

Recent Moves in the Japanese Community Towards Multiculturalism | Sachiko Sone

Introduction

The Japanese community in Western Australia is a small one of approximately five thousand of a total population of two million people, with over 160 ethnic clubs and associations. However, through a range of social and cultural activities including the 'Japan Festival' and 'Japanese Movie Nights' held each November it does contribute to the cultural diversity of Western Australia, which has a higher proportion of overseas-born citizens than the national average. It is also in the midst of taking on a new direction with an emphasis on revitalising cultural traditions within the community—an effort that reflects demographic changes within the Japanese community in the last decade.

This chapter focuses first on a examination of intergenerational-interaction programmes planned and run by volunteers over the age of fifty-five for second-generation children in the Japanese community in Western Australia and, secondly, on a study of the likely future directions of such intergenerational programmes in strengthening migrant communities and promoting multiculturalism in the broader society.

Intergenerational programmes, first conceptualised in the 1960s in the US, have become tremendously popular throughout communities in the US and other parts of the world. The creation of intergenerational programmes is motivated by an awareness of the geographic separation between older and younger family members as a consequence of family mobility, and social issues affecting the old and young as a result of a sense of disconnectedness from family and society.¹ Unlike intergenerational programmes in Japan and elsewhere, those in Perth are of recent origin, having

been commenced in 2003 as a result of a sudden increase in the number of children born out of mixed marriages between Japanese and non-Japanese.

The earlier sections of this chapter deal with demographic trends within the Japanese community and the research methodology employed. The focus then is on the history of the elderly volunteer group and their journey to Perth, and on an analysis of their activities including generational interaction programmes that have been expanded to include multicultural activities.

The Japanese Community and its Demographic Trends

The number of Japanese residents in Western Australia has been increasing steadily in the last two decades: from 600 in 1987 to 2,006 in 1997 and 5,277 in 2007² with some 95 per cent residing in Perth and its vicinity. The ratio of transients (defined as those who have so far stayed for three months or more) to those who have attained the right of permanent residence was roughly equal up till 2002, but has been 6:4 since 2003. Among the transients, or temporary residents, the increase in the number of young people with working holiday visas (841, which accounts for 30 per cent of the total) is noticeable, although the number of retirees with retirement visas decreased to eighty-one due to a policy change concerning the retirement visa in 2005.³ Students (825 or 29 per cent) and private company staff and their families (384, or 14 per cent) also form major components of the transient population along with working holidaymakers.

Table 1: Distribution of Japanese Residents by Age and Gender as at 1 July 2007

	Female					Male				
	Long-term Residents					Long-term Residents				
Age	w.h.v	retiree	student	other	P.R.	w.h.v	retiree	student	other	P.R.
0-9	1	0	17	62	214	1	0	16	69	226
10-19	2	0	61	85	135	4	0	27	55	127
20-29	467	0	332	413	124	192	0	139	169	63
30-39	138	2	138	259	413	36	0	51	135	86
40-49	0	2	21	69	234	0	0	6	48	52
50-59	0	7	6	23	90	0	3	4	28	50
60-69	0	25	4	6	40	0	17	3	9	25
70-	0	6	0	2	16	0	19	0	2	15
Total	608	42	579	919	1266	233	39	246	515	644

Source: The Japanese Consulate-General in Perth; w.h.v.: those with working holiday visas; student: those with student visas; P.R.: permanent residents.

As can be seen in the table above, the majority of permanent expatriates are women while transients are also a feminised group, these being common features of the Japanese communities in Oceania as well as Western Europe. Analysis of the demography of Japanese permanent residents in Western Australia indicates significant

growth in numbers in two groups in recent years: children aged nine and younger and women aged between thirty and thirty-nine. By 2007, the young children accounted for 23.5% of the total number of permanent residents and the women in their thirties for 22%. In response to community calls for cultural education for the increasingly large number of second-generation children, mostly of permanent residents, the Weekend Japanese School was opened in April 2005 with the assistance of the Japanese Consulate-General, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Japanese School in Perth.⁴ The Western Australian government also gave assistance for preparatory purposes and the school was officially recognised as an ethnic school. The school is conducted in a borrowed classroom in a public school building at Shenton Park Primary School and offers a three-hour Japanese language lesson every Saturday. Such weekend schools for children of permanent residents have been increasing steadily in number in Australia since the 1990s.

