

Societal Asymmetry Among Queensland's Japanese and Spanish speaking Migrants: A Macroscopic Perspective

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Abstract

In this paper I will focus on how certain societal and structural parameters, born in Queensland's Britannia-centric society in the 18th century, still come together to generate a unique societal asymmetry among both its Japanese and Spanish speaking communities. I will first review the migration policies particularly held in Queensland (Australia) and then I will examine the factors shaping Queensland's societal asymmetry among the two communities involved. Finally, I will explore past and present sociolinguistic and demographic data, and the language vitality in education and economy in order to find the key factors leading to the current state of affairs.

Sociolinguistic Context in Australia and Queensland.

Up to 1969: White Australia.

Aboriginal cultures and languages are widely acknowledged as an essential element in 21st century multicultural Australia's collective identity. The historic neglect of Aboriginal cultures, however, is well documented. A monocultural, Britannia-centric colonial society characterized Australia from its foundation in the 18th century until the middle of the 20th century. English became the dominant language within these organized communities whereas Aboriginal societies were fast deprived of their cultural and material heritage. From 1869 the Aboriginal Protection Act was issued and a policy of cultural and linguistic assimilation was adopted by the federal government of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The 18th century witnessed Queensland adopting a racialized social and economic policy restricting non-white citizens, especially Chinese and Indian workers, who were attracted by the incipient gold rush. This also applied to the Japanese and Kanaka (Pacific Islanders) workers in the pearling and sugar industries. Simultaneously, non-British white Europeans were allowed to permanently settle in Queensland.

By the end of the 19th century Queensland had become the most racially diverse colony in Australia. However, it was also the region where non-British were most stigmatized, especially in the rural areas (Brandle, 2001). Social turmoil within the rural working class, and conscious political deliberation produced several acts that are considered today as a 'bio-political' action to extinguish unwanted and undesirable races, languages and cultures (Rivera Santana, 2018).

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By the end of WWII the process of decolonization in Australia was started. Australia facilitated the influx of skilled workers, who populated mostly Victoria and NSW. By the time the White Australia Policy was removed in 1973, steps were taken to increase immigration. However, Queensland remained an agricultural and mining state that did not require skilled workers from overseas. Therefore, few immigrants came to the State. Only 12% of the total number of foreign nationals in Australia lived in Queensland.

Australia was characterized by compulsory education from the 1880s. In the classroom a vernacular and homogeneous mixture of southern English and Irish variant was used. The initially vibrant multicultural and multilingual majority made up by G1 (first generation) immigrants (Clyne, 2005), abruptly ended in WWI. According to Martínez Expósito (2014), during the 19th century Australia's tertiary education was comprised by Eurocentric British-inspired curriculum whose core languages were French and the Classics. German, Russian, Italian, Modern Greek and Spanish and also Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian and Korean were introduced later as academic and foreign languages as part of what is known as the “laissez faire” phase (Lo Bianco, 1990, 2009; Clyne, 1991), which was characterized by extreme cultural and linguistic assimilation and inaction towards multilingualism.

From the 1970s: Multicultural Australia.

From the 1970s the United States and Japan became the major trading partners and investors in Australia (Brandle, 2001). During this second period, there were massive arrivals from Spanish-speaking countries for the first time. In Queensland, several migrant services were established from the 1980s to the 1990s to cope with the large intake of migrants from both abroad and from other states, mainly Victoria and NSW. During these years, a fast transition from assimilation to palliative adjustment policies to multiculturalism was implemented especially in the urbanized areas of Queensland.

National language policies from the 1970s reflected the complexities of the new immigration wave. Protests by activists in urban areas about the social inequalities embedded in previous language education policy gave birth to the “rights equality” phase, which, in turn, became the “multicultural” phase; proclaiming the multiple benefits of mother tongue maintenance.

From the 1980s, Asian languages, a market-based choice, were boosted. Japanese replaced French as the most preferred language in secondary schools and the most favoured language in Queensland. Both the National Policies of Languages (NPL) in 1987 and the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP) in 1992 identified Spanish and Japanese as prominent languages in the language-teaching curriculum. However, Japanese language programs were only guaranteed to be funded until 2020 under the National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools (NALSSP).

In 1987, the NPL established four goals in language education in Australia: 1) Competence in English, 2) Maintenance and development of LOTE (Languages Other Than English), 3) Provisions of services in LOTE and 4) Opportunities for learning second languages. Victoria, SA, and NSW promoted community languages and bilingual programs more prominently than the other states. Queensland remained the most regionally focused and with the lowest proportion of second language students of all the states (Fotheringham, 2009). This is significant for the present study as it reflects a language policy that benefits Japanese studies to the detriment of Spanish, a language that connects both transnational Europe and, most importantly, emergent trading possibilities with Latin America.

