the issue on racism were in low gear. There were few who considered racism with an "acute sense of crisis." It showed a marked difference from their enthusiastic and desperate manners when they talked about the language and cultural barriers. Then, why?

Interviewees themselves provided hints:

[Utterance B-50] Age 30-34

[When I am treated in a racist manner, m]y [Canadian] husband can tell that it is racist. For example, a waiter spoke to me in a nursery language [in a restaurant], but [I interpreted that he was speaking to me politely until my husband told me it was racist.] But I myself cannot tell the difference [because of the language and

cultural barrier].

[Utterance B-51] Age unknown

> [Immigrants from Japan] cannot tell there is racism in Canada. We cannot feel
> racism itself exists. Japanese people don't know what it is, because we did not grow
> up being discriminated.

There are three possible reasons for their non-experience of racism. First, they cannot tell the existence of racism because of the language and cultural barriers (Utterance B-50). Second, they had a privilege of being mainstream in Japan, and do not know what it is like to experience racism (Utterance B-51). Third, because of Canada's multicultural policy, racism today tends to be very subtle (Henry and Tator 2006; Essed 2002). A popular belief that denies existence of racism in Canada, frequently expressed through remarks such as "Canada is not a racist society" (Henry and Tator 2006), has a part in hiding racism from interviewees.

Japanese immigrant women live in Canada, but at the same time they are not really participating in Canada in a sense, due to their language and cultural barriers. Without being able to understand the exact meanings of the place woven by mainstream Canadians, they often cannot tell the existence of racism the expressions of which are very subtle today. Even when they experience something uncomfortable, all they can do is either just suspect the existence of racism or find other reasons for their negative experiences, such as the language difference or their own state of mind. The privileged position as the mainstream in Japan contributes to their low awareness of racism as well. Ironically, in a sense this "miscommunication" between the immigrants and people who were racist to them lightens the hardship of their life in Canada. The meanings of the

place and racism would not be exactly recognized and understood, and their awareness against racism would stay low, probably until their children's generation.

Before starting the interviews, the GREB pointed out that a question to ask experiences of racism was very sensitive and might offend or upset some participants. No interviewee interpreted it as a touchy question; however, racism is a sensitive issue only for people who can recognize its existence and its meanings.

This chapter has shown specific advantages and disadvantages *shin ijuusha* women discovered in Canada. Japanese women found that their real life in Canada as an immigrant was certainly quite different from one they had originally imagined before departure. The next chapter will explore topics related to their *shin ijuusha* social networks that serve an important role in carving their new life as Japanese Canadians.

CHAPTER 7

CONSTRUCTING SHIN IJUUSHA SOCIAL NETWORKS

This chapter will focus on issues related to *shin ijuusha* women's social networks in Canada. First, this chapter will illuminate how interviewees have constructed social networks with other *shin ijusha* women and men, describing the reality of *shin ijuusha* communities. Second, this chapter will examine the phenomenon that some Japanese immigrant women avoid other *shin ijuusha* people. Finally, this chapter will explore *shin ijuusha* women's Japanese language education for their second-generation children, which is closely related to *shin ijuusha* social networks.

7.1 Social Networks of Japanese Immigrants and Reality of *Shin Ijuusha* Communities

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, it is known that there is no discernible Japanese Canadian neighbourhood in today's Canada (Kobayashi 1996). If there is any Japanese landscape, it is of business entities such as Japanese restaurants and food shops with Japanese signs, which exist in cities such as in Toronto. These business entities are too dispersed to form a visible Japanese community (Tanaka 2003). Lack of visible spatial concentration of the Japanese population is a major difference from pre-war times when visible Japanese neighbourhoods existed in British Columbia, with a representative example of a Japanese community formed around Powell Street, Vancouver (e.g., Sasaki and Shimomura 1999).

According to interviews with community leaders based in Toronto, social

networks of *shin ijuusha* women and men, which can be described as *shin ijuusha* communities, have indeed existed at least in Toronto since the early 1970s, although their characteristics and participants have changed over the years. Comments of community leaders, two women and two men, are summed up as follows: The early *shin ijusha* communities began to develop when the population of post-war immigrants, who started moving to Canada from the late 1960s, reached a significant size. Many of the early *shin ijuusha* immigrated to Canada as skilled immigrants, and they typically had a *shin ijuusha* spouse. Since both the husband and wife were more comfortable in Japanese, they unsurprisingly hoped their *nisei* children also would speak Japanese. Thus those *shin ijuusha* parents cooperated to found Japanese language schools. Japanese language schools were bases not only for the language education but also for recreational events, and as a result became major *shin ijuusha* Japanese communities. Toronto *Shin Ijuusha Kyoukai* (New Japanese Canadian Association, NJCA) was founded in 1976. One of its major objectives was to support Japanese language and cultural education for *nisei* children (also, see Kikuchi 1996).

Other than skilled immigrants, there is another distinctive group of *shin ijuusha* people who are intermarried Japanese women. This group of women spontaneously formed various get-together and support groups, which are considered also as Japanese communities. According to this community leader, there are generational differences within this group because earlier female settlers tend to have higher education and are better-off, compared with more recent immigrants. Also, it was suggested that recently intermarried immigrant women may need supports in the future, because intermarried couple often do not realize cultural differences at the beginning and become aware of

issues of cultural differences and miscommunication several years after. It means that the necessity of *shin ijuusha* communities to help them could increase in years to come.

The Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre is another form of Japanese community in today's Canada, not only for *shin ijuusha* but also for all Japanese Canadians. One of today's interesting trends is that a significant number of non-Japanese ethnicity people who enjoy Japanese culture participate and play important roles in Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre activities, often participating in adopted Japanese cultural activities such as martial arts.

Other than the above, there are various internet sites and mailing lists where Japanese immigrants exchange information. Most of their topics are closely related to their everyday immigrant lives, such as how to find good Japanese food, how to make inexpensive telephone calls to Japan, how to find a family doctor they can be happy with, how to raise children, and how to cope with cultural differences of an intermarried couple. When problems occur, newly arrived immigrants often ask for help via the internet, and from those who have lived in Canada longer and had similar experiences give useful advice to them. These cyberspaces are also considered as *shin ijuusha* communities.

According to community leaders, most of the *shin ijuusha* communities exist to serve pragmatic interests, including business and Japanese education for children. These communities tend to be reluctant to be involved with political movements, such as human rights movements and networking with other Asians. *Shin ijuusha* networking and cooperation with existing Nikkei communities seem also in low gear, partly because of the language barrier and generational differences[8]. Community leaders also note, however,

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[8] NJCA (New Japanese Canadian Association) has a policy to actively cooperate with existing Japanese

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that some *shin ijuusha* organizations, including Japanese Social Services and various religious organizations, address pertinent issues and try to help difficult situations of individual immigrants, such as depression, domestic violence from husbands, divorce and custody; immigrants often face larger problems than they did in Japan, due to language and cultural barriers.

I asked 48 interviewees whether they are associated with a Japanese Canadian community/other *shin ijuusha* people in Canada (Table 7 (a)). The majority have relations with other *shin ijuusha* people or are involved with some kind of *shin ijuusha* organizations. Table 7 (b) lists occasions they have relations with other Japanese people. This table shows that meeting other *shin ijuusha* acquaintances/friends is the most common way to be a part of *shin ijuusha* networks. As for *shin ijuusha* organizations/groups in which interviewees participate, they can be categorized into five: (1) Japanese workplaces, (2) Japanese institutions founded for their *nisei* children (e.g., language school), (3) associations or organizations to pursue common interests of *shin ijuusha* (e.g., NJCA; self-help group), (4) entertainment gatherings to mingle with other *shin ijuusha* people, and (5) religious organizations specialized for Japanese immigrants. Of course, this categorization is not absolute: for example, Japanese language schools (above (2)) are closely related to the New Japanese Canadian Association (the above (5)).

Canadian organizations and contribute to development of the whole Japanese society (Eguchi 1996).

Table 7   *Shin ijuusha* social networks/communities

(a) Answers to the question "Are you associated with a Japanese community, or with other Japanese people in Canada?"

Yes	40
Not much	8
No	0
Total	48

(b) Answers to the question "On what occasions are you involved with other Japanese people?"*

Meeting *shin ijuusha* acquaintances/friends	23
Workplace (e.g., Japanese company)	12
Japanese language schools/nursery for children	11
Shin ijuusha organizations (e.g., NJCA)	8
Religious organizations	5
Entertainment gatherings (e.g., karaoke)	4

*plural answers

Two points can be made, based on remarks of community leaders and other interviewees. First, it is confirmed that there are no discernible *shin ijuusha* communities. There is neither a comprehensive, spatially-bounded "Japanese town," nor a representative community. *Shin ijuusha* communities are specialized and segmented, and often not fixed in time and space. Japanese immigrants today tend to participate in a *shin ijuusha* community only to suit specific needs and preferences, and thus their involvements tend to be temporal. For example, one immigrant woman works at a Japanese company and occasionally joins a self-help group to share problems of being an immigrant with others, but she speaks in English with her non-Japanese spouse at home.

Many *shin ijuusha* groups are to help networking of Japanese immigrants who

straddle Japanese and Canadian (non-Japanese) environments (e.g., self-help group), or to resolve issues that occur at the border between the two (e.g., Japanese language school), rather than to have exclusive *shin ijuusha* time and space. Also, "Japanese blood" or "biological elements" is no longer necessary in forming a Japanese Canadian community, as evidenced by Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre activities. Today's *shin ijuusha* communities are diverse and fragmented.

The second point is that, although the majority of interviewed women are associated with Japanese communities, there are also people who are distant from other Japanese immigrants. In addition to eight interviewees who do not have much contact with other *shin ijuusha* population (shown in Table 7 (a)), seven women say that they used to be distant from Japanese communities, three say they would like to be more distant if possible, and fourteen made a remark that they have seen other *shin ijuusha* who try to be distant from other Japanese people. It seems this avoidance of other Japanese immigrants is a certain phenomenon, and thus the next section will examine the issue further.

7.2 Avoidance of Other Japanese Immigrants

Narratives of interviewees suggested why some people are distant from Japanese communities:

[Utterance C-1] Age 45-49

> [Japanese community] is such a small world. Everybody is connected with each other somewhere. So, both good and bad things get [quickly gossiped about and] conveyed all over the community (laugh).

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[Utterance C-2] Age 45-49

> Recently, [I must have many contacts with Japanese people because they are] my business customers. [...] But I used to stay away from other Japanese people. [...] I didn't want to be associated with other Japanese people because of their bullying. [...] [This Japanese community is] so small. [...] I wondered why they talked about others behind their back so much.

[Utterance C-3] Age 35-39

> [I think that a Japanese community] is troublesome. [...] Sometimes I meet a *shin ijusha* person who has an attitude like "I am different from you" [and feel uncomfortable]. [...] Those people look down perhaps because I used to be a working-holiday maker. [...] They are little bit like [...] "[We are] a little better than you." There are friendly people, but there are also those people.

[Utterance C-4] Age 40-44

> Intermarried women [including me] do not have close contact with a Japanese community. I have nothing to do with wives of [Japanese] businessmen. Their world and ours are different, and they will go back [to Japan] some day. They came to Canada with a different mindset and are stick together in one group. It is hard to socialize with them. [...] Gossips, especially bad ones, go around quickly. And the rank of their husband affects [their relationships]. It is all right to socialize with them a little. But they are rich. If I could afford playing golfing and tennis or joining a craft class with them, it would be fun, but [actually I can't].

[Utterance C-5] Age 30-34

> I think some don't like Japanese communities because those communities have a

peculiar atmosphere. [...] What's uncomfortable is that those Japanese communities consist of a circle of people who already know with each other. There is an air that people like me cannot join easily. [...] Japanese people can be stuck-up, you know. [...] They are like, "You are a newcomer, aren't you?" [Those communities are for Japanese immigrants who have live in Canada for some time and already have a family, so t]hey unfriendly look at me like a girl who came to Canada suddenly with no background. [...] If they don't want to let me in, I don't want to join them either.

[Utterance C-6] Age 60-64

It is stressful to be associated with Japanese people. [...] We [end up] socializ[ing] with other Japanese people more frequently than we used to do in Japan, [...] because we need to help with each other [in Canada].

[Utterance C-7] Age 35-39

[My daughter was learning] Japanese dance for a year or so. [The dance school] seemed troublesome. [...] Things were halfway. I wondered how I should socialize with others, in a Japanese style or in a Canadian style. [...] I am glad we quit it in a year.

Fourteen interviewees point out that Japanese communities tend to be difficult and troublesome, because annoying relationships are often accompanied. Those relationships include lack of privacy and uncomfortable hierarchical relations among Japanese population (e.g., expatriate businesspeople vs. intermarried people shown in Utterance C-4; oldies vs. newcomers mentioned in Utterance C-5). Bothersome human relationship was also a point when the interviewees discussed their home country, Japan, as shown in Chapter 5. But Japanese communities in Canada can be even more

bothersome, because of the limited number of immigrants who consist of these communities, and also because of the necessity of immigrants' mutual help that often makes them unavoidable with each other (Utterance C-6). Confusing "halfway" manners and customs (Utterance C-7) adds uncertainty and another problem. Thus some immigrant women become distant from *shin ijuusha* social networks.

The below utterances are also on bothersome Japanese communities, but with a somewhat different perspective:

[Utterance C-8] Age 35-39

> I try to avoid Japanese communities [...] such as *karaoke* parties [...] and social gatherings with *sake*. [...] I joined a few times and hated them. [...] People who join those occasions are business people or immigrants. They do the same things they did in Japan. I wonder why we have to do the same things after leaving Japan. [...] I think joining these gatherings is very silly. I am sorry for my strong expressions, but I cannot stand them. [...] Japanese person as an individual does not do the same thing as others do, but once they are in a group, the Japanese characteristic comes out suddenly. I don't like it. I especially hate business people. [...] They act with Japanese viewpoints.

