Cultural citizenship practices in transnational social spaces : Chinese migrant academics in Japan since 1978

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**NANYANG
TECHNOLOGICAL
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SINGAPORE

**CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES IN
TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACES: CHINESE
MIGRANT ACADEMICS IN JAPAN SINCE 1978**

**JIA YONGHUI
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

2019

**Cultural Citizenship Practices in Transnational Social Spaces:
Chinese Migrant Academics in Japan since 1978**

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School of Humanities

A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University

in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

2019

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Chapter 4 is published as Jia Yonghui and Els van Dongen, "Transnational Intellectuals and Voluntary Associations: Changing Chinese Migrant Communities in Japan," in *Global Asia in Interdisciplinary Perspectives: Sustainability, Security, and Governance*, 16-17 November 2018, Singapore.

The contributions of the co-authors are as follows:

- I wrote the drafts of the manuscript.
- A/Prof Els van Dongen edited the manuscript drafts.

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SUMMARY

Migration from China to Japan has been a dynamic part of international migration. Since 1978, Chinese migrant academics working at Japanese universities have established themselves as a vibrant community. This is an unprecedented phenomenon in the historical trajectory of Chinese migration to Japan. Nevertheless, the implications of transnationalism for these highly skilled academic migrants, and their respective cultural citizenship practices, have not been systematically studied.

This study focuses on migrant academics as a subject of analysis. It aims to examine how the Chinese migrant academics have been affected by and have affected China's and Japan's internationalization efforts. Chapters Two to Five deal with four sub-questions. Why and how have they migrated? How have they conformed to Japanese universities' internationalization efforts? How have they involved themselves or been involved in China's efforts of "inviting in and going out"? How have they dealt with transnational mobility in their familial life? It analyzes their strategic positioning in the transnational contexts.

To this end, empirical data have been collected for this study. They include 32 in-depth interviews with and participant observation of Chinese migrant academics in Japan. Using both Chinese and Japanese primary sources, this study also draws on published autobiographies, reports, academic profiles, pamphlets, and official statistics.

This study contributes to the ongoing scholarly discussion of transnational migration in three aspects. First of all, the study relates cultural citizenship within transnational social spaces to the examination of academic migration. Cultural citizenship is defined as the strategies of migrants to position themselves in the multiple social spaces in order to advance their rights, and define

their obligations and duties. Ethnic cultural capital is an essential element of their strategies. Such a capital is mainly knowledge-based. Migrants develop their practices and negotiate their identities within various types of spaces. Transnational social space refers to dynamic social relations and ties that spread beyond national boundaries. Three main transnational social spaces pertaining to migrants' economic, socio-cultural and familial life are chosen as the focus of this study: (1) the university; (2) community organizations; and (3) the family. This perspective provides an analytic tool for dissecting cultural citizenship practices. A discussion based on social spaces could illuminate the strategic positioning of Chinese academic migrants for their survival and development.

In the first social space of Japanese universities, Chinese academic migrants take advantage of their in-depth understanding of Chinese culture, economy, and society to facilitate their China related research and teaching at universities. This practice puts them in a favorable position in terms of employment opportunity, job security, and career development. The cultural capital in question also allows members of associations for Chinese academic migrants to find a niche when offering services to host and home societies and states outside the workplace. In the second space of community organizations, using their knowledge of and networks with China and Japan, they organize activities to improve Japan-China interactions and to promote mutual understanding between peoples of the two countries. These activities elevate the social status of Chinese academic migrants in Japan. In the third space of the family, academic migrants also invent different strategies to manage the important issues in their lives: career paths, migration decisions, children's education and the choice of citizenship.

Findings of this study shed light on how the national and transnational forces have affected migration, and how Chinese migrant academics have attempted to position themselves in and

contribute to the host society and beyond. In addition to the visible physical back and forth transnational movements, the discussion of transnational practices in knowledge transmission and cultural exchanges by the migrant academics enriches our understanding of migrant transnationalism.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In 1979, the arrival of more than a hundred Chinese government-sponsored students marked the prologue of contemporary Chinese migration to Japan since China's "reform and opening up (*gaige kaifang*)" in 1978.¹ Some of these students remained in Japan and established themselves as academic faculty at Japanese universities. Over the past four decades, this group of highly skilled academics has become a vibrant community of several thousand with remarkable achievements. For example, in 1996, Doctor Chen Daiheng became the first Chinese migrant academic to obtain the title of professor. In 2008, Chinese language instructor Yang Yi rose to fame overnight when she wrote *A Morning When Time Bleeds* (*Tokiga nijimu asa*), a novel in Japanese that won the 139th Akutagawa Prize. This was the first time one of the foremost Japanese literary honors had been conferred on a migrant writer. After this, she accepted a professorship at a famous Japanese university.² In 2011, another Chinese migrant professor, Ju Dongying, was appointed Vice President of Saitama Institute of Technology, which is said to be the highest university administrative position a Chinese migrant academic has attained in Japan until now.³ Some Chinese migrant academics have also been active in voluntary Chinese

¹ China and Japan signed the Japan-China Joint Communiqué that normalized their diplomatic relations in 1972. After that, each year between 1972 and 1976, China sent several language students to Japan. Seven students majoring in science and technology were studying in Japan in 1977 and several students in 1978. By 1978, it is said that around 23 Chinese students were studying in Japan. After 1979, studying in Japan became more institutionalized and the number of students substantially increased. See Liao Chiyang, Li Enmin and Wang Xueping ed., *Dachao yongdong: gaige kaifang yu liuxue Riben* [*Surging Tide: Reform and Opening-up and Studying in Japan*] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), 32, 196.

² For more information on Yang Yi, accessed March 20, 2018, see <http://book.people.com.cn/GB/69360/7516906.html>.

³ Ju was born in 1954. After graduating from Tsinghua University with a Master's degree in 1985, he arrived in Japan in 1986, and obtained a Doctorate degree in 1992 from Kyoto University. The next year he started his career at Saitama University where he was first a lecturer and then a professor, followed by his current position of associate president. For the profile and reports of Ju Dongying, accessed April 23, 2018, see <https://www.sit.ac.jp/user/dyju/> and <http://www.chinanews.com/hr/2011/04-09/2961314.shtml>.

associations.⁴ For instance, Professor Liao Chiyang has been the incumbent representative of The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan (founded in 2003); and Li Lei, a professor at Hosei University, organized The Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering (founded in 1996). Although the endeavors of these migrant academics have been influential in both Japan and China, they and the migrant academic community that emerged after 1978 have not yet been systematically examined.

In 2013, the author of this dissertation spent half a year as an intern teacher at a Japanese university, working with many academics, including a dozen Chinese migrant academics. It was apparent that the Chinese academics were a stratified community within the Japanese higher education system. There were the renowned professors mentioned above, but there were also many part-time lecturers (*hijyokin kyoin*) who made a living by offering courses at several universities. These Chinese migrant academics enjoyed neither the administrative rights nor the benefits afforded full-time staff. They could hardly achieve upward mobility in their careers.⁵ The author interacted with them every day in the office, classroom, and teachers' dining room and at cultural events and private gatherings. This provided valuable opportunities to observe them at work and in daily life.

This empirical study is based on the author's preliminary observations, fieldwork, and analysis of primary and secondary sources related to Chinese migrant academics. It explores

⁴ These associations are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

⁵ Zhao Jun describes the situation of part-time lecturers based on his own experience: "There are the so called 'full-time' and 'part-time' lecturers. It is not an easy thing to overcome the gap between the two. Full-time lecturers receive a relatively high remuneration, and are provided with a good research environment and social security. However, part-time lecturers only get meager wages, lack a decent research environment and social security, and have to teach part time at several universities. They come before the class, and just leave after it ends, giving one shot after another (*dayiqiang huanyigedi*). I have taken part-time jobs at a number of universities. I know very well the hardships and toils." In *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu: zai Ri Zhongguoren zishu* [Writing History in Japan: Autobiographies of Overseas Chinese in Japan], ed. Duan Yuezhong (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), 735.

their mobility trajectories in the post-1978 era, analyzes their cultural citizenship practices (to be explained later) and examines their activities within transnational social spaces (to be explained later). One of the salient points it makes is that growth in the Chinese migrant academic community after the 1970s has been due to the socio-economic and institutional changes occurring in China and Japan. On the surface, this community appears to be homogenous. However, its members have come from diverse backgrounds, differing from one another in age, gender, educational background, and academic positions within the Japanese universities.

This study focuses on migrant academics as a subject of analysis. It aims to examine how the Chinese migrant academics have been affected by and have affected China's and Japan's internationalization efforts. Chapters Two to Five deal with four sub-questions. Why and how have they migrated? How have they conformed to Japanese universities' internationalization efforts? How have they involved themselves or been involved in China's efforts of "inviting in and going out"? How have they dealt with transnational mobility in their familial life? It analyzes their strategic positioning in the transnational contexts.

This study contributes to the ongoing scholarly discussion of transnational migration in three aspects. First of all, the study relates cultural citizenship to the examination of academic migration. Cultural citizenship is defined as the strategies of migrants to position themselves in the multiple social spaces in order to advance their rights, and define their obligations and duties. Ethnic cultural capital is an essential element of their strategies. Such a capital is mainly knowledge-based.

Transnational social space refers to dynamic social relations and ties that spread beyond national boundaries. Space is conventionally understood as place where events and behaviors occur. But transnational social spaces in this study go beyond that. The ties and relations existing

in the spaces are beyond a nation-state. Migrants develop their practices and negotiate their identities within various types of spaces. Three main transnational social spaces pertaining to migrants' economic, socio-cultural and familial life are chosen as the focus of this study: (1) the university; (2) community organizations; and (3) the family. This perspective provides an analytic tool for dissecting cultural citizenship practices.

In the first social space of Japanese universities, Chinese academic migrants take advantage of their in-depth understanding of Chinese culture, economy, and society to facilitate their China related research and teaching at universities. This practice puts them in a favorable position in terms of employment opportunity, job security, and career development. The cultural capital in question also allows members of associations for Chinese academic migrants to find a niche when offering services to host and home societies and states outside the workplace. In the second space of community organizations, using their knowledge of and networks with China and Japan, they organize activities to improve Japan-China interactions and to promote mutual understanding between peoples of the two countries. These activities elevate the social status of Chinese academic migrants in Japan. In the third space of the family, academic migrants also invent different strategies to manage the important issues in their lives: career paths, migration decisions, children's education and the choice of citizenship.

Findings of this study shed light on how the national and transnational forces have affected migration, and how Chinese migrant academics have attempted to position themselves in and contribute to the host society and beyond. In addition to the visible physical back and forth transnational movements, the discussion of transnational practices in knowledge transmission and cultural exchanges by the migrant academics enriches our understanding of migrant transnationalism.

In addition, the findings have practical implications for countries dealing with highly skilled migrants, and universities trying to internationalize their programs. To understand this academic community, we first need to contextualize the Chinese migrant academics by revisiting their historical trajectory to Japan.

Historical trajectory of Chinese highly skilled migration

Migration scholars have divided the history of Chinese migration into three periods: the 1850s to 1950, 1950 to 1980, and 1980 to the present. During the first period, people from Guangdong and Fujian Provinces migrated to Southeast Asia and other places. They viewed themselves as sojourners (*huaqiao*). With the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, emigration from mainland China virtually ceased. However, ethnic Chinese (*huaren*) living in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia continued to migrate to the United States and other Western countries during this time. Since 1980, there has been a new tide of Chinese migration, with people migrating from all over China rather than just the southern provinces.⁶ Some scholars have studied the history of Chinese migration by dividing migrants into four categories: traders (*huashang*), coolies (*huagong*), sojourners (*huaqiao*), and Chinese descendants (*huayi*). The first two categories were based on profession; the last two were based on political, cultural, and other identities. Before 1850, most Chinese migrants were traders. After 1850, many Chinese went to the United States and Australia as coolies to work in the gold mines. From 1900 to the 1950s, Chinese migrants were sojourners, coolies, and educated professionals. The Chinese

⁶ Liu Hong, "Introduction: Toward a Multidimensional Exploration of the Chinese Overseas," in *The Chinese Overseas*, ed. Liu Hong (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1-2.

descendants of these migrants became foreign citizens of Chinese origin.⁷

Chinese migration to Japan occurred against this general background of global Chinese migration. However, it had some unique features that were set in the context of Sino-Japanese relations. Similar to Chinese global migration, the history of China-Japan migration can be divided into four phases. The first phase began when small groups of Chinese maritime traders and artisans arrived in Japan, primarily from Fujian and Guangdong Provinces. In 1868, the Fujian merchants trading in Nagasaki founded an association known as the Bamin Guild Hall (*Bamin huiguan*).⁸ After the “Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty” was signed in 1871, maritime trade between the two countries flourished. Residential areas for Chinese traders and artisans emerged in several port cities, such as Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama, and Hakodate.⁹

The second phase began in 1895 before the end of the First Sino-Japanese War. From 1895 to 1949, the dominant group of Chinese in Japan were students and intellectuals.¹⁰ The Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin*) had been initiated by the Japanese government in 1868, and after only three decades Japan had transformed into a formidable world power. In 1896, a year after the War the first wave of Chinese students came to Japan. This marked the beginning of the Qing

⁷ Wang Gungwu, “Patterns of Chinese Migration in Historical Perspective,” in *The Chinese Overseas*, ed. Liu Hong (New York: Routledge, 2006), 33-50.

⁸ Bamin refers to eight prefectures of Fujian: Fuzhou, Xinghua, Jianning, Yanping, Tingzhou, Shaowu, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou.

⁹ Richard H. Friman, “Evading the Divine Wind through the Side Door,” in *Globalizing Chinese Migration: Trends in Europe and Asia*, ed. Pál Nyíri, and Savel’ev Igor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 10.

¹⁰ For general studies of international Chinese students and intellectuals in Japan during this period, see Huang Fuqing, *Qingmo liuri xuesheng* [Chinese Students in Japan in the Late Qing Period] (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1975); Saneto Keishu, Tan Ruqian, and Lin Qiyan, *Zhongguoren liuxue Riben shi* [History of Chinese Studying in Japan] (Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1982); Gen Ansei, *Nihon ryugaku seishinshi: kindai Chugoku chishikijin no kiseki* [Intellectual History of Studying in Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991); Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992); Lin Qingzhang, Wang Qingxin, and Ye Chunfang, *Jindai Zhongguo zhishi fenzi zai Riben* [Modern Chinese Intellectuals in Japan] (Taipei: Wanjuanlou tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 2003); Duan Yuezhong, *Gendai Chugokujin no Nihon ryugaku* [History of Chinese Studying in Japan], (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2003).

government's program of dispatching Chinese students to Japan,¹¹ and was seen as a way for China to learn from Japan. The first group consisted of 13 students, but later more students, relying on their own financial resources, traveled to Japan. By the end of 1905, the number of Chinese students and intellectuals in Japan had reached 10,000. These individuals regarded learning from Japan as part of their effort to save China, which was bogged down in internal chaos and threatened by foreign powers.¹² From the 1910s onward, numerous conflicts erupted between China and Japan, eventually leading to the outbreak of war between the two countries in 1931. Many Chinese migrants living in Japan returned home to join in the fight against the Japanese invasion.¹³

The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of the third phase, which lasted until China opened its doors to the world in 1978. During this time, migration from China to Japan virtually ceased.¹⁴ Japan joined Western countries in isolating China and no diplomatic relations between China and Japan existed before 1972. Any unofficial contact between the two countries came under the strict control of the two governments. In the 1950s, some Chinese migrants, known as "returned overseas Chinese" (*guiguo huaqiao*, or

¹¹ In comparison, the first 30 Chinese students were dispatched to the United States in 1872. See Wang Chih-ming, *Transpacific Articulations: Student Migration and the Remaking of Asian America* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 21.

¹² "The Chinese intellectuals felt the domestic crisis. Their main concern was how to save the nation and avoid the invasion. They had seen the success of Japan's Reform as a way of getting stronger, which made them feel excited. Also, Japan's triumph over Russia added to their courage. So, they went to Japan one after another." He Ruiteng, *Riben Huaqiao shehui zhi yanjiu* [Study on the Overseas Chinese Society in Japan] (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1985). Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992).

¹³ For general studies of overseas Chinese in Japan during this period, see He, *Riben Huaqiao shehui zhi yanjiu*. Chen Pengren, *Riben huaqiao gailun* [Introduction to Overseas Chinese in Japan] (Taipei: Shuiniu chubanshe, 1989). Shen Dianzhong, *Zhongri jiaoliushi zhong de huaqiao* [Overseas Chinese in Sino-Japanese Exchange History] (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1991). Luo Huangchao, *Riben Huaqiaoshi* [History of Overseas Chinese in Japan] (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994). For a list of these sources, see Liao Chiyang, Li Enmin, and Wang Xueping, ed., *Dachao yongdong: gaige kaifang yu liuxue Riben* [Surging Tide: Reform and Opening-up and Studying in Japan] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010). Liao Chiyang, Li Enmin, and Wang Xueping, ed., *Kuayue jiangjie: liuxuesheng yu xinhuaqiao* [Transiting Boundaries: Chinese Students and New Migrants in Japan] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2015).

¹⁴ "Number of foreigners' entry and exit of Japan (1950-2005)," Ministry of Justice, accessed April 27, 2018, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_nyukan.html. There were only dozens to hundreds of Chinese nationals each year entering or leaving Japan between 1964 and 1972.

guiqiao for short),¹⁵ left Japan in response to China's call for overseas Chinese to participate in building the new China. The author met one such *guiqiao* in Japan. He had returned to China in the 1950s to teach the Japanese language. After his retirement in China, he relocated back to Japan.¹⁶

In 1972, China and Japan signed a joint communiqué normalizing their relations, and throughout the 1970s Japanese officials visited China multiple times. In 1978, the Chinese government adopted its policy of “reform and opening up,” ushering in the fourth phase of China-Japan migration. That year the two countries signed the “Treaty of Peace and Friendship” and Deng Xiaoping visited Japan. The following year, Liao Chengzhi led an official Chinese delegation to Japan.¹⁷ Against the increased frequency of official contacts, the exchange of Chinese and Japanese citizens resumed and Chinese students began to study in Japan once again. This development was concurrent with education reform in China. In 1977, the university entrance examination (*gaokao*) was restored. The Chinese government selected some examinees, trained them, then dispatched them to foreign countries including Japan to study in the hope that after graduation they would return to China and contribute to its modernization.¹⁸ In addition to this official initiative, many other Chinese studied abroad using their own finances, with some returning to China after graduation. Others remained in their host countries and found jobs in financial corporations, technology companies, and universities, becoming highly skilled migrants. While this was taking place, from the late 1980s and early 1990s, Japan moved towards

¹⁵ For studies of *guiqiao* and China's policies towards *guiqiao*, see Stephen Fitzgerald, *China and the Overseas Chinese: A Study of Peking's Changing Policy, 1949-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). Michael R. Godley, “The Sojourners: Returned Overseas Chinese in the People's Republic of China,” *Pacific Affairs* 62, no. 3 (September 1989): 330-352. Glen Peterson, *Overseas Chinese in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁶ Interview on July 29, 2015, Tokyo.