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Australia's failure to maintain consistent language policies (Lo Bianco, 2009, p.6) despite the society's multicultural and multi-ethnic composition, can also be correlated with the influential geopolitical, transnational, economic and cultural values of English in the Asian-Pacific region.

Eisenclas and Schalley (2017), corroborate the reluctance of Queensland to embrace a collaborative approach (Clyne, 2005) towards multilingualism. They conclude that only a minority of non-English speaking background parents support maintenance of children's home language. Many feel socially constricted from using their heritage language outside the home, not only because English is believed to be the only socially enabling language, but also because using it is believed to be a civic duty. They argue trenchantly that the more multilingual Australia has become, the more assimilationist its policies.

Australia can be described as a low context culture, laid-back, equalitarian individualistic society rooted in the liberal European tradition of the 18th century that superficially embraces multiculturalism with a mono-cultural mindset. These traits have been socialized and also operates horizontally, constricting LOTE individual speakers.

Queensland arguably falls further behind the rest of multilingual Australia for the following particular reasons:

- 1) Deeper historical roots of the Anglo-Celtic culture.
- 2) Lower proportion of migrants arriving to Queensland during the post war years.
- 3) Suburban rurality, anti-intellectual, anti-elitist sentiment that undervalues the economic or cultural benefits of LOTE.
- 4) Neoliberalism-driven centralization of physical shopping malls and other prospective meeting points, low demographic density, poor public transportation infrastructures and hilly topography, which fosters a de-territorialised connectedness among multilingual communities.

Japanese and Spanish Languages in Queensland. Past and Present.

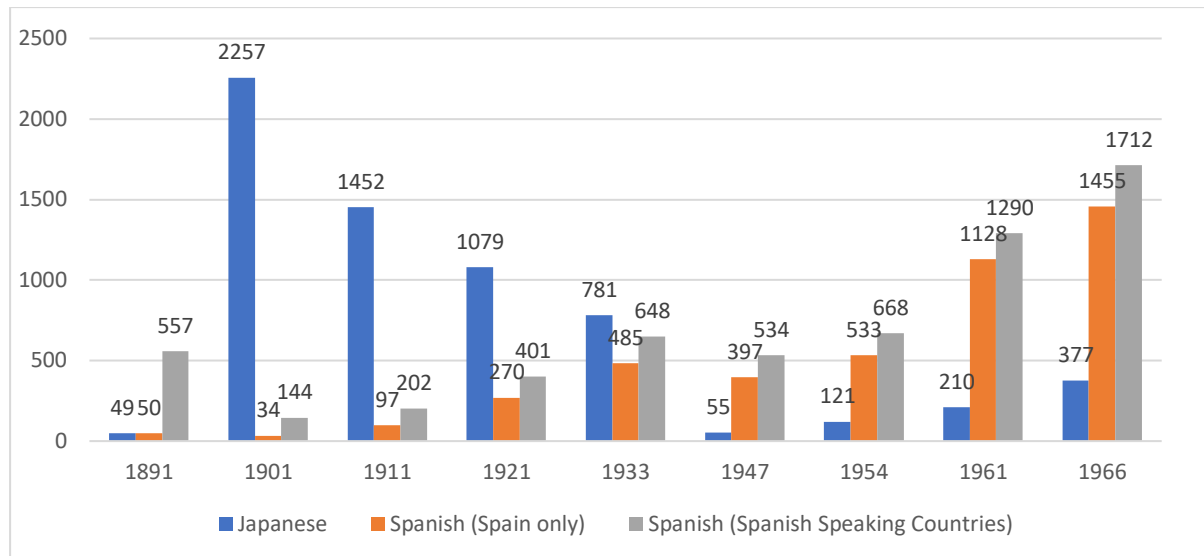
A review of the historical immigration data of the Censuses of the Commonwealth of Australia in terms of language use suggests that a larger than usually admitted proportion of Spanish-speaking people pioneered migration to Queensland. However, the first significant arrival of Spanish-speakers in Queensland was in the early 20th century. These immigrants replaced the labour shortage left by the Pacific Islanders, mainly in the sugarcane industry, and shared the same under-privileged social status as other groups of South-Europeans.

The following graph is an elaboration of the initial influx of migration to Queensland in terms of language use from 1891 to 1966. To calculate Spanish speakers, only approximate numbers can be estimated due to the limitations of statistical accuracy and the lack of language parameters.

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Table 1.