[Utterance C-9] Age 50-54

> Wherever they are, Japanese people mind somebody else's business. They ask me various questions. I don't like it. I am already a Canadian, so it is none of their business. I feel, "Leave me alone." [...] So, I don't really want to have contact with Japanese people. [...] I have enough Canadian friends, and that's enough. [...] It is a bad habit of Japanese people to be nosy. [...] [Also, i]t is hard to tell what Japanese

people are [really] thinking. [...] Canadians would express themselves, saying "I think such and such."   Whether I respect their opinions is up to me. But I don't know what Japanese people [really] think, even when they say "All right," "No, thank you," or "Yes." [...] Because Japanese expressions are subtle, I can't understand what they [really] think. I don't like it. It is stressful.

These utterances on bothersome Japanese communities are different from previously examined utterances from C-1 to C-7, in that these interviewees discuss the communities from a *non-Japanese standpoint*. Comments such as "I cannot stand them. [...] They act with Japanese viewpoints" and "I am already a Canadian, so [...] I feel, 'Leave me alone'" imply that they are critical of a Japanese community not because it is troublesome but *because it is Japanese*, ultimately. It seems these interviewees regard other Japanese people as "them," not "us."

However critical they may be, none of the interviewees, including interviewees of Utterances C-8 and C-9, completely shut out Japanese related matters. They helped my Japan-related research and did not mind talking with me in Japanese. It seems, however, that there are Japanese immigrants who really try to avoid other Japanese in Canada:

[Utterance C-10] Age 45-49

When I was living in [a different place in Canada], there was another Japanese person. We called her Hana-san [pseudonym], but it seemed it wasn't her original name. [...] She hated Japanese people. She always spoke in English to me. [...] She really hated Japanese people. So when Japanese people thronged into the city, she moved out [of the city].

Other than this Hana-san's case, I heard stories from some interviewees about

Japanese immigrant women and men who seem to have hatred or antipathy toward Japan-related matters. As discussed in Chapter 5, Japanese people immigrate to Canada, driven by a strong longing feeling towards Canada, the West, or a different world from Japan. Also, they come to Canada to change their lives. It is understandable that some immigrants may try to be a part of Canada by denying the language and other people from Japan. Canadian multiculturalism would not make a difference for them, because they want to fit in to the Canada/the West that they imagine. For people who want to blend themselves into Canada/the West, encounter with other Japanese could be embarrassing, awkward or even repulsive.

Some interviewees suggested that they have met Japanese immigrants who shun all Japan-related things. I tried to interview those people, but did not succeed. Perhaps they thoroughly reject Japan-related matters, including my research.

Other than the above reasons, necessity to improve English was often pointed out as a reason for being distant from other Japanese in Canada:

[Utterance C-11] Age 30-34

> I didn't have necessity to contact a Japanese community before I started teaching in a Japanese language school. [...] I wanted to improve my English quickly.

[Utterance C-12] Age 40-44

> I don't [have any contacts with other Japanese]. I decided not to speak in Japanese [to improve my English]. [...] Because I am in Canada, I would like to have contacts with Canadians and non-Japanese people. [...] It's not like I avoid Japanese people, but once I join a Japanese group, I won't be able to get away from it, you know.

Nine interviewed women pointed out necessity to improve English as a reason

for staying away from Japanese communities. Besides, interviewees discussed other reasons for being distant from other Japanese people:

[Utterance C-13] Age 40-44

Intermarried Japanese women tend not to stick together very much. [...] They came to Canada of their own accord. They stand on their own feet and some have their own career. [...] I guess they have no intention to stick only with people from Japan. As for me, I want to stick together if I can, because I am weaker and don't have career, status and power. So, when I miss people, I prefer having friends whom I can talk in Japanese with. Just an empty talk [in Japanese] makes me feel better, you know.

[Utterance C-14] Age 55-59

I guess, after the War, there was no necessity [for Japanese immigrants] to [...] help each other [for daily economic survival], and [thus] there was no need to stick together.

[Utterance C-15] Age unknown

As for intermarried women, [involvement in a Japanese community] may up to her husband. You know, their husbands may not want to get involved in a Japanese community.

It was suggested that strong people do not have to rely on a Japanese community (Utterance C-13), that there is no longer economic necessity to be together (C-14), and that intermarried immigrants may not join a Japanese community because other family members do not participate (C-15).

Finally, it was suggested that avoidance of other Japanese people is associated

with the immediate post-war measures that prevented Japanese Canadians to form a Japanese community:

[Utterance C-16] Age 50-54

> Japanese people are dispersed to the extent we start wondering why. [...] [One] reason I heard is that possessions of Japanese people who used to live in Vancouver were taken away during the War, and they came to Ontario because they had no other choice [...]. [They were told not to create a Japanese community.] Then they got dispersed.

[Utterance C-17] Age 40-44

> I think the reason why Japanese people do not stick together is partly because of the War influence.

[Utterance C-18] Age 55-59

> [The reason why there is no Japanese town is] because Japanese people are told not to create it. [...] We were told so [when we immigrated to Canada in the 1970s]. I think everybody [who was a pioneer *shin ijuusha*] was told so. [...] A minister [...] clearly advised us so. Otherwise, we [*shin ijuusha*] hadn't known about it at all. Anyway, we were told that Japanese people should not stick together to live. In addition, *issei* woman here told me not to boil *daikon* [because its smell would annoy mainstream Canadians]. [...] But later I found white people also eat *daikon*. So, what somebody start saying is handed down [regardless whether it is right], [...] like not to create a Japanese community.

The above three women suggested that the immediate post-war measure to force Japanese Canadians to be dispersed is associated with non-existence of visible Japanese

communities today. Actually, however, only one interviewee (Utterance C-18) who immigrated to Canada in the 1970s was directly advised not to create a Japanese community, and other immigrants do not seem to feel such pressure. The relation between pre-war and post-war Nikkei populations is generally not so close because of language and generational differences, and thus it is unlikely that post-war immigrants consciously decide to live dispersed due to Japanese Canadian history. Many young recent immigrants probably do not even know about such Japanese Canadian history.

Destruction of pre-war Japanese Canadian communities may be indirectly associated with non-existence of visible *shin ijuusha* communities because post-war immigrants did not have visible Japanese community examples to follow when they arrived at Canada. If there was a visible Japanese Canadian neighbourhood, it could work as a reference or an incentive for *shin ijuusha* settling down.

7.3 Returning to Japanese Communities

The last section explored various reasons why some Japanese immigrant women place a distance from Japanese communities/other Japanese people in Canada. Interviews revealed, however, that there is a phenomenon that immigrants who once stayed away from Japanese communities began to have contacts with them in a period of time, as shown in the below utterances:

[Utterance C-19] Age 30-34

Right after I came to Canada to study, I thought I shouldn't talk with other Japanese to improve my English. [...] But doing it, I ended up gasping for breath. [...] I felt I would die, as far as I am so hard on myself. [...] I can't express my emotions enough

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without using Japanese.

There is a discourse that strong people or those pushing themselves can live without Japanese communities/other Japanese people, whereas the weaker or relaxed people need them (also, see Utterance C-13). Japanese immigrants begin to have contact with other Japanese people when they need help or want to relaxed. Regarding this point, a community-leader woman gave the following comments:

[Utterance C-20] Age 60-64

I think there are two types of people who say "I am not associated with a Japanese community." [...] First, people who are proud that they are not in the community. [When they say so, t]hey mean, "I am not living in such a small world." [But they are very often not associated with any Canadian community either. They actually live in their own little world.] [...] [The second type of people] are Japanese people who actually live only in the [non-Japanese] Canadian society, [...] having nothing to do with Japanese communities. [...]

I have seen people [who say "I am not associated with a Japanese community" in English with an aversion]. [...] I think there are two possibilities. First, they can be people whose English is truly perfect, so perfect that they can work as a simultaneous interpreter. They have no difficulties in English without any language disadvantages living in the Canadian society. [Second, they can be people whose English are not perfect.] They say they have nothing to do with Japan, speaking in halfway English.

At the beginning of my Canadian life, I also thought I wouldn't have contacts with the Japanese. I thought I would improve my English. That's the path everybody takes. I understand [people who avoid other Japanese] very well, because that's the

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path I also took. But after a period of time, [our progress in English reach a plateau and] we realize the limitation of our ability. Then, I think it is very silly to be exclusive and to make our world smaller, saying "I won't have contacts with the Japanese." [...] There are people who say they are not associated with the Japanese because they hate the exclusive society like Japan, without realizing they themselves are exclusive. [...] I know a lot of people like that.

As shown in Chapter 6, language and cultural barriers are lifetime disadvantages for many *shin ijuusha* women who moved to Canada after they became adults. They often push themselves at an earlier stage to be distant from Japan-related things, but some eventually realize that they need Japanese language, food or customs at least in some parts of their Canadian life, for their survival or for being and relaxing themselves. Thus, at a certain stage, they strike a balance between the life in a Canadian/non-Japanese community and one in a Japanese community, though there may be some who stay away from Japanese communities for good.

Interviews revealed that the moment they reconcile themselves with Japanese communities often comes when their *nisei* children are concerned:

[Utterance C-21] Age 45-49

Right after I came to Canada, I was thinking that I wouldn't get associated with Japanese communities. But, when my child reached school age, I was torn between sending her to a Japanese school and not to. [I, h]er mother is Japanese who grew up in Japanese culture and came to Canada as an immigrant. And [I realized] I wish her to get to know Japanese culture through the Japanese language. Then my way of thinking changed. I reaffirmed that I have Japanese blood in me, thinking that it is

important to make much of the culture in me, and decided to send my child to a Japanese school. Around the same time, I was asked whether I wanted to teach at a Japanese school[, and I began to be involved in a Japanese community]. [...]

[At the beginning] I had no intention to have my child learn Japanese. [...] My husband is not Japanese. I was busy learning English and surviving in this English-speaking society. Considering how to fit and live in this society was as much as I could do. [...] But I get very happy when my child [...] is proud to be Japanese [...] and esteems [the language] her mother speaks. I was happy when she was telling her school friends [...] that she understands Japanese. Such things encourage me. [...] There are many good things about Japanese culture [such as] consideration of the feelings of others. [...] I would like [...] my children to learn those as well.

A male community-leader also says that many Japanese immigrant women (and men) begin to be involved in Japanese communities, especially Japanese schools, for their *nisei* children. The time when their children reach school is a turning point for many *shin ijuusha* women who have been distancing themselves from Japanese communities; it is an opportunity to reconsider whether they want to do without the language, customs and people from their home country. Having concluded that they would like their children to understand their language and customs, they return to Japanese communities, for their children and for themselves. In other words, their decision-making on Japanese education for children is also an opportunity to reposition themselves in Canada.

As Japanese language education for children is a key for Japanese immigrants to be associated with Japanese communities, the next section will examine attitudes of *shin ijuusha* women towards Japanese education for children.

7.4 Japanese Education for Children

Twenty-eight out of 48 interviewees are mothers[9], and they discussed their opinions and experiences on Japanese education for *nisei* children. All of them have tried to teach Japanese to their children, at least once (Table 8 (a)). Table 8 (b) lists reasons why they wish to teach Japanese to children. The largest number of interviewees suggested that it was just because they want to maintain a cultural link: ("Because I want them to succeed Japanese culture," "Because I want them to speak Japanese," "Because I want them to know Japan/the Japanese," and "Because I want them to keep ties with Japan"). Interviews revealed that they generally think that teaching Japanese language and culture are inseparable.

Table 8 (c) lists means to teach Japanese language and culture to their children. It is most common to send children to a Saturday Japanese school. It is also common for *shin jussha* women to provide transnational language education for their children, bringing children to Japan and sending them to school or kindergarten in Japan for a certain period. Interviewees are generally devoted to Japanese education for their children, taking significant amount of time, energy and money.

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[9] One expectant mother is included.

Table 8   Japanese education for children

(a) Answers to the question "Have you tried to teach Japanese language to your child(ren)?"*

Yes   27**
No   0

* This is a question to 27 interviewees who are mothers.
** Includes one answer of an expectant mother who is determined to teach Japanese to her child.

(b) Answers to the question "Why do/did you want your child(ren) to speak Japanese?"*

Because I want them to succeed Japanese culture   5
Because it is about their roots   5
Because I want them to speak Japanese   4
Because it is for their sake   2
Because I want them to know Japan/the Japanese   2
Because I want them to keep ties with Japan   1
Because I am better at Japanese   1
Because they have Japanese blood   1
So that they can respect other cultures   1

* Plural answers

(c) Answers to the question "How do/did you teach Japanese language and culture to your child(ren)?"*

Sending them to Japanese language school   11
Bringing/Sending them to Japan   8
Teaching by myself   6
Sending them to school/kindergarten in Japan   5**
Taking them to JCCC   2
Providing them with Japanese comics and games   2
Teaching by their grandparents in Japan   2
Cooking Japanese food   1

* Plural answers
** Includes 2 who are planning to do so

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They often express, however, that it is very difficult to get children to learn Japanese to a satisfactory level:

[Utterance C-22] Age 35-39

> I was determined to devote myself to Japanese language education [for my son], even before he was born. [Other Japanese immigrants] said, "Children speak less and less Japanese once they enter an elementary school, because children spend all day in school in English environment." Although they said so, I said "I am not like that, I will try hard. I will teach him even how to read and write Japanese." But lots of people said, "It is difficult to teach children how to read and write [Japanese]. Teaching just how to speak is the best we can do." But I was like, "No. I will do it. [...]." But after all, I found it is difficult (laugh). My resolution was so firm. But in reality, the obstacle was so big. [...] I speak to him in Japanese, but he speaks more and more English [over time].

[Utterance C-23] Age 50-54

> I brought [my son] to a [Saturday Japanese] school. But he refused, because he was too old by then. [So I gave up.]

[Utterance C-24] Age 55-59

> My children's Japanese are bumbleheaded. [...] Theirs are different from Japanese spoken in Japan.

[Utterance C-25] Age 60-64

> I failed [to teach Japanese to my child]. [...] I think speaking a [foreign] language requires an [inborn] ability, [as] playing piano. [...] Anybody makes progress to certain extent, if they try hard. But whether the person can become a professional

pianist [...] depends on his or her [inborn] ability. Likewise, anybody can make progress in speaking a second language to some extent. But [...] whether the person can speak the second language to the extent as a native speaker depends indeed on his or her ability. [...] It never happens that a child grown up in a bilingual family [naturally] becomes a bilingual. Never.