It is also significant that the Japanese government has been supporting or establishing full-time Japanese schools (*Nihonjin-Gakkô*) around Australia since the 1990s. The curricula used in these schools are basically the same as those of schools in Japan and the intention is to endeavour to uphold Japanese customs and nurture the students' Japanese study skills so that they can adapt to Japanese society when they return to Japan. However, this approach does not represent an adequate response to the needs of children of mixed ethnic parents and of permanent residents.

Prior to the official moves, concerned mothers had begun to form a network among themselves and requested a non-governmental organization (NGO) established in 2000, the 'Rainbow Association' (*Niji no kai*), to provide informal cultural activities for pre-school and primary school children. As the majority of volunteer members are over fifty-five years old, the cultural activities employed are of an intergenerational character. This kind of intergenerational interaction has been promoted in Japan since the 1980s in response to concerns about an aging population.⁵ However, the demographic profile of the Japanese community in Australia, including Western Australia, is different from that in Japan, with the median age being considerably younger—the majority of the community is under thirty—and only around 5% are at retirement age. Nevertheless, in broad terms Japanese permanent residents in major Australian cities are facing the same problems as other migrants both with respect to the felt need to maintain a cultural link between second-generation children born overseas and Japan and also with concerns about providing care for the aged in their population.

Research Methods

Intergenerational programming is an emerging field of scholarship, practice and policy.⁶ Defined by the International Consortium for Intergenerational Programmes established in 1999 in The Netherlands as centred on 'social vehicles that create purposeful and ongoing exchange of resources and learning among older and younger generations', the engagements embraced in intergenerational programming extend beyond interfamilial intergenerational relations to include extra familial relationships. These extra-familial intergenerational interactions are usually classified under distinct categories such as 'school-based', 'community-based' and 'integrated set-

tings'. However, to this point in time formal intergenerational programmes have not been prevalent in ethnic communities and the current state of intergenerational programs does little to address the specific nature and issues arising from migrant communities such as that of the Japanese community in Western Australia. This chapter is designed through reporting on a specific study project to provide a window on the potential of intergenerational programmes as vehicles to strengthen such communities, and the wellbeing of the individuals in the community.

The principal subjects of this project were elderly volunteers (over fifty-five years old) and mothers of children (between three and ten years old) from the Japanese community in Western Australia who participate in cultural activities after school in the inner Perth metropolitan area including City Beach, North Perth, Wilson, Bayswater, Willagee, Kardinya and Bibra Lake.

The project employed anthropological fieldwork methodologies and ethnological approaches: firstly, undertaking participant observation and naturalistic observation in the school and the community (about fifty people); secondly, working with focus groups (three groups of seven that conduct cultural activities); and thirdly, through the conduct of semi-structured interviews with twenty-five participants.

Qualitative research methods such as observations made by participants and in-depth interviews are often useful because these enable researchers to come into close contact with the concerns and future visions held by the participants from schools and the community. The author joined the volunteer group in 2005 and participated as a member in the whole process in 2006 including planning, performing and revising the various cultural activities along with other members, which facilitated communication with all participants—the elderly volunteers, children and their mothers—both as individuals and in group settings. It was originally intended to interview as many mothers as the elderly volunteers but, due to their busy household schedules, most mothers with young children were only able to answer questions by correspondence and the research is therefore based mainly on the perspectives held by the elderly volunteers. However, other sources of information, such as a literature review and field notes, were used to compare verbal information from the interviews to ensure rigorous analysis. The information obtained from this study is outlined in detail below.

Intergenerational Interaction Programmes in Perth

1. A History of the Support-net

An NGO, the Rainbow Association (*Niji no kai*), was accredited as an ethnic support network by the WA government in July 2000 under the WA Government's Association Act 1987.⁷ Despite a call made by Nakahara Takeshi, the former president of the Japan Club of Western Australia established for permanent residents in 1991,⁸ initially only ten people joined this volunteer group and many were over fifty-five years in age. The initial goal of the Association was to improve quality of life through mutual support among Japanese residents, and with the specific aim of helping people residing in the Perth metropolitan areas, including Japanese-speaking frail-aged and handicapped people who needed support with organised assistance.

While the main activity was telephone counselling in Japanese, the Association also offered services such as transport for people who were over sixty-five years old and could not drive, and house-cleaning in cooperation with the local Perth NGOs 'Home Support, and 'People Who Care' (since 2004). In the last eight years, this volunteer group has grown in size and activities as the number of members increased from ten to nearly 100 and the distribution of the quarterly newsletter increased from 300 to 800 copies. The ten core members are elderly permanent residents and sojourners aged over fifty-five years.