Japanese and Spanish speaking migration intake in Queensland from 1891 to 1966



Source: Censuses of the Commonwealth of Australia: 1891-1961 and Census of Population and Housing, 1966.

In 1891 the Spanish speaking countries immigration wave outnumbered both Japanese and the Peninsular Spaniards. After that, we can see a significant demographic increase in Japanese immigrants in the 1911 census. This corresponded to the need for pearl divers in the Torres Strait. From then on, the Japanese community decreased due to adverse migrant stagnation during WWII. The post war years are defined as the turning point when Spanish outnumbered Japanese. These migrants, mostly from Spain, were brought to replace the work force in rural areas such as Ipswich, to work in the Sugarcane industries. The migration flow, with a slight decline in 1928 due to immigration restrictions to Southern Europeans, was driven by economic and political reasons, notably the Civil War in the Iberian Peninsula.

Table 2 reflects the demographic percentage of Japanese and Spanish speaking communities in Queensland from 1891 to 1966:

Table 2.

Demographic percentages of Japanese and Spanish Speaking communities in Queensland from 1891 to 1966

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966
QUEENSLAND GRAND TOTAL POPULATION	393.718	498.129	605.813	755.972	947.534	1.106.415	1.318.259	1.518.828	1.663.685
Japanese Percentage	0.01%	0.45%	0.25%	0.15%	0.08%	0.005%	0.009%	0.01%	0.02%
SSC Percentage	0.1%	0.03%	0.02%	0.05%	0.07%	0.05%	0.05%	0.08%	0.1%

Source: Censuses of the Commonwealth of Australia: 1891-1961 and Census of Population and Housing, 1966.

It was mostly after the abolition of the *White Policy Act*, in 1966, that the new wave of immigrants to Queensland started. By this time, the “laissez faire” language policy had hegemonized English as the lingua franca in society whereas both Japanese and Spanish remained a vehicle of intra-ethnic communication in small rural communities.

As Australia’s immigration policy turned towards the concept of multiculturalism, multilingualism advanced not only through grass-roots activities such as social clubs,

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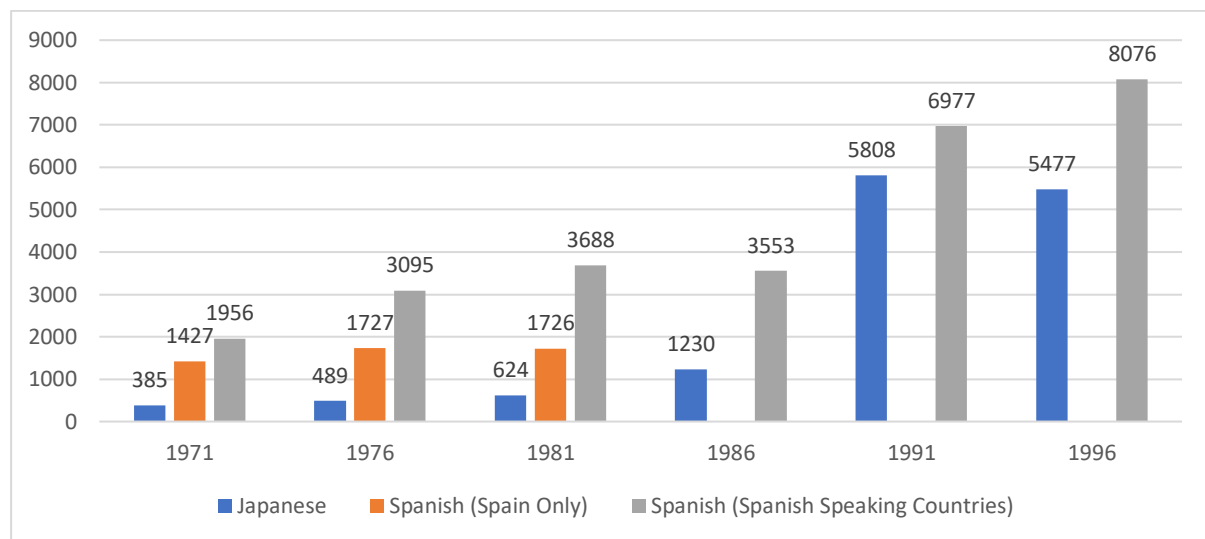
magazines, multilingual translation services, music events, etc. but also through structural initiatives, economic and political.

This period was also a turning point for both Spanish and Japanese community languages. On the one hand, the major proportion of Spanish speaking immigrants in Australia would not be Iberian but Latin American. On the other hand, the Japanese language would start to accrue economic value growth, as Japan became Australia's most powerful trading partner in the Asian-Pacific region. This period also witnessed a stereotype taking shape in Queensland society of the Spanish speaking migrant as an 'economic migrant' compared to the Japanese speaking migrant as a 'lifestyle migrant.'