A male community leader compares teaching Japanese to *nisei* children as a "losing battle," as the first language of *nisei* children usually turns from Japanese into English when they are in grades two or three, and thus Saturday Japanese schools end up being for children to remember just basic Japanese they have acquired by then, not to develop it further. It is common that interviewed women express certain disappointment or resignation, as their children's Japanese did not develop as they originally expected: thirteen interviewees express certain regret, while six are happy with the level of Japanese children have acquired. Some say that Japanese education is especially difficult in a family in which the husband does not speak Japanese. In case they feel they failed in Japanese education for their children, they tend to blame themselves for lack of their efforts as a parent. A community-leader woman explained why Japanese mothers are devoted to language education in spite of such difficulties: "[It] is because we[, *shin ijuusha issei*,] experienced hardships in speaking the [second] language. So [parents] force children to go to a Japanese school, [but many children disappoint them in their language advancement]. [...] It is the parents' dream to have kids bilingual. [...] But [in reality] there are few perfect bilingual [children] who can read, write and speak [Japanese] perfectly."

Learning Japanese in Canada must be difficult for *nisei* children today, especially

in the situation that there is no Japanese neighbourhood and they have few opportunities to use Japanese other than with their Japanese parent(s). Things were different before World War II, as pre-war *nisei* children who grew up in a Japanese neighbourhood learned living Japanese used in their community and many became fluent. Also, as discussed in Chapter 6, the great difference between English and Japanese probably has to increase the difficulties for *shin ijuusha* to raise children bilingually.

Although interviewees tend to express sense of resignation about their language education, six women said that their children have succeeded in learning some Japanese culture or become interested in Japan. Several suggested that their grown-up children chose to visit Japan on their own will, using opportunities such as the JET programme. Their children's acquisition of Japanese might have fallen short of their expectations, but some *shin ijuusha* surely succeeded in connecting children with their home country, Japan.

This chapter has examined issues related to social networks of Japanese immigrant women, to show that social networks in both Japan and Canada are very important to their experiences of immigration and to their adjustment to a new way of life. The next chapter will turn to questions of citizenship, to explore *shin ijuusha* women's issues of whether to become Canadian or to remain Japanese.

CHAPTER 8

"JAPANESE" OR "CANADIAN"?

This chapter will focus on issues related to Japanese immigrant women's belonging. First, this chapter will examine their perceptions about becoming Canadian/remaining Japanese from two angles: in the context of their legal status and regarding the feeling of who they are. Section 8.1 will explore meanings of landed immigrant status and nationality for *shin ijuusha* women, and Section 8.2 will consider how they feel about themselves, "Japanese" or "Canadian." Second, this chapter will consider whether Canada has become their home in Section 8.3.

8.1 Perceptions about Landed Immigrant Status and Nationality

This section will show various meanings of landed immigrant status and nationality for Japanese immigrant women that came to light during the interviews. It will illuminate how immigrants' interpretations of these legal statuses are related to their decision-making to legally become Canadian or remain Japanese.

It has to be noted that the definition of "nationality" in this thesis is legally belonging to a nation. During interviews, Japanese immigrant women interchangeably used three words *kokuseki*, *shimin-ken* and *shitizunshippu* to indicate "legal belonging to a nation," without implications of civil rights. Thus, in the below cited utterances, all the three words are translated as "nationality," not as "citizenship."

For reference, utterances quoted in this section 8.1 will show the interviewee's immigration status in addition to age.

8.1.1 *Acquired landed immigrant status/nationality of Canada because they can reside in Canada/because they will continue to live in Canada*

The below are utterances of interviewees who say that they decided to acquire landed immigrant status/nationality because they physically moved to Canada:

[Utterance D-1] Age 30-34, visa holder, applying for landed immigrant status

> [My Canadian husband and I decided to live in Canada at least for a few years.] To continue to live here for a few years, I didn't have any option other than applying for landed immigrant status. If you have neither a student nor work visa, you have to acquire landed immigrant status to continue to live in Canada.

Her utterance on landed immigrant status shows a straightforward and pragmatic logic that she decided to acquire Canadian landed immigrant status because it allows her to reside in Canada. Next utterances are on nationality:

[Utterance D-2] Age 55-59, Canadian national

> I intended [to become a Canadian from the beginning]. [I thought so because w]hen I got married [to my Canadian husband], my father told me, "You will make Canada your final home, won't you?"

[Utterance D-3] Age 50-54, Canadian national

> [When I became a Canadian national, m]y mother [in Japan] was told by a government official to abolish [my nationality in Japan]. Japan does not allow dual nationality, you know. I had decided to live here with my [non-Japanese] husband. I didn't intend to return to Japan. I had decided to make here my final home. [...] I didn't mind doing without [Japanese nationality]. I thought I would just visit Japan. So I abolished [Japanese nationality].

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These utterances on nationality also show a straightforward logic that the interviewees acquired Canadian nationality because they moved from Japan to Canada. Utterance D-3 shows a logic that goes one more step further that she no longer needs Japanese nationality because she no longer lives in Japan. Their actions are to match their space of nationality and their space of living, in other words.

Things, however, are not always straightforward. Acquiring the rights to permanently reside in Canada, especially acquiring Canadian nationality, is often not a matter-of-course decision. Issues and emotional conflicts occur particularly because of the present state that the Japanese government does not allow the Japanese to have dual nationality[10]. How this condition affects Japanese immigrant women's lives in Canada will be explored below.

8.1.2 *The space of nationality is more than about the space they physically live in*

Below are voices of *shin ijuusha* women who chose one nationality, facing the condition that dual nationality is not allowed for the Japanese.

[Utterance D-4] Age 40-44, landed immigrant

> I don't intend to acquire [Canadian] nationality. [...] I know there are [Japanese] people
>
> who [...] keep [illegal] dual nationality [...] [but, if I did,] I would worry that some day
>
> it could be revealed. [...] And, it is also because I want to be Japanese, from the
>
> moment I was born and till the moment I die. [Nationality] is just an issue of paper, but
>
> it is all right [for me not becoming a Canadian national] as far as I can live in Canada

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[10] There are cases that dual nationality is allowed if within a fixed time limit. For example, Canadian-born *nisei* children of *shin ijuusha* parent(s) can legally be both Canadian and Japanese national until they become 22 years old. They are required to choose one nationality by the time they turn to the legal age (Ministry of Justice of Japan, Civil Affairs Bureau 2008).

as a landed immigrant.

[Utterance D-5] Age 45-49, Canadian national

I didn't want to become a Canadian. I wanted to keep Japanese nationality. But when I moved to the U.S. [with my Canadian husband and son], I was told that if I leave Canada for more than six months, I would have to reapply for landed immigrant status [to come back to live in Canada]. So I couldn't help it. I didn't want to [apply for landed immigrant status] many times [because it is troublesome], and we knew we would come back [to Canada anyway]. [...] I obtained Canadian nationality because I was told I would lose the immigrant status [once I obtained]. But I preferred being landed immigrant. I wanted to keep my Japanese passport.

The main space of their daily living of all the above interviewees is already Canada, not Japan, but they express attachment to their original nationality. The interviewee of Utterance D-5 chose to become a Canadian national to gain the right to live freely in Canada, but expressed bitterness and sense of loss. Indeed, a significant number of interviewees express strong attachment to Japanese nationality, revealing that *shin ijuusha* women whose base is already in Canada do not necessarily take an action to match their space of nationality and their space of living. Comments such as "I want to be Japanese, from the moment I was born and till the moment I die" (Utterance D-4) suggests that the space of nationality means more than the space they physically live in. For some immigrant women, nationality is about an issue of who they are, or who they want to remain, and thus they are reluctant to discard their original nationality.

It is very common that *shin ijuusha* women have anguish over the either-or decision of nationality. Not a few choose to remain as a landed immigrant just because

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they do not want to discard Japanese nationality. As a result, they face significant disadvantages, especially their nonvoting situation in Canada. It does not seem very healthy that they cannot participate in politics of the space where they have lived for years. Also, it is often heard that some Japanese immigrants decide to keep illegal dual nationality, walking on thorns, though this thesis will not explore this issue further. The interviews revealed that the current system of Japan that does not allow the Japanese to have dual nationality contradicts the transnational reality of Japanese immigrant women who keep ties with the two countries even after emigration.

So far, utterances of interviewees who want(ed) to be Japanese nationals have been shown, but below is an opposite case that an interviewee wants to be Canadian national.

[Utterance D-6] Age 30-34, landed immigrant

> [I intend to apply for Canadian nationality.] Newspaper today had an article that some immigrants choose Canada because of [the ideal] Trudeau advocated. [...] It is multicultural Canada where people with different ethnic backgrounds can become Canadians, without changing who they are. [For example, m]any people who moved here from the United States are like that, aren't they? They came to Canada, longing for [Canada's ideal, not] economy. [...] Reading the article, I realized that I should be probably one of those people. [...]

> [Originally] I came to Canada not because of my own decision but because of my Canadian boyfriend. So I used to leave a half of my heart in Japan. [...] So whenever a hard thing happened, I always thought, "This could not happen in Japan," "If I were in Japan, I shouldn't have faced this." [...] I used to have such a negative thinking,

because I didn't [discard everything about Japan] and didn't make the decision [to live

in Canada for my own sake]. [But a] few years later, I finally determined that I would

make [Canada] home and would continue to [really] live here from then on. [...] [I

don't quite feel Canada is my hometown yet.]   I would like to acquire [Canadian]

nationality [...], so that I can decide my hometown on my own initiative. [...]

Nationality does not just mean the right to vote [...]. It is a proof of my resolution to

live here. [...] I would acquire the nationality for my own sake [...].

This interviewee's action to try to match the country of nationality and the

country of living is seemingly similar to cases of Utterances D-2 and 3. Her case is indeed

different, however, in that she attaches more meanings to nationality. She decided to

acquire Canadian nationality, because (1) she supports the policy (multiculturalism) of

Canada and also because (2) she thinks that her home is in the country of nationality, and

that acquiring Canadian nationality would make Canada her home (In other words, she

cannot feel that Canada is home as long as her nationality is Japanese). She means that

the space of nationality is the space where the ideals one supports are woven, and that

acquiring nationality of one space helps her to make the space the home that she can

belong to emotionally. That is, in her case, acquisition of the legal right of belonging to

one space is acquisition of emotional belonging to the space. Acquisition of nationality

can change space into a place.

The interviews have shown that, for Japanese immigrant women, the space of

nationality can be more than the space they physically live in. It can be about who they

are, what they believe in, how they live, and where they emotionally belong. When they

make a decision on their landed immigrant status/nationality, they also decide how they

will live in Canada.

8.1.3 *Decision of nationality for the sake of their family*

Another interesting finding in their narratives is that some interviewees regard landed immigrant status/nationality as family-related issues. There are *shin ijuusha* women who decided their nationality for the sake of family members:

[Utterance D-7] Age 35-39, landed immigrant

> In the future, I might go back to Japan [to look after my parents]. [...] That is another reason why I keep Japanese nationality. Otherwise, I will have to go to Japan as a visitor [and then the care-giving would become more troublesome].

[Utterance D-8] Age 30-34, visa holder, applying for landed immigrant status

> There will be a little problem [if I acquire Canadian nationality], regarding my family [in Japan]. My parents don't want that. They are all right about my living here, but my obtaining [Canadian] nationality is too much for them. [...] They say, "We want you to remain Japanese" [...], although they have already given up the idea that I come back and live in Japan.

As the above utterances show, some women decide to hold Japanese nationality with their parents in mind. They do it for the future possibility that they may need to stay in Japan to provide care for their parents, or for keeping emotional ties with parents in Japan. Care provision is an important and pertinent issue for many middle-aged women whose parents in Japan are aging. Also, some suggest that their parents would be sad if they discarded Japanese nationality and became no longer Japanese, which is further evidence that nationality can be about who they are. The next utterance is also related to

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family issues, not about parents but about a spouse:

[Utterance D-9] Age 30-34, visa holder, applying for landed immigrant status

> For now, I do not intend to change my nationality. But I am not sure about the future. [...] For example, when [my Canadian husband and I] raise a tomb for us, [I might change my mind]. Right now, we have different family names, [so the different names will be carved on the tomb if we leave our family names as they are]. I may think [about acquiring Canadian nationality] when there is need for us to unify our family names and nationalities.

She regards nationality, as well as family name, as an element to feel sense of unity with her spouse. Next, as below, utterances related to children will be examined.

[Utterance D-10] Age 30-34, landed immigrant

> If I acquired Canadian nationality, my children would not be able to choose their nationality.

[Utterance D-11] Age 35-39, landed immigrant

> As far as I don't discard my nationality, my child will be able to have two passports [...]. [...] Then, with Japanese nationality, my child will be able to go to Japanese elementary school for one year without any problem [...]. [Children with dual nationality have to decide their nationality by the time they turn to 22]. [...] My child may ultimately choose to be a Canadian, but by then perhaps the Japanese government may change its system so that it allows dual nationality.

These interviewees keep Japanese nationality to give their child(en) an option to be legally Japanese or an opportunity to study in Japan easily. In these cases, they hold Japanese nationality to construct a connection between their children and Japan.

It has been shown that some Japanese immigrant women in Canada make a decision about their nationality considering their family. It has been revealed that the space of their nationality can be a space they want to be connected with (where their parents/spouse reside). It can also mean the space they want their children to be connected with. Preston *et al.* (2006) show that Hong Kong immigrant women also tend to see citizenship in consideration of other family members, although in that case nearly all chose to become Canadian citizens or to hold dual citizenship. Despite the difference in citizenship take-up, immigrant women from East Asia may have similar attitudes to seeing national belonging in relation with family members, although such a suggestion needs to be examined further to be concluded.

8.1.4 *Landed immigrant status and nationality increases/decreases mobility*

At the end of this section, this thesis will examine relations between landed immigrant status/nationality and mobility of *shin ijuusha* women. Below are utterances that reveal that landed immigrant status/nationality can increase or decrease mobility of immigrants:

[Utterance D-12] Age 25-29, visa holder

> I am still wondering [whether I should acquire landed immigrant status or not], because I am afraid that the status may limit where I [can live in] in a variety of ways.