¹⁷ Liao Chengzhi, *Liao Chengzhi wenji* [Collected Works of Liao Chengzhi] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1990).

¹⁸ Miao Lv, and Wang Huiyao, *International Migration of China: Status, Policy and Social Responses to the Globalization of Migration* (Singapore: Springer, 2017).

internationalization and certain jobs became available to applicants with foreign nationalities. The Chinese migrant academics thus became part of a new wave of highly skilled immigrants. They deserve more attention from scholars of the history of Chinese migration in Japan.

Table 1.1 Statistics of foreigners in Japan on “professor” visas (1992-2006) ¹⁹

Year	Total number of foreigners in Japan on “professor” visas	Number of Chinese on “professor” visas	Number of Koreans on “professor” visas
1992	2575	572	134
1994	3757	949	245
1995	4149	1085	252
1996	4573	1245	275
1997	5086	1482	344
1998	5374	1659	424
1999	5879	1827	543
2000	6744	2062	685
2001	7196	2228	754
2002	7751	2437	838
2003	8037	2443	901
2004	8153	2417	929
2005	8406	2519	1020
2006	8525	2507	996
2007	8436	2453	965
2008	8333	2476	1006

¹⁹ The author compiled this figure, using data (1992-2013) from the Japan Immigration Association, *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Immigration Association, 1993-2014), and data (2014-2016) from “Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan,” Ministry of Justice, accessed April 25, 2018, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html.

2009	8295	2440	1025
2010	8050	2339	1009
2011	7859	2294	956
2012	7787	2174	943
2013	7735	2102	924
2014	7565	1918	919
2015	7651	1793	920
2016	7463	1712	901

According to Figure 1.1 and Table 1.1, from 1992 to 2016 the Chinese and Koreans were the two largest foreign academic groups whose members came to Japan on “professor” visas. A “professor” visa could be issued to a foreigner in Japan if he or she was engaged in “activities for research, guidance of research or education at a university, equivalent educational institutions or colleges of technology (*kotosenmon gakko*).”²⁰ In addition to those on “professor” visas, some Chinese migrant academics became permanent residents or naturalized citizens of Japan.²¹ However, in general, the data on “professor” visas are a good indication of the number of Chinese migrant academics in Japan. From 1992 to 2006, the number of Chinese migrants on “professor” visas increased from 572 to 2507. It then dropped to 1712 in 2016. This change occurred in tandem with a decline in the total number of foreigner academics on “professor” visas in Japan. Despite the change, the Chinese have remained the largest group of migrant academics in Japan, accounting for about 22% of all foreign academics. In other words, one out

²⁰ “List of statuses of residence,” Immigration Bureau of Japan, accessed March 8, 2018, <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/kanri/qaq5.html>.

²¹ A person on a “professor” visa may apply for permanent residency or naturalization when they meet the respective requirements. This issue will be further discussed in Chapters Two and Five.

of every five foreign academics has been Chinese.²²

This community of Chinese migrant academics emerged in the post-1978 era. Members of this community were well educated and highly skilled. They differed considerably from the Chinese migrants of the early periods, particularly the traders (*huashang*) and coolies (*huagong*). The emergence of such a community was unprecedented in the history of Chinese migrants that deserves more scholarly discussion.

The research subjects in this study are Chinese migrant “academics” (*kyoyin*) working at Japanese universities.²³ This term refers to faculties who teach or conduct research, whose titles range from part-time lecturer (*hijyokin*), lecturer (*koshi*), research associate (*joshu*), assistant professor (*jokyo*), associate professor (*junkyoju*), and professor (*kyoju*). Strictly speaking, “academics” should not include students. However, because most of the Chinese migrant academics were trained in Japan, this study examines their early years as students when they were charting their life courses.

Some Chinese migrant academics were on “professor (*kyoju*)” visas. The term “professor” is a technical term used by the Japanese immigration authorities to describe a wide range of people engaged in “activities for research, guidance of research or education at a university, equivalent educational institutions or colleges of technology (*koto senmon gakko*).”²⁴ The terms of contracts for people holding “professor” visas differ from one another. Some applicants are designated visiting fellows. Others may be part- or full-time staff. The length of their stay in Japan also

²² Foreigner (*gaikokujin*) is used in Japanese official documents, referring to foreign nationals who reside in Japan. This study uses the word foreigners when citing these documents or for foreign nationals in terms of their legal status. In other instances, this study uses “migrant” to include those with foreign nationalities and naturalized foreign nationals.

²³ The corresponding Chinese word to this English term is *xuezhe*, which can also be understood as teacher (*jiaoshi*). However, *xuezhe* is a more respectful term for *jiaoshi*. It is appropriate to call the *jiaoshi* in universities *xuezhe*.

²⁴ “List of Statutes of Residence: Professor,” Immigration Bureau of Japan, accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/kanri/qaq5.html>.

varies, from five years, three years, one year, half a year, or three months. Visas may be renewed or permanent residence (*eiju*) or naturalization (*kika*) applied for by candidates meeting the respective requirements. Some new Chinese migrant academics in this study were either naturalized Japanese citizens or permanent residents. Others were on “professor” visas, or “highly skilled professional” (*koto jinsai*) visas.

This study uses two other terms for academics: talent, highly skilled professional. Japanese immigration regulations stipulate that foreign nationals on “highly skilled professional” visas are authorized to engage in the following activities:

“(a) Activities of engaging in research, research guidance or education based on a contract entered into with a public or private organization in Japan. (b) Activities of engaging in work requiring specialized knowledge or skills in the field of natural sciences or humanities based on a contract entered into with a public or private organization in Japan. (c) Activities of operating a trade or some other business of a public or private organization in Japan, or of managing such business. (d) In conjunction with any of the activities listed in (2) (a) to (c), the activities given in the column for Professor, Artist, Religious Activities, Journalist, Legal/Accounting Services, Medical Services, Instructor, Engineer/Specialist in Humanities/ International Services, Entertainer or Skilled Labor (except for the activities coming under any of (2) (a) to (c)).”²⁵

This regulation makes it clear that highly skilled professional refer to persons in educational, scientific or business section. It is similar to the scope of talent, which refers to “business creators, technical experts, technology innovators, health professionals, and those in scientific, educational and cultural sectors.”²⁶ The discussions above demonstrate that, “academics” are a

²⁵ “List of Statuses of Residence: Highly Skilled Professional,” Immigration Bureau of Japan, accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/kanri/qaq5.html>. This visa type is subdivided into two groups of highly skilled professionals, the main difference being the length of their tenure, either five years or indefinitely.

²⁶ Solimano, cited by Brenda S.A. Yeoh, and Eng Lai Ah, “Guest Editors’ Introduction: ‘Talent’ Migration in and out of Asia:

subgroup of talent/highly skilled professional in both the discourse of nation-state and academia.

This study uses “academic” (*xuezhe*), rather than “intellectual” (*zhishi fenzi*) in its discussions of educated Chinese in Japan, because the latter term is loaded with various meanings depending on the specific historical periods or localities. In traditional China, an intellectual was a member of the literati (*shi*). From the late Qing dynasty to the founding of the PRC in 1949, an intellectual could be a person whose goal was to save China from the oppression of the Imperialists or the Nationalist government. Between 1949 and 1978, when China was under the rule of the Communist leader Mao Zedong, “intellectuals” referred to educated people who experienced such controversial events as the Anti-Rightist Movement and the Cultural Revolution.²⁷ Chinese intellectuals could include a wide variety of people, such as celebrities, politicians, writers, and thinkers. To avoid unnecessary confusion, this study uses “academic” to refer to people who teach or conduct research in universities. Academics who are also active in the public sphere and “serve the public good” are called “public academics.”

This study adopts the term “migrant academics” rather than “foreign academics” (*gaikokujin kyoin*), which Japanese universities use to refer to non-Japanese academic staff in their official documents.²⁸ The two terms overlap in their inclusion of foreign nationals with foreign nationality. Migrant academics also include naturalized foreigners. However, in most cases they first worked in Japanese universities and changed their nationality later on. This study uses

Challenges for Policies and Places,” *Asian Population Studies* 4, no. 3 (November 2008): 235-245.

²⁷ Wang Gungwu outlines the “evolution of Chinese intellectuals” with a six-generation analysis from 1840 to 1980, with 25 formative years designated as a generation. The first three generations were in 1840-1865, 1865-1890, 1890-1915, and the next three generations were 1915-1940, 1940-1965 and 1965-1980. Generation four lived in a period of pluralism, but experienced the division of Communist China and Nationalist Taiwan. This consisted of three groups with study experience in the U.S., Japan, France, and the Soviet Union. Generation five and six lived during the period of one party and Marxism. For a discussion of Chinese intellectuals, see Wang Gungwu, *The Chinese Intellectual, Past and Present* (Singapore: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore, 1983). Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²⁸ Only Japanese official documents used this term. For an explanation of such ways of dealing with immigrant issues by Japanese institutions, see Roberts, “An Immigration Policy by Any Other Name,” 89-102.

“foreign academics” when translating, citing, or analyzing texts on the internationalization of Japanese universities. Otherwise, it uses “migrant academics.”

In addition, in this study the word “migrant” is used rather than other terms found in research on Chinese migration, like overseas Chinese (*huaqiao*), Chinese overseas/ethnic Chinese (*huaren*), or those of Chinese descent (*huayi*). It is, however, important to remember that the actual meanings of these terms are dependent on the specific context in which they are used.²⁹ In the legal context, each of the three terms represents a specific legal relationship between a person and the nation-state. “Overseas Chinese” refers to those with Chinese nationality. “Chinese overseas/ethnic Chinese” are those born in China, but who have migrated abroad. Some have subsequently been naturalized or have become permanent residents of their host country. *Huayi* are the descendants of Chinese born in a foreign country. In the social context, *qiao* generally refers to sojourners, who perceive their tenure abroad as temporary and expect to eventually return home.³⁰

Migration, emigration, immigration and mobility are fundamental concepts in any study of overseas Chinese. Chinese migration is a phenomenon of “Chinese living and working abroad with the likelihood of settlement whether or not these Chinese intended to do so from the start.”³¹ According to this definition, the movements of diplomatic officials, private agents traveling abroad for short periods, students, and tourists should not be considered migration. Thus, in this study, migration refers to the cross-border movements of people who reside in a foreign country

²⁹ Liu Jie, and Tan Lumei, *shinkakyō rōkakyō: hen'yōsuru Nihon no chūgokujin shakai* [New Overseas Chinese, Old Overseas Chinese: The Changing Overseas Chinese Society in Japan] (Tōkyō: Bungeishunjū, 2008). Shiba Yoshinobuka, *Kakyō* [Overseas Chinese] (Tōkyō: Iwanamishoten, 1995). Suryadinata Leo, *Ethnic Chinese as Southeast Asians* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997).

³⁰ Wang Gungwu, “Sojourning: the Chinese Experience,” in *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese*, Wang Gungwu (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2001), 54-72.

³¹ Wang Gungwu, “Patterns of Chinese Migration of Historical Perspective,” In *The Chinese Overseas*, 34.

for an extended length of time.³² This term is applied from the perspective of the sending country, stressing that a person is leaving his or her home country. In contrast, the term “immigration” is applied from the perspective of the receiving country. An example of this are the immigration offices established by nation-states to manage the entry or exit of foreigners, in addition to their own citizens.

This study uses the word migration in a broad sense. It is not necessarily nation-state centered, but rather a term that refers to the movement of people and ideas across spaces. “New migrant academics” (*xinyimin*) in its various forms, refers to those who were born in China, have left China since the late 1970s and have worked at Japanese universities. Compared with the older generation of Chinese migrants (*laoyimin*) who arrived in Japan before the 1970s, or those who were born in Japan, they are well educated, highly skilled, and influential as educators and researchers at universities and in the public domain. The next section will review how these academics are studied in the existing literature.

Literature review on the highly skilled Chinese migrants

This section reviews and critically assesses some of the main features of the literature focused on highly skilled migrants globally, emphasizing highly skilled Chinese migrants.

Some literature has focused on the immigration policies of nation-states. It has paid special attention to the effects of immigration on the national development of countries sending and

³² Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 4: An emigrant is “one who removes from his who land to settle (permanently) in another.”

receiving migrants. Policy recommendations are often based on research outcomes. For the governments of “receiving countries,” major considerations are likely to include immigration control and incorporating migrants into the host country’s society. For developing countries that are “sending countries,” the main issues are likely to be the reversal of the brain drain or the utilization of the talents’ capital.

Specifically, “receiving countries” (e.g., the United States and Japan) must improve immigration control to increase the number of desired migrants (e.g., highly skilled professionals) and reduce the number of undesired migrants (e.g., illegal migrants), plus assimilate, naturalize, and incorporate the migrants into the host society.³³ The classical assimilation theory suggests that migrants should have equal access to the opportunity structure of the “receiving country.” Ideally, they would gradually abandon their own culture and become members of the majority group in the host society. However, some scholars have argued that only “segmented assimilation” is plausible. In their view, “migrant or ethnic groups assimilate into different segments of society, which are determined by group specific contexts of exit and reception.”³⁴ Some discourses have also touched on issues like discrimination and the marginalization of migrants.³⁵

Identity in the host country is a major issue for all migrants. Chinese migrants have attempted to adopt multiple and regenerative approaches to the issue of identity. Scholars have observed

³³ For a review of immigration study historiography in the United States, see Gordon H. Chang, “Writing the History of Chinese Immigrants to America,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 98, no.1 (1999): 135. Asakawa Akihiro, *Zainichi gaikokujin to kika seido* [Foreigners in Japan and the Naturalization Regulations] (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2003). Stephen Castles, and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

³⁴ Alejandro Portes and Zhou Min, “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants among Post-1965 Immigrant Youth,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 530, (1993): 74-96. Zhou Min, *Contemporary Chinese America: immigration, ethnicity, and community transformation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), 7.

³⁵ Wisdom Yaw Mensah, “‘Marginal Men’ with Double Consciousness: The Experiences of Sub-Saharan African Professors Teaching at A Predominantly White University in the Midwest Of the United States of America,” (PhD diss., Ohio University, 2008).

that migrants eventually develop one or more of the following attitudes towards the issue of identity (or “rootedness”; Chinese: *gen*): a sojourning mentality (ultimately return to the ancestral homeland, in Chinese: *yeluo guigen*); total assimilation (destroy the roots and the branches, in Chinese: *zhancao chugen*); accommodation (fall to the ground and take root, in Chinese: *luodi shenggen*); ethnic pride and consciousness (seek one’s root and ancestors, in Chinese: *xungen wenzu*); uprootedness (lose one’s root and forget the ancestors, in Chinese: *shigen qunzu*);³⁶ and multiple rootedness (*zhonggen*).³⁷ However, the validity of these interpretations is open to further discussion. Nation-states may not be the only “soil” for these “roots” to grow in. Although some migrants have developed multiple roots, such a sense is fluid and variable.

Another set of literature has also touched on issues that some “sending countries” have had to tackle: how to reverse brain drain and win the talent war. China is a country that has suffered from serious brain drain. The returning rate of highly qualified overseas Chinese scholars and professionals has been quite low. Some studies have examined the factors that affect brain drain. Cultural differences and the gap between socio-economic development in the “sending” and “receiving” countries have contributed to this problem. These “push” factors have resulted in the migrants’ decisions to stay, and their bi-dimensional acculturation.³⁸ Faced with brain drain, the Chinese government has been trying hard to build “pull” factors into its immigration policies. These policies aim to get overseas Chinese involved in China’s economic development by luring

³⁶ Wang Ling-chi, “Roots and Changing Identity of the Chinese in the United States,” *Daedalus*, no. 2 (1991): 181.

³⁷ Chan Kwok Bun, “A Family Affair: Migration, Dispersal, and the Emergent Identity of the Chinese Cosmopolitan,” *Diaspora* 6, no. 2 (September 1997): 195-213.

³⁸ David Zweig, Chen Changgui, and Stanley Rosen, *China’s Brain Drain to the United States: Views of Overseas Chinese Students and Scholars in the 1990s* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 1995). Wang Xianwen, Mao Wenli, Chuanli Wang, Peng Lian, and Hou Haiyan, “Chinese Elite Brain Drain to USA: An Investigation of 100 United States National Universities,” *Scientometrics* 1, no.37 (2013): 37-46.

them back, or encouraging them to make contributions without returning to China.³⁹

In summary, national policies towards immigration and talent wars have been at the center of these two groups of scholarship. Studies of highly skilled migrants have been subordinate to policy proposals. Moreover, the discussions have generally focused on scientists or entrepreneurs. The social sciences and humanities have often been ignored.

A transnational perspective has flourished in explaining international cross-border migration.⁴⁰ The concept of “transnationalism” emphasizes flexibility in the movement of both people and ideas. It defines transnational migration as “the process by which migrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.”⁴¹ Transnationalism has brought new dynamics to migration studies.

Recently, some scholars have used transnational academic mobility in discussion of the mobility of academics.⁴² According to the commonly accepted interpretation, mobility refers to people’s ability to move from one country to another, that is, migration or semi-permanent geographical movement, which is also defined as “horizontal mobility.” In contrast, “vertical

³⁹ See Wang Huiyao, “Chinas New Talent Strategy: Impact on Chinas Development and its Global Exchanges,” *SAIS Review* 31, no.2 (2011): 49-64. Wang Huiyao, and Miao Lv, *Haiwai huaqiao huaren zhuan ye renshi baogao(2014)[Report on Overseas Chinese Professionals(2014)]*(Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2014). Miao Lv, and Wang Huiyao, *International Migration of China: Status, Policy and Social Responses to the Globalization of Migration* (Singapore: Springer, 2017). Wang Huiyao, and Yue Bao, *Reverse Migration in Contemporary China: Returnees, Entrepreneurship and the Chinese Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁴⁰ For a study of transnationalism and migration, see Aihwa Ong and Donald Macon Nonini ed. *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997). Schiller Nina, and Linda Basch, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-states* (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1993).