As Tables 3 and 4 indicate there are no recorded numbers of Spaniards in Queensland since the community's massive return migration from the 1980s (Martin, 2001) following the restoration of democratic values and as the economic recovery of Spain began to take shape. At the same time, internal migration of Spaniards from other states and a new generation of economic and political Latin American migrants steadily increased the number of Spanish speakers in Queensland from a demographic density of 0.1% in 1971 to a 0.24% in 1996. The boom in Japanese immigration was perceived only later, from the 1990s at a rapid demographic pace.

Table 3.

Japanese and Spanish speaking migration intake in Queensland from 1971 to 1996



Source: Censuses of Population and Housing, 1971-1996

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Table 4.

Demographic percentages of Japanese and Spanish Speaking Communities in Queensland from 1971 to 1996

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
QUEENSLAND GRAND TOTAL POPULATION	1.827.065	2.037.194	2.295.123	2.624.595	2.960.951	3.339.109
Japanese Percentage	0.02%	0.02%	0.03%	0.04%	0.2%	0.16%
SSC Percentage	0.1%	0.15%	0.16%	0.14%	0.2%	0.24%

Source: Censuses of Population and Housing, 1971-1996

The Modern Japanese Community's Roots

The 1970s and 1980s were an important period of rapid growth for the Japanese community for several reasons. Corporations such as Mitsui, Sumitomo and Mitsubishi were established in Brisbane. In the education domain, the first post war Japanese Studies program was started at the University of Queensland, as was the Japanese Language Supplementary School of Queensland (JLSSQ). The Consulate General of Japan was upgraded; the *Nihonjin-Kai* (Japanese Club), the Japan-Australia Society and the Japan Club of Brisbane were established.

It was the textile manufacturing industry at the beginning of the 20th century that became the most prominent trade relation between the two countries. The Australia-Japan Commerce Agreement in 1957 made Queensland a significant provider of raw material (coal, wheat and beef) for the Japanese manufacturing and energy markets. The bilateral economic and political partnership accelerated in the 1980s with the Working Holiday Program (1980) and the proposal of the Silver Columbia Plan (1987). Queensland became Australia's first state to establish a joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry with Japan in 1987. Tourism investment made substantial portions of valuable land to be purchased by Japanese firms in Cairns and in the Gold Coast.

The favourable economic context of the Japanese yen also started to attract well prepared and educated working age Japanese sojourners and short-term young students as well as many visitors including short-term tourists and long-term retirees. Whereas the former tended to choose Brisbane, the later preferred the Gold Coast and Cairns since these places already had an infrastructure for the Japanese community.

The immigration impact was indirectly beneficial in terms of human and labour capital and was perceived positively economically at the new millennium. Queensland's economic dependency on exports to Japan was also visible at the structural level since around one quarter of the country's exports to Japan originated in Queensland.

The Modern Spanish Speaking Community's Roots

From the 1970s Australia established trading missions in Argentina and later in Peru in order to promote a more diverse immigration flow. Positive advertising and economical flights to Australia made people from Peru, Colombia and Ecuador, began to migrate independently to Australia mainly for personal and economic reasons (Martin & Tamayo-del Solar, 2001).

During the 1970s, older first generation (G1) Spaniard retirees moved to Queensland. At the same time, Chilean political migrants and Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Guatemalan refugees

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and Mexicans followed in the 1980s, as part of the Refugee and Special Humanitarian Program. During this second wave, family reunion was also emphasized.

Only a smaller proportion of Latin American migrants chose to live in Queensland. Refugees from Central America countries were over-represented. From 1986 to 1991 older G1 Argentinians, Chileans and Uruguayans arrived from other states encouraged by the Federal Government through the Community Refugee Settlement Scheme.

In terms of demographic density, Argentinians, Chileans, Salvadorans, Spaniards, and Uruguayans were concentrated in Brisbane. Salvadorans also lived in Logan City, Ipswich, Townsville and Toowoomba, Spaniards also chose Cairns and Townsville whilst Peruvians and other Spanish speaking nationalities were very dispersed. Some of the historical community networks created during these years include the Spanish Consulate in Queensland, the Chilean Club (1960s), the Hispanic Cultural Association Miguel Cervantes (1970s), the Hispanic Club of far North Queensland (1978), the Spanish Centre of Brisbane (1972), the Uruguayan Club Rodelpú (1980s), the Colombian Club (1980s), the Inti Perú Club (1990s), the Salvadoran Club (1990s), the Spanish Grandparents' Association (1992), the Latin American Grandparent Associations (1990s), the Argentinian-Australian Club (1990s), the Royal Maya Embassy (1990s) and the Spanish-speaking Education Committee which would introduce Spanish in Queensland's Primary and Secondary education.