[Utterance D-13] Age 35-39, Canadian national

> I became a Canadian national. [...] [The reason was that] I had some problems [when I was a landed immigrant]. Somehow I was always stopped [and inspected] at an American border because of the Japanese passport I had. Somehow I was stopped so

many, so many times. I live [in Canada], and my base is here. But still I was stopped

every time. Once I even missed a connecting flight [because I was inspected again].

[...] Then I thought, "I can freely come and go between Canada and America if I

acquire a Canadian passport."

Landed immigrant status enables Japanese immigrant women to live in Canada

as long as they want, but it also ties them down to Canada, decreasing their mobility

(Utterances D-12). This shows that landed immigrant status and nationality have

geographical implications as Utterance D-13 reveals that holding a certain passport

(nationality) increases or decreases one's mobility.

Section 8.1 has explored various meanings of landed immigrant status and

nationality for Japanese immigrant women. This section was about perceptions of

Japanese immigrant women about becoming Canadian/remaining Japanese in the context

of their legal status. The next section will focus on their becoming Canadian/remaining

Japanese subjectively, in the context of their subjective feeling.

8.2 Feeling of Who They Are: "Japanese" or "Canadian"

Answers to the question "What do you feel about yourself, 'Japanese,' 'Japanese

Canadian,' 'Canadian,' or other?" are listed in Table 9. Interestingly, the majority of

people who answered the question say that they feel they are Japanese. As below, each

answer will be explored to examine why they answered so.

Table 9   Feeling of who they are

Japanese	26
Japanese Canadian	5
Canadian	3
Both Canadian and Japanese	1
Half Canadian and half Japanese	1
Either Japanese or Japanese Canadian	1
Other	2
N.A.	9
Total	48

8.2.1 *Ones who feel they are "Japanese"*

First, utterances of interviewees who feel they are Japanese are to be examined:

[Utterance D-14] Age 45-49

I feel I am Japanese. […] I was born in Japan, after all. They say my way of thinking has changed [in Canada], but I think that is a part of my personality I have had since a long time ago. […] Maybe I wasn't able to express it in Japan. […] As I was born, grew up to some extent in Japan and then came [to Canada], [I feel I am Japanese,] after all.

She associates her feeling of being Japanese with the fact that she was born and grew up in Japan before coming to Canada. In other words, she says her feeling of who she is is related to the place where she was born and grew up. The next utterances are also of interviewees who feel being Japanese, but for different reasons.

[Utterance D-15] Age 30-34

I guess I feel I am Japanese because I speak Japanese a lot (laugh). […] I am very Japanese, after all.

[Utterance D-16] Age 45-49

I don't feel I am Canadian. […] According to my sensibility, I think I am Japanese. […] My culture is Japanese. What I eat is Japanese. It is like I brought Japan [to Canada]. […] I began to miss Japanese music and […] watch videos in Japanese.

[Utterance D-17] Age 40-44

I feel I am totally Japanese (laugh). [...] My husband is [...] Japanese, and we are talking that we want Japanese bedding, a *kotatsu*, and Japanese floor cushions. We want to bring here Japanese life as it is. [...] I [longed for the life overseas before I came to Canada], ha, ha, ha. But [...] once I started living in Canada, I found myself wishing to have Japanese lifestyle.

They feel they are Japanese because they keep Japanese language, food, and other daily customs. In other words, they think what they do every day constructs the feeling of who they are.

On the other hand, the below interviewee associates her feeling of being Japanese with language barrier to the (mainstream) Canadian society:

[Utterance D-18] Age 30-34

I guess I still feel Japanese. I would be embarrassed to describe myself as Japanese Canadian, because I can't speak English [well].

Meanwhile, one interviewee suggests that she can feel being Japanese because Canada does not pressure her to feel Canadian:

[Utterance D-19] Age 60-64

I have a cousin living in the U.S. [...] [She emigrated from Japan like me and] has lived [in the U.S.] for a few decades. She says she feels American[, which surprised me]. I think that's what the U.S. is about. People in the U.S. got united after 9.11 that

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well, because people who came to [the U.S. like her] think they are Americans. The U.S. has an atmosphere that makes them feel so. [...] I also lived in the U.S. for about three years, so I understand it well. The reason why Americans make much of the [American] flag is that it has an atmosphere that makes people from anywhere feel that they are Americans in the country, United States of America, under the flag. [...] But if I am asked whether I want to be united under the [Canadian] flag, I cannot have the same feeling as my cousin, though I have lived here for thirty years. So, I cannot say I feel I am Canadian. [...] I think I am Japanese who emigrated from Japan and is currently living in Canada. [...] I have asked the same question [to other Japanese people living here]. Then, all of them said they didn't think they were Canadians. [...] This may be a sad thing for Canada, but looked from another viewpoint, this is the very thing that livens up multiculturalism of Canada. [...] We don't have to think we are Canadians, and we don't have to abandon our own backgrounds. [...] The society that allows such a way of life is very interesting.

The above were utterances of interviewees who feel they are Japanese even after they have immigrated to Canada. Among people who feel they are Japanese, however, there are ones who recognized that they have somewhat changed in Canada:

[Utterance D-20] Age 40-44

My feeling is Japanese, but perhaps I am not an ordinary Japanese person [anymore] back in Japan. [...] Japan changes so quickly. [...] I can't understand [latest] jokes [of Japan]. [...] I can't keep up with them when I go back to Japan. [...] The speed they walk in is [faster now]. I feel I am no longer a normal Japanese person.

[Utterance D-21] Age 35-39

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I am perfectly Japanese, internally. But my daily behaviour [...] is probably already

Canadian. [...] My way of thinking is totally Japanese. [...] But looked from the

Japanese, I am betwixt and between [...]. I haven't become purely Canadian yet, but

am no longer purely Japanese. [...] So, problems sometimes occur. There are times I

face difficulties in the Canadian life because of my Japanese part. There are times I

am seen as insolent when I go back to Japan.

On the contrary, the below interviewee says her sense of being Japanese became

stronger after she moved to Canada:

[Utterance D-22] Age 25-29

The feeling [of being Japanese] has gotten stronger [in Canada]. [...] While I was in

Japan, I didn't want to be Japanese. I wanted to become a global person [...] whose

nationality is unknown [...] But now, I want to be Japanese, after all. I will never think

about discarding my Japanese nationality.

Among women who feel they are Japanese, there was one interviewee who even

expressed enthusiastic nationalist attitudes with anti-Canadian or anti-Western comments.

It seemed that her out-of-place feeling in Canada was associated with such intolerance.

8.2.2 *Ones who chose "Japanese Canadian," "both Japanese and Canadian" or*

"Canadian"

There were five women who chose "Japanese Canadian" to describe how they

feel about themselves:

[Utterance D-23] Age 45-49

[I feel I am Japanese Canadian.] [...] When I am proud good things about Japan, I feel

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I am Japanese. [...]   But when I see the dark side of Japan, I question why Japan is like that. [...] So, I feel I am Japanese Canadian from inside of myself. [...] It is because I cannot agree with everything about Japan.

[Utterance D-24] Age 35-39

I want to become myself, without being shackled with "Japanese." [...] I want to become Japanese Canadian.

[Utterance D-25] Age 50-54

I guess I feel being Japanese Canadian. [...] It is a little different feeling from being Canadian. [...] My children say they are Canadians, not Japanese Canadians [...]. My children are proud that they have something to do with the Japanese. [...] [But who they feel they are] is a different issue.

[Utterance D-26] Age 55-59

[I feel I am] Japanese Canadian. [...] Claiming myself as Canadian won't have any effect. [...] With this face, I am Japanese, Asian [for people here]. [...] Of course, administratively, I am Canadian. [...] But nobody [actually] thinks I am Canadian. And the Japanese part in me never disappears as far as I am alive, because I was educated in Japan. [...] I lack many things to be a Canadian. For example, my imperfect English, accents, and the difference of my skin colour. Normally, people think of whites as Canadians, especially Japanese people [ourselves] do. And, you know, I used to remember how many provinces Canada has, but I tend to forget it very soon. So, if the Japanese part is taken away from me, I wouldn't exist. So[, I describe myself as Japanese Canadian].

[Utterance D-27] Age 40-44

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[I feel I am] Japanese Canadian. [...] [Actually, I feel being Canadian, a]t least of my own accord. But, a little while ago, there was an incident that an Asian older woman was yelling on the street in front of our house. Then a police officer came and asked me to talk to her, saying that the woman was probably Chinese. Then I thought, "Oh, this person thinks I am Chinese. My face is Asian, after all." [...] [I have an image that] Canadians are white after all.

In the above utterances, two rationales are found for their feelings for being Japanese Canadian. The first one is that they feel so because they are, or want to be, different from the Japanese in Japan (see comments such as "because I cannot agree with everything about Japan" and "I [don't] want to be [...] shackled with 'Japanese,'" in Utterances D-23, 24). The second one is that they feel they are Japanese Canadians, because they are still different from "Canadians." Utterance D-25 implies that she *still* feels Japanese Canadian, although her children, the next generation, *can feel* they are Canadian. The discourse of Utterance D-26 is that she feels being Japanese Canadian, because nobody regards her as "Canadian" anyway despite that she is legally Canadian, because she lacks social qualification to be a "Canadian" (e.g., perfect English; white face). Utterance D-27 shows that she feels already (Japanese) Canadian, but she is disappointed when she is still treated as Asian, due to her appearance. It is suggested that she can feel "Canadian" (that is, a white Canadian), until somebody reminds her of her Asian appearance. Utterances D-25, 26 and 27 show that they feel Japanese Canadian because they are not "Canadian" enough.

Meanwhile, there are people who describe themselves as "both Japanese and Canadian":

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[Utterance D-28] Age unknown

[I feel both] Canadian and Japanese. [...] I have trouble watching Olympic game, because I don't know which team I should cheer for.

[Utterance D-29] Age 50-54

Interesting enough, I feel both Japanese and Canadian. [...] Japanese *and* Canadian. I almost like discovered both. I guess because I become comfortable in Canada now, that I feel comfortable that I am Japanese. [...] [There is] no [contradiction]. [But I don't feel I am Japanese Canadian.]   Because when I go home [in Japan], I feel fine. I feel right in, except sometimes my Japanese doesn't come out. [...] And here [in Canada], I feel fine. I dream in English, [...] and I am fluent in Japanese. [...] I feel quite comfortable in either country.

It seems that an in-place feeling both in Japan and in Canada is a key for the feeling of being both Japanese and Canadian (Utterance D-29).

The number of women who feel they are "Canadian," however, is only three. Their voices will be heard below:

[Utterance D-30] Age 50-54

I have regarded Canada as my own country since I became a Canadian national, thinking I will survive here doing anything. And, I can't live in Japan anymore. [...] I want to say to people that I am a Canadian.

[Utterance D-31] Age 30-34

I am a self-proclaimed Canadian, [...] ignoring my problem of English. [...] I am Canadian, rather than I want to become Canadian. [...] It is very natural for me to be with Canadians. When I am talking with Canadians, it is like the time I am talking

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with Japanese people in Japan. [...] I don't feel [odd]. Because of my English, there are times when I feel, "I am no good. I wonder I am Japanese after all." But atmosphere-wise, [...] I don't feel a gap [with Canadians]. [...] At least *I* am thinking so.

[Utterance D-32] Age 35-39

I feel I am a Canadian [...] because I live in Canada now and have Canadian nationality. [...] I wanted to become somebody who wasn't Japanese [for a long time] [...]. I tried various things, dying my hair blonde, wearing colour contact lenses, and so on. [...] But indeed, my appearance is Japanese. Working with Canadians in the Canadian society, I am seen as an Asian, after all, whatever I try. So I gave up changing my appearance. [...] But [my heart is] not at all Japanese. [...] I don't want to speak Japanese very much. [...] [Despite that Canada has multiculturalism policy,] I think we have to make efforts to blend in with each other. [...] I have Japanese culture, of course, but I don't force others to accept it, and I don't insist I am like that. If I do, [our relationship] would run just parallel, and I will never able to blend in.

Three rationales are given for their feeling of being Canadian. The first one is that the feeling comes with the determination to live in Canada (Utterance D-30). The second one is that the feeling is related to an in-place feeling with other Canadians (Utterance D-31). Finally, one interviewee associates her feeling of being Canadian with her Canadian nationality, Canadian/non-Japanese mentality and reluctance to speak Japanese, although she also thinks her Japanese/Asian appearance works against being Canadian (Utterance D-32).

8.2.3 *Ones who chose "Other" to describe themselves*

Finally, voices of two interviewees who choose "Other" are going to be presented:

[Utterance D-33] Age 30-34

> I choose "Other." [...] I think I am myself. I don't and can't stick with nationality, put in this kind of situation. [...] I used to say, "I am Japanese," but recently, I am unwilling to say so. So, I say "I *came* from Japan," which sounds a little more appropriate. [...] Probably [I think internal change is happening to me.] Because, I can't think I am the same as Japanese people in Japan. But I cannot think I am the same as Canadians here [either]. And I cannot think I am same as Japanese Canadians. So, I cannot belong anywhere. I don't fall under any [description]. [...] Any [of the descriptions] doesn't suit me. So, I have to choose "human being" or "[my name]" to be in tune. [...] Even when I acquire [Canadian] nationality, I would not think I am Canadian. [...] Japanese is the most convenient language for me to express my ideas, after all. Then, when I ask myself, "Can you claim yourself as a Canadian?," I cannot say yes, at least now.

[Utterance D-34] Age 55-59

> Interestingly, [...] [my husband] always forgets I am Japanese. He looks at my inside, passing my face. I also look at his inside, without being aware that he is non-Japanese. If I actually cared such a thing, I could not be married, you know. So, when I look at the outside world -- I am looking outside from inside right now, you know -- I often forget about my face. [...] Then, when I am walking on street and my appearance is reflected [in a show window], sometimes I wonder who that person is (laugh). I tend

to forget that I am Japanese and different. [...]