It is important to note that many of these retirees were relatively wealthy, healthy and highly-motivated immigrants, some of whom have taken up volunteer work hoping to lead an active life in a new country. Their positive thinking and activities are far from the images portrayed by the Japanese media as being 'isolated and disenfranchised',⁹ and help to allay the concern the Western Australian government had over the extent of infrastructure required for caring for the retiree settlers. Moreover, these young-old sojourners have no access to Australia's public health care system. As it is, the stereotypes of retirees and elderly immigrants have been changing in Perth over the last decade because of their visible and invisible activities in the community, reported via the group's websites and newsletters. Assistance is provided to mothers struggling with young children, wives facing domestic violence, and young Japanese who are in the state on a working holiday visa. The volunteers also pay regular visits to older people in their homes to help them with various types of housework and for two years they visited an older couple in a nursing home until the couple returned to Japan.

It is not too much to say that this volunteer group assists Japanese migrants whose problems belong neither to the Japanese government nor the Australian government. Due to the low rate of naturalisation, which is closely related to the fact that the Japanese government does not recognise dual citizenship, members of the Japanese community in Perth, like their counterparts in other major cities in Australia, are less capable of legally integrating themselves into the local Australian community and this is an important reason why this volunteer group has been so important and effective. In filling the gap between the two governments and providing a helping hand and counselling to those in need the work of the volunteers is indeed filling a gap (*sukima*) between the official sphere and personal sphere that is the reality of life for the immigrants.¹⁰ Furthermore, this happens not only in the Japanese community but also in other ethnic communities. Trans-nationalism in Australia thus depends on micro support from the community since there is no subsistent macro structure.

2. Members of the Support-net: Voyages to Perth

In terms of explaining the initial motivation for the retirees in the volunteer group to migrate to Perth the survey revealed that a number came simply because it was considered a popular destination for Japanese retirees even though the majority were to be found on the east coast.¹¹ A number of others indicated that they chose Perth through an internet friend's introduction.

MY, a former academic who migrated to Perth in 2003, explains the decision-making process:

During the past ten years, whenever I flew overseas for conferences, I would take a closer look at the place than before to see whether it was a suitable destination for my post-retirement life and an ideal educational environment for my son who is now 14 years old. I nearly decided to migrate to Brisbane after an internet-friend based in Brisbane introduced me to the city. I found out that public junior high schools in Brisbane do not accept overseas students, but that they do in Perth. So I migrated to Perth on a retirement visa. It was, after all, a good choice as the climate and lifestyle are fine by me and my wife, and by my son who recently won the state swimming championship. It took me nearly two years to settle down here, and now I can afford to help others through the support-net. I was always interested in volunteer work, but did not have time when I was back in Japan.¹²

Others again migrated to Perth on a Contributory Parent Visa as their children had already settled in Perth due to work or international marriages. An analysis of the demographic trend in the Japanese community in Perth indicates that this category of young-old immigrants may increase in the near future.

SO retired early after working for 30 years for a large corporation, and came to Perth with his wife, his daughter and her Australian husband. During the interview by a Melville counsellor in 2003, he confessed:

When I came here six years ago, I was upset, shocked at the difference in culture, and I was always complaining. So my son-in-law said to me one day, 'Dad, you have to go back to Japan now'. It was a good opportunity for me to change my mind.¹³

As a hard-working businessman in Japan, he had never taken up volunteer work until he moved to Perth. He explains how his interest in volunteer work grew:

My mother came to live with us and she had dementia; it was really tough, but it was a wonderful experience. I received a lot of help from Australian volunteers, which I will never forget, and that was one of the reasons why I started the organization to support the elderly Japanese here.¹⁴

SO is one of the original members of the group and is about to change his visa status from a temporary retirement visa to permanent family-reunion visa as he is now the grandfather of a girl who speaks Japanese with her grandparents and mother, and English with her father at home. He participates in playgroup cultural activities while handling about 30 enquiries a month for the Support-Net.

Whatever their backgrounds in Japan, all of the members had been either involved in or interested in volunteer work while in Japan, and had been motivated to

contribute to the community during the last decade. In many cases, the birth of their own grandchildren even encouraged them in their volunteer activities.

3. Activities of the Support-net

One of the pioneer activities of the Support-net is an assistance programme for mothers of children (between three and ten years old) who participate on a weekly basis in cultural activities after school in Perth and its vicinity (within a thirty-kilometre distance from the Perth CBD).