⁴¹ Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, “Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645, (July 1992): 1-24. “Towards A Definition of Transnationalism: Introductory-Remarks and Research Questions,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645, (July 1992): pR.9-14.

⁴² For studies of (transnational) academic mobility, see Maggi W.H.Leung, “Social Mobility via Academic Mobility: Reconfigurations in Class and Gender Identities among Asian Scholars in the Global North,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 16 (December 2017): 2704-2719. Brendan Cantwell, “Transnational Mobility and International Academic Employment: Gatekeeping in an Academic Competition Arena,” *Minerva: A Review of Science, Learning and Policy* 49, no.4 (2011): 425-445. In the contemporary period, the academic links have become “systematic, dense, multiple and transnational, especially so in Europe.” Kim Terri, “Shifting Patterns of Transnational Academic Mobility: A Comparative and Historical Approach,” *Comparative Education* 45, no.3 (2009): 387-403.

mobility” describes the upward or downward movement of a person’s political or socio-economic status.⁴³ The scope of the mobility concept should be expanded to incorporate the mobility of students studying in another country, the mobility of degree programs that are jointly offered, and the mobility of institutions that set up branch campuses. The discussion of migrant academics should not be limited to their spatial movement. More attention should be paid to the ways they function as members of society and within the ethnic community.⁴⁴ In addition, a connection of their transnational mobility to the details of their academic activities could deepen our understanding.⁴⁵

Mobility and transnational migration studies also need an historical perspective. This perspective not only links current studies with previous periods of migration, but also explores the evolution of transnationalism.⁴⁶ Such exploration is necessary because the subjects of the studies, the transnational migrants, were born between the 1950s and 1980s. When they completed their education in Japan, and entered the job market in the 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s, the degree of mobility they enjoyed varied considerably. As Stephen Castles pointed out:

A conceptual framework for migration studies should take social transformation as its central category, in order to facilitate understanding of the complexity, interconnectedness, variability, contextuality and multi-level mediation of migratory

⁴³ John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

⁴⁴ For example, in *Globalization and Transnational Academic Mobility*, Chen Qiongqiong addressed how returned Chinese academics from the U.S. experienced a reintegration process into China’s higher education system. Chen Qiongqiong, *Globalization and Transnational Academic Mobility: The Experiences of Chinese Academic Returnees* (New York: Springer, 2017).

⁴⁵ Kim has pointed out that future researches on transnational academic mobility should focus on “the quality of research and the broadening of the intellectual tradition”, “the introduction of new styles of scholarship” to the host country, “the influence of senior academic leaders from abroad” and the “disciplinary differentiation and interdisciplinary knowledge”. See Terri Kim and William Locke, “Transnational Academic Mobility and the Academic Profession,” London: Centre for Higher Education Research and Information, The Open University, 2010.

⁴⁶ Some scholars have paid attention to the importance of historical perspective in transnational studies of migration, for example see Steven Vertovec, “Transnationalism and Identity,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 4 (October 2001): 576-577. Adam McKeown, “Ethnographies of Chinese Transnationalism,” *Diaspora* 10, no. 3 (January 2001): 346, 349.

processes in the context of rapid global change.⁴⁷

Steven Vertovec similarly suggested:

Questions concerning transnational migrants and citizenship underscore the need for more research and empirical data on the intersection of existing state policies, actual pattern of multiple membership, and long-term strategies of belonging among migrants and their families.⁴⁸

In brief, a more balanced approach to transnational studies should carefully examine the strategies that transnational migrants implement to obtain benefits and rights from both their host country and their home country. At the same time, such an approach should pay equal attention to the role of the state, the confinement of the locality, and the unfavorable impact of mobility on transnational migrants and their families.⁴⁹

Cultural citizenship practices in transnational social spaces: research framework and significance

This study takes the highly skilled Chinese migrant academics in Japan as the subject of analysis, and uses cultural citizenship as a key concept to examine the various transnational social spaces where migrant academics practice cultural citizenship. First, we need to discuss the meaning of citizenship and cultural citizenship and the relationship between the two.

⁴⁷ Stephen Castles, "Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 10 (December 2010): 1565-1586.

⁴⁸ Steven Vertovec, "Transnationalism and Identity," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 4 (October 2001): 573-582.

⁴⁹ Thomas Faist, "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 2 (March 2000): 189-222.

From citizenship to cultural citizenship

Citizenship is a powerful concept in human society. It is a legal status defined by the laws of modern nation-states, that is, the status of being citizen of a particular country. Citizenship is also a controversial concept. Scholars have disagreed on a wide range of issues regarding its meaning in the contemporary world: whether it is political or social in nature; the rights a citizen should enjoy; the duty citizens owe to their country; and whether citizenship is used by the state as a tool of inclusion or exclusion.

Despite their diverse opinions, Western scholars have agreed that citizenship should consist of individual rights in three areas: 1) individual freedom, 2) political participation, and 3) the right to live as civilized human beings through membership in local associations and communities.⁵⁰ These conventional interpretations make it clear that citizenship exists within certain political, legal and social confines.⁵¹ However, in the 21st century, when globalization has become the global trend, the conventional definition of citizenship has been confronted by a series of questions: Do women hold the same citizenship as men? Do migrants have the same citizenship that the host country's government confers on its own citizens? Do members of the highly skilled talents hold equal citizenship to refugees? Does an individual have the same citizenship in all of his/her activities within the domains of society, the economy, education, and politics?

Scholars from various disciplines now agree that citizenship should not be confined to the realm of sovereignty. It is not merely membership in a political entity. Turner, for example, argued that, "Nation-state citizenship is typically a top-down political strategy to create a nation

⁵⁰ See T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *The Anthropology of Citizenship*, 52-59.

⁵¹ It is also called full citizenship or formal citizenship. See Andreas Fahrmeir, *Citizenship: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

out of societies that are deeply diverse in terms of language, religion, ethnicity, and so forth.”⁵² Therefore citizenship should be understood as membership in a community. This community should be closely associated with locality, race, class, gender, and occupation. Keith Faulks defined citizenship as “a membership status, which contains a package of rights, duties and obligations, and which implies equality, justice and autonomy.”⁵³

Some scholars have discussed issues related to nationality and citizenship in Japan due to its influx of foreigners in recent decades.⁵⁴ For example, *Foreigners in Japan and the Naturalization Regulations (Zainichi gaikokujin to kika seido)* explained Japan’s naturalization laws and procedures for foreigners. *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan* focused on citizenship practiced by Korean migrants.⁵⁵ The author’s approach to citizenship was interactive. She suggested that citizenship had four elements: a person’s legal status, symbolic significance, rights and responsibilities, and practices. She also challenged the notion that citizenship was merely a form of state effort or government policy. Together, these two books have provided some preliminary research on citizenship in Japan. However, both were based on the Korean community and neither work touched upon the issue of cultural citizenship.

Citizenship, identity, and cultural citizenship are concepts that relate to and differ from one another. Citizenship refers to the legal status of a person in terms of his or her relationship with a nation-state. The governments of nation-states confer citizenship on their people by issuing legal

⁵² Bryan S. Turner, “National and Social Citizenship: Some Structural and Cultural Problems with Modern Citizenship,” in *Contested Citizenship in East Asia*, ed. Chang Kyŏng-sŏp, and Bryan S. Turner (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 17.

⁵³ Keith Faulks, *Citizenship* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000, reprinted 2003), 13.

⁵⁴ Asakawa akihiro, *Zainichi gaikokujin to kika seido* [Foreigners in Japan and the Naturalization Regulations] (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 2003).

⁵⁵ She argued that Japan has failed to incorporate the colonial Korean subjects, and that multi-generational activists have advocated for their visibility through grassroots movements. Chung, *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan*. In addition, looking at Korean communities in Japan, Sasaki Teru examined the Japanese nationality system in the context of Korean Japanese, who changed their nationality from Korean to Japanese. The question it explores is what Japanese nationality means to this group, how their ethnic identity changed after naturalization, and who the Japanese are, see Teru, *Nihon no kokuseki seido to koria-kei nihonjin*.

documents like passports and identity cards to symbolize this relationship. Therefore, “citizenship is more of a concept of status than identity.”⁵⁶ Although some social scientists have attempted to deconstruct citizenship as merely being membership, this term still strongly implies the central role of the nation-state in the life of its citizens.

Recent research has shown that the field of citizenship is opening up to diverse opinions aimed at exploring the complexity of human activities. It is against this background that the concept of cultural citizenship emerges.

Scholars in California (United States) have pioneered this new area of research. They have conducted research on cultural citizenship in the Latino communities of three American cities. One research paper published in 1994 defined cultural citizenship as “the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one’s right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-states’ democratic processes.”⁵⁷ The author claimed that the “so-called new citizens,” namely the people of color, migrants, and women, were creating a new America by practicing cultural citizenship to earn their rights.

This pioneering research bridges the gap between cultural citizenship and migration studies. Studies of cultural citizenship in migration have flourished.⁵⁸ Among the recent scholarship, the work of Aihwa Ong is particularly noteworthy. She defined cultural citizenship as:

⁵⁶ Engin F. Isin, and Patricia K. Wood, *Citizenship and Identity* (London: Sage, 1999), 19-20.

⁵⁷ Renato Rosaldo, “Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California, 1994,” in *The Anthropology of Citizenship*, 75. Stephen Castles, and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁵⁸ Scholars now employ a set of concepts related to cultural citizenship when investigating migrants. They include “multi-cultural citizenship,” “multi-level citizenship,” and “flexible citizenship.” For cultural citizenship studies by migration scholars, see Vanessa L. Fong, *Paradise Redefined: Transnational Chinese Students and The Quest for Flexible Citizenship in the Developed World* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011). Fong investigates the Chinese students going to developed countries since 1978 from the neo-liberalism and cultural citizenship angle.

The cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within the webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society.⁵⁹

This concept puts individuals at the core of the analysis. It highlights a person's subjectivity in his or her relationship with the power of the state and the authorities.

Inspired by the cultural citizenship studies, this study is an empirical discussion of the specific ways and strategies by which migrant academics position themselves in transnational social spaces. This study reveals that cultural citizenship represents the fluidity of an individual's identity and the flexibility of their positioning within these spaces. The notion of cultural citizenship has thus departed from the nation-state-centered understanding of citizenship. Workplaces, families, and voluntary associations are examples of such spaces, which will be discussed next.

From spaces to transnational social spaces

Migrant experiences are complex to understand within a single space. In fact, their daily life takes place in various spaces. The lens of transnational social spaces is helpful for dissecting cultural citizenship practices. A discussion based on social spaces could shed light on the strategic positioning of Chinese academic migrants for their survival and development.

⁵⁹ Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996): 737-738. She regards flexible citizenship as "the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that include subject to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions." Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 6. Aihwa Ong, *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Migration scholars have pointed out that transnational migration has gone beyond one single national context. They call for new lenses to reconceptualize society and to understand migrant life and practices. Transnational social spaces is seen as a useful analytic tool. According to Thomas Faist, the phrase “transnational social spaces” refers to the “sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders across multiple national-states, ranging from little to highly institutionalized forms.”⁶⁰ Indeed, social spaces contain multiple networks and ties, in which power relations exist. This study uses social spaces as ties and relations, but it shows these ties are dynamic rather than sustained. Migrants negotiate their identities in social spaces. Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller have used a similar term, namely “transnational social fields”. According to them, transnational social fields are “a set of multiple inter-locking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed.”⁶¹

Building on these concepts, this study is concerned with the cultural citizenship practices of the new Chinese migrant academics in multiple transnational social spaces rather than a single national context. Space is conventionally understood as place where events and behaviors occur. But transnational social spaces in this study go beyond that, referring to the dynamic ties of persons, networks and organizations. The ties and relations existing in the spaces are beyond a nation-state. Migrants develop their practices and negotiate their identities within various types of spaces.

Scholars have identified main types of transnational social spaces such as political, economic, and socio-cultural spaces. There are diverse spaces that migrant academics inhabit, such as the

⁶⁰ Faist, “Transnationalization in International Migration,” 189.

⁶¹ Levitt and Schiller, “Conceptualizing Simultaneity,” 1009.

space of the university, the space of the family, the space of organizations, religious space for their religious activities, global academic spaces (international collaboration, conferences etc.), and spaces for social activities, among others. They spend their time mainly in three spaces: the university as the working space, the family as a private space, and professional associations as the social space. There are, of course, other spaces in their life, such as churches as spaces for practicing their religion. Based on the nature and feature of Chinese migrant academics in Japan, the author has selected these three as primary spaces for the research subjects. The reasons are as follows.

The common ground of the community studied is their occupation as academics at Japanese universities. This is also what distinguishes them from other occupations. The professions that migrants take on in the host society could provide much room for discussion of their practices. Therefore, the study has selected the university as one of the primary spaces for analysis. Migrant organization is one pillar of migrant society. Having observed that many academics actively participate in organizations, the author decided to further examine their presence in this social space and their relations with home and host societies. Thirdly, family is an important part in the occurrence of migration. Family life constitutes a key component of migrants' daily practices. Hence this study has considered the family as a social space for discussion.

Why are these spaces transnational? To answer this question, we first need to know the conventional definition of space. Space is traditionally defined as the place or locality where events and behaviors occur and is tied to a specific location. However, social spaces here are defined as social relations and ties. These social relations and ties are not confined within national boundaries, and more often they spread beyond national borders. Hence, the social spaces are transnational in nature.

Taking the Chinese academic migrants in universities as an example, they engage themselves in the production and transmission of knowledge. And the influence of their activities spreads beyond the borders of Japan. As Chapter 3 will show, cultural ties with China are a feature of Chinese migrant academics' knowledge production practices, especially for those in the humanities and social sciences. These individuals realized the importance of their ethnic capital and wove it into their academic activities, mainly by conducting research on and writing fiction about the Chinese community in Japan, teaching the Chinese language, and working on China-related topics. They also collaborated with Chinese universities in exchange of students. Many of the interviewees in this study managed administrative affairs related to international students at their respective universities, particularly on behalf of Chinese students studying in Japan. The space of the university is not just a location, but it is a space containing transnational ties and a space for the transnational flow of people and knowledge. In this sense, the space of the university is transnational.

Associations established by these migrants are also good examples of transnational social spaces. Unlike the traditional overseas Chinese organizations in Japan, these associations aim at improving China-Japan relations, enhancing mutual understanding between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, and assisting the Chinese government to implement its policy of attracting overseas Chinese to work in China. Both the organizational principles and guidelines of activities of these associations are transnational in nature. From principles to activities, the migrant organizations are a space that consists of multiple transnational ties. Therefore, the space of organizations is transnational.

Relations and ties in migrant families are also transnational. For some families, both the husband and wife work in Japan. But one spouse may choose to return to China for better career

opportunity. In other cases, a wife with an established career in China does not want to join her husband in Japan. But she may change her mind to come to Japan for the sake of family reunion. To some academics, ties with children are also transnational. In a “reverse parachute-kid family,” both parents remain in the host society, but send their children to the home country where they are cared for by their grandparents and attend local schools. Some academic migrants in Japan made such arrangements, hoping they would improve their Chinese language skills and deepen their understanding of China. Some others also had their children educated in countries other than China and Japan. Some academics take their ties with hometown and parents into consideration when choosing citizenship. The migrant academics in this study often chose their legal status based on family considerations. The parents, spouses, and children of many of them lived in China, requiring them to travel to there to attend to family matters. They needed a passport that facilitated their travel. This shows that maintaining transnational ties with parents in the hometown is a feature in the space of the family. The discussions above show that mobility of family members is a striking feature of the academic migrant family. In this sense, the family space of these migrants is also transnational.

The examination of the academics within the three spaces in this study provides a means for the sophisticated understanding of highly skilled migrant academics. As discussed in the literature review in the Introduction, talent discourse tends to focus on national development, while transnational academic mobility discourse seems to confine the academic migrants within higher education. By applying the concept of transnational social spaces, these empirical case studies show how a particular group of migrants, migrant academics, have navigated their life in these social spaces.

Specifically, in the university, they have articulated ethnic cultural capital in knowledge

production and dissemination to advance their career. There were abundant cases supporting this point. Chinese migrant academics' working on China-related topics was a practical strategy. Reliance on ethnic resources was a subjective practical strategy that migrant academics used to become competitive in the workplace. It was also a response to nation-state policies and the market needs of Japan. Chinese migrant academics benefitted from disseminating Chinese knowledge, creating international working environments, and building a multicultural society. As a result, the ethnic capital helped them advance their careers.

Academics have also participated in organizations to promote cultural interaction and to strategically position themselves between China and Japan. The emergence of Chinese professional associations can be viewed as their members' quest for cultural citizenship within the space of the associations. To them, the associations are "symbolic stages" within which they seek "visibility." Their aim is to enhance their status in both China and Japan. China and Japan have been building a knowledge society and economy. By mastering transnational knowledge in their respective fields Chinese migrant academics have been placed in an advantageous position, where they can better comprehend and offer solutions to some of the issues their home country and host society have faced. These issues have included, among other things, facilitating the circulation of talent and transforming knowledge between China and Japan.

Their strategic positioning practices have also unfolded through the aspects of family life. Against the backdrop of socio-economic development in both China and Japan, members of migrant families invented different strategies to manage the important issues in their lives: career paths, migration decisions, children's education and the choice of citizenship. In this study, "flexible living" became a common practice for academic migrants, helping them cope with the uncertainties in their lives.

Focusing on these three spaces, this study goes beyond the nation-state in its analysis. However, it does not underestimate the role of the nation-state, given that nation-state governments regulate the mobility of migrants and their cultural citizenship practices in transnational social spaces.

Research methods and sources

This part deals with methodological issues. This study uses primary data from two parallel channels: 1) the author's fieldwork, including interviews and participant observation; and 2) written materials in Chinese and Japanese, including autobiographies, government, university, and association websites, and newspaper reports.

Interviews and participant observation

“Semi-structured interviews” refers to interviews that are between structured and unstructured. The aim is “to explore a topic more openly and to allow interviewees to express their opinions and ideas in their own words.”⁶² The author conducted 32 in-depth interviews with Chinese migrant academics in metropolitan Tokyo and the Osaka area in 2015 and 2016. The starting point of this work was to survey the lists of academics on the websites of universities and associations. Through e-mail invitations, the author contacted eligible interviewees and invited them to become research subjects. These interviewees then introduced

⁶² Kristin G. Esterberg, *Qualitative methods in social research*, (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002).

more people to the study. With the consent of the interviewees, the interviews were recorded, transcribed, and encoded.