In terms of their economic impact in Australian society during this period, the main trading contributors to Australia were Spain, Argentina, Chile and Mexico. While the import figures (1.35%) slightly surpassed the export figures (1.2%) nationally (Van der Eng, 2014), Queensland continued to export raw materials as it imported medium value-added products from Spain and Mexico, and minerals from Argentina and Chile.

The Spanish speaking communities' direct economic impact was not felt to be as beneficial as the Japanese community's due to two factors: 1) Refugee and family reunion policies had an immediate and direct negative impact on the local economy and, 2) because of the low English proficiency skills and Australia's selective recognition of overseas qualifications, participation in the labour force was lower than average for the Spanish Speaking communities.

The Communities in the New Millennium

The new millennium saw changes in immigration intake and multilingualism policies. However, Queensland remained the third preference among all nationalities, except for the Japanese and Salvadorans, who preferred to live in Queensland after NSW.

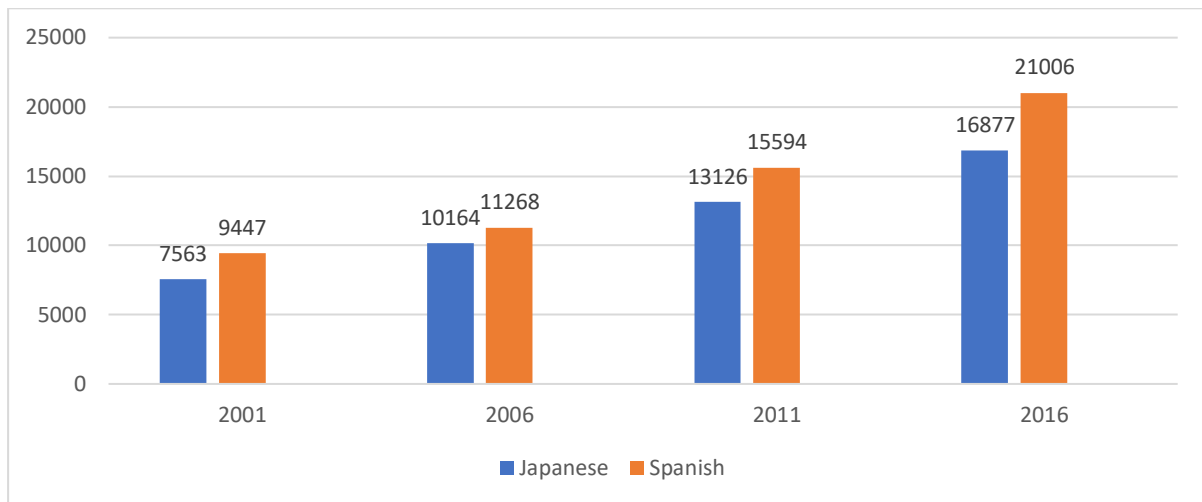
Regarding LOTE preference at home, Queensland's data reveal that it falls behind the average. If in 2001 15.1% of the Australian population spoke LOTE at home, only 7% did so in Queensland. In 2006, 2011 and 2016 the LOTE speakers' proportion in Australia was of 15.8%, 18.3% and 20.8% while the proportion in Queensland was of 7.7%, 9.7% and 11.8%; a low profile (roughly half the national rate) in terms of multilinguistic presence.

Table 5 reveals that both the Japanese and Spanish Speaking communities grew in size in Queensland, but this did not reflect the national median growth. The static demographic density of Japanese migrants (0.2%) was higher in Queensland: 0.3% in 2006 and 0.4% in 2011 and 2016. On the other hand, the growing Spanish-speaking proportion of the national median (0.5% in 2001, 2006 and 2011 and 0.6% in 2016) was significantly lower in Queensland: 0.3% in 2001 and 2006 and 0.4% in 2011 and 2016. This demographic equidistance in Queensland is unique in Australia and may suggest an emergent indication of societal constraints for Spanish speakers and enablement for Japanese speakers.

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Table 5.