I don't have a sense being a Japanese Canadian. I guess it is because I don't know other Japanese Canadians very much, and I cannot socially locate myself. [...] [I think I am myself.] [...] [I guess I am not concerned with nationality very much.] [...] I guess I fall under "Other."

Two reasons were provided to explain why they choose "Other." In utterance D-33, the interviewee chose "Other" because she feels none of the categories suits to express who she is. On the other hand, the interviewee of utterance D-34 suggests that she chooses "Other" because usually she is not concerned about her nationality or "racial" characteristics.

So far, this section has examined interviewees' narratives to explore how Japanese immigrant women feel about themselves. Looking at interviewees' characteristics by their answers (Table 10) gives certain clues on why some women incorporate a Canada-related element into feeling of who they are (such as "Canadian," "Japanese Canadian" or "Canadian") in the situation in which the majority feel being "Japanese." There are more chances for the following types of women to have Canada-related feeling: single, do not have children, have acquired Canadian nationality, do not point out English as a disadvantage, and have lived in Canada longer. At the beginning, I envisaged that women who are married and have children could be taking firmer root in Canada than ones who are not, and thus they might be feeling more "Canadian." But in fact the opposite result was obtained. Some interviewees who have a Canada-related feeling are single women who have a job, working with non-Japanese

people, and there is a possibility that their involvement in the public sphere of Canada is behind their Canada-related feeling. Also, it has to be noted that differences shown in Table 10 are not very clear overall, and future studies based on a larger number of participants are necessary to confirm that this tendency is applicable to *shin ijsuusha* women in general.

Table 10   Interviewees' feeling of who they are, by their characteristics

	"Japanese"	Canadian element incorporated*
Married (N**=30)	21 (70.0%)	7 (23.3%)
Single*** (N=9)	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)
Have children (N=24)	17 (70.8%)	6 (25.0%)
Do not have children (N=15)	9 (60%)	5 (33.3%)
Landed immigrant (N=25)	20 (80.0%)	4 (16%)
Canadian national (N=10)	4 (40.0%)	5 (50.0%)
Ones who pointed out English as a disadvantage of their Canadian living (N=21)	15 (71.4%)	5 (23.8%)
Ones who did not (N=17)	10 (58.8%)	6 (35.3%)
Years of living in Canada -4 years (N=6)	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)
5-9 years (N=6)	5 (83.3%)	0 (0%)
10-19 years (N=14)	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)
20-29 years (N=6)	3 (50.0%)	3 (50%)
30 years- (N=7)	3 (42.9%)	3 (42.9%)
Total (N=39)****	26 (66.7%)	11 (28.2%)

* "Japanese Canadian," "Canadian," "both Japanese and Canadian," "half Canadian and half Japanese" or "either Japanese or Japanese Canadian"
** Number of respondents
*** Includes never married and divorced people
**** Smaller than the total number of interviewees because there are ones who did not answer to this question

Going back to analyses of interviewees' narratives, it is interesting that women who say they feel "Japanese" tend to express a touch of self-derision at the same time (e.g., "I am totally Japanese (laugh)," "I guess I feel I am Japanese because I speak Japanese a lot (laugh)" in Utterances D-17, 15). It is inferred that they think their feeling of being Japanese in Canada is somewhat problematic, as the feeling also indicates the gap with the (mainstream) Canadian society.

As for women who have Canada-related feeling, two reasons can be pointed out for their feelings, based on analyses of their narratives. First, they are comfortable and in-place in Canada, as shown in Utterances D-29, 31. Second, they want to be Canadian, or non-Japanese, as the case of Utterance D-32. It is interesting, however, that when they express their feeling, they do so with an attitude of a certain reserve or hesitation (e.g., "[I feel being Canadian, *a*]*t least of my own accord.*" "I am a *self-proclaimed* Canadian," "I *want to say* [...] I am Canadian," in Utterances D-27, 31, 30, italics added). It seems that there is a certain mental barrier that refrains *shin ijuusha* women from confidently claiming they are Japanese Canadian/Canadian.

The interviewees, regardless of their feeling of who they are, tend to have an idea that a "Canadian" means a white person who does not have problems in English. In their mind, "Canadian" is a person who is part of the core (mainstream society) of Canada, a "Japanese Canadian" is a person who is closer to the core than a "Japanese" person, and a "Japanese" person is on the periphery, as suggested in Utterances D-25, 26 and 27. Japanese immigrant women often voluntarily refrain from claiming to be Canadian/Japanese Canadian who they believe to be closer to the mainstream society than they are (e.g., "I would be embarrassed to describe myself as a Japanese Canadian,

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because I can't speak English [well]" in Utterance D-18). They think they are not qualified to be "Canadian" or "Japanese Canadian" (see also Utterance D-26).

Interviews revealed that it is difficult for *shin ijuusha* women to unconditionally feel "Canadian," in spite of Canada's multicultural policy, which in theory gives them the freedom to feel Canadian. Japanese immigrant women are aware that they are seen as "others" in Canada especially because of their Asian bodies and poor English. Also, they tend to internalize the mainstream gaze and look at themselves as "others." To feel "Canadian," one interviewee tried to change her appearance, dying her hair blonde and wearing coloured contact lenses (Utterance D-32), and another interviewee tried to ignore how she looks (Utterance D-27). As Utterance D-34 shows, it is possible not to be concerned about one's own "racial" characteristics temporarily, because we cannot see our bodies without using a mirror or somebody else's eyes. But somebody (e.g., the police officer in Utterance D-27 and co-workers in Utterance D-32) eventually reminds them of their Asian look. The body is closely associated with how one feels about oneself.

As shown in Utterance D-19, many Japanese immigrants, however, do not feel Canadian also because they are not pressured to feel they are Canadians. From this viewpoint, the situation that only a small number of interviewees feel they are Canadian cannot be concluded as positive or negative easily.

8.3 Has Canada Become Their Home?

The final section of this chapter explores whether interviewees regard Canada as their home. The word "home" in English is employed in Japanese today, pronounced as *hoomu*. But the Japanese word *hoomu* has a nuance of "a dwelling for a family" or

"base," and is often used in Japanese advertising as a locus of consumption. It is less frequently used to mean "hometown" or "the place where they were born and grew up," or the place where they belong. In Japanese, the word *kokyoo* is more common to describe "hometown." Thus, during interviews in Japanese, I asked them "Do you feel Canada is your home (*hoomu*) and hometown (*kokyoo*)?," making the question clearer. The interviews revealed that *shin ijuusha* women tend to understand *kokyoo* as spatial extension of *hoomu*, or at least they did not consider the two as opposite concepts. Table 11 shows the list of answers regarding whether they feel Canada is their home and hometown. The ratio of women who said "yes," "yes and no," and "no" is approximately 2:1:2. Their answers will be examined below, in that order.

Table 11   Answers to the question "Do you feel Canada is your home and hometown?"

Yes	14
Yes and no/Not sure	8
No	14
N.A.	12
Total	48

First, utterances of interviewees who said "yes" to the question are going to be presented:

[Utterance D-35] Age 50-54

> Yes[, I feel Canada is home and hometown]. [...] Last November, [...] I got relieved after I came back to Canada from Japan. I thought this was my home, after all. You know the feeling of relief you feel when you come home, do you?

[Utterance D-36] Age 55-59

Yes[, I feel Canada is my home and hometown]. [...] When I come back here from Japan, I somehow feel relieved. I feel, "Ah, I came home." I lived in Canada longer than in Japan. So, Canada is [more home to me].

[Utterance D-37] Age 30-34

Yes. [My home and hometown] are not Japan. Last time I went back to Japan, there was no place for me. [...] My lifestyle is already formed here. So, it is way more comfortable to live here [than in Japan]. With my friends and work, my life flow is already formed here.

[Utterance D-38] Age 30-34

Yes. [I feel Canada is my home and hometown.] I started feeling so after I lived here for seven years. [...] It is because I worry about my home here when I am staying in Japan. [...] [All] my belongings [are here]. My life is here, in various meanings. After I have a child[, I started feeling more so]. [...] It is more fun to come back here.

[Utterance D-39] Age 35-39

I am going to bury my bones here. [...] I live my life here, have a house, dogs and a job. Why would I abandon these and start from zero again in Japan where I don't even want to go?   The only reason I have an attachment to Japan is that my parents are there. But they will pass away some day.

[Utterance D-40] Age 55-59

I will become a part of the soil here. I bought my tomb here already. My parents are no longer in Japan, and there is no place to go back in Japan. [...] My roots are [in Japan]. But, like a dandelion, I flew to here. And I grow here.

[Utterance D-41] Age 50-54

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Yes. [Canada is] more [home and hometown] than Japan. [...] For a little while after I came here, [...] I felt really lost. [...] But I was really lucky to have really good people around me, including school. [...] Everybody including professors and schoolmates, classmates, [...] helped me. [...] [T]hat really helped.

[Utterance D-42] Age 30-34

When I went back to Japan [...], I wanted to come back to Canada. [...] One of the reasons was that my son cried [in Japan]. [...] I don't know at all [why exactly he cried], [...] but after we came back to Canada, he stopped crying. And, in Japan, I wanted to come back to this house where I am used to. [...] Originally I was planning to stay in Japan for a half a year or so, but [after all] I came back [...] in one month. [...] [I feel Canada is home b]ecause my family is here. [...] But once I got married like this, this is [my home], after all. [...] Even in Japan, once you get married [and leave the parents' house], it is awkward to go back [...].

[Utterance D-43] Age 45-49

Yes[, I feel Canada is home and hometown]. I forgot about Japan already. [...] I don't want to go back to Japan. It is crowded there, and its air is bad. [...] [I left Japan, feeling Japan is a bad society.

After saying "yes," interviewees explained why they feel Canada is their home/hometown, as shown above. Those reasons can be summarized into five: (1) they have established the base of their life in Canada, having family, friends and work (Utterances D-37, 38, 39, 41, 42), and (2) they feel relieved or relaxed in Canada (Utterances D-35, 36). Meanwhile, (3) they feel out-of-place or uncomfortable in Japan (Utterances D-37, 40, 42, 43). (4) In Canada they decided to "bury their bones" (a

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Japanese idiom to express making a place one's final home, or to devote one's life to the place (Utterance D-39, 40). And finally, (5) they have lived in Canada long enough (Utterance D-36).

It is interesting that some say that Canada is their home because Japan no longer is, or realize Canada as their home when they come back from Japan. It implies that home is not an absolute existence but is a relational construction.

Next, utterances of interviewees who said "yes and no," or more ambiguous answers, will be shown:

[Utterance D-44] Age 45-49

Hmmmmm, I am not sure. My hometown is [Japan,] the place where I was born and grew up, after all. [...] My home is [Canada] where [...] my husband and son are.

[Utterance D-45] Age 35-39

I am not sure whether Canada is my hometown (*kokyoo*). [...] [But] I feel Canada is at least my home, because I live in it. [...] I also understand why [some Japanese people decide to] return to [Japan because they could not fit in Canada], though.

[Utterance D-46] Age 35-39

[Pause] Hometown? [...] I am not sure. But. [Laugh] Yes. But [if I have to], I choose Canada, after all. Even if I go back to Japan now, they have their own life that I cannot enter [anymore].

[Utterance D-47] Age 30-34

Hmmmmm. [...] At least I don't feel that I am staying here as a guest who is travelling. Canada hasn't become my hometown yet. [...] Hmm, it is a difficult question whether Canada is my home.

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[Utterance D-48] Age 30-34

> [Sigh] It is difficult for me [to feel that Canada is my home and hometown]. [...] But now I cannot say Japan is my hometown either.

Interviewees of Utterances D-44, 45 say that Canada is already their home (*hoomu*) but not yet hometown (*kokyoo*). Interviewee of Utterance D-46 hesitantly says Canada is her home, because she realizes she has no other options. This utterance is another evidence that home is relationally constructed. Interviewees of Utterances D-47 and 48 do not feel Canada is their home but do not say Japan is their home either.

Finally, the below are utterances of interviewees who said no to the question.

[Utterance D-49] Age 30-34

> I have life here, but because my parents and my family are like home, my home is always in Japan. [...] [Canada is] not [my home] yet.

[Utterance D-50] Age 35-39

> Ah, not at all. [...] [My home and hometown are] Japan. [...] I often feel like going back to Japan. [The reason why I don't feel Canada is my home is that] I am not Canadian.

[Utterance D-51] Age 60-64

> I feel very sorry for Canada. But I don't feel this is my second hometown. I don't feel like burying my bones here. I think it is because I have been doing a Japan-related job. I have kept a strong tie with Japan.

[Utterance D-52] Age 35-39

> Although my life base is here, but I get relieved when I go back to Japan. [...] I don't feel [Canada] is my real home yet.

[Utterance D-53] Age 40-44

I feel "This is it" when I am back in Japan. [...] However long I live here, I am more Japanese. [...] I don't feel [Canada is not my hometown]. [...] I have my daily life here. But [...] when I was driving here [after visiting Japan], [...] I realized myself driving on the left side, while being absentminded. [...] I realized I am like that after all. [...] [That kind of m]e comes out when I am being absentminded.

[Utterance D-54] Age 25-29

No, I don't feel [Canada as home]. Canada makes me feel that I have to keep challenging something new as far as I stay here. Probably the language is the biggest barrier. Then the culture, or the difference in thinking, is the next biggest. I feel that I can be in Canada only when I am active and healthy. This is not a place where I can be relaxed when I am aged. [...] [Canada is a place for me w]hile I am young. I can't survive here unless I have a motivation to challenge new things by myself. [...] I will go back to Japan when I feel I want to be relaxed, taking life easy. [...] I think this is a time for me to challenge, so I intend to stay here although there are a little hard times. [...] It is because I am investing to my future self. But after I get older to some extent, [...] I want to take an easy life in Japan to spend the rest of my life.

Interviewees who answer "no" explain why they do not feel Canada is their home. The reasons can be summarized into five. (1) They can be more relieved or relaxed in Japan (Utterances D-52, 53, 54). (2) She does not have family who are indispensable to make a place home/hometown (Utterances D-49). (3) They do not want/intend to live in Canada for good (e.g., Utterance D-51). (4) They are not Canadian (Utterance D-50). And finally, (5) keeping strong ties with Japan prevented them from feeling Canada is their

home (Utterance D-51).