The following lines are a brief introduction to these 32 academics, in terms of their setting, basic information and interrelations. (Names and Universities are pseudonyms.) A friend of the author introduced four academics, though the four academics were not familiar with each other. Dr. Geng Chen was a part-time Chinese language instructor at NL University and her research was about Sino-Japanese relations. Dr. Wu Zi was educated in the United States and worked at several universities globally before he chose to work at KB University in Japan. His research interest was overseas Chinese. Dr. Geng Zi was a professor at HJ University. He specialized in Chinese ancient history, but he also taught Chinese language courses. Dr. Ren Zi was a professor at KK University and specialized in Japanese and Chinese philosophy. After the interview with Dr. Ren Zi, he further introduced two academics to the author, Dr. Bing Wu and Dr. Xin Wei. Dr. Bing Wu was a professor in Japanese history at OY University. Dr. Xin Wei was a professor in Chinese politics at YN University. A Japanese professor also introduced three academics who he had supervised, Dr. Ding Mao, Dr. Si Mao and Dr. Xin Mao. Their research areas were about Chinese politics and China-Japan relations. The Japanese professor also introduced Dr. Gui You, who was a professor in Chinese economics at TS University.

Another three academics, Dr. Bing Chen, Dr. Wu Chen, and Dr. Jia Wu, were colleagues the author once worked together at KG University in 2013. The author then revisited them and conducted interviews individually with them in 2015. They specialized in Chinese linguistics and they taught Chinese language courses. Dr. Bing Chen and Dr. Wu Chen were lecturers. Dr. Jia Wu was an established professor and was also supervisor of Dr. Bing Chen.

The author also got in touch with several academics at public activities. Dr. Bing Zi was a

part-time lecturer at a Japanese university. He taught courses on contemporary China. Dr. Ding Wei was professor in Sino-Japanese relations at KL University. Dr. Yi Hai was a professor in Asia economics at CC University. Dr. Gui Wei specialized in Sino-Japanese history at QB University. Dr. Ding Hai was a professor in Chinese economics at MG University. These several academics knew each other. In addition, Dr. Geng Wu and Dr. Jia Zi were friends. The author met them at a workshop. They specialized in Sino-Japanese history.

The author also managed to invite several academics through email. Dr. Ren Wu was an assistant professor at DK University and his research area was Chinese law. Dr. Wu Wu was a visiting researcher in international relations at LK University. Dr. Si You was a professor in Chinese language and culture at NP University. Dr. Gui Mao was a part-time Chinese language lecturer at SE University. Dr. Yi Mao was an associate professor in business and management at WD University. He was educated in UK. Dr. Ding You was a visiting professor in education at HS University. Dr. Jia Chen was a professor in Chinese linguistics at KK University. Dr. Ren Chen was a postdoc in philosophy at KK University.

Besides, Dr. Xin You, Dr. Si Wei and Dr. Yi Wei were the three scientists interviewed in this study. Dr. Xin You was a visiting researcher in mechanics at TI University and Dr. Yi Wei was a researcher in engineering at TI University. They were friends. Dr. Si Wei was an assistant professor at WD University with expertise in new energy.

The profile of the interviewees is presented in Appendix B and throughout the main body of the thesis based on the issues addressed.

Field research and observation are supplements to semi-structured interviews, which immerse the researcher in the social life of a group. The researcher writes about what he or she observes

and thus obtains insight.⁶³ The author also attended a number of events and conducted informal interviews with some organizers. It includes, book launch, Chinese language circles,⁶⁴ legal training for overseas Chinese, Japanese speech contests, private get-together of some organizers, and preparatory meeting for annual conference.

The fieldwork was primarily carried out in the Tokyo and Osaka areas. Statistics indicate that these two cities have the largest foreign populations in Japan, with Tokyo hosting the most foreign nationals. Among the 2,066,445 foreigners registered in Japan in 2013, 20% resided in Tokyo and 10% in Osaka. There were 649,078 Chinese nationals living in Japan at the time, 24% of whom had settled in Tokyo, and 7% in Osaka. Among the 1963 Chinese nationals on “professor” visas, 22% lived in Tokyo, and 5% lived in Osaka.⁶⁵ Most of the offices of voluntary Chinese associations were registered in Tokyo.⁶⁶ These two cities were therefore suitable locations for fieldwork on Chinese migrant academics.

Written materials

The autobiographies of Chinese migrant academics and news reports constitute other primary sources in this study. The author uses *Writing History in Japan (Fuji dongying xiechunqiu)*, published in 1998, a collection of autobiographies containing information on 104 Chinese migrant academics living in Japan. Thirty-one autobiographies are written by academics and 13 by graduate students, recording their lives and perspectives on Japan for some 20 years, from the

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ It provides a platform for Chinese and Japanese to learn language and to communicate freely.

⁶⁵ Japan Immigration Association, *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Immigration Association, 2014). 407067, 203921, 155975, 50328, 432, 114.

⁶⁶ The author's own survey.

late 1970s to the late 1990s.⁶⁷

Autobiographies are the “recollections of insiders” that provide first-hand accounts. These autobiographies are useful for this study. First, they provide first-hand information on those who arrived in Japan in the 1980s and 1990s. To this end, they are used as a cross-reference for interviews conducted by the author. Second, based on these autobiographies, the author located some of these autobiographers in 2017 to obtain data on their experiences from the late 1990s to 2017. Of the 13 graduate students mentioned above, one remained in Japan as an academic, six returned to China to become academics, one moved to the United States, one founded a publishing business, and the occupation of the other four remains unknown. The analysis of these autobiographies, combined with data on the more recent situations of these autobiographers, makes it possible to describe the migratory trajectories and life experiences of these Chinese migrant academics over more than 40 years.

Admittedly, autobiographies can be inaccurate, less objective, and more selective. As a result, this study uses autobiographies carefully by critically assessing that who writes it, what the purpose is, when and where it is published, and what they write.

This study also draws on the official websites of migrant organizations. Using websites to inform the public is a feature of migrant organizations, as many organizations do not have offices or printed reports, as noted by the author. Therefore, events and reports from official websites provide primary data for the study of these organizations. The author uses content analysis to examine their establishments, principles, organization charts, members and events. Combining use of these types of sources could provide a sophisticated understanding of Chinese academics

⁶⁷ Duan Yuezhong ed., *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu: zaiRi zhongguoren zishu* [Writing History in Japan: Autobiographies of Overseas Chinese in Japan] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998).

involved migrant organizations in Japan.

Websites are also channels used to extract information about university faculty. The basic information on faculty members in Japan were obtained from a reference book entitled *Statistic of Faculties in Japanese Universities*.⁶⁸ However, publication of this book ceased after 2006.

Using this book and university websites, this author has also collected a set of data. The first step of collection was obtained from a reference book entitled *Statistic of Faculties in Japanese Universities* (2006 edition). It listed the names of faculty in Japanese universities in sequence of university and department. This author picked up the “Chinese names”. This is so because most of the Chinese migrant academics still use their Chinese name even after they have become permanent residents or citizens. However, Some names might mix with names of Korean migrants. To ensure the accuracy of the data, this author then have verified their profile from university websites to make sure that they were born in China. That is the second step. In this way, the author has gathered data on 346 academics from 116 Japanese universities. Then this author categorized them by discipline. The result shows that there were 117 academics specialized in sciences, technology and medicine. 229 academics specialized in social sciences and humanities, among which, many academics worked in Chinese language and culture.⁶⁹

The purpose of this collection is not to provide a quantitative analysis. Instead, it aims to provide a better picture of the migrant academic community in Japan. This of course does not mean that there were only 346 Chinese migrant academics in total.

⁶⁸ Kojunsha, ed., *Zenkoku daigaku shokuinroku (kokkoritsu daigakuhen, shiritsu daigakuhen)* [Statistic of Faculties in Japanese Universities (national and public universities, private universities)] (Tokyo: Kojunsha, 2006).

⁶⁹ Some scholars have investigated the top 100 American national universities and collected data on 3776 Chinese-American academics. They found that nearly half of the 3776 Chinese-American academics worked in medicine (20.02%), biology (19.25%) and computer science (9.38%). Academics in Asian language and culture accounted for 1.91 percent of the total. Wang Xianwen, Mao Wenli, Chuanli Wang, Peng Lian, and Hou Haiyan, “Chinese Elite Brain Drain to USA: An Investigation of 100 United States National Universities,” *Scientometrics* 1, no.37 (2013): 37-46.

Regarding the issue of distribution across disciplines, this study has not only focused on academics in humanities and social sciences, but has also taken scientists into account. Two academics in the autobiography book and three academics interviewed in this study were scientists. Chapter Three states that the discussion of knowledge production and dissemination was mainly based on scholars in humanities and social sciences. But beyond that, the examination in this study included both scholars in humanities, social sciences and sciences. Chapter Four also discussed scientists. Many organizers or members were scientists in fact. For instance, Ju Dongying, Li Lei, and Zhang Zhihua who were mentioned were established scientists. 20 professors of the 108 members in the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan were also scientists. Hence discussions in this study are also applicable to scientists. For example, they also longed for overseas education and living abroad and showed preference for family unification.

Ethical issues and validity

The author strictly followed the university's ethical guidelines throughout this research. The interviews were based on voluntary participation. Pseudonyms were used for the interviewees and their affiliations. The real names of the Chinese migrant academics appearing in this study have come from printed sources or online media. Persons who were both interviewees in this study and contributors to the book *Writing History in Japan*, or persons whose names were available from such public sources as the member lists of volunteer organizations, or the lists of faculties, were also assigned pseudonyms that were used when citing the interviews with them.

Chapter overview

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. The Introduction contextualizes the new Chinese migrant academics throughout the historical trajectory of Chinese migration to Japan, following a four-phased periodization: before 1895, 1895 to 1945, 1945 to 1978, and post-1978. The focus of this study is on the emergence of the new migrant Chinese academic community during the post-1978 period, which was an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of Chinese migration to Japan. After the historical context is established, the scholarly context is critically reviewed. Based on studies of highly skilled migration, three areas where further research is needed are then identified: the community of Chinese migrant academics in Japan, transnationalism among these academics, and the ways academics practice cultural citizenship. Transnational social spaces and cultural citizenship are the two key concepts used in this dissertation. Unlike citizenship which refers to the status of being a citizen of a particular country, cultural citizenship in this study means the strategy of migrants to position themselves in the multiple social spaces in order to advance their rights, and define their obligations and duties to the state. Space is a place where events and behavior occur. Although the Chinese migrant academics are based in Japan, their activities are not limited to Japan, but transnational. Transnational social spaces are aspects of life in which dynamic relations of various actors interact with one another. They include multiple kinds of economic, cultural, religious aspects, among others. Cultural citizenship practices of academics can be better investigated through the transnational social spaces in which they are situated. The university, the migrant associations, and the family are three such spaces. This study does not deny the role of the nation-state; instead, it considers the nation-state to be a key player in regulating transnational social spaces.

Chapter 2 examines the impact of policy changes occurring in China and Japan during the

post-1978 era on migrants. Amid this background, some Chinese migrated from China to Japan, establishing a vibrant community of new Chinese migrant academics. It finds that the profound social and economic changes in both China and Japan have impacted the motives and paths of Chinese academic migration to Japan. Although they presented themselves as a community, the Chinese academics in Japan had very different life experiences in terms of the way they migrated to Japan, settled down, and established themselves in Japanese society.

Chapter 3 explores Chinese migrant academics' strategies in employment. It first reviews the efforts made by Japanese universities to internationalize, and how such efforts offered new Chinese migrant academics opportunities to work in universities. Through detailed discussions of their work, this chapter suggests that ethnic capital is an essential element of Chinese migrant academics' cultural citizenship. They strategically make use of their knowledge in Chinese language, culture and society in knowledge production and dissemination, and their research and teaching activities at Japanese universities. This practice put them in a favorable position in their career development and in their contribution to the internationalization of Japanese universities.

Chapter 4 discusses how they have involved or been involved in China's efforts of "inviting in and going out" in the space of organization. A historical overview of the Chinese communities in Japan illustrates how the new Chinese migrant academics have become a remarkable group in that country. But the events organized by Chinese migrant associations spread beyond the borders of Japan. It shows that using their knowledge of and networks with China strategically, they organize activities to promote interactions between China and Japan. In so doing, they offered services, willingly or unwillingly, to the state in implementing its talent policies. Meanwhile, these activities elevate the social status of Chinese academic migrants in Japan.

Chapter 5 investigates the strategies and ways migrant academics have formed and developed

their identities and cultural citizenship practices within the context of the family. It argues that family should be incorporated into research on transnational academic migration and mobility. Rethinking the effects of transnationalism on the family and the career mobility of migrant academics, this chapter points out that these highly skilled academics have preferred family togetherness to the dispersal of family members. Family has been a major factor when migrant academics have considered their career mobility and citizenship choices. Whether they maintained their Chinese nationality, or were naturalized in Japan, the choice was often a pragmatic decision.

Chapter 6 revisits the discussions of some key issues in research on migrant transnationalism and cultural citizenship practices. Focusing on the Chinese migrant academics in Japan, it investigates their strategies to position themselves in the three transnational social spaces of workplace, volunteer associations, and family. This study thus contributes to the existing scholarship on transnationalism, highly skilled academic migration, and cultural citizenship practices. Its findings have practical implications for societies grappling with the internationalization of their universities and the migration of highly skilled academics.

CHAPTER TWO: CHINESE MIGRANT ACADEMICS IN JAPAN IN THE AGE OF REFORM

In 1979, the Chinese government began to dispatch students to study abroad, launching an era of Chinese transnational mobility that has continued for the past four decades. During this period, some Chinese students completed their education in Japan, found jobs in local universities, and converted themselves into migrant academics. A vibrant Chinese migrant academic community thus emerged in Japan. Focusing on these less researched student-convert Chinese migrant academics, this chapter explores their individual migratory paths and motives for migrating to Japan in the context of fundamental social change in both China and Japan.

The discussion attempts to connect individual experiences and structural policies. On the one hand, the analysis of the migrant academics' mobility is contextualized within the web of nation-state policies and socio-economic developments in China and Japan. Government policies and the job market for academics influenced transnational mobility. Nation-states also played a role in the migrant academics' cultural practices, demonstrated by their migratory paths and motives.

On the other hand, this chapter investigates the migration paths and motives of Chinese migrant academics in Japan. In this study, the community is approached from a generational perspective. Its members comprise four cohorts: the post-50ers, the post-60ers, the post-70ers, and the post-80ers. Members of the first two groups arrived in Japan in the 1980s and 1990s. Many of the post-50ers and post-60ers were already academics before they left China. Their experiences in Japan were characterized by “a downward mobility first, followed by an upward mobility.” This observation challenges the conventional view that only Chinese students of low

academic attainment looked for upward mobility overseas.¹ Members of the other two groups, the post-1970ers and post-1980ers, came to Japan after 2000.

The chapter further explores the migrant academics' motives for leaving China that shaped their migratory paths. The individual motives for migration differed, ranging from the desire for an overseas education, the pursuit of research interests related to Japan, the dream of a better life abroad, to the longing for family togetherness. These subjective migratory paths and motives add to our knowledge of migratory experiences that have been largely neglected in many nation-state-centered migration studies.

Going abroad to study: policy changes in China

After 1978, China adopted a policy of “reform and opening up” to modernize its economy. The country badly needed highly skilled talent to foster its social and economic development. The government, however, lacked the educational resources needed to nurture such talent. Allowing people to study abroad (*chuguo liuxue*) became an important mechanism through which it could tackle the problem. In furtherance of this objective, the government introduced institutional reforms and formulated policies to encourage people to study overseas, regulating the flow of highly skilled talent. These policies were implemented in three periods: 1978 to the 1980s, the 1990s, and 2000 to the present. A closer look at the three periods is needed to understand how they affected Chinese migration to Japan.

¹ Fong, *Paradise Redefined*, 73.

The study shows that from 1978 to 1989, only a few thousand students were able to study overseas. In the early 1990s, this number increased ninefold, from 2,950 in 1990 to 23,749 in 1999. Since the 2000s, the number has continued to increase. In 2017, 608,400 students went abroad.

Figure 2.1 The number of Chinese students who left China and returned between 1978 and 2017²

1978-1980s: an early stage of Chinese studying abroad

² National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2017, <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01&zb=A0M0A&sj=2017>

During this period, most people who managed to study abroad were either fully or partly sponsored by the government, although some were self-financed. Their number was small, and they formed a prestigious group. Many of them were from socio-economically privileged backgrounds.³ Those with full government sponsorship were mainly junior faculty at universities and research institutes whose work units funded their overseas education. During their stay abroad, they retained their jobs at home and continued to draw a salary. For those with partial government sponsorship, their work units paid for their air ticket and necessities for the journey abroad; however, they needed to secure their own funding to support their studies, usually in the form of scholarships from foreign universities. These people were thus “self-financed and officially-dispatched” (*zifei gongpai*). Others availed themselves of the opportunity to study abroad by receiving financial assistance from their overseas relatives or foreign universities. In general, the Chinese government featured prominently during this early period of Chinese studying abroad.

On June 23, 1978, Deng Xiaoping voiced his support for sending Chinese to study abroad:

I am in favor of increasing the number of Chinese students sent to study overseas. They should major mainly in science and technology. This way we can improve the quality of our universities; we can also have an idea of the level of our universities by comparison. This is an important way of making improvements.⁴

Implementing Deng’s strategy was challenging and required the enactment of a series of policies. Many policies at that time were experimental. The selection of candidates for

³ As mentioned in the study of Zweig and Zhang, by the year 1993, 52.2% of Chinese students and scholars in the United States were the children of intellectuals, and 24.4% were children of high or middle level cadres, suggesting that they had “unequal access to channels out of China.” See Zweig, Chen and Rosen, *China's Brain Drain to the United States*, 2.