Japanese and Spanish speaking migration intake in Queensland from 2001 to 2016

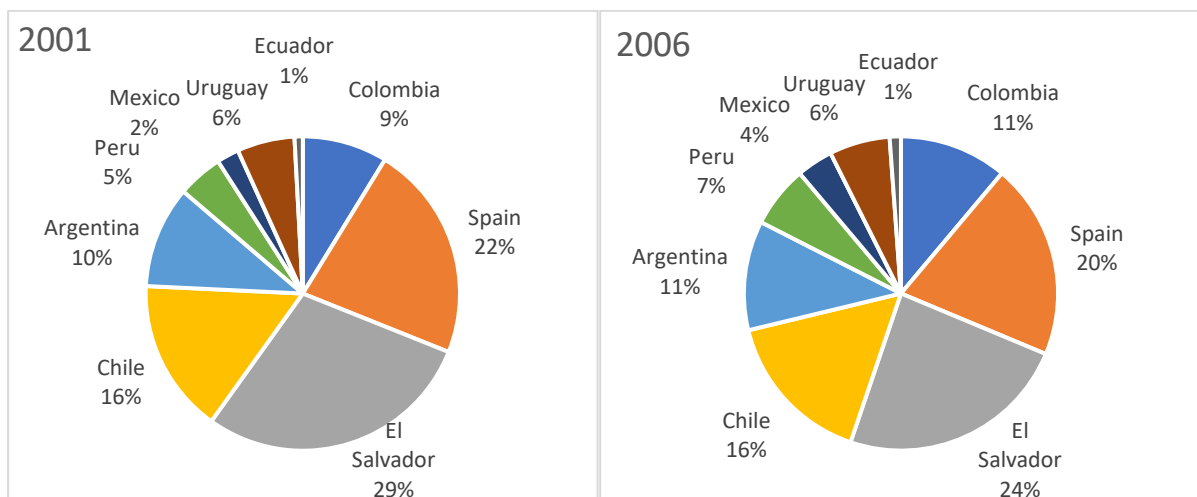


Source: Censuses of Population and Housing, 2001-2016

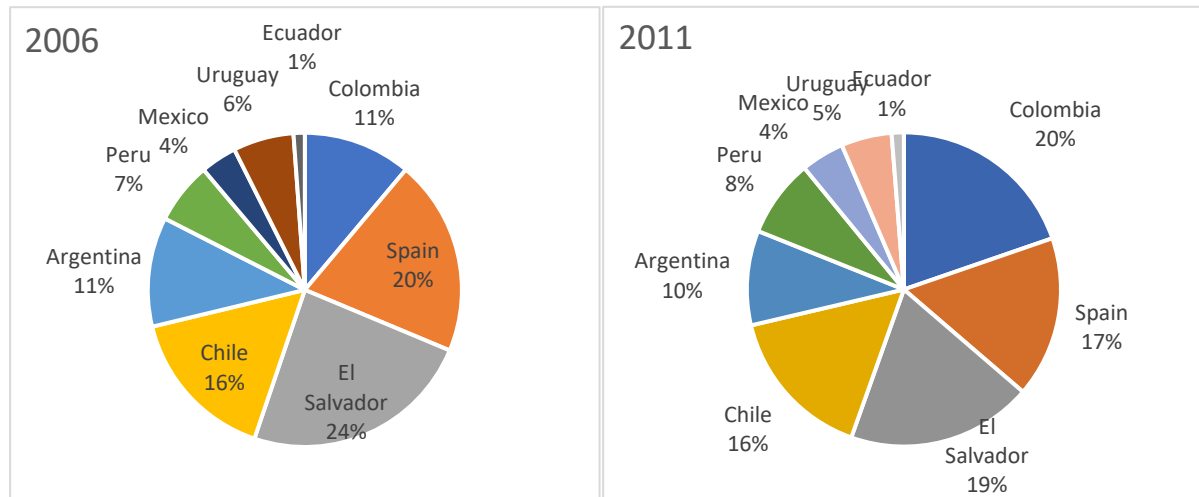
As Table 6 shows, from 2001 the most prominent communities within the Spanish-Speakers were Colombians, Spaniards, Salvadorans, Chileans, Argentinians and Peruvians. The only two growing communities were Colombians, Mexicans and the Ecuadorians. There was a second wave of migration intake of Spaniards during the 2012-2016 period that stabilized their presence in Australia. Argentinians, Peruvians and Chileans also show a constant influx of migration while the most visibly aging communities are Salvadorans and Uruguayans, who, after a robust immigration during the 1971-1980 period tailed off markedly.

Table 6.

Spanish speaking migration intake in Queensland by percentage and place of birth from 2001 to 2016



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Source: Censuses of Population and Housing, 2001-2016

Languages Economic Value

The Australian neoliberal economic system emphasizes the economic value of LOTE. Australian language policies in the new millennium prioritize Economism (and Asianism), which clearly favour Japanese over Spanish.