Japanese immigrant women's narratives on home and hometown reveal how they conceptualize a foreign land and homeland (Figure 2). How and when Canada turns from a foreign land to homeland depends on individuals, but statistics of their answers by their characteristics suggests certain tendencies (Table 12). The following types of interviewees were more likely to answer that they feel Canada home: ones who are married, do not have children, have acquired Canadian nationality, and have Canada-related feeling as their feeling of who they are. On the contrary, ones who reject the idea that Canada is their home are more likely to be ones who are single, have not acquired Canadian nationality, feel they are "Japanese," and ones who point out English as a disadvantage of their life in Canada. As for the relation with length of their stay in Canada, ones who feel Canada home do so even when their stay in Canada is less than five years; The ratio of women who feel that Canada is home does not dramatically increase when their stay in Canada becomes longer. On the other hand, the ratio of people who flatly reject the idea that Canada is their home becomes smaller for women who have lived in Canada longer, implying that Canada is no longer a complete foreign land for them, if not home yet. It has to be noted again, however, that some differences presented in Table 12 are small (e.g., differences between married and single women, between ones who have children and who do not). Whether these findings are applicable to general population needs to be examined in future studies.

Figure 2   Japanese immigrant women's conceptualization of a foreign land
             and homeland

Foreign land
a place where

-they challenge new things
-their significant social networks do not exist

-they feel out-of-place
-they cannot/do not want to rest
- they do not intend to live for good

Homeland (home/hometown)
a place where

-they have daily life
-their significant social networks are formed
       (e.g., family, friends, co-workers)
-they feel in-place
-they can be relieved and relaxed
  -they want to go back
  -they want to live old age and
     "bury their bones"

Table 12   Answers to the question "Do you feel Canada is your home and hometown?," by their characteristics

	Yes	No*
Married (N**=28)	12 (42.9%)	10 (35.7%)
Single*** (N=8)	2 (25.0%)	4 (50.0%)
Have children (N=22)	8 (36.4%)	9 (40.9%)
Do not have children (N=14)	6 (42.9%)	5 (35.7%)
Landed immigrant (N=23)	9 (39.1%)	10 (43.5%)
Canadian national (N=9)	4 (44.4%)	1 (11.1%)
Feel "Japanese" (N=25)	8 (32.0%)	14 (56.0%)
Have a Canada-related feeling (N=9)****	5 (55.6%)	0 (0%)
Ones who pointed out English as a disadvantage of their Canadian living (N=20)	8 (40.0%)	11 (55%)
Ones who did not (N=16)	6 (37.5%)	3 (18.8%)
Years of living in Canada -4 years (N=5)	2 (40.0%)	3(60.0%)
5-9 years (N=6)	2 (33.3%)	3(50.0%)
10-19 years (N=13)	4 (30.8%)	5(38.46%)
20-29 years (N=6)	3 (50.0%)	1(16.67%)
30 years- (N=6)	3 (50.0%)	2(33.339%)
Total (N=36)*****	14 (38.9%)	14 (38.9%)

* "Yes and No" or more ambiguous answers are excluded for clarification

** Number of respondents

*** Includes never married and divorced people

**** "Japanese Canadian," "Canadian," "both Japanese and Canadian," "half Canadian and half Japanese" or "either Japanese or Japanese Canadian"

***** Smaller than the total number of interviewees because there are ones who did not answer to this question

Combined with interviewee's narratives, however, there seems an overall tendency that Canada turns from a foreign land to a homeland for Japanese immigrant women over the life course, with establishment of social relations in Canada that are meaningful for them and with acquisition of Canadian nationality. Especially, having a family in Canada is a key for many women (e.g., Utterances D-38, 42), which suggests that feeling of Canada as their home is linked to their life stage for *shin ijuusha* women. But having a family does not determine whether they feel Canada is their home. For example, a divorced single mother interviewee, who does hard physical work in a Japanese shop for the daily survival of her son and herself, says that her life in Canada is hard and that Canada has never been her home. Recalling her happy single office lady (OL) days in Tokyo where she enjoyed shopping, she frequently wishes to go back to Japan permanently, feeling that she has had enough in Canada. On the other hand, there are interesting cases in which single women who do not have a family feel Canada their home, living with their pets as anchorage in Canada (e.g., Utterance D-39). In those cases, pets need to be considered as their family members. Meanings and ways to have a family vary in each context, affecting their feeling of living in Canada.

Feeling of home is constructed through a complex process. Further research is required to understand why some feel that Canada has become their home but others do not. Overall, approximately 40% say that Canada has become their home and hometown. This percentage seems quite high, given that *shin ijuusha* women face various hardships in Canada as illuminated in Chapter 6. Analyses of this chapter have shown that it is easier for *shin ijuusha* women to feel that Canada is their home than to feel they are "Canadian." That is, although the majority of Japanese immigrant women keep feeling

"Japanese" in Canada, it does not mean that they feel unsettled as well. Those who started a brand-new life in Canada after they already grew up in Japan successfully reconstructed their place in Canada, transforming a foreign land into their homeland.

This chapter has shown that immigration to Canada brings about issues of belonging to each individual, both in the contexts of legal status and of internal feeling. Meanwhile, regardless of such issues of belonging, Japanese immigrant women actually engage in transnational behaviour, actively crossing the border between Canada and Japan. The next chapter will focus on this phenomenon.

CHAPTER 9

MOVING BETEEN CANADA AND JAPAN

So far, this thesis has explored Japanese immigrant women's issues regarding "coming to" and "living in" Canada. This chapter will focus on their "moving between Canada and Japan," examining their transnational behaviour to frequently go back and forth between the two countries. Section 9.1 will explore how Japanese immigrant women keep ties with Japan. Section 9.2 will focus on their transnational care provision for older parents left in Japan. Section 9.3 will examine how their transnationalism and the life course are mutually constitutive. And finally, Section 9.4 will consider whether the two spaces of Canada and Japan are connected in a societal context.

9.1 Keeping Ties with Japan

Interviews have confirmed that *shin ijuusha* women keep ties with Japan even after their emigration. They keep in touch with their families and friends in Japan, taking advantage of inexpensive communication tools such as email, telephone calls and letters (Table 13 (a)). Most of them go back to Japan regularly, and there are also cases that parents left in Japan come to visit them in Canada (Table 13 (b)). The degree of their interest in the home country varies, but not a few interviewees keep up with major news from Japan, through means such as Japanese satellite TV programmes and the internet. Some interviewees subscribe to a Japanese magazine, buy new Japanese books and purchase Japanese products by on-line shopping. The interviews show that developed transportation and communication technologies surely contribute to their activities to

maintain ties with Japan, preventing them from becoming *Urashima Taro*, or the Japanese version of Rip van Winkle. Here are some utterances to show their transnational daily reality:

[Utterance E-1] Age 25-29

You know, calling cards are cheap. I have a long phone chat with my mother. [...] I frequently exchange emails friends in Japan. [...] There are times we exchange emails like every five minutes, which is almost like being on a chat line.

[Utterance E-2] Age 35-39

[My parents miss me, e]specially I am their daughter. [...] I frequently call them, and they call me often. A parcel from them often comes. [...] [They ask me,] "What [Japanese food] would you like to eat?" [I say,] "Well, this and that." [And they say,] "We are going to send them to you."

[Utterance E-3] Age 50-54

These days, I can easily buy cheap plane tickets [to go back to Japan].

[Utterance E-4] Age 35-39

I can buy Japanese products through a Yahoo auction.

Table 13 (c) shows purposes of their regular visit to Japan. The most important reasons of their going back to Japan are not to pursue an economic goal but to keep social connections, such as seeing parents and friends, and bringing Canadian-born children to Japan.

The interviews revealed that care provision for their aging parents back in Japan is one of the prime reasons for their regular visits to Japan. The next section will focus on their transnational care provision for parents.

Table 13   Transnationalism of Japanese immigrant women

(a) How interviewees contact with people in Japan*

Email	14
Telephone	11
Letters	8

*Plural answers

(b) How often interviewees go back to Japan**

More than once a year	2
Once a year ~ more than once in 2 years	15
Once in 2 years	9
Once in 3 years	4
Once in 6 years	1
Have not been for more than 10 years	2
Do not go back but my mother comes regularly	2
N.A.	13
Total	48

** Includes answers that was phrased such as "I *would like to* go back to Japan x times in y years" (italics added). Whether they are actually going back to Japan in that way was not confirmed.

(c) Purposes of interviewees' regular visit to Japan*

See family (parents, relatives)	15
Connect children with Japan (including language education, establish ties with grandparents)	6
Business	3
See friends	2
Shopping	2

9.2 Transnational Care Provision for Parents

Twenty women discussed issues of care provision for their parents left in Japan. Some women have already experienced long-term care provision, while others are prepared for its future possibility. Overall, they were eager to talk about the issue, showing that it is a serious and pertinent topic for them:

[Utterance E-5] Age 40-44

My father was hospitalized for thirteen years. [...] I went back [to Japan] so that my mother did not have to go [to the hospital to look after him]. [...] When he became in critical condition, [...] I bought a ticket right away and went back to Japan on the next day [...]. I was able to be by his side when he passed away [...].

[Utterance E-6] Age 55-59

I call my parents once a week, for 1 or 1.5 hour. […] I make phone calls a lot for various occasions. […] My parents have gotten old. […] They sign a contract easily when they are solicited. […] Recently, I found that [they signed an unnecessary contract again]. […] I found the contact on the […] web page, and wrote a [claim] letter [from Canada to Japan, and the problem was solved]. A computer is really helpful in that context. Living here, I can [deal with care issues]. […] I make phone calls [from here] to caregivers for my mother [in Japan], too.

[Utterance E-7] Age 35-39

When I went back to Japan, I did all the care arrangement for my father […], including cleaning and food services for the elderly. I have to do these things, after all. My brother [living in Japan] […] doesn't do those things at all, you know.

[Utterance E-8] Age 35-39

I may go back to Japan to look after my parents when they need [...]. For example, I may go back for one month, taking turns with my brother and sister. [...] I have moments when I can't sleep, worrying about a possibility that something happens to my parents [...]. [...] If something happens, I am determined to fly back to Japan right away.

Not everybody was willing to provide transnational care for parents in Japan. One interviewee frankly expressed her reluctance to provide such care:

[Utterance E-9] Age 35-39

[Honestly, my parents and I don't get along with very much.] It would be so easy for me if my parents in Japan could live in a nursing home [when necessary]. [...] But my mother blamed me for being cold when I said so. [...] I myself wouldn't mind living in a nursing home [in the future], [...] but my parents have a totally different value. [...] I wish to escape from the care-giving, but I can easily foresee my future. [...] I will end up going back to Japan [to look after them] for a few years. [...] I feel guilty just by saying I am not getting along with my parents. The guilt I would feel when refusing the care-giving would be too great [to bear].

In most of the cases, Japanese immigrant women heartily wish to provide care for parents they love, internalizing traditional gender values. There seems a tendency that women whose parents respected and supported their emigration are willing to provide long-distance care. It is not common for *shin ijuusha* women to bring their parents over Canada to live together. Instead, they make full use of inexpensive plane tickets and communication technologies for care provision across the ocean, which sometimes looks even acrobatic, as shown in Utterance E-6.

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In Japan, providing care for frail older parents is traditionally regarded as a responsibility of family (specifically, children) and as a practice of filial piety. There is a gender division of labour in the care provision; however, a son is supposed to look after parents financially, while a daughter is expected to provide care with her own body to help parents' personal daily activities at home. There has been a common idea that placing parents in an elder care facility is cold and against the traditional family value, which was a major reason for the delayed establishment of elderly long-care services in Japan (e.g., Chubachi 1999). It is pointed out, however, that family long-term care provision for the elderly, which Japanese people imagine as an old tradition, is actually a relatively newly invented custom. For example, in 1920, people died in their early sixties on average, without needing long-term care (Okamoto 1996). The circumstances surrounding elderly long-term care provision in Japan greatly changed after World War II with the increase in life expectancy. It is quickly changing even today, after elderly care insurance system started in the year 2000 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan 2008). The tradition of care provision for elderly parents is actually fluid, constantly being contested and reconstructed.

Japanese immigrant women's long-distance care provision for elderly parents in Japan is also a new tradition since the War. This thesis cannot present precise differences in care provision between pre-war and post-war *issei* immigrants based on comparative research, as most of the pre-war *issei* immigrants have already passed away. It is known, however, that pre-war immigrant women could not go back to Japan frequently (Kudo 1983), and it can be assumed that *issei* women could not provide long-term care for parents in Japan as well. Also, the average life expectancy of pre-war *issei* women's

parents was not long enough to create a long-term care issue for most, just as for other people in Japan.

Furthermore, before World War II when the *ie* system was maintained by law in Japan, once a woman was "married out," she was supposed to serve the husband's *ie* only; even if there was a long-term care need, women would have provided care for parents-in-law, not for their own parents. Long-term care provision for parents by their own daughter who was already "married out" to another family is considered as a post-World War II phenomenon, when the *ie* system eroded, the nuclear family became a common form, and the average number of children decreased. Ochiai (2007) shows that, with the decrease of average number of children in Japan (most commonly one or two children per family), more parents today unsurprisingly have daughter(s) only, and thus some parents need to keep ties with their daughter(s) even after the daughters are married, as they do not have a son and his wife (daughter-in-law) who marries into their family. According to Ochiai, the traditional paternal *ie* system in which a woman became disconnected from her birth family with her marriage is recently shifting to a bilateral family system in which a married woman keeps ties both with the husband's and with her birth families[11]. Transnational care provision by Japanese immigrant women for their own parents in Japan can also be contextualized in this shift to a bilateral family system.