⁴ Leng Rong, and Zuoling Wang, *Deng Xiaoping nianpu (1975-1997) [Chronological Life of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1997)]* (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2004), 331.

government scholarships is one example. At the time, candidates came from various educational backgrounds, ranging from high school graduates, undergraduate students, postgraduate students, and university academic staff. In 1978, the government sent its first group of students to attend college overseas. This program, however, invited strong criticism. Some officials argued that the government should send more graduate students instead of undergraduates. Thus, after 1981, the Chinese government shifted its policy and sent graduate students for postgraduate education and academic staff for advanced studies (*jinxiu*). Among the 3416 Chinese dispatched by the government in 1981, academic staff accounted for 89.3%, graduate students comprised 6.2%, and undergraduate students constituted 4.5%.⁵

The government attached strings to its sponsorship. After graduation, government funded individuals were required to return to China and serve the country in various occupational sectors, including education. This policy, however, was ineffective. For Chinese students in Japan, some returned, others did not. It has been estimated that among the Chinese graduates studying in Japan from 1982 to 1986, as many as 70% chose to remain in Japan following graduation.⁶

The Chinese government established two organizations to prepare state-sponsored students to study in Japan. The major task of these organizations was to equip Chinese students with adequate Japanese language skills. The first organization was the Training Program for Japanese Language Teachers in China. Known as *Dapingban* in Chinese, this program was named after Daping Zhengfang (Japanese: Ōhira Masayoshi), the Japanese Prime Minister. It operated for five years at Beijing Language and Culture University, was then renamed the Center for Japanese Studies (*Ribenxue yanjiu zhongxin*), and relocated to Beijing Foreign Language

⁵ Liao, Li and Wang, *Dachao yongdong*, 236.

⁶ *Ibid*, 201.

University. The second organization was the Preparatory School for Chinese Students dispatched to Japan (Zhongguo fu Ribenguo liuxuesheng yubei xuexiao) in Changchun, Jilin Province. It opened in 1979 and was in business for five years, selecting and training 100 candidates each year. With the cooperation of the Japanese government, this school recruited teachers from Japan. Later, it was reorganized into a center in charge of training those shortlisted for state-sponsored study abroad.⁷

By the 1980s, self-financed students had to overcome barriers before they could leave China. First, they had to obtain permission from their work units. Then they needed to find a sponsor from a foreign country and secure an initial amount of money to begin their journey. Between 1978 and 1980, only about 6,000 people managed to study abroad through self-financing.⁸

Although the door for Chinese people to study overseas was now open, the government still had reservations over this policy. It feared prospective students might not return, resulting in a human capital drain for China. Deng Xiaoping, however, brushed aside these concerns. He opined that more students would choose to return and that the contributions they would make to China would be great. With Deng's support, the program for Chinese studying abroad was in full swing. In 1988, Deng shared his thoughts on tackling the low return rate among Chinese students sent to study abroad:

We have thousands of Chinese students overseas. How to create an environment for them to come back is an important matter. We can set up an integrated research center, establish several departments, or add some departments in the existing research institutes and universities for them to work in. By specializing in a subject, there must

⁷ The Preparatory School for Chinese Students to Japan, accessed October 17, 2017, <http://lryx.nenu.edu.cn/>. For memories of some Japanese teachers who worked in this school in the early 1980s, see Liao, Li and Wang, *Dachao yongdong*, 88-117.

⁸ Liao, Li and Wang, *Dachao yongdong*, 88-117.

be someone who can make remarkable contributions. Otherwise, what a great pity it would be if they do not come back.⁹

These thoughts outlined Deng's new strategy for China's talent program. The strategy, however, was not fully implemented until the 1990s.

The Tiananmen Square Incident in June 1989 had a major impact on overseas study for the next several years. Overseas Chinese students were afraid to return to China. Some changed their status to become permanent residents or naturalized citizens of foreign countries. One Chinese professor in this study said he arrived in Japan just after the Tiananmen Incident and later chose to naturalize.¹⁰ After the Tiananmen incident, the Chinese government imposed further restrictions on studying overseas. As a result, publicly funded graduates must work in China for two to five years before being allowed to study abroad at their own expense.¹¹

The 1990s: a period of expansion

By the 1990s, the Chinese government had become more experienced at operating its state-sponsored student program. Amid uncertainty after Tiananmen and the end of the Cold War, in 1992, Deng Xiaoping toured Southern China and reaffirmed the study-abroad program. A year later, the Chinese government also announced its principle, "support studying overseas, encourage return, freedom of movement (*zhichi liuxue, guli huiguo, laiqu ziyou*)."¹² Meanwhile, the government began to undertake major initiatives to encourage its students to return home

⁹ Deng Xiaoping, *Deng Xiaoping wenxuan* vol. 3 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), 275.

¹⁰ Interview on June 29, 2015, Osaka.

¹¹ Denis Fred Simon, and Cong Cao, *China's Emerging Technological Edge: Assessing the Role of High-End Talent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 218-219.

¹² Simon and Cong, *China's Emerging Technological Edge*, 219-220.

after graduation. The “100-talents scheme (*bairen jihua*)” in 1994, and the “Changjiang scholar scheme (*changjiang xuezhe jihua*)” in 1998 were such initiatives.¹³

In 1996, the Chinese government established the “China Scholarship Council” (*Guojia liuxue jijinwei*). This was a government effort to institutionalize its talent program. The council was primarily in charge of coordinating matters related to government-sponsored education programs and individuals studying abroad. In addition, managing self-financed students came under its jurisdiction. To curb the rate of non-returnees, the council asked state-sponsored students to sign a “consent form” (*xieyishu*) obliging them to come home after graduation. They also needed to provide the council with a “cash deposit for studying abroad” (*chuguo liuxue baozhengjin*), and find a warrantor (*danbaoren*).

In the 1990s, self-financed overseas education became more widespread, and rapidly became a means for Chinese people to join their family members abroad. Student visa holders could remain in a foreign country for an extended length of time and seek job opportunities upon or even before graduation. Due to more relaxed government policies toward state-sponsored and self-financed students, the 1990s thus became a period of expansion in the history of overseas Chinese students.

Since 2000: popularization of studying abroad

The post-2000 era witnessed the further reform of tertiary education in China. Universities expanded their enrollment, allowing more students to achieve higher education. It was against

¹³ Zhao Litao, and Zhu Jinjing, “China Attracting Global Talent: Central and Local Initiatives,” *China: An International Journal* 7, no. 2 (September 2009): 323-335.

this background that the government further adjusted its policy toward studying abroad. It realized that restrictive policies could not guarantee that overseas Chinese students would return. The government removed most of the restrictions on government-sponsored and self-financed students.¹⁴ The procedures for obtaining permission to travel outside China were also simplified. Studying abroad became even more popular with Chinese students.

In the meantime, the Chinese government adopted soft measures to counter its “talent loss.” Behind these measures was a new mindset: It was not necessarily a loss of human capital if Chinese students remained abroad after graduation. The government should persuade them to “serve [China] without coming back [to the homeland] (*weiguo fuwu*),” rather than urging them to “come back to serve (*huiguo fuwu*).”¹⁵ Nevertheless, China did not entirely abandon its efforts to lure overseas Chinese academics back home. The government had been working hard to internationalize its universities, substantially increasing its budget for the top universities. As a result, working for a top Chinese university began to look like a sensible career choice for some overseas Chinese academics, especially those in the early stage of their career development. To attract these people, the government launched concerted propaganda campaigns to promote its talent programs. Two of these were the “One thousand-talent scheme” (*qianren jihua*) established in 2008, and the “Ten thousand-talent scheme” (*wanren jihua*) established in 2012.¹⁶ With the help of overseas Chinese associations worldwide, some Chinese universities sent people abroad to give career talks that promoted working at Chinese universities. Other Chinese

¹⁴ For instance, since March 31, 2017 government-sponsored students did not need to put down a cash deposit anymore. “Guanyu buzai shouqu chuguo lixue baozhengjin de gonggao,” accessed November 10, 2017 <http://www.csc.edu.cn/news/gonggao/858>.

¹⁵ Wang, “China’s New Talent Strategy,” 49-64.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the “One thousand-talent scheme,” see Li Mei, Yang Rui, and Wu Jun, “Translating Transnational Capital into Professional Development: A Study of China’s Thousand Youth Talents Scheme Scholars,” *Asia Pacific Education Review*, (April 2018): 1-11.

universities offered promising overseas candidates free trips to visit their campuses for job interviews.

Overseas Chinese academics responded to these talent programs according to their own need and self-identity. Some called themselves “sea turtles” (*haigui*). In Chinese, *gui* is a homophone for the word for “return.” “Sea turtle” thus became a metaphor for overseas Chinese who returned to work in China. “Seaweed” (*haidai*) was a term used to describe overseas Chinese who could not secure decent employment after graduation. They hopped from one job fair to another, just like seaweed floating in the sea. There were also the “seagulls” (*hai’ou*) soaring in the air, searching for their quarry.¹⁷ This metaphor was reserved for transnational Chinese who were constantly looking for opportunities to make use of resources in both the homeland and host country. They did not mind shuttling around the world to maximize the benefits for themselves.

Irrespective of their diverse sense of self-identity, “sea turtles,” “seaweed,” and “seagulls” shared a strong desire for career mobility and advancement. Many of them found it difficult to reintegrate into the domestic academic environment.¹⁸ Even some “sea turtles” who had worked in China for an extended length of time, left again, swimming back to the sea of the international job market. Recently, Chinese universities have managed to narrow the gap with the renowned foreign universities, and some overseas Chinese academics have begun to return to China. Nevertheless, the formidable task of retaining overseas Chinese talent has remained a challenge for the Chinese authorities.

¹⁷ Simon and Cong, *China's Emerging Technological Edge*, 212-254.

¹⁸ Chen, *Globalization and Transnational Academic Mobility*.

Inflow of migrant talent: foreigner policy shifts in Japan

China's policies have made it possible for its citizens to go abroad. This part discusses how the Japanese government has adjusted its immigration policies since the 1980s, resulting in the inflow of highly skilled migrants, including those from China.¹⁹ Although it has been debated in Japan whether foreign students could be accepted as migrants, there has been no doubt that the Japanese government realizes this group's potential to become highly skilled professionals after graduation. To encourage former students to join its labor force, the Japanese government has crafted policies that have paved the way for foreign students to follow the study-work path.²⁰ Many Chinese migrant academics in this study came to Japan as students. It is therefore appropriate to first introduce the government policy of enrolling international students in Japanese universities, and leave the discussion of Japanese universities' initiatives for internationalization and employment of foreign academics to Chapter Three.

In this study the word "migrant" (Japanese: *imin*) refers to the research subject. In Japanese primary sources, this term refers to both "foreigners" (*gaikokujin*) and those of foreign origin who have been naturalized in Japan.²¹ In other words, "migrant" stresses a person's non-Japanese origin, not his or her nationality. Japanese universities, for example, use the terms *gaikokujin kyoin* to describe foreign academics and *gaikokujin ryugakusei* for international

¹⁹ For a discussion of Japan's immigration policies, see Glenda S. Roberts, "An Immigration Policy by Any Other Name: Semantics of Immigration to Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal* 21, no. 1 (Winter 2018): 89-102. Oishi Nana, "The Limits of Immigration Policies: The Challenges of Highly Skilled Migration in Japan," *American Behavioral Scientist* 56, no. 8 (August 2012): 1080-1100. M. Fuess, Jr. Scott, "Immigration Policy and Highly Skilled Workers: The Case of Japan," *Contemporary Economic Policy* 21, no. 2 (April 2003): 243-257. Kondo Atsushi, "The Development of Immigration Policy in Japan," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 11, (January 1, 2002): 415-436.

²⁰ Gracia Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan: International Students, Transnational Migrants* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

²¹ For the politics of naming in Japan's management of immigration, see Roberts, "An Immigration Policy by Any Other Name," 89-102.

students. In this study “foreigner” is only used when discussing or citing government policies and documents.²²

Table 2.1 Major foreigner policies and plans in Japan (1980s-2010s)²³

Year	Policy and plan	Agency
1950	Nationality Law	
1951	Immigration Control Act of 1951	
1982	Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (<i>Shutsunyūkoku kanri oyobi nanmin ninteiho</i>)	Ministry of Justice (<i>Homusho</i> , Immigration Bureau as a subordinate body)
1982	Act on Special Measures concerning National and Public Universities' Employment of Foreign Teachers and Other Matters	The House of Representatives (<i>Shugiin</i>)
1983	100,000 International Students Plan (1983-2003)	Cabinet Office (<i>Naikakufu</i> , headed by Prime Minister)
1985	Nationality Law Revisions (Japanese name is no longer required for naturalization)	
1990	Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act Amendment	Ministry of Justice
1992	Basic Plan for Immigration Control (First Edition) (<i>Shutsunyūkoku kanri kihon keikaku</i>)	Ministry of Justice
1998	Naturalization requirement (Requirement of continuous residence in Japan for permanent residency was reduced from 20 years to 10 years.)	
2000	Basic Plan for Immigration Control (Second Edition)	Ministry of Justice

²² Japanese government released statistics, blueprints, publications and official websites.

²³ This table was compiled by the author based on official Japanese immigration documents.

2005	Basic Plan for Immigration Control (Third Edition)	Ministry of Justice
2005	Strategic Fund for Establishing International Headquarters in Universities	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, Monbukagakusho)
2008	300,000 International Students Plan	Cabinet Office
2009	Global 30 Project (also known as Establishing University Network for Internationalization)	MEXT
2010	Basic Plan for Immigration Control (Forth Edition)	Ministry of Justice
2011	The Inter-University Exchange Project ASEAN International Mobility for Students Program	MEXT
2012	Points-Based System for Highly Skilled Foreign Professionals	Ministry of Justice
2012	The Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development	MEXT
2014	Top Global University Project	MEXT
2015	Basic Plan for Immigration Control (Fifth Edition)	Ministry of Justice

Japan's rapid economic growth during the 1980s led to an urgent need for foreign talent to help Japan integrate into the global economy.²⁴ Against this background, the Japanese government quickened its pace of opening the country to migrants. As Table 2.1 shows, the government introduced a series of experimental policies to handle immigration issues. As early as 1950, it promulgated the Nationality Law, which was amended in 1952, 1985, 1990, 2005 and 2008 respectively. The Immigration Control Act was enacted in 1951. These laws laid the foundation for Japan's immigration policies. In 1982, the Immigration Control Act was revised

²⁴ "Speech by Takeo Fukuda," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 2, no. 1 (1980): 69-73.

to specify the different categories of visas to be issued to foreigners, and the activities they were permitted to carry out in Japan.

During the 1980s, Japan's immigration policies mainly aimed to encourage international students to study in Japan. The government regarded international students as "potentially highly skilled talent" who could add new blood to Japan's labor market. In 1983, Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro announced the "100,000 International Students Plan" to bring 100,000 international students to Japan by 2010. This plan signaled Japan's desire to open its door to highly skilled talent.

Japan's willingness to receive international students coincided with China's desire to dispatch students abroad to study. As some Japanese officials once explained, receiving Chinese students had diplomatic implications, because it showed that the government valued Japan-China relations. It was also a step toward Japan's internationalization.²⁵ The potential diplomatic and economic gains prompted officials from both countries to contact each other in the late 1970s. In the summer of 1978, Chinese officials from the Ministry of Education visited Japan, and in December of the same year a Japanese delegation called on China. Together they worked out plans to send and receive Chinese students.²⁶ Students from China would become a main source of Japan's international students over the coming decades.

In 1982, Japan implemented the Act on Special Measures concerning National and Public Universities' Employment of Foreign Teachers and Other Matters. This allowed Japanese national and public universities to hire professors, associate professors, and lecturers of foreign origin. The act also stipulated that foreign academics should not be excluded from faculty

²⁵ Liao, Li and Wang, *Dachao yongdong*, 126.

²⁶ Memoirs of a Japanese delegation member, see Liao, Li and Wang, *Dachao yongdong*, 118-129.

meetings.²⁷ This was the first time Japanese law permitted the hiring of foreign academics and granted them basic rights in the workplace.

Japan's economic bubble burst in the early 1990s. The stagnation of the domestic economy and the slow pace of immigration reform hindered Japan's efforts to further open up the country. During this decade, however, foreigners continued to flow into Japan. Thus, in 1992, the Japanese government worked out the first edition of the Basic Plan for Immigration Control, outlining its policies toward incoming foreigners. In 1998, the length of mandatory residence in Japan before a foreigner could become eligible to apply for citizenship was reduced from 20 to 10 years.

Japan also promoted the exchange of people from different cultural backgrounds. Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro pointed out in 1998:

Greater knowledge about each other's language and culture should be actively promoted in educational institutions through programs for cross-cultural education and experience, including exchange of students and teachers and the training of teachers in introducing other cultures in the classroom.²⁸

Entering the 21st century, Japan adjusted its internationalization initiatives and further relaxed its immigration restrictions. The government proclaimed the indispensable role of education in building a multicultural society. Further, the “rebirth of education” (i.e., education reform) became a potentially effective way to tackle economic stagnation.²⁹ Meanwhile, an aging

²⁷ “Act on Special Measures concerning National and Public Universities' Employment of Foreign Teachers and Other Matters,” The House of Representatives, accessed May 14, 2018, http://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_housei.nsf/html/houritsu/09619820901089.htm.

²⁸ “ASEAN-Japan Multinational Cultural Mission's Action Agenda (April 17, 1998),” accessed November 3, 2017, <http://japan.kantei.go.jp/980511cultural.html>.

²⁹ “Policy Speech by Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori to the 149th Session of the Diet (28 July 2000),” accessed November 3, 2017, <http://japan.kantei.go.jp/souri/mori/2000/0728policy.html>.

population, together with shrinking university enrollment compelled the government to seek more innovative policies to attract highly skilled foreign talent.

In 2008, Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo proposed an international student plan that was more ambitious than the plan of 1983. In his words, “We will formulate and implement a 300,000 International Students Plan, and we will increase the number of highly capable foreign nationals at graduate schools and companies in Japan, through collaboration among industry, academia and the government.”³⁰ Under this plan, students from China became the largest group among all international students in Japan.

The Japanese government also took bold measures to internationalize its universities. These measures included the Strategic Fund for Establishing International Headquarters in Universities (2005), the Global 30 Project (2009), the Inter-University Exchange Project (2011), the Project for the Promotion of Global Human Resource Development (2012), and the Top Global University Project (2014). Japanese universities started to enroll more international students and recruit foreign academic staff.

From 2000 to 2015, the Basic Plan for Immigration Control was revised every five years to attract highly skilled foreigners to work in Japan. The 2010 edition of the plan proposed a points-based system to assess highly skilled foreign professionals. It targeted foreigners with working experience in three areas: advanced academic research activities, advanced specialized/technical activities, and advanced business management activities. The point system was in place by

³⁰ “Policy Speech by Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda to the 169th Session of the Diet,” accessed November 3, 2017, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/hukudaspeech/2008/01/18housin_e.html.

2012³¹ to accommodate Japan's need for people with cultural, technological and economic capital.

In summary, the inflow of migrants since the 1980s has been one of the most visible phenomena in Japanese society. This was the outcome of deliberate government immigration policies based on demographic change and Japan's national development needs. It primarily aimed to attract highly skilled talent.