As is the case in Japan, intergenerational activities in WA hinge on the traditional, cultural, and historical knowledge of the elderly. The volunteers visit pre-schools and schools to teach children about Japanese traditional crafts, such as paper, bamboo and rope crafts, as well as childhood games. The only difference between them and their counterparts in Japan is that the elderly in Perth have limited access to the materials required, and so they face the challenge of having to create substitutes and supplements for these materials on their own. A taste of 'contemporary pop culture' is sometimes added to the traditional games. Thus, for instance, children, mothers and elderly volunteers would march in a playgroup room to the beat of Japanese pop music and pass Japanese traditional articles to the person next to them while saying the names of these articles in Japanese out loud such as '*uchiwa*' (paper fan) and '*zaru*' (bamboo baskets for cooking). An elderly volunteer invented this game and named it '*Takkyū-bin*' (urgent door-to-door delivery service).

The activities are carefully planned during the monthly meetings. The leader of the cultural activities, a former primary school teacher, often proposes interesting activities, while the other volunteers also suggest some innovative plans at the Japanese Consulate multiple-purpose room.

FS, the leader of the cultural activities team, explains how he began to direct the Japanese playgroups that were formed in six locations:

My 'début' was when I played Christmas songs on the accordion in front of about 20 children and 10 mothers with an American father who was disguised as Santa Claus in December 2000 in Willagee, a south-western suburb of Perth. This event was successful and so the news spread through the mothers' network that later requested the volunteer group take up informal cultural activities for pre-school and primary school children between zero and four years old, who numbered about 300 at the time.¹⁵

As a member of a local chorus group, FS noticed that the elderly people of Anglo-Saxon ethnic background in nursing homes enjoyed singing together with volunteers. On the contrary, Japanese mothers in their twenties and thirties know very little about Japanese traditional songs and music as they did not pay attention to them during their school days back in Japan. The playgroup activities, which include singing old and new songs, inspire not only the children but also the mothers. A mother of two children of a mixed marriage, EL, says:

The playgroup activities provide us with a good opportunity to hand down to our children the Japanese culture that we were losing touch with. In the evening of the cultural activities day, my children, three and five years old, and I begin our communication by talking about what we did in Japanese. My Irish husband doesn't mind it.¹⁶

All participants, namely the elderly volunteers, the children and their mothers, develop a mutual bond as a result of the consistent interaction. While the elderly feel that their lives are enriched by the ability to help others, the children enjoy new games. Moreover, mothers benefit from the activities as they too learn about the traditional culture, in which they were uninterested while they were back in Japan. These mothers were born in the 1970s and 1980s and were the first generation to be raised in an affluent Japanese society whose sense of value was different from that of former generations.¹⁷

Being geographically distant from their parents in Japan, these young mothers lack access to the experience and information required in child-rearing. The six playgroups were gradually formed out of the desperation of such young mothers between 2000 and 2003. They all now feel the importance of passing down their culture to their children and appreciate very much the support given by the elderly volunteers. Some mothers look forward to meeting the elderly more than their children do due to their desire to consult them regarding the problems they face at home. One of the volunteer members, KS, says:

Many young mothers have the same upbringing—spoiled by their parents as the only daughter. Fortunately, some mothers have begun to understand that the key to good communication is to care for others. I have been consulted by quite a number of mothers in the past five years whose major concern is their poor communication with their parents-in-law who don't speak Japanese, and also their parents in Japan who do not approve of their daughter's marriage. A few experience an identity crisis. I guess nine out of ten would be from international marriages. These mothers are very interested in the Japanese traditional games and happy to participate in the cultural activities with their children.¹⁸

Having developed a foundation for the Support-net, these elderly volunteers are entering the next step—recruitment of younger members, by targeting the mothers of the children. It seems an uneasy challenge for them since these mothers are still in the middle of child-rearing, but they are slowly making progress. One mother has recently joined the Support-net saying that she was ready to help others for two reasons: firstly, her seven-year-old son began to look after his three-year-old brother, and that created extra time for her and, secondly, she was grateful to the elderly volunteers for their cultural activities which inspired her own Japanese study programs for her children at home.¹⁹