Sociolinguistic data of the Spanish and Japanese population aged 15 and over in Australia in 2016 (Table 7) suggest a high to medium English-speaking proficiency (86.7% and 80.9%) community where the aging groups (Salvadorans and Uruguayans) portray the lowest ranking. As for higher education, except for the ageing Uruguayans, all communities exceed the Australian education average. The fastest growing communities, i.e. Colombians, Mexicans and Peruvians, are well above the median.

In particular types of occupation, the Spanish-speaking communities share a common presence in the professional, Project Control System (PCS) and labour sectors. Japanese, meanwhile, are not usually employed as labourers. The median weekly wage for Spanish speakers is slightly below the Australian average, but much higher than the Japanese. This suggests that the Spanish-speaking migrants initially enter higher wages in the basic manual worker sector in Australia until they change to the PCS and professional sectors. On the other hand, the Japanese seem to have a preference for more generalist positions with a lower paid salary or no position at all.

Except for the older communities, the median Spanish-speaking communities portray a higher than average unemployment rate (7.5%) whereas the Japanese shows a lower one (6.7%). Data also show a higher unemployment rate among new G1 Mexicans, Peruvians and Colombians who, despite their higher human and social capital, still depend on the unstable and temporary labour sector.

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Table 7.

Sociolinguistic data of Japanese and Spanish Speaking people aged 15 years and over in Australia (2016)

Community	Age (Median: 38)	English Skills (Median: 99%)	High Education (Median: 60.1%)	Occupations exceeding the Australian median.	Weekly Income (Median: \$662)	Unemployment Rate (Median: 6.9%)
SSC (Median)	45	Very Well or well: 86.7% Not Well or Not at all: 12.4%	70%	Prof. PCS Labourers	\$638	7.5%
Japanese	38	Very Well or well: 80.9% Not Well or Not at all: 18.6%	67.8%	PCS Prof.	\$498	6.7%

Source: ABS, Department of Home Affairs (2016)

According to the Planning 2016-2017 Migration Programme, Queensland's workforce was 2.5% points above the national Australian ratio. The main sectors benefiting were health care and administrative services, retail trade, education, business services (professional, property and IT), tourism and mining, especially the gas and oil markets.

Queensland and Japan trading goods emphasized coal and liquefied natural gas (LNG), retail food trade, education and training, direct investment and IT whereas mining, agribusiness, infrastructure and education and training were the most important trading areas with Chile, Colombia and Peru. Despite the halting status of the TTIP, Spain continued to perform favourable trading relations with Australia on its own in several areas. According to Van der Eng (2014, p.113) in terms of goods and services Australian exports to Latin America (2.28%) exceeded the imports (1.58%) especially in the services sector from 2010.

Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with Chile (2009), Japan (2015) and Peru (2018) and TPP liberalised trading market agreements (2016) strengthened Australia specifically trading with Japan and its Latin American members: Chile, Peru, Mexico and Colombia. Some of the latest bilateral improvements with Spanish-speaking countries included work and holidays agreements with tertiary education young people from Argentina (2011), Uruguay (2012), Spain (2014), Chile (2017), Ecuador (2017) and Peru (2017).

Tourism and education have also had a significant impact on the economic value of languages. In Queensland, tourism stood as the first pillar of economic intake in the state, generating around \$11.7 billion during 2016-2017. International students are an asset to Queensland's economy. During the same period the economic contribution from these students was estimated at \$17 billion.

In these sectors Japanese tourists ranked 5th and outnumbered in 2017 those from Spanish-speaking communities due to favourable currency rates, infrastructure and costs of traveling to Australia. On the other hand, the Council of Australia and Latin America Relations (COALAR)'s recent achievements have fostered specific programs, tuition fees and grants that facilitates the access to education of many Latin American students. As Table 8 shows, in the same year Spanish-speaking students roughly doubled the number of Japanese students.

Table 8.

Spanish-speaking and Japanese International students in Australia and Queensland, including Higher Education, VET, ELICOS, Schools and Non Award sectors (2017)

Community	International students' enrolments (2017) Total (Australia)	International students' enrolments (2017) Total (Queensland)
SSC (total)	339.625	84.337
Japanese	142.720	47.029

Source: ABS, Department of Education and Training (2017)

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The majority of Spanish-speaking international students are very often parent or self-funded students with a private education and wealthy life in their countries. They choose to come to Australia for economic reasons, quality of life, opportunities for part-time jobs while studying, anti-USA sensibilities, safety, transparent visa procedures, potentiality of future business enterprises with Asia and a preference for a low demographic density area.