A diversified Chinese migrant academic community in Japan: an overview

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the structural factors in China and Japan over the past four decades that have affected the movement of Chinese migrant academics. This section further explores the ways in which individuals have left China for Japan. Special attention is paid to the motivation to migrate, which has varied based on age, gender, and occupation. The following is an overview of the Chinese migrant academics in this study.

Table 2.2 Age distribution of Chinese migrant academics in this study

Date of birth	Number from interviews	Number from autobiographies	Total
Born in the 1930s and 1940s	0	4	4
Born in the 1950s (the post-50ers <i>wulinghou</i>)	12	21	33
Born in the 1960s (the post-60ers <i>liulinghou</i>)	6	4	10

³¹ Nana, "Redefining the Highly Skilled," 421-450. Nana, "The Limits of Immigration Policies," 1080-1100.

Born in the 1970s (the post-70ers <i>qilinghou</i>)	8	0	8
Born in the 1980s (the post-80ers <i>balinghou</i>)	6	0	6
Total	32	29	61

Chinese migrant academics in Japan have belonged to different age groups. Some were born in the 1930s, whereas others were born in the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In China, people use a unique expression to indicate the age group to which they belong. This expression consists of two elements: the decade during which the person was born, plus the word “post” (*hou*). For instance, those who were born between 1950 and 1959 are called “the post-50ers” (*wulinghou*). This expression implies that people born in a particular decade have different life experiences during their childhood and adulthood. Among the Chinese migrant academics in this study, the post-1950ers were the majority (33), followed by the post-60ers (10). In addition, there were eight post-70ers and six post-80ers. There were four people born in the 1930s and 1940s; however, they were not interviewed for this study. Information on them was extracted from their autobiographies.

Taking a generational perspective for analysis, this study suggests that the new Chinese migrant academic community in Japan during the post-1980 era was characterized by the very different life experiences of its members. In other words, a “generational stratification” existed among them. Indications of such stratification included, among other things, gender and the time of first arrival in Japan.

Table 2.3 First time of arriving in Japan

Period	Number from interviews	Number from autobiographies	Total
1970s	2	1	3
1980s	15	25	40
1990s	4	4	8
2000s	6	0	6
2010s	5	0	5
Total	32	30	62

Table 2.3 shows that most of the academics in this study came to Japan in the 1980s. They were the post-50ers and post-60ers. Many post-50ers and post-60ers in this study arrived in Japan during the 1980s and early 1990s.

The Chinese migrant academics in Japan came from 20 different provinces of China, rather than the southern provinces alone. Most of the academics were born in cities. This was a sharp contrast to the sojourners of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, who mainly came from villages of migrants (*qiaoxiang*), availed themselves of the migration chain to leave China, and worked as laborers overseas.

Another feature of the Chinese migrant academics was that some were female. As Table 2.4 shows, among the 63 academics in this study, 51 were men (80%) and 12 were women (20%). By a coincidence, this male-female ratio closely resembled the ratio of academics in Japanese

universities. According to 2016 statistics, among the 184,273 academics in Japanese universities, 140,544 were male (76%) and 43,729 were female (24%).³²

Table 2.4 Gender distribution

Gender	Number from interviews	Number from autobiographies	Total
Female	6	6	12
Male	26	25	51
Total	32	31	63

The post-70ers and post-80ers began to come to Japan in the late 1990s. Some became university faculty members after graduation. The next section explores the various ways the post-50ers, post-60ers, post-70ers, and post-80ers migrated to Japan.

The diverse migratory paths to Japan

The migratory path for most post-50ers and post-60ers in this study can be summarized in one phrase: “downward mobility first, followed by upward mobility.”³³ The Chinese migrant academics gave up their “iron rice bowl” (*tiefanwan*) jobs in China, came to Japan as students in

³² “Statistics on academic faculty (by gender),” e-stat, accessed on May 16, 2018, <https://www.e-stat.go.jp/>.

³³ Maggi W.H. Leung also engaged in such part time work and observed similar experiences among academics from Hong Kong, Indonesia and Germany. She conceptualized such a life course and trajectory as “downward mobility.” See Leung, “Social Mobility via Academic Mobility,” 2704-2719.

the 1980s and the 1990s, took up part-time work to make a living, and obtained positions in Japanese universities after graduation.

Table 2.5 Occupations before arriving in Japan

Occupation	Number from interviews	Number from autobiographies	Total
Lecturer	11	7	18
Student	13	5	18
Researcher	3	6	9
Reporter, museum staff, company staff	3	4	7
Associate professor	1	3	4
Professor	1	2	3
Government official	0	2	2
Total	32	29	61

As Table 2.5 indicates, most of the academics were professionals in China before coming to Japan. More than half (34 out of 61) worked in China's higher-education institutions as lecturers, researchers, associate professors, or professors. Nine held decent positions in government sectors or other occupational sectors. Eighteen university graduates migrated directly to Japan for further study. Before 2000, the Chinese government implemented a job allocation policy (*guojia fenpei gongzuo*) for its university graduates. These 18 university graduates should have been assigned to good jobs by the Chinese government upon graduation.

Table 2.6 Highest degree in conferring country

Place where highest degree was obtained	Number from interviewees	Number from autobiographies	Total
Japan	27	25	52
China	3	5	8
Western country	2	1	3
Total	32	31	63

As Table 2.6 indicates, most of Chinese migrant academics in this study were educated in Japan. Only a few obtained degrees from other countries. Although they gained spatial mobility by migrating from China to Japan, they forfeited their stable job in China to become students in Japan. This was indeed downward mobility for them.

Most of the post-50ers and post-60ers who came to Japan through self-financing had to work part time in restaurants, stores or factories.³⁴ This was also an indication of downward mobility. These individuals were compelled to work because they depended on their part-time job to earn a living. Those on scholarships were in a better position, but nearly all of them also worked part-time in Japan.

For those with low social status, hardship was a common memory of their early years in Japan. There are some examples. Dr. Cong was once an academic at the Institute of Foreign Economics in China before coming to Japan in the 1980s. In Japan, he worked in a restaurant “washing

³⁴ International students taking part-time work in Japan became a source of labor in Japanese economy. See Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*, 64.

dishes from 4 p.m. to 11 p.m.”³⁵ A journalist at *China Youth Daily*, Dr. Duan arrived in Japan in 1991. Income from part-time jobs in restaurants paid his tuition fees.³⁶ Li Chunli, who came to Japan in 1986, recalled his experience thusly: “Survival was the first challenge for self-financing students in Japan.” The cheapest rent in Kyoto at that time was 12,000 *yen* per month, but he had only 8000 *yen* (approximately 200 Chinese *yuan*) at his disposal.³⁷ Dish washing was the last thing he wanted to do, but it was the only job available for many Chinese migrants. To avoid this, for 10 years, he made a living by writing columns for Japanese newspapers and teaching Chinese.³⁸

In addition to physical exhaustion from working part-time jobs, these academics had to endure the agony of downward mobility. Dr. Shen, who came to Japan in the late 1980s, is one example. She said, “As a teacher from a Chinese university, working part-time in a restaurant was anything but acceptable.” She tried to apply for funding, but to no avail, because she was beyond the age limit (35 years old) for eligible applicants. She reluctantly picked up a factory job in the Tokyo suburbs, working 10 hours a day, plus another four hours commuting between her home and the factory.³⁹ Dr. Zhang arrived in Japan in 1994. She had previously been an English language lecturer at a Chinese university. After arriving in Japan, she became a housewife. Unaccustomed to this new lifestyle, she started working part time at a supermarket.

Dr. Yu worked in a museum in China. He chose to give up his job and come to Japan to study in 1985, having no idea what a difficult life awaited him. He lived in a tiny room, had little money, and lacked food. He asked himself:

³⁵ Cong Xiaorong’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 325-329.

³⁶ Duan Yuezhong’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 361-369.

³⁷ Li Chunli’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 578.

³⁸ Li Chunli’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 580.

³⁹ Shen Jie’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 416.

Why should I abandon my job at the museum, where I often had nothing to do, and had to kill the day by reading the newspapers with a cup of tea in my hand? Why did I choose to study abroad on self-financing! What a young man of exaggerated ability I was! No, I was not a youth, strictly speaking. I was a middle-aged man of 36 years old.⁴⁰

Dr. Lin quit his journalist job at *Changsha Evening News*, and came to Japan in 1986 through self-financing. He recalled how people treated him as a person of low social status:

Just as my household registration (*hukou*) was cancelled before going abroad, my self-esteem and dignity vanished the moment I left ChinaWhen I worked in a Japanese restaurant, a customer asked me about my previous job. I told him I was a newsman (journalist). “No, you could not have been a newsman.” My proprietress quipped. “You must be a newsboy.” The customer laughed: “Mr. Lin, in Japan newsman and newsboy are different occupations!” ... My years of part-time work eventually came to an end when I obtained the doctorate in sociology and accepted a full-time position in a university. I bade farewell to my boss at the restaurant. Not revealing the details of my new job, I just told him that I got a full-time job in the culture and education sector. He said, “Isn’t that a stationer?”⁴¹

Dr. Lin’s story is not unique. Many Japanese treated Chinese students in Japan as cheap laborers.

Chinese migrant academics achieved upward mobility in Japan when they became faculty members at Japanese universities. Teaching was a respected occupation in Japan, and academics were regarded as highly skilled professionals. The Chinese migrants proved themselves through their academic achievements and respectable positions in the universities.

In the post-2000 era, the Chinese economy developed rapidly. With improved standards of living, working overseas was no longer such an attractive choice for the younger generation of

⁴⁰ Yu Baotian’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 665.

⁴¹ Lin Xiaoguang’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 640-645.

Chinese academics. They now preferred short stays of one year at foreign universities as visiting scholars, because this experience was compulsory for promotion. Dr. Xin is an example. A post-80er academic at a Chinese university, he went to Japan as a visiting researcher in the 2010s. He admired the achievements of his Japanese counterparts and had his fair share of discontent with his Chinese university. Nevertheless, he did not consider it to be a sensible choice to give up his job in China and migrate to Japan.⁴²

Some academics at Japanese universities had been educated in the West. They came to Japan in the post-2000 era when Japanese universities were recruiting globally to internationalize their programs. Their task was to offer courses conducted in English. Dr. Yi was one such academic. In the 2010s, when his contract with a Western university expired, he accepted a position at a Japanese university, where he conducted research and taught courses in English.⁴³

The path for some Chinese migrant academics was meandering rather than linear. Having first come to Japan as visiting academics, they were obliged to return to China where they had been university staff. However, after returning to China, some went back to Japan, either on their own initiative or by invitation from a Japanese university. Dr. Liang came to Japan in 1983 as a postgraduate student at a Japanese university. After graduation, she returned to her work unit in China, but then came back to Japan in 1995.⁴⁴ Similarly, after graduating from a Japanese university, Dr. Shen returned to her work unit in China in 1995. Three years later, a Japanese university extended an invitation to her. It was fortunate that the authorities at her university were open-minded about the invitation. They told her “global talent should be shared globally,”⁴⁵

⁴² Interview on July 2, 2016, Tokyo.

⁴³ Interview on May 24, 2016, Tokyo.

⁴⁴ Liang Chunxue's autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 638-639.

⁴⁵ Shen Jie's autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 420.

and she was granted permission to leave China. Some Chinese academics traveled first to Japan then to a Western country to pursue postgraduate studies, migrating back to Japan after graduation. Dr. Wu was such a person. Having studied in Japan, he pursued a higher degree in a Western country. After working in the West for a couple of years, he moved back to Japan in the late 2000s.⁴⁶ The migratory path of Dr. Shu differed from others. He first obtained a degree in the West, returned to China to work, and then went to Japan for work in the late 2000s.⁴⁷

Many post-50ers and post-60ers in this study shared the career pattern of “downward mobility first, followed by an upward mobility.” Their determination to seek better educational and career opportunities prompted them to migrate not just once, but several times to countries where such opportunities, real or conceived, presented themselves. From China to Japan, back to China, or to a third or even a fourth country, wherever they went they were willing to endure hardship to achieve their goals. They shared a pioneering spirit. However, the motives for migration varied from one person to the next.

Going to Japan out of diverse motives

The academics in this study traveled to Japan for various reasons. Some wanted to conduct further research in their specialty; some were eager to earn an overseas degree; some desired an overseas living experience; and others came to Japan for family reunions.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Interview on June 25, 2015, Osaka.

⁴⁷ “Shu Min,” Waseda University, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://researchers.waseda.jp/profile/ja.273e44f0b1288a642a86706f00e7f2e6.html>.

⁴⁸ Shen summarized the generally complex conditions in the 1980s by dividing the Chinese students into 12 types: scholarship recipients; receiving higher education, getting an overseas degree; broadening their horizon; leaving the domestic situation; earning money; going to Western counties through Japan; migrating to Japan; worshiping Japan as a paradise; blindly following

The Pursuit of Japan-related research

For many academics in this study, coming to Japan to study or work was the best way to conduct Japan-related research. Table 2.7 presents their respective areas of specialization before coming to Japan.

Table 2.7 Major or specializing areas prior to coming to Japan⁴⁹

Field of research	Area of specialty	Number from interviews	Number from autobiographies	Total
Japan related	Japanese language	7	8	33
	Japanese literature	2	3	
	Japanese history	3	1	
	Sino-Japanese history	3	1	
	Japanese politics	2	1	
	Japanese economics	1	1	
China related	Chinese language	1	2	10
	Chinese history	1	2	
	Chinese archaeology	0	2	
	Chinese politics	1	0	
	Chinese art	0	1	
Others	Economics	2	2	20
	Science and technology	3	2	

the trend; being cheated to go abroad. See Shen, *ZhongRi jiaoliushi zhong de huaqiao*.

⁴⁹ Author's own survey based on data from interviews, published autobiographies and university academic faculty profiles.

	Law	0	1	
	English language	0	1	
	College student in Japan	5	0	
	Nonacademic profession	1	3	
Total		32	31	63

As seen in this table, there were 33 academics who worked in Japan-related areas before arriving in Japan. Among them, 15 were graduates from Japanese language departments in Chinese universities. Ten majored in or worked on China-related areas. Among the remaining 20, some came directly to Japan to attend college; others were academics whose specialty was not region-oriented. The following are two examples of such academics.

Dr. Wang, a post-50er, graduated from the Japanese language department of Shanghai Foreign Language University in China. Upon graduation, he was offered a teaching position at his alma mater. In 1985, he decided to go to Japan at his own expense to receive a postgraduate education and master the Japanese language.⁵⁰ Dr. Xin was a post 70-er who specialized in Japanese politics and Sino-Japanese relations. To further his research, he also traveled to Japan for graduate study.⁵¹

A person would have a better chance of going to Japan if his or her specialty was related to Japan, or he or she had networks within the country. Dr. Yu, a post-50er, graduated from the Japanese language department of Nankai University in China in 1982. He was a Japanese

⁵⁰ Wang Zhixin's autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 34-41.

⁵¹ Interview on June 20, 2016, Tokyo.

language lecturer at Dalian Foreign Language University from 1984 to 1988 before deciding to study in Japan in 1988.⁵² A Japanese teacher from his undergraduate years helped him with the application. Another academic, Dr. Ren, was a post-80er. She studied Japanese intellectual history at a Chinese university. Wishing to advance her research in Japan, her wish came true when a Japanese professor accepted her as his Ph.D. student.⁵³

Half of the academics in this study worked in Japan-related areas. Their knowledge of Japan and their Japanese language skills facilitated their migration to Japan. Ironically, once they arrived in Japan, they shifted the focus of their research from Japan to China. Chapter Three provides an analysis of this intriguing phenomenon.⁵⁴

The desire for overseas education

The post-50ers and post-60ers lived through the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), when Chinese schools and universities were closed and they were deprived of the chance to receive an education. When the Cultural Revolution ended after the death of Mao Zedong, these individuals developed a strong desire to be educated. However, China lacked resources for higher education, so some turned to foreign universities, recounting that “studying overseas changes one’s life (*liuxue gaibian rensheng*).”⁵⁵ Dr. Xu Chaolong, a Chinese migrant academic in Japan, wrote about his experience:

⁵² The case of Yu Zhengling, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 657-662.

⁵³ Interview on July 2, 2015, Osaka.

⁵⁴ Engaging in Japanese studies in Japan is competing with Japanese scholars. See Huang Xiaochun’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 81.

⁵⁵ Qian Jiang ed., 1978: *liuxue gaibian rensheng* [1978: Studying overseas changed life] (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2017). This book focused on those who studied in the U.S., but this was a shared belief among those who studied at other destinations.

I dare to say that we are lucky. We have experienced the two extremes, from the miserable condition of being oppressed, deprived, blocked and fooled, to the relaxed environment of being free, open, observing and thinking.... I myself experienced the Cultural Revolution. During these ten turbulent years, I grew up from an eleven-year old boy to a twenty-one-year old man. Life was full of physical and mental sufferings, from commandism, baseness, nastiness, atrocity and cruelty of humanity, desperation of emotion, sense of ruined life, distrust of others, the hardship of living, degradation of moral quality, to abandonment of responsibility...The impacts of these negative life experiences were too profound on our generation to get rid of. Without the opportunity of studying abroad, we could only live our ordinary life as cynical common people. In short, studying abroad saved my life, and I could remold myself thoroughly.⁵⁶

To satisfy their desire for an overseas education, the post-50ers and post-60ers attended any university that offered them admission and scholarships. For some, Japan surely was an ideal destination. Others went to Japan out of necessity. They were only admitted or received scholarships from Japanese universities.

Studying abroad was also a popular choice for the post-70ers and post-80ers.⁵⁷ With foreign universities admitting more international students, and the Chinese government easing restrictions on overseas travel, studying abroad became much easier. Dr. Wu recalled that her university had programs for students to study in Japan.⁵⁸ Dr. Ren said her mother was supportive of her studying in Japan.⁵⁹

The longing for an overseas life

For some academics in this study, mainly those from the older generation, the desire to travel abroad stemmed from a taste for an overseas life, not from the quest for upward mobility. These

⁵⁶ Xu Chaolong's autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 299, 300.

⁵⁷ For studies on overseas Chinese students of the post-1980 generation, see Fong, *Paradise Redefined*.

⁵⁸ Interview on June 25, 2015, Osaka.