This research project also provided the opportunity for the author to observe the group's multicultural activities for a Japan day held at a local primary school. Despite a backlash against multiculturalism, this is concrete evidence of multicultural activity.²⁰ Cultural activities for pre-school children conducted by the group have been

gradually recognised in local communities through the word-of-mouth of mothers as well as other avenues such as the group's website. Intergenerational interaction within the Japanese community has begun to expand to incorporate multicultural interaction. Thus, an Australian teacher who teaches Japanese at a local primary school heard of the cultural activities for children because his Japanese wife and their child have also benefited from them. Upon his request for assistance in a school event referred to as a 'Japanese culture day', elderly volunteers gained the opportunity to showcase their remarkable talents to 300 children. Having spent considerable time on discussion among the members, the elderly volunteers decided to avoid creating a programme with conventional Japanese cultural activities, but rather opted for a demonstration of 'multiculturalism' for this local event. They introduced children to something a little international rather than just traditional Japanese culture so that everyone could enjoy participating in it. For instance, Years One to Three were involved in making origami, *Samurai* helmets, paper guns and *hachimaki* (headbands) and they also participated in musical activities that made them move to the beat of a Japanese drum and castanet. Hachimakis were also used to practice *shūji* (Japanese calligraphy) just as in a scene from *The Karate Kid*, a popular children's movie from the 1980s. To make calligraphy easy for children, all hachimaki cloth was ironed beforehand by the members while samples of calligraphy made by the members were carefully chosen so as to steer clear of anything that would remind participants of the war era and Japanese imperialism. The girls from Year Four to Six participated in a kimono demonstration while the boys learnt about traditional Japanese toys and there were also *kamishibai* (picture-story-telling in both Japanese and English) and *tamaire* (a traditional ball-game). Year Seven students participated in all programmes as practice, two weeks prior to when the event actually took place.

At the end of the one-day activity, two students representing the school read a letter of appreciation in both Japanese and English in front of the volunteers, students, teachers and the principal of the school in the assembly hall. Each member received a certificate of appreciation issued by the Department of Education and Training. The event took place on 23 March 2006 at Swanbourne Primary School and was immediately reported in the school newsletter sent out to the parents and the Japanese local newspaper in Perth. Subsequently, a number of enquiries were received by the secretary of the group and the members are now very much aware of the importance of their involvement with the Australian community, while at the same time realising that volunteer work like 'Japan Day' at a primary school requires enormous energy and time. Nonetheless, all members in the group agree that multicultural activities will be a part of the future direction taken by such intergenerational programmes, with the joint aim of strengthening migrant communities and promoting multiculturalism in Australia, and that they will maintain their efforts in introducing Japanese culture to local children. At this point of time there are nearly 200 primary schools and secondary schools in the vicinity of Perth that offer Japanese language as a foreign language, starting in Year Three and even if the group were to assist these schools only twice a year for their culture day, it would take a century for them to complete their services. This task has to be handed down to the new members.



'Japanese Culture Day' at Swanbourne Primary School, 23 March 2006. Photo taken by a school staff.

Conclusion

The intergenerational programmes in Perth, characterised as elderly-initiated-interaction of three generations—grandparents, children under ten years old and their mothers—at pre-school and schools, have the potential to contribute to community-building for the three reasons. First, many young Japanese mothers in their thirties who participate in the local community experience an identity crisis as a result of their daily experiences, and develop an interest in teaching their children Japanese culture and language. Secondly, elderly migrant volunteers are all well-educated and willing to interact with the mothers and children in order to create a homely atmosphere like that of an extended family. Mothers and elderly volunteers, however, only interact on a monthly basis because neither wants to interfere too much in the other's private affairs as it often happens with extended families in Japan. What both the mothers and elderly want is to see the second-generation children grow up as Japanese-Australians who can speak Japanese with their parents and grandparents, show their understanding and appreciation of Japanese culture, and thus become valuable human resources for both Australia and Japan in the future.²¹ Thirdly, the volunteer work benefits not only the mother and children, but the 'young-old' permanent residents and long term sojourners as well, because it functions as a 'rehabilitation exercise' that gives them a sense of *'ikigai'*—a sense of purpose in their lives which is generally perceived as a desirable attitude toward life.²²

The initial intention of elderly volunteers was to pass on cultural traditions to second-generation children in the community, but this soon attracted young mothers, especially of international marriages, who had hardly paid any attention to

Japanese culture and values before their children were born, which in turn facilitated their exposure to the local communities. Intergenerational interaction programmes run by these elderly volunteers in Perth have served to foster not only a sense of connectedness among participants, including the elderly, children under ten years old and their mothers in the Japanese community, but also to assist Japanese in integrating into the wider Australian community.