Feminism has discovered that development of technologies can paradoxically increases domestic labour for women. For example, diffusion of the washing machine

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[11] Ochiai (2007) points out that, traditionally, parents said to their daughter on marriage, "You will no longer be a member of our *ie*. Even if you face hardships in your new *ie*, you should know that you have no other *ie* to return." Today, however, a popular remark from parents to a marrying daughter is "Even after you are married out, this is your *ie* for ever. You can come back here any time when you can't stand any longer there" (Ochiai 2007, p.207).

made each laundry easier, but women who used to do laundry only once a week started

doing it every day after they obtained the machine. After the machine was introduced,

women started washing clothes at home that they used to outsource (Strasser 1982, cited

by Ueno 1994, pp.172-181). It is considered that, similarly, development of

transportation and communication technologies has produced new labour for immigrant

women to provide care for the parents across the ocean.

Then, has time-space compression (Harvey 2000) proceeded so much that these

immigrant women can provide care freely enough?

[Utterance E-10] Age 30-34

[Physical] distance will be a great obstacle for care provision.

[Utterance E-11] Age 35-39

I really think that human relations are not decided by a [physical] distance. But you

can't provide care from a long distance. […] [Care provision] is a bodily thing. [You

have to be physically near your parents to really provide it.]

[Utterance E-12] Age 55-59

Japan is far away. I feel so physically, as I get older. The time difference and distance

make me feel so.

Japanese immigrant women still feel difficulties in care provision for their

parents back in Japan. Those women could be feeling even more difficulties in today's

situation that Japan is seemingly reachable and transnational care-giving looks feasible;

without transportation and communication technologies, they could not have a conflict

over unrealistic long-distance care-giving. Today, *shin ijuusha* women inevitably face

ruptures of their social space, for which transportation and communication technologies

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work only as partial sutures. Development of the transportation system and communication tools paradoxically produce new labour for women and also construct the new dilemma that they cannot provide enough care from Canada for their parents in Japan.

9.3 Relations between Transnationalism and the Life Course

Care provision for frail parents tends to be needed at a certain stage of women's life course, usually after they reach middle age. Thus, transnationalism of Japanese immigrant women may increase when they reach middle age, facing aging parents and the necessity to go back to Japan.

Interviews revealed that transnationalism of *shin ijuusha* women is deeply related to their life course transitions in general:

[Utterance E-13] Age 55-59

I wanted my daughter to feel connections with her grandparents [...]. That's why I [have brought her to Japan] regularly.

[Utterance E-14] Age 45-49

There are so many people [in Japan], even in a train. [So,] it is really hard to go back with [small] kids. Nobody was kind to us. Especially in Tokyo, people looked at my baby buggy coldly and were hurrying forward.

[Utterance E-15] Age 55-59

After we bought a house, I didn't go [to Japan] for seven years. […] It wasn't like I couldn't, [..] but when we had to work hard to pay off the debt, I couldn't say I wanted to go to Japan.

[Utterance E-16] Age 50-54

> After we bought a house, we [didn't have] money [for travelling]. […] [Also, it was troublesome to go back to Japan with small children.] Once I went back […] when my child was one or two years old. But it was very hard in a plane with a [small] child for fifteen hours.

[Utterance E-17] Age 60-64

> I really want to go back and forth between here and Japan, enjoying good parts [of the two countries], […] as long as I am strong enough.

Having a child can both increase (Utterance E-13) and decrease (Utterances E-14, 16) their mobility to go back to Japan, depending on age of the child. Some mentioned buying a house affected their financial condition and prevented them from going back to Japan for a while (Utterances E-15, 16). Becoming frail in later life would make it difficult to go back and forth between the two countries (suggested by Utterance E-17). That is, the degree of their transnationalism changes over their life course, going through rites of passage such as having children, buying a house, looking after frail parents, and becoming older.

In a study of Hong Kong immigrants, Kobayashi and Preston (2007) show that transnationalism is associated with life-course transitions, and that social connections in a family context are more important than economic motivations to understand these transnational migrants. This study on Japanese immigrant women presented similar findings.

9.4 Are Canada and Japan Really Connected Today?

This chapter has illuminated that *shin ijuusha* women's transnational behaviour, moving between Canada and Japan, and has shown that their transnationalism is associated with life course transitions. It has also shown that *shin ijuusha* women often face ruptures of their social space, as transportation and communication technologies work only as partial sutures to connect Canada and Japan. This final section considers whether the two spaces of Canada and Japan are connected and integrated in a societal context, from aspects other than long-term care provision for the elderly.

Although *shin ijuusha* women go back and forth between Canada and Japan, they tend to perceive Canada and Japan as two different spaces, as the below utterances show:

[Utterance E-18] Age 30-34

> I have graduated from school here. […] In Japan, the qualification I got here would have no utility, and I would have to start from zero again.

[Utterance E-19] Age 35-39

> I live my life here, have a house, dogs and a job. Why would I abandon these and start from zero again in Japan [...] ?

[Utterance E-20] Age 30-34

> I want to go back to Japan, but it is not realistic. [It is partly because Japan would not welcome ones who once exit.]

[Utterance E-21] Age 30-34

> In reality, [working condition for Japanese immigrant women in Canada is] very severe. In my case, I practically had to start from zero after all. My career

[established in Japan] is regarded as 'So what?'

Although the physical mobility between Canada and Japan has increased these days, interviewees actually experience ruptures of their space in the societal context. What they have accumulated in one space (e.g., degree; career) are often not recognized in the other space. Thus they often describe the situation to move to the other country to live as to "start from zero."

Also, there is evidence that even such physical mobility is not always guaranteed. One interviewee married to a husband from Iran says that his application for becoming a landed immigrant of Canada was rejected for no particular reasons, and that hers was rejected at the same time simply because she is married to him. They are still under dispute, waiting for approvals. In this circumstance, she feels tremendous pressure to re-enter Canada after visiting Japan. It always takes at least one hour for her to cross the Canadian border, answering many questions from immigration officers and waiting for her belongings to be thoroughly inspected. She thinks she cannot leave for Japan until things become settled, because of another re-entry trouble she can easily imagine, although she has never been deported after inspection. Her case provides a marked contrast with those of other interviewees who do not have major difficulties in going back and forth between Japan and Canada. Such increased mobility is available only for members of the first-world community, and things can change given a different condition.

Development of transportation and communication technology contributes to transnationalism of Japanese immigrant women. It seems that such transnationalism is still contingent, and the national border surely remains, even though most of the Japanese

immigrants can easily forget about it. This chapter has shown that transnational movements of Japanese immigrant women are constructed through social conditions including gender and the life course, and that Canada and Japan have not yet constituted one seamless social space. The next concluding chapter will provide a pantography of how migration to Canada ultimately changed the lives of *shin ijuusha* women, capturing a large picture of their entire migration experience.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the lives of post-war Japanese immigrant women in Canada, based mainly on interviews with 48 *shin ijuusha* women. This final chapter will summarize the major findings, and will consider how migration to Canada has ultimately changed the lives of *shin ijuusha* women.

Chapters from 5 to 9 were devoted to interview analyses, exploring why women leave Japan to move to Canada. Chapter 5 revealed three contexts of their international migration: tourism, Japanese longing for America/the West constructed through Western popular culture, and gender and the life course. Chapter 5 also examined whether *shin ijuusha* women broke or reconstructed Japanese tradition through their migration to Canada, and pointed out that in a sense they did both. It was found that Japanese women negotiate their lives, cleverly using multiple meanings attached to the migration.

Chapter 6 illuminated advantages and disadvantages *shin ijuusha* women have found in their life in Canada. During interviews, they pointed out freedom, different perspectives, relaxed lifestyle and health care as advantages, whereas language and cultural barriers, and difficulties in finding a job were discussed as serious disadvantages. Meanwhile, interviewees were not very responsive to racism as a disadvantage. It was revealed that they cannot really tell the existence of racism in Canada, because of their language and cultural barriers, of their mainstream upbringing in Japan, and also of subtlety of today's racism in Canada.

Chapter 7 explored *shin ijuusha* social networks in Canada. *Shin ijuusha*

communities have been formed in Toronto since the early 1970s, including Japanese language schools and *shin ijuusha* support groups, but they tend to be spatially dispersed and thus invisible. The majority of the interviewees are connected with *shin ijuusha* social networks, whereas there are also those who intentionally avoid them. But those who once stayed away tend to return to *shin ijuusha* communities, especially when their *nisei* children start learning Japanese. *Shin ijuusha* mothers are generally eager to teach Japanese to their children, sending them to Japanese language schools and bringing them to Japan. Although many interviewees regret that their children have acquired only basic Japanese, some are successful in connecting their children to Japan/Japanese culture.

Chapter 8 focused on issues related to immigrant women's belonging. First, meanings of landed immigrant status and nationality were revealed. The space of their nationality can be about who they are and where they emotionally belong. It was found that some women choose their nationality for the sake of their family. Their immigrant status also affects *shin ijuusha* women's mobility. Second, how *shin ijuusha* women feel about themselves was examined. The majority feel they are "Japanese," voluntarily refraining from claiming to be "Canadian." It is because they know they are seen as "others" in Canada due to their Asian bodies and imperfect English, and because they internalize the mainstream gaze. Third, whether *shin ijuusha* women feel that Canada is their home was explored. Approximately 40 percent of the interviewees regard Canada as their home. There is a tendency that Canada turns from a foreign land to a homeland over the life course, with establishment of meaningful social relations in Canada. It was shown some Japanese women feel comfortable in Canada, despite that it is difficult for them to feel "Canadian," and despite that they face various hardships in Canada.

Chapter 9 examined *shin ijuusha* women's transnationalism. Interviewees keep ties with Japan even after their emigration, especially to keep social connections. Facing ruptures of their social space, many women provide transnational care provision for their aging parents in Japan, which is a new gender role invented after World War II. The chapter also showed that transnationalism of *shin ijuusha* women is associated with life-course transitions, and that spatial connection between Canada and Japan is still contingent in a societal context.

Having explored "coming to Canada," "living in Canada," and "moving between Canada and Japan" of post-war Japanese immigrant women, this thesis considers one final question: How did migration to Canada change the lives of Japanese women, after all? In other words, did it contribute to women's empowerment? Or, can their new life in Canada be described as "And they lived happily ever after"?

One thing is for certain is that, for better or for worse, the life Japanese women have actually experienced in Canada is quite different from one imagined before their emigration. Their life has been not so much a fairy tale as a compilation of daily efforts and struggles. Their original naive longing for the West diminished, altered, or disappeared completely, living a real life of an immigrant woman. They have set foot in Canada/the West, but have not really become integrated into Canadian life, due to their position as "others" and to language/cultural barriers.

As for the issue whether migration to Canada contributed to women's empowerment, interestingly, interviewees give utterances that stand in direct opposition with each other. That is, some suggest they became empowered, while others indicate the opposite. The following utterances are on the former:

[Utterance F-1] Age 60-64

> [By coming to Canada] I became freer, in a good meaning. [...] I can be myself here, and became independent. I learned that I have to take responsibility for myself. My *amae* [dependence] disappeared here. [...] [Now I know] I can change my life for myself.

[Utterance F-2] Age 55-59

> I can carve my own path aggressively, being responsible for myself [in Canada]. I was able to do what I wanted to do. [...] I am still doing what I want to do.

[Utterance F-3] Age unknown

> Coming to Canada positively changed my life. [...] I can live as I like. [...] [A woman I know in Japan] say "sorry" to her husband to go a dancing [club]. [...] I wouldn't say sorry [to do what I want to do]. I [generally] don't like to get permissions from others. [...] I don't regret [my coming here]. [...] I have done what I wanted to do, and I still can do what I want to do now.

[Utterance F-4] Age 30-34

> In Japan, I was shy and withdrawn, and couldn't express what I wanted to say. But here, I just learned that I would just lose unless I say what I want to say. [...] I had aggressiveness from the beginning, but it became much stronger [by coming here].

[Utterance F-5] Age 45-49

> [Living in Canada gives me lots of hardships. Surviving the life here has] made me tough.

[Utterance F-6] Age 25-29

> [Before I came to Canada as a working-holiday maker, I used to give up like,] "I

can't do this job," "I don't have enough ability to do this." But now I wonder why I

came to believe I couldn't do, because I can speak Japanese in Japan [to do anything].

[...] Here, I experience many frustrating things, and I feel, "I would be able to

express this if in Japanese." [...] I will be able to do things [I used to give up, when I

go back to Japan after experiencing this life in Canada].

On the contrary, the below are utterances that suggest the latter, that women feel

powerless after coming to Canada, or that their migration did not necessarily contribute

to their empowerment:

[Utterance F-7] Age 30-34

Well, I feel everything became zero [by coming to Canada]. [...] Starting from zero

may mean freedom in a sense. But it is hard to live like a child who learns how to

live a daily life.

[Utterance F-8] Age 45-49

If I had stayed in Japan, [...] I could have opened up my own shop. [..] Perhaps I

should have been more adventurous in Japan. [...] I should have had more wishes of

mine, and also I could get supports [to realize those wishes] from my parents there.

[Utterance F-9] Age 55-59

I was very independent in Japan. I was able to do everything by myself, and I had

much confidence about it. But after I came [to Canada], everything about the society

[I live in] changed, and [speaking] English was very hard, you know. [Right after I

came to Canada,] I went to a supermarket. Then I realized I couldn't [even] tell what

detergent I had to buy for laundry, which shocked me. In Japan, I knew what

detergent to buy for laundry. Luckily, my [Canadian] husband was with me. He is

very considerate and told me, "Don't worry. I will do all of these things." And I

ended up relying on him. [...] My spirit of independence diminished. [...] If in Japan,

I would not hesitate to travel with my friends. But here, I wouldn't be able to do the

same, because I feel nervous.

[Utterance F-10] Age 35-39

I feel I became weaker [after I came to Canada]. It became harder for me to recover

when mentally damaged. [...] After all, English is not my language, and people often

don't understand what I am trying to say. [...] Especially, my mother-in-law never

understands my English. [...] She just says, "I don't know," which [hurts me and]

makes me wonder whether my English is that bad. [...] If in Japan, I can speak

Japanese, and I used to have a job. But things are different here. After all, I am not

like an adult [here], despite that I am an adult. I became more passive here. [...] I

[have to] depend on somebody [all the time], which is mentally hard.