⁵⁹ Interview on July 2, 2015, Osaka.

individuals were discontented with life in China, and were dissatisfied with the noticeable gap between China and the developed countries' socio-economic progress. Before they left China, they worked as academics in universities and research institutes, or as public servants in government offices. Enjoying lifelong employment, their jobs were as safe as an iron rice bowl (*tiefanwan*) that would never break. Nevertheless, they dreamed of a better and more comfortable life overseas. They were willing to forfeit their stable careers to migrate to another country. Unfortunately, they had no idea of the hardship and the downward-mobility they would face when they arrived overseas. Even for those who eventually established themselves as academics in Japanese universities, most would become trapped in middle-class status.

For many Chinese academics, an overseas education was the shortcut to realizing their dream of living abroad. Compared to working abroad, it was much easier to go overseas as a student. In her novel entitled *Go to America! Go to America!* Zha Jianying commented on overseas Chinese students: "The core connotation of the term 'overseas student' lies in traveling and settling 'overseas.' To be a student is secondary, while the subject of study is secondary to the secondary."⁶⁰ Although the motives of Chinese going abroad to study have been complex and require further research, it is clear that some Chinese migrant academics in Japan used studying abroad as a strategy for mobility, wealth, and the accumulation of knowledge. Despite the hardships of their early years as migrants, many Chinese academics saw Japan as a desirable destination, where the economy was highly developed and the society was stable. They said they could obtain both "academic achievement and economic improvement" in Japan.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Zha Jianying, *Go to America Go to America*, cited by Liu Xin, "Space, Mobility, and Flexibility: Chinese Villagers and Scholars Negotiate Power as Home and Abroad," in *Ungrounded Empires*, 108.

⁶¹ Gu Linsheng's autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 193.

In a book chapter, Dr. Liu Xin, an “overseas scholar” (*haiwai xueren*) who studied in Britain in the early 1990s, reflected on the economic implications of outward mobility for overseas Chinese scholars. According to him, such mobility was a way to make money. In an excerpt from a conversation between himself and a villager in China, Dr. Liu vividly illustrates how the villager was astonished by the huge income gap between China and Britain.

“You are from Britain? Is Britain better than China?”

“Well, not too bad. Britain is fine.”

“Is life better over there?”

“The living standard is probably higher.”

“Even higher than that of Beijing?”

“Well, yes. The living standard is higher than that of Beijing.”

“Really? Higher than that Beijing?”

“Yes, sort of.”

“You cannot use our money there, I am afraid.”

“No, we have to use the British pound.”

“Who gives you the money, then?”

“It depends on the kind of scholarship you receive.”

“And yours?”

“A government fund pays for my living expenses.”

“How much is that?”

“About three thousand Chinese *yuan*.”

“It is a hell of a lot!”

“Yes, that is a lot. But it depends, you know, on how much you have to spend, for instance.”

“That is a hell of a lot. Is it not?”

“Yeah, maybe.”⁶²

Chinese scholars in Japan were similarly shocked by the income disparity between themselves and their Japanese counterparts. Dr. Zhang recalled that his monthly salary was 54 *yuan* when he started working as a lecturer at a Chinese university in 1976. Nine years later in 1985, his salary was raised to 62 *yuan* per month, the equivalent of 5131 Japanese yen.⁶³ In contrast, Figure 2.2 shows that the average monthly salary of a Japanese academic at that time was 345,000 yen. Having visited Japan in 1979 and returned to China in 1982, Dr. Zhang decided to pursue a postgraduate degree in Japan. His decision was based at least in part on the desire to achieve a higher living standard in Japan.

Figure 2.2 Average monthly income by type of academics at Japanese universities in 2016⁶⁴

⁶² Liu, “Space, Mobility, and Flexibility,” in *Ungrounded Empires*, 101-102.

⁶³ Zhang Jixun’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 372.

⁶⁴ This figure was compiled by the author based on statistics from MEXT. “Monthly income of teachers by position,” Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/NewList.do?tid=000001016172>. 1 JPY equals about 0.009 USD, though the exchange rate fluctuates.

Figure 2.3 Average monthly income of academics at Japanese universities (1968-2016)⁶⁵

Figure 2.4 Average annual salary of the work force in the educational sector in China (2003-2016)⁶⁶

⁶⁵ This figure was compiled by the author based on statistics from MEXT. “Average Monthly income of academics in Japanese universities,” Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/NewList.do?tid=000001016172>.

⁶⁶ This figure was compiled by the author based on statistics from the National Bureau of Statistics of the People’s Republic of China. “Average Annual salary of work force in educational sector in China,” National Bureau of Statistics of the People’s Republic of China, accessed March 16, 2018, <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01&zb=A0A01&sj=2016>. 1 CNY equals about 0.156 USD at the time of study, though the exchange rate fluctuates. Due to the lack of national statistics and the complexity of salaries in Chinese universities, this is only a general recollection. The reality of salaries varied by type of university, locality of the university, titles of academics, their discipline and so on. For a study on salaries in Chinese universities, see Ma Wanhua, and Wen Jianbo, “A Study on Academic Salary and Remunerations in China,” in *Paying the Professoriate: A Global Comparison of Compensation and Contracts*, et al. Philip G. Altbach (New York: Routledge, 2012), 94-103.

Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 show the huge salary gaps between Chinese and Japanese academics. However, the gaps have been narrowing. China's rapid economic development in recent decades has brought about higher salaries for Chinese academics, about 80,000 *yuan* annually. The monthly salary of Japanese academics in 2016 was about 400,000 *yen*. This salary was competitive for the post-1980 generation, who were also attracted by the Japanese lifestyle.⁶⁷

Salary was not the only factor that drove academics to migrate. Disappointment with the working environment in China could also drive migration. Dr. Zhang was motivated in this way. He was a lecturer at the University of International Business and Economics in Beijing when, in 1985, he surprised his friends by leaving China to study in Japan. This was the second time he had gone to Japan. In 1978, Dr. Zhang was one of nine students the Chinese government sent to Japan. He returned to China in 1982. However, his experience in Japan resulted in strong disappointment with the social reality in China.⁶⁸ After obtaining a doctorate, Dr. Zhang became a professor at a national university in Japan.

⁶⁷ Interview on June 30, 2015, Osaka.

⁶⁸ Zhang Jixun's autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 371.

Dr. Sun is another example. In 1986, he became one of three teachers promoted to associate professor at his university. This was an impressive achievement for a 32-year-old academic. His success, however, incurred envy from his colleagues, and the atmosphere in his work unit became suffocating. This prompted Dr. Sun to quit his job the next year. He left China to study in Japan on a Japanese government scholarship. Four years later, he returned to visit his home university. In a conversation with the chief of the Human Resources Department, Dr. Sun expressed his desire to work for the university again, and showed the chief a copy of his recent book on classical Japanese literature. To his surprise, the chief said, “Your book is too difficult for our students to read. It is of no use for teaching.” He told Dr. Sun to return to China within the same year or he would have to return his salary for the past four years, together with the apartment the university had provided him.⁶⁹ Dr. Sun was so disheartened by the conversation that he returned his salary the next day, sold his belongings, and left for Japan. In contrast to his experience in China, a grand ceremony celebrating the publication of his book was held shortly after he returned to Japan. Many notable professors attended the ceremony and many more sent their congratulations, praising his work.⁷⁰ The cases of Dr. Zhang and Dr. Sun reveal the mentality of some Chinese academics when they decided to migrate: They wanted to escape the structural injustices in China.⁷¹

Overall, Japan-related research interests, the desire to study abroad, and a longing for an overseas life and family reunification were the main motivations for academics to go to Japan. However, some clarifications are needed here. First, some of the motivations mentioned above were not exclusive to academics. Chinese people who went to other countries, or Chinese

⁶⁹ Sun Jiufu’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 337.

⁷⁰ Sun Jiufu’s autobiography, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 338.

⁷¹ This is one type of migration motivation according to Shen Dianzhong. See Shen, *ZhongRi jiaoliushi zhong de huaqiao*.

migrants of other occupations in Japan showed similarities in their migration decisions. For example, many migrants wished to live abroad. However, the Chinese migrant academic community also showed distinct features. For instance, their Japan-related knowledge or interests made it practical or possible for them to pursue higher education in Japan.

Second, this study does not claim that a specific motivation can be applied to all academics. Some academics migrated to be reunited with their spouse, but this was not the case for others. Indeed, some academics came to Japan because of their research interests.

Third, an individual might have more than one reason to go to Japan, as illustrated by many cases. Dr. Zhang first came to Japan because he received a government scholarship. Then he returned home and came back to Japan because he was disappointed with the environment in China and wanted to live in Japan. In contrast, Dr. Geng came to Japan not only to join her family, but also to advance her research interests. Indeed, having majored in Japanese language and culture in China, studying in Japan was her dream. These different cases illustrate the complexity of people's motivations to move, which cannot be oversimplified.

In summary, the pursuit of Japan-related research interests, the desire for an overseas education, the preference for overseas life, and family togetherness⁷² were the main motives driving the Chinese academics in this study to migrate to Japan. These motives were common among not only academics, but also people from other occupations. They were not mutually exclusive, and there might have been more than one reason for a person to leave China.⁷³ Indeed, people's motives to migrate were complex, and should not be oversimplified.

⁷² For a more detailed discussion of this motivation, see Chapter Five.

⁷³ In an interview conducted on July 1, 2015 in Osaka, Dr. Geng said she came to Japan not only to join her family, but also to advance her research on the Japanese language and culture in China. Studying in Japan was a dream for her.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the mobility of Chinese migrant academics in the context of national talent strategies, the knowledge economy, and the job market for higher education. Since the 1980s, the governments of both China and Japan have introduced new policies to serve their developmental objectives. One of these policies, launched in the late 1970s by the Chinese government, was to dispatch students abroad to study. The tide of Chinese traveling overseas started with a small number of Chinese in the 1980s and expanded to a large number of common people after the 2000s. In Japan, a globalizing economy and an aging population created an urgent need for overseas laborers. The government responded by adjusting its immigration policies. Foreigners, particularly highly skilled professionals, began to flow into Japan.

Specifically, the Chinese government devised a two-way talent program, in which it sent Chinese nationals abroad to study then tried to lure them back after graduation. This program worked partly because the Japanese government put a plan in place to enroll more international students in Japanese universities. The universities also recruited foreign academics in an effort to internationalize. Thus, the globalizing economy and internationalization of universities in Japan made it possible for scholars to undertake higher education in Japan then seek employment upon graduation.

Over the past four decades, Chinese migrants have availed themselves of the social change occurring in both China and Japan to migrate for overseas study, conduct research related to Japan, live overseas, or join family members. The discussions in this chapter have shown how individuals' cultural practices and perceptions manifested within social and national contexts.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHNIC CAPITAL: KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND DISSEMINATION AT JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES

This chapter investigates the cultural citizenship practices of Chinese migrant academics in the transnational social space of the university since the 1980s. It asks three questions: how and why were Chinese migrant academics employed by Japanese universities? What was the relationship between their migrant status and their knowledge production and dissemination? How did they negotiate their identities at Japanese universities?

To this end, the chapter starts with the contextualization of migrant academics in Japanese universities, examining the meaning of Japanese universities' internationalization in the post-1980 era. The findings show that migrant academics have been regarded as an indispensable element in the internationalization efforts of Japanese universities over the past four decades. Meanwhile, the close connections between China and Japan in various aspects (business, culture, education, etc.) have created a need for China-related knowledge in Japanese society. Since the 1980s, these institutional and economic contexts in Japan have provided an occupational niche for Chinese migrant academics to make a living at Japanese universities.

The second half of the chapter explores the features of Chinese migrant academics' activities. The findings show that those in the social sciences and humanities utilized their ethnic capital (knowledge of China, Chinese language) to strengthen their competitiveness in the workplace. The strategy they used was to weave the "China element" into their knowledge production and dissemination. However, such an academic positioning was not just a subjective choice; it was

also the outcome of negotiations with the market and the social needs of Japan.

This study contributes to the scholarship on migrant academic mobility in higher education¹ by illuminating the relationship between the internationalization of universities and migrant academics in the Japanese context. It also elucidates the connection between the academics' spatial mobility and their knowledge production and dissemination, emphasizing those in the less examined humanities and social science. In addition, the identity construction and negotiations of migrant academic faculties at universities within the web of institutions and markets are highlighted.

Three key terms used in this chapter must first be clarified: "occupational niche," "ethnic capital," and "knowledge production and dissemination." A niche is "an occupational specialty or social role in which migrants can survive because it has economic value to the host society and preferably is not competed for by other groups."² An occupational niche in higher education is described as the competitiveness of some academics compared with others. Ethnicity refers to "clusters of people who have common cultural traits that they distinguish from those of other people."³ For the new migrant academics in this study, migrating since the late 1970s, the shared cultural traits are being born in China, speaking Chinese as a mother tongue, having living experience and an educational background in China, having personal networks of Chinese people, and being familiar with Chinese culture and history. These shared traits have led the migrant

¹ This scholarship has also been discussed in the Introduction. Kim Terri, "Shifting Patterns of Transnational Academic Mobility: A Comparative and Historical Approach," *Comparative Education* 45, no.3 (2009): 387-403. Chen, *Globalization and Transnational Academic Mobility*. Wang Xianwen, Mao Wenli, Wang, Peng and Hou, "Chinese Elite Brain Drain to USA," 37-46. Leung, "'Academic Mobility for Development' as a Contested Notion," 558-572. Zweig, Chen and Rosen, *China's Brain Drain to the United States*.

² Philip A. Kuhn, "Why China Historians Should Study the Chinese Diaspora, and Vice-Versa," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 2, no. 2 (November 2006): 168. Gracia Liu-Farrer examined how the Japan-trained Chinese students found their niche in the transnational economy between China and Japan, with their bilingual (Chinese and Japanese language), bicultural, or multilingual (Chinese, Japanese and English language), and multicultural skills. See Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*.

³ Audrey Smedley and Brian D. Smedley, "Race as Biology Is Fiction, Racism as a Social Problem Is Real: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives on the Social Construction of Race," *American Psychologist* 60, no. 1 (January 2005): 16-26.

academics to perceive themselves or to be perceived as culturally “Chinese.” Ethnic capital is a form of cultural capital embedded in ethnicity. According to Pierre Bourdieu, this capital has three forms: economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. “Knowledge” is defined as “facts, information, and skills acquired through experience or education; the theoretical or practical understanding of a subject.”⁴ This study relies on knowledge in its broad meaning, referring not only to the new knowledge one creates but also the dissemination of existing knowledge to others. “Knowledge production and dissemination” overall means academic activities carried out by faculty as researchers and educators.

Internationalization paths of Japanese universities

The meaning of internationalization (*kokusaika*) in Japan and efforts on its behalf have undergone change over time, from the Meiji period (1868-1912) to the years 1912 to 1945, 1945 to the 1970s, and 1980 forward. In the first part of this section the main features of internationalization prior to 1980 are discussed. Thereafter, the focus shifts to contextualizing the recruitment of migrant academics pursuant to Japan’s internationalization efforts since the 1980s.⁵

The origins of internationalization in Japan can be traced back to 1868, the beginning of the Meiji period. During this time, internationalization was interrelated with modernization and Westernization led by the Japanese Meiji government. In this endeavor, Westerners were

⁴ Oxford Dictionary.

⁵ Ota Hiroshi, “Japanese Universities’ Strategic Approach to Internationalization: Accomplishments and Challenges,” In *Emerging International Dimensions in East Asian Higher Education*, ed. Yonezawa Akiyoshi (Netherlands: Springer, 2014), 227-252.

“imported” as pioneers⁶ and Japan acted like an eager pupil of the West, yearning for Western knowledge. Westerners enjoyed privileged status in Japan,⁷ responding to Japan’s yearning for Westernization in language, culture, ideology, practical knowledge, technological practices, and even habits. In turn, Westerners were fascinated by Japan’s ambitious great leap.⁸ Thus, foreign teachers played an important role in the introduction of Western sciences, technologies, and social sciences and in modernization and the development of higher learning.⁹ A good example of this is the foreign teachers at the University of Tokyo.¹⁰ A number of foreigners have stood out in the history of this university’s development.¹¹ Most of the Western teachers, however, returned home after their employment terminated.¹² These expatriates left Japan for two reasons. First, Japan offered contract-based positions without tenure, seeing foreign academics as “temporary, expendable and peripheral.”¹³ In addition, Japan shifted from Westernization to expansionism and militarism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹⁴ Thereafter, many foreigners left Japan, a country with an unpredictable and turbulent future.

⁶ Neil Pedler, *The Imported Pioneers: Westerners Who Helped Build Modern Japan* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990).

⁷ Macaly, an American who obtained a teaching position in Japan in 1874, described it as follows: “A foreign teacher’s house is generally the best in the city and occupies a site where only the relatives of daimyo (noblemen) were formerly permitted to live, and he finds himself decidedly the leader of fashion. All the scholars pattern after him as closely as possible and receive no small amount of social distinction from being under the tuition of a foreigner. The head men of the city will be proud to visit and receive visits from him.” Cited in Pat Barr, *The Deer Cry Pavilion: A Story of Westerners in Japan, 1868-1905* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), 35.

⁸ Barr, *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, 35, 37.

⁹ Ibid, 271.

¹⁰ Formerly from Tokyo Igakko in 1876, Tokyo Daigaku (The University of Tokyo) established in 1877, consisting of Law, Science, Literature and Medicine. In 1886, it changed its name to Teikoku Daigaku, and in 1897 again changed its name to Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku. In 1947, the name was changed back to Tokyo Daigaku. For a chronology of University of Tokyo, see <http://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/about/chronology.html> accessed January 21, 2018.

¹¹ To name a few, John Milne (1850-1913), was an Englishman who taught in Japan from 1876 to 1895, specializing in seismology. Erwin Baelz (1849-1913), was a German, teaching medicine from 1876 to 1902. G. Boissonade Fontarabie (1825-1910), came from France, taught law, and returned in 1895. Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) was a German historian hired by the Meiji government and came to Japan in 1887. He taught history at Tokyo Imperial University, introducing Western historiography to Japan. For autobiographies of foreign teachers at the University of Tokyo, see <https://web.archive.org/web/20050911233312/http://www.lib.u-tokyo.ac.jp/tenjikai/tenjikai97/riess.html> Accessed 21 Jan 2018.

¹² An exception was Hearn Lafcadio (1850-1904), who naturalized with the name 小泉八雲. He specialized in English literature from 1896 to 1903.

¹³ Brian J. McVeigh, *Japanese Higher Education as Myth* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 171.

¹⁴ Barr, *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, 272.