Notes

- 1 S. Newman, R. C. Ward, T. B. Smith and J. Wilton, *Intergenerational Programs: Past, Present and Future*, Taylor & Francis, Bristol, 1997, p. 56.
- 2 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, Annual Report of Statistics on Overseas Japanese Nationals [Zairyû Hôjin Sû] (as of 1 October each year).
- 3 The number of retirees remained at about 100 in Western Australia for a decade, even after the peak year between 1996 and 1997 when 402 Japanese with retirement visas arrived in Australia. It can be said that the policy change in the retirement visa in 2005 was parallel to a move in the entire immigration policy, in which immigration policy became a means to stimulate regional economic growth. Contrary to the government's intention, however, after the change to Investor Retirement Visas, the number of visas awarded fell sharply from 6,676 in 2005–06 to 3,414 in 2006–07 (see also the chapter in this volume by Misako Negi, 'Retirement Migration').
- 4 Since the 1960s when exports of iron ore to Japan began, the Japanese business community in Perth has grown immensely and as a consequence the Consulate-General of Japan was opened in 1967 and a JETRO office operated from 1961 until 1999. In 1970 the Japanese Association of WA was established. In 1978 the Japanese School in Perth, consisting of a primary and junior high school was founded, originating from the supplementary school at the Consulate-General started in 1969. Owing to the increase in the number of children born of mixed marriages, the Weekend Japanese School was founded in 2005 with 26 pupils in kindergarten, 54 students in primary school and three students in junior high school in that year.
- 5 In Japan, there has been an increase in research and reports on intergenerational interaction between the old and young as a key for survival and proper functioning of society, particularly as the population ages (e.g. JARC [Japan Aging Research Centre] 1994).
- 6 An extensive literature has been built up in the intergenerational field since the late 1990s, including the international perspective, pioneered in publications such as Kaplan, Henkin and Kusano, *Linking Lifetimes: A Global View on International Exchange* (2002), and *the Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, co-edited by Newman and Sanchez and published since 2003, which bring to focus a rich array of diversities prevalent in intergenerational programs and notions across the globe.
- 7 *Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 2000.
- 8 The Japan Club of Western Australia for permanent residents was founded in 1991 with 40 families. By 1995 its membership had increased to 60 families, encompassing about 200 individuals. The Japanese Association of Western Australia, established in 1970 mostly for

- business staff (see note 4 above), also increased its membership to over 250, with 192 individual and 17 groups by 2005.
- 9 M. Kaplan, N. Henkin & A. Kusano (eds), *Linking Lifetime: A Global View of Intergenerational Exchange*, University Press of America, Langham, 2002, p. 3.
 - 10 Interview with one of the core members of the group by the author, 23 June 2006.
 - 11 According to Japanese government statistics in October 2002, there were 47,893 Japanese residents in Australia, of whom 20,041 were permanent residents and 26,852 were long-term residents. The largest numbers resided in New South Wales and Queensland, with the main concentrations in Sydney (about 20,000) and the Gold Coast (over 4,000).
 - 12 Interview by the author, 16 August 2006.
 - 13 *A Taste of History—a collection of oral history, images & recipes*, City of Melville, WA, 2005, p. 74.
 - 14 Interview by the author, 9 August 2006.
 - 15 Interview by the author, 14 August 2006.
 - 16 Interview by the author, 18 August 2006.
 - 17 J. S Eades et al., *Globalisation and Social Change in Contemporary Japan*, Trans Pacific Press, Melbourne, 2000.
 - 18 Interview by the author, 15 August 2006.
 - 19 Interview by the author, 5 September 2006.
 - 20 See latest 'your say' archives from <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/hotwords/index.php>
 - 21 There are some mothers and elderly people who believe that the second-generation children should be raised purely as Australians. This group is concerned that the children's identity would be split into two, and that the children would be neither Japanese nor Australian. Those who do not believe in the future of the second generation as Japanese-Australian are not involved in the playgroup activities currently run by the Support-net.
 - 22 KS, one of the original members of the group, had his third operation for cancer in 2004 at the age of 67. He wants to make sure the remainder of his life is useful not only for his four-year-old grandchild whose father is a Malay-Australian but also to other second-generation children in the community. The other senior members consider KS's activity as 'volunteer therapy'. Intergenerational programmes in Perth thus encourage senior adults to be physically and mentally healthy, and help enrich the lives of the elderly.