If bilateral relations with Japan during the second half of the 20th century, such as the Australia-Japan Commerce Agreement (1957) or working visa agreement (1980) were a catalyst for the beneficial economic value of the Japanese language in Australia, the 21st century liberalised trade and job opportunities brought the diverse possibilities of the Spanish language also even as it is still socially and economically undervalued in Queensland.

Languages in Education

As Spence-Brown (2010), suggests, Japanese was the most widely taught language in Australia in the first decade of the 21st century for economic and instrumental reasons. However, the number of students started to fall from 2010, at a national level. Queensland, having the highest number of students of Japanese in Australia in primary and secondary education in the first decade of the new millennium, followed a different direction, since from 2009 this number increased significantly (Japan Foundation, 2015) partly with the help of the NALSSP funding in some sectors, despite the decline of economic impact of Japan in favour of China and India. The main factors supporting the study of Japanese today are cultural and interest for ICT.

On the other hand, despite its global presence in the world, the Spanish language has an asymmetrical manifestation in Australian formal education. Despite the direct investment in education from the 1990s to the 2000s which triggered the expansion of Spanish education in more universities, the language is taught in a smaller number of educational institutions and had the lowest number of enrollments from all NALSSP languages in Australia and Queensland basically due to lack of qualified language teachers (Martínez-Expósito, 2014; Interviews with Martínez-Expósito and Jesús Bergas Paz, 2018). The main motivation to study the language is still associated to culture and cognitive development.

Table 9.

Japanese and Spanish languages taught in Australia and Queensland's education (2018)

Language	Australia Primary & Secondary (6397) / Tertiary levels (43)	Queensland Combined, Primary & Secondary (1111) / Tertiary levels (8)
Japanese	1.643 (25.7%) / 27 (62.8%)	527 (47%) / 6 (75%)
Spanish	259 (4%) / 19 (44.2%)	33 (3%) / 4 (50%)

Source: Languages taught in State schools, Government of Queensland (2017), Japan Foundation (2015) & Interviews¹ (2018).

As Table 9 shows, compared to Spanish, Japanese programs are better institutionally supported at all education levels. They are strongly represented in the primary and secondary state school education in Queensland. At university, a more diversified-funding resourced institution, both languages are fairly consolidated.

In 2018 Queensland had 11 schools offering language immersion programs, two for Japanese and two for Spanish. These schools, created around the 2010s by individual initiative

¹Jesús Bergas Paz and to Taeko Imura.

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and supported by the school's language policies alone, have been fundamentally government-funded and offer immersion and semi-immersion challenging programs to Australian students and G2 bilingual migrants.

Government supported Japanese supplementary language schools (*hoshuujugyoukou*) in Queensland (3), NSW (1), Victoria (1), ACT (1) SA (1) and WA (1) also allows temporary Japanese sojourners' families to catch up with the Japanese educative syllabus while staying in Australia. Similarly, the Spanish government supports both the Instituto Cervantes (IC) offering Spanish courses for children as an L2 in NSW and the ALCE courses in Queensland (1), NSW (5), Victoria (4), and Canberra (2) for G2 Spanish-speakers in Australia. Following the asymmetric prominence of Japanese over Spanish in Queensland, we can also observe a much stronger institutional support of Japanese (three schools) over Spanish (one school), contrary to other stronger states such as NSW or Victoria, where Spanish is more supported than Japanese.

Conclusion

The 1970s and Japan's economic growth became a turning point that clearly socially benefitted the Japanese community and constrained the Spanish communities. From this decade the Japanese community was associated with lifestyle migrants and the new Spanish speakers' communities were associated economic migrants.

During the 21st century, the aforementioned associations appear to still remain in the societal collective psyche today. Literature and interviews reveal that a mono-cultural, "laissez faire" mindset still prevails, particularly in Queensland's mainstream society.

Whereas we witness a balanced presence of both languages at the level of tertiary education, Queensland reveals a very asymmetrical representation of the languages in primary and secondary education, with Spanish clearly being undervalued and misrepresented in comparison with Japanese. To this day Japanese only is associated with an economic and instrumental value whereas Spanish is associated with a more generic cognitive strength and cultural value.

However Australia's Economism is triggering new associations with Latin American Spanish Speaking countries recently. This may bring new possibilities and balance the societal asymmetry in favor of the Spanish Speakers in the near future.

Geopolitical factors may contribute to structural social inequality too. A defence of English as not only the most prominent international language but also as the preferred lingua franca in the Asian-Pacific region may contribute to consciously ignore Spanish as a strong transnational and global language particularly in this region. Hence the difficulty to access to language parameters in the Australian census or raise consciousness into Australian or other Asian-Pacific societies regarding multilingualism.

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