[Utterance F-11] Age 60-64

When Japanese immigrant women gathered, one of us told one experience. She was

[looking for a spot] in a very crowded parking area in a Saturday afternoon, and saw

one lot was about to be free. [...] So she was waiting for it, showing the signal. But

another car quickly did queue jumping and took her spot. [...] Then we talked about

what we would do [in her shoes]. I said that I would make an objection [against the

unfair person]. [...] But most of the women there said that they would just feel sorry

for such a person [and would not bother themselves to complain, because making an

objection against such a wretch is meaningless]. [...] I think that they choose just to

feel sorry, actually because they don't have guts to complain with broken English.

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But [living as an immigrant,] you often have to live through compromise like that. If the same thing happens in Japan, you would [be able to] complain. [...] I think such a life through compromise is very hard.

[Utterance F-12] Age 60-64

I have a close friend who lived in Canada more than twenty years. She couldn't speak English at all, partly because her personality is not aggressive [...]. She decided to go back to Japan about five years ago. [...] When she was in Canada, she was not involved in community activities at all. But, having gone back to Japan, [...] she started joining a political campaign for a local assembly member. [...] Living here, she never did such a thing as joining a political campaign. [...] [She has] changed [by going back to Japan].

Examination of interviewee's narratives illuminates two possible reasons for women's empowerment: (1) on the one hand, they are no longer tied to Japanese values and norms, and on the other hand, Canada's dominant discourse encourages people's independence, including women's independence (Utterances F-1, 2, 3, 4), and (2) surviving a tough immigrant life made them tougher (Utterances F-5, 6). Meanwhile, two reasons are also found for their disempowerment: (1) the language and cultural barriers undermine their independence and confidence (Utterances F-7, 9, 10, 11), and (2) family (parents') support does not exist in Canada (Utterance F-8).

Therefore, after all, it is ambiguous whether migration to Canada empowers Japanese women or not. Interestingly, the majority of women (30 people), however, expressed satisfaction at their decision to immigrate to Canada. On the other hand, three women expressed some regret about their decision, five women were not sure, and two

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said coming to Canada had not particularly affected their life.

Further examination of their utterances shows that the key reason given for their satisfaction is that coming to Canada had broadened and deepened their perspectives:

[Utterance F-13] Age 40-44

My value changed [by coming to Canada]. [...] Communicating with people of various countries, I learned that different people have such different values. [...] I realized that what I believed in Japan is meaningless. [...] I am very positive [about my coming to Canada]. Now I know I don't have to stick [at things].

[Utterance F-14] Age 35-39

How did my life change [by coming to Canada]?   I got a broader point of view. [...] When I was watching [TV] news in Japan, world news was reported like only for three minutes. [...] But now, CBC reports lots of social issues, including Canadian news. [...] And now, I can think that one doesn't necessarily have to live [the preset life] to graduate from a high school and a college, work, get married and have children. [...] When my child reaches to a college age, [...] I will encourage him to travel the world, like a round-the-world trip. [...] I can accept different lives [now].

[Utterance F-15] Age 40-44

[Coming to Canada] gave me a new viewpoint, so it was such a great wealth in that meaning. [...] Living in Canada gives me opportunities to make me see things that I shouldn't have seen in Japan, and to make me consider that I shouldn't have considered in Japan.

[Utterance F-16] Age 45-49

My life completely changed [by coming to Canada]. [...] It broadened my view on

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life. [...] My view became deeper and broader. If I should have continued to live in Japan, all I could see was Japan. [...] [I couldn't get out of the set values.]

Fifteen women in total said that coming to Canada provided them with different perspectives and broadened their horizons, and thus changed their life. Through migration, they started seeing the world differently, and realized that the value they grew up with, including *risshin shusse* ideology (Utterance F-14), is indeed not absolute. Their experiences in the two different countries (Utterances F-14, 15, 16) together with Canada's multicultural environment (Utterance F-13) contributed to diversifying and broadening of their perspectives.

This change of immigrants' perspectives seems a marked difference from pre-war *issei* women. The previous studies suggest that immigration to Canada hardly changed values of *issei* women (Makabe 1983), partly because of the marginalization of Japanese population in Canada (Kobayashi 1994b). That post-war immigrant women have experienced change in their views through migration is considered as a major shift from pre-war immigrant women, though reasons for this shift needs to be explored further in future studies.

While most of the women are very positive about the change of their perspectives, one different opinion was also expressed:

[Utterance F-17] Age 60-64

> [Having experienced life both in Japan and in Canada,] I cannot say which one is better, because Japan has its own good points, and Canada does, too. [...] [Now I cannot help seeing] things as gray [without setting the record straight,] because you got to know two [different] societies. [...] One [of my *shin ijuusha* women friends]

says, life knowing just one society, or life either in only white or only black society,

should not be bad. There are moments I [feel the same, having reached this age]. [...]

[You start thinking things too much and face ambiguity,] because you got to know

two [societies].

Generally, Japanese immigrant women, however, express deep satisfaction and great happiness from their broadened viewpoints. A broadened and deepened perspective was already pointed out as one of the major advantages in their daily life in Canada (see Chapter 6), but many of the interviewees brought up the point once again to discuss their whole migration experience.

To sum up, migration to Canada did not necessarily empower Japanese women. They are no longer tied to Japanese values and norms, but at the same time they are marginalized in Canada because of their language and Asian bodies, and they do not have enough resources to achieve a successful career in Canada. Nevertheless, many women view their decision to immigrate to Canada positively, especially because they feel that their lives in two different countries allowed them to have plural viewpoints and thus deeply enriched their life. Through their own experiences as transnational migrants, they have realized that the world looks differently from a different standpoint, and that there is no universal truth.

"The world looks differently from a different standpoint, and there is no universal truth" is the very concept lies in poststructuralist (Uchida 2002). Thus, it can be argued that they became substantively poststructuralists through migration. The answer to the question whether their life in Canada can be described as "And they lived happily ever after?" is ambiguous, as the migration from Japan to Canada did not necessarily

help women to climb up the societal hierarchy; back in Japan, they may be regarded and envied as people who are now a part of the West, but in Canada, they actually live a marginalized immigrant woman's life through compromise. Many *shin ijuusha* women have attained a sense of accomplishment, however, creating their own life course at their own initiative, and that sense seems to be associated with their satisfaction. Broadening perspectives and creating constructive life are keys for women's fulfilling life course.

Developing upon studies by Kobayashi (2002, 2003), this thesis explored Japanese immigrant women, to whom the existing literature of social geography of the life course has not paid enough attention. This thesis contributed to the existing studies in the following manner: it delved into reasons for Japanese women's emigration, shed light on their daily struggles and negotiations in Canada, revealed their transnational realities, and considered whether their migration to Canada was emancipatory in their overall lives. The thesis has been an attempt to understand lives of Japanese immigrant women both from specific and comprehensive perspectives, seeing their migration as a social construction through gender and the life course.

At the end, I would like to review this thesis, examining effects of my positionality and research method. My positionality as one of Japanese migrant women was obviously a great advantage to conduct this research. Speaking in the same mother tongue helped to establish rapport with interviewees. With more or less similar background and experiences, it was easy for me to understand what they were trying to say, including subtle meanings. I was aware, however, that my positionality could also lead to moulding their experiences into my preconceptions. But the danger was avoided, helped by the interviewees: They have never been just "the researched" who are

passively studied, and often told stories that defied my assumptions. Thus interviews made me aware of diversity among *shin ijuusha* women. The interview method employed for this study also contributed to avoiding my imposition of preconceived ideas and to producing unexpected outcomes; *Shin ijuusha* women frequently discussed matters of their concern on their own initiatives, as responses to open-ended questions. Findings such as that so many women face language barriers, and that they appreciate deepened perspectives, were made through this method (those topics were not included in the original questions). The method contributed to capturing nuances and ambiguity of *shin ijuusha* women's experiences as well.

It has to be also noted, however, that such an interview method, which was successful overall, also had its limitations, especially in that interviewees' spontaneous narratives are not the best data for quantitative analyses. It often happened that an interviewee took up a topic that other people also brought up in other interviews, despite that I had not suggested the topic to her. Such "non-led" topics presented with their own initiatives provide valuable clues, but numbers of interviewees who brought up such topics remained relatively smaller than ones who answered preset questions, unsurprisingly. Therefore, further analyses were not possible for certain issues. For example, I tried to explore why some felt that migration to Canada empowered themselves and others did not feel empowered, examining whether their answers are associated with their characteristics (e.g., family situation, immigration status). But I had to give up, because only seventeen women brought up the issue in total, and that number is too small to find any significant patterns. More structured studies based on a larger number of participants are necessary for these analyses in the future.

Here, I would also like to address two paradoxes I realized through this research, from a standpoint of a transmigrant who attained plural viewpoints living both in Canada and in Japan. The first paradox is that I had to conduct poststructuralist research based on Canada's current academic system that is indeed very modernist. The standard research process employed by Queen's University is: make a research plan, defend a proposal, and write a thesis as clearly and logically as possible, stating only what I know but ignoring what I do not know. As touched upon in this thesis, English, the language used to write this thesis, seems modern itself, as it has established subject words and encourages sequence of tenses, while shunning ambiguity (see Footnote 7, Chapter 6). I keenly felt the modernist nature of the research process in Canada, especially because I once studied in a university of Japan that still has some pre-modern characteristics (e.g., there is no such thing as a research proposal; students just make a rough idea and gradually build up the research, often changing and modifying their directions; the concept of "planning" itself, which is to foresee a future and actually make it happen, does not really fit in Japan), and because my first language is Japanese, which values feeling, non-explanation and ambiguity (Uchida 2002)[12].

The second paradox is that it is often much harder for "the Other" to be a feminist geographer of difference than to be a modern, positivist geographer. Geographies of difference make much of voices from "the Other," valuing language and meanings more than numbers and statistics. But, being one of "the Others" whose first language is not English, I experienced great difficulties to express subtle meanings. As

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[12] Roland Barthes found that Japanese *haiku* that do not thoroughly explain meanings can be a solution against European languages that expose the object and fill it with meanings (Uchida 2002, pp.137-139).

shown in Chapter 2, the bias in geography for the English-speaking world has been pointed out, but the situation has to be associated with this second paradox. The language barrier remains as one of the great obstacles for mutual academic communication in this globalizing world. Conducting research, just as living life itself, always accompanies contradictions and paradoxes. But the two paradoxes addressed above are deep-seated and important, and need to be shared with feminist geographers of difference to be challenged by future research.

Finally, three topics to be studied in the future need to be pointed out. First, although interviews for this study were conducted in three cities, how differences of these cities affect experiences of immigrant women was not explored, because the number of participants in Kingston and Ottawa was not large enough. Issues of place for immigrant women need to be explored in a further study. Second, this thesis explored women's daily lives, but did not focus on serious issues. While doing fieldwork, *shin ijuusha* community leaders pointed out pertinent issues such as domestic violence, depression and divorce. Actually, I myself had a chance to glance at them. When they occur, these become serious problems for Japanese women who have a language barrier and are distant from support networks, but its reality tends to be hidden under water partly because of its sensitivity. Care-giving for *shin ijuusha* women themselves will also become a pertinent issue in the near future, when more post-war *issei* reach retirement age. Lastly, this study did not explore immigrant men. But it does not mean men's issues are unimportant, as men often face greater difficulties in marginalized immigrant life. These three pointed out as above are important topics to be explored in the future.

This thesis illuminated lives of *shin ijuusha* women who have carved a new life,

bridging two societies through struggles and negotiations. With their multiple perspectives of the world that avoid imposition of the single universal truth, these migrant women may indeed be key players in this globalizing world, where mutual understanding and tolerance for difference are strived for all the more.

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APPENDIX

The Interview[14]

I. Subject Information

1. Year and place of Birth   19_ _,   _____Prefecture

2. Marital status

    | Married | Separated |
    | Divorced | Widowed |
    | Single (never married) | |

3. Background of spouse

    Ethnicity _____
    Birthplace _____

4. Children   Have child(ren)   Do not have children

5. Education

    Junior-high school
    High-school
    Vocational college
    Two-year college
    Four-year college/university
    Master's
    Ph.D.
    Other _____

6. Current occupation   _____

II. Coming to Canada

1. When did you come to Canada?   19 _ _

2. Why did you come to Canada? _____
    _____
    _____

3. What did your family (especially parents) and people around you say about your coming to Canada?'   _____
    _____

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[14] These are starting questions. As stated in Chapter 4, interviewees were encouraged to freely develop each topic and discuss it further.

III. Life in Canada
III-i. *Advantages and disadvantages of living in Canada*

1. Living in Canada, what advantages have you found?
    _____
    _____

2. Living in Canada, what disadvantages have you found?
    _____
    _____

3. (In case racism had not been pointed out yet as an disadvantage)
    Have you ever experienced racism?
    _____
    _____

4. When you face difficulties living in Canada, how do you manage to live them
    through?   _____
    _____

III-ii. *Shin ijuusha social networks*

1. Are you associated with a Japanese community/other *shin ijuusha* people in Canada?
    On what occasions?   _____
    _____

2. In case you don't have contact, why?
    _____
    _____

III-iii. *Japanese education for children*
In case you have children, have you tried to teach Japanese language/culture to them?
Why?   How?   Did you face any difficulties?
    _____
    _____

III-iv. *Issues of belonging*

1. Immigration Status   Canadian national   Landed immigrant
    Other (specify)_____

2. How did you decide to have your current immigration status?
    _____

3. Do you feel you are: Japanese   Japanese Canadian

                                    Canadian   Other (specify)_____

4. Do you feel Canada your home (*hoomu*) and hometown (*kokyoo*) now?   Why?

        _____

        _____

IV. Ties with Japan

1. How do you contact with people in Japan?

        _____

        _____

2. How often and for what purposes do you go back to Japan?

        _____

        _____

V. Overall

How has coming to Canada changed your life?

        _____

        _____

VI. Questions for community leaders

1. What are your activities as a *shin ijuusha* community leader?

        _____

        _____

2. If there are any places *shin ijuusha* people gather, please describe what and how they are.

        _____

        _____

3. Are there any issues *shin ijuusha* people face?

        _____

        _____