In contrast, since 1896, the Chinese had mainly traveled to Westernized and rising Japan as students. However, although they did later, few Chinese became teachers in Japan at the time. China had fallen behind as a defeated country, and turned to Japan as a model of modernization. Many aimed to learn from Japan, particularly to combat foreign invasions of China.¹⁵ The Chinese were antithetical to the image of Westerners as carriers of advanced knowledge who could help Japan in its rise to become a modern nation.

Japan proceeded with expansion and war from 1912 onwards. Under such circumstances, education served its military purposes. There were few non-Japanese teachers. However, from the end of World War II in 1945, Japan started to rebuild its economy and society, implementing the Japanese government scholarship, “Monbukagakusho Scholarship” (*Gakuhi gaikokujin ryugakusei seido*) in 1954. This scholarship was used to provide financial support to foreign students and academics wanting to study in Japan, to improve the level of Japanese education, and to promote mutual understandings and international cooperation. However, the number of foreign teachers remained restricted until the 1970s.

Japan began to advance its internationalization agenda from the 1980s,¹⁶ and its activities have accelerated since the 2000s.¹⁷ Therefore, this section focuses more on the post-2000 era. (Besides, in Chapter Two the two main plans for enrolling international students (1983 and 2009)

¹⁵ Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change*. Saneto, Keishu, *Zhongguoren liuxue Ribenshi*. Yan, *Nihon ryugaku seishinshi*. Lin, Wang and Ye, *Jindai Zhongguo zhishi fenzi zai Riben*.

¹⁶ For studies of Japanese universities’ internationalization and high education reforms, see Yamamoto Shinichi, “Higher Education Reforms in Japan: Changing Relationship between Government and Universities,” In *State and Market in Higher Education Reforms: Trends, Policies and Experiences in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Schuetze, Hans G, Germán Álvarez Mendiola, and Diane Conrad (Rotterdam: SensePublishers, 2012), 201-211. Huang Futao, “Internationalization,” in *The Changing Academic Profession in Japan*, ed. Akira Arimoto, William K. Cummings, Futao Huang, and Jung Cheol Shin (Cham: Springer, 2014), 197-211. Huang Futao, “The Internationalization of Japan’s Academy across Research and Non-Research Universities,” *Journal of Studies in International Education* 19, no. 4 (September 2015): 379-393. Kano Yoshimasa, “Higher Education Policy and the Academic Profession,” in *The Changing Academic Profession in Japan*, 27-40.

¹⁷ Some higher education scholars have also noticed that there was “less regulation” in Japan in the 1990s and before. Only since 2000 has Japan taken more initiatives. Akira Arimoto, “The Changing Academic Profession in Japan: Its Past and Present,” in *The Changing Academic Profession in Japan*, 1-26.

were already introduced.)¹⁸ To explain what internationalization means to Japanese universities, this section mainly analyzes the major policies and programs that have been carried out by the Japanese government and institutions like the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, Monbukagakusho) to promote university internationalization.

The Japanese government legalized the employment of foreign teachers in national and public universities in 1982.¹⁹ A year later, the Ad Hoc Council on Education (Rinji kyoiku shingikai) was established under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. It lasted until 1987. The aim of the council was to advance Japan's market-oriented education reforms. One of its policy reports from 1987 recommended that Japan "widely and flexibly recruit even company employees as teachers regardless of nationality."²⁰

In 1989, the National Council on Educational Reform made its policy proposal to "respond to internationalization," which included the reform of course content for international understanding, studying abroad and exchanges, accepting foreign students to advance the "100,000 International Students Plan," and "the invitation of a large number of native speakers to Japan so as to improve Japanese education in foreign languages."²¹

In 1998, The University Council drafted a report entitled "A Vision for the University of the 21st Century and Future Reform Measures," in which it proposed to "promote the international solicitation of teaching personnel."²² It also suggested that more universities adopt an "open

¹⁸ See Chapter Two.

¹⁹ See Chapter Two.

²⁰ Kano Yoshimasa, "Higher Education Policy and the Academic Profession," in *The Changing Academic Profession in Japan*, 29.

²¹ "National Council on Educational Reform and the Process of its Reform," MEXT, accessed November 25, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpac200101/hpac200101_2_013.html.

²² "Building a Distinguished University in the Times of Intellect," MEXT, accessed November 25, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpac200101/hpac200101_2_046.html.

recruit system,” which would help to “employ talented personnel with various backgrounds and experience as university teachers.”²³

The MEXT put forward its education reform plan in 2001. One item was to “promote the establishment of universities of an international standard,” which included improving the educational protocol for producing leaders of the next generation, building a competitive environment, and improving the grading system for students and the teaching abilities of academics.²⁴

In 2005, Japan established the “Strategic Fund for Establishing International Headquarters in Universities.” It selected 20 pilot institutions, aiming to “respond to the international intellect race and establish an internationally competitive research environment in Japanese universities for attracting distinguished researchers from both inside and outside of Japan.”²⁵ Attracting distinguished researchers from outside Japan was one part of this project.

Japan launched the “Establishing University Network for Internationalization” (Global 30 Project) in 2009. Until its end in 2014, it selected 13 core universities²⁶ to “promote internationalization of the academic environment of Japanese universities and acceptance of excellent international students studying in Japan,”²⁷ and it featured an English-only program. These universities needed to enroll international students, provide international students with

²³ “More Job Mobility among Teachers,” MEXT, accessed November 25, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpac200101/hpac200101_2_052.html.

²⁴ “Promotion of the Education Reform Plan for the 21st Century,” MEXT, accessed November 25, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpac200101/hpac200101_2_020.html.

²⁵ “Strategic Fund for Establishing International Headquarters in Universities,” The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, accessed May 10, 2018, https://www.jsps.go.jp/english/e-bilat/e-u-kokusen/program_org/outline.html.

²⁶ The 13 universities were Tohoku University, University of Tsukuba, The University of Tokyo, Nagoya University, Kyoto University, Osaka University, Kyushu University, Keio University, Sophia University, Meiji University, Waseda University, Doshisha University, and Ritsumeikan University.

²⁷ “Global 30 Project,” MEXT, accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/highered/title02/detail02/sdetail02/1373894.htm>.

access to Japanese language and culture, and establish overseas offices²⁸ to promote international cooperation.

“The Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development” started in 2012. Its specific goals for advancing internationalization included raising: (1) the ratio of Japanese students studying overseas; (2) the ratio of international students; (3) the ratio of the sending and receiving students in exchange programs; (4) the ratio of foreign academics; (5) the ratio of courses with foreign language instruction; (6) the ratio of academic faculty and students; (7) the ratio of academic faculty with doctorates; and (8) the internationally applied curriculum.²⁹ The internationalization of Japanese universities once more involved the recruitment of foreign academics.

A new “Top Global University Project” was established in 2014, replacing the former “Global 30 Project” (2009-2014). It aimed to provide support for university internationalization, “to enhance the competitiveness of our country’s higher education and to cultivate global talent.”³⁰ The 37 universities³¹ selected would receive “government subsidies of around 420 million yen (US\$3.6 million) annually for up to 10 years.”³² The internationalization related criteria listed by this project included increasing: (1) the ratio of foreign faculty or faculty with education credentials from foreign countries; (2) the ratio of foreign international students; (3) the ratio of

²⁸ The designated allocation of these offices by each university was: Tunisia (Tunis) (University of Tsukuba), Egypt (Cairo) (Kyushu University), Germany (Bonn) (Waseda University), Russia (Moscow, Novosibirsk) (Tohoku University), India (New Delhi) (Ritsumeikan University) India (Hyderabad) (The University of Tokyo), Uzbekistan (Tashkent) (Nagoya University), Vietnam (Hanoi) (Kyoto University).

²⁹ “The Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development,” The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, accessed May 10, 2018, http://www.jsps.go.jp/j-tenkairyoku/data/junbi_kaigou/H24junbi_04-02.pdf.

³⁰ “Top Global University Project,” MEXT, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/kaikaku/sekaitenkai/1319596.htm.

³¹ It consists of two types, type A and type B. Type A includes 13 universities (11 national universities and 2 private universities) and Type B includes 24 universities (10 national universities, two local universities and 12 private universities). For a list of names of these 37 universities, see Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.jsps.go.jp/j-sgu/h26_kekka_saitaku.html.

³² Suvendrini Kakuchi, “Not Just International But ‘Super Global Universities’,” November 21, 2014, *University World News*, no.44, <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2014112023337379>.

students with overseas study experience; (4) the ratio of exchange students under exchange programs; (5) the ratio of programs with foreign language instruction; (6) the ratio of registered students who would graduate from foreign language only degree programs; (7) the ratio of students who meet the foreign language proficiency requirements; (8) the ratio of syllabi in English; (9) the ratio of Japanese students that live in international housing; (10) the flexibility of the academic calendar.³³

Overall, the recruitment of foreign faculty has been an essential element in Japanese universities' internationalization since the 1980s. Its importance has especially been highlighted since 2000. In addition, the policies in the post-2000 era have stressed foreign language proficiency (English and other languages). For example, under the "Top Global University Project" established in 2014, Qiba University stated in its international plan that it would "employ foreign faculty and actively recruit specialist faculty staff who can give classes in English."³⁴ Under the same project, Ochanomizu University said it planned to intentionally recruit "teaching staff with emphasis on English skills and international experience," and to equip students with "multilingual skills with mastering of English and a third language."³⁵ Recruitment advertisements have also promoted Japanese universities' efforts to hire migrant academics. For example, Tohoku University declared in a 2018 announcement that it would "employ applicants that can teach courses in Japanese and English, regardless of nationality."³⁶ Hiroshima University proclaimed in 2018 that it would "employ a lecturer in Japanese Law and

³³ "Top Global University Project," MEXT, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/kaikaku/sekaitenkai/1360288.htm.

³⁴ "An Outline of Global Talents Cultivation Plan 2014," Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.jsps.go.jp/j-gjinzai/data/shinsa/h24/gjinzai_gaiyou_all_e.pdf.

³⁵ "An Outline of Global Talents Cultivation Plan 2014," Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.jsps.go.jp/j-gjinzai/data/shinsa/h24/gjinzai_gaiyou_all_e.pdf.

³⁶ Author's translation. For the original Japanese text, see "Academic staff recruitment," Tohoku University, accessed May 7, 2018, http://www.intcul.tohoku.ac.jp/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/kyouin_koubo_gengo.pdf.

China Law,” with one of the qualifications being that “the applicant can teach in Japanese and Chinese.” It further claimed that “in order to advance its internationalization goal, our University promotes the employment of foreigner teachers (with non-Japanese nationality).”³⁷ These action plans and recruitment advertisements reflect the Japanese universities’ intent to recruit academic staff who can instruct students in a language other than Japanese as a means of implementing internationalization. Some universities have clearly stated that they do not limit nationality in recruitment, and they even encourage employment of foreign academics with non-Japanese nationalities.

In short, since the 1980s the internationalization of Japanese universities has envisioned the configuration of multicultural campuses with a certain percentage of foreign academic faculty and international students, with the possibility of producing global talent. The recruitment of foreign academic faculty has been a vital step in this, making it possible for Chinese migrant academics to enter Japan’s higher education. This is discussed in the next section.

An occupational niche for migrant academics at Japanese universities

Japanese universities’ recruitment of foreign faculty as a way to internationalize has provided an occupational niche for migrant academics. Chinese migrant academics have been among the foreign academic faculty needed in Japan. This section illustrates how Chinese migrant academics have conformed to Japan’s internationalization vision in the post-1980 era.

The occupational niche for Chinese migrant academics in Japanese academia has mainly

³⁷ Author’s translation. For the original Japanese text, see “Academic staff recruitment,” Hiroshima University, accessed May 7, 2018, <https://www.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/system/files/97098/>.

stemmed from two needs. The first was the need for Japanese universities to internationalize their programs due to the globalizing economy. The goal was “cooperation and the promotion of cross-cultural understanding and appreciation.”³⁸ To achieve it, Japanese universities relaxed their restrictions on hiring foreign academics, and took the initiative to recruit them, targeting academics from Western and other cultural backgrounds.

The other was the Japanese universities’ need for faculty who could teach courses and conduct research related to China. This favored the Chinese migrant academics. China’s rise since 1980 had received much attention from outside China, and there was increasing interest in the Chinese language. Based on data from the Chinese Proficiency Test (*hanyu shuiping kaoshi*, abbreviation HSK), first conducted outside of China in 1991, the number of HSK examinees in Japan climbed from 2303 in 1999 to 23,426 in 2015.³⁹ For many Japanese, obtaining a Master’s degree in the Chinese language was pragmatic and practical because it could benefit their career development. Not only the language, but knowledge about China also appealed to the Japanese due to the historical, economic, cultural, and geographic relations between China and Japan.⁴⁰ In addition to the Japanese sinologists and China watchers, Chinese migrant academics living in Japan became another major source of information on China. Therefore, Japan’s internationalization and the need for China related knowledge made the China-born academics competitive for these positions.

Two major groups of Chinese migrant academics responded to this new occupational niche: (1) China-born academics who obtained the highest academic degree in Japan and became academic

³⁸ McVeigh, *Japanese Higher Education as Myth*, 150.

³⁹ “Chinese Proficiency Test,” accessed February 28, 2018, <http://www.hskj.jp/about/>.

⁴⁰ A Chinese scholar, who worked in the U.K. and was visiting Japan, commented: “In Western academia, compared to Japan, scholars are now more eager to learn what China is undergoing.” Author’s fieldwork in June 2016, Tokyo.

faculty after graduation; and (2) China-born academics who obtained the highest degree in English-speaking countries. (This study includes only those who studied in English-speaking countries and not elsewhere.) The first group, Japan-trained Chinese migrant academics, comprised the majority. As is shown in Chapter Two, most Chinese who became academics in Japan had undertaken their graduate education in Japan. Since 1978, Japan had become a favored destination for Chinese wanting to study abroad, and joining academia was a goal for many of these students. Western-trained academics also favored Japan, especially after Japan began to put more effort into offering English language only programs, as discussed in the previous section.

The primary difference between the two groups was their knowledge structure and language skills. Japan-trained Chinese migrant academics were attractive to Japanese universities because they were bilingual in both Chinese and Japanese and understood the cultures of both countries (in addition to their respective areas of specialization). Western-trained Chinese migrant academics distinguished themselves from the Japan-trained Chinese because they were fluent in English and familiar with the cultures of English-speaking countries. As an increasing number of Japanese universities began to introduce English-language-only programs, the need for English speaking academics grew.

The following two cases illustrate how differences between the two groups manifested in terms of academic activities.

Table 3.1 Courses offered by Associate Professor Wen Yuanchun⁴¹

⁴¹ Table compiled by the author, based on syllabi from Waseda University. This is an example of a course taught in the spring term of 2018. For details of these courses, see “Wen Yuanchun,” Waseda University, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://researchers.waseda.jp/profile/ja.188da064d250d665fb75d382e9608b87.html>.

No.	Course	School	Language
1	Introduction Course	School of Law	Japanese
2	A Kaleidoscope of the Chinese Language Circle	School of Law	Japanese
3	Introduction to Chinese Law	School of Law	Japanese
4	Chinese Civil Law	School of Law	Japanese
5	Directed Reading of Books (China's Environment and Law) in Chinese Language	School of Law	Japanese
6	Modern Chinese Law	School of Law	Japanese
7	Fundamentals of Law Studies	Graduate School of Law	Japanese
8	Chinese Law	Graduate School of Law	Japanese
9	Chinese Society	Global Education Center	Japanese

Dr. Wen Yuanchun graduated from Waseda University in 2015 with a Ph.D. in Law. He then worked at Waseda University. His research field was Chinese law. Table 3.1 shows that his teaching activities were closely aligned with Chinese law. In addition, he offered some related courses on Chinese society, language, and culture. As a scholar trained in Japan, he taught these courses in the Japanese language. Furthermore, most of his publications were in Japanese.⁴²

Table 3.2 Courses offered by Associate Professor Shu Min⁴³

No.	Course	School	Language
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⁴² “Wen Yuanchun,” Waseda University, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://researchers.waseda.jp/profile/ja.188da064d250d665fb75d382e9608b87.html>.

⁴³ Table compiled by the author, based on syllabi from Waseda University. This is an example of a course taught in the spring term of 2018. For details of these courses, see “Shu Min,” Waseda University, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://researchers.waseda.jp/profile/ja.273e44f0b1288a642a86706f00e7f2e6.html>.

1	Introduction to Cross-cultural and International Education	School of International Arts	Japanese and English
2	AIMS Joint Seminar	School of International Arts	English
3	International Political Economy	School of International Arts	English
4	Seminar on International Relations	School of International Arts	English
5	Comparative Regionalism	Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies	English
6	International Communications and Culture I (International Political Economy)	Graduate School of International Culture and Communication Studies	Japanese and English
7	International Communications and Culture II (International Political Economy)	Graduate School of International Culture and Communication Studies	Japanese and English
8	Directed Research: International Communications and Culture (International Political Economy)	Graduate School of International Culture and Communication Studies	Japanese and English
9	Introduction to European Integration	Global Education Center	English

Unlike Dr. Wen Yuanchun, Dr. Shu Min had a Western educational background. Dr. Shu obtained his doctorate from Bristol University, U.K. in 2005, and completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the same university in 2006. After that, he worked at Fudan University in China for two years. Since 2008, he has worked at Waseda University. As a Western-trained scholar, English has been his working language for both his teaching and research activities. Table 3.2 shows that his courses have mostly been taught in English, although some have been taught in English and Japanese. Most of his publications have also been in English. Dr. Shu's research focus has been regional integration, specifically East Asia, including China and Japan. About one of his projects, he stated, "Focusing on China and Japan, the project explores how these two

countries have led and influenced East Asian regional cooperation after the East Asian financial crisis.”⁴⁴

The experiences of Dr. Wen and Dr. Shu show how a Japan-trained Chinese migrant academic and a Western-trained Chinese migrant academic were disparately perceived by the same university. Their academic activities and educational backgrounds were different, but they were similar in their Chinese cultural background and the “China element” in their research and courses. As a result, they occupied two niches: teaching China-related knowledge in Japanese or in English.

The two groups of Chinese migrant academics, together with migrant academics from other countries, have contributed to Japanese universities in the following interlocking aspects: improving their world ranking, attracting international students, and producing global talent.

Japanese universities have accepted the international ranking system. According to this system, the composition of foreign students and faculties are important criteria by which universities are assessed.⁴⁵ As reported by the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THE), one of the five ranking indicators is international outlook (staff, students, and research), comprising 7.5% of a university’s ranking score. Broken down, the international to domestic student ratio, international to domestic staff ratio, and international collaboration each comprise 2.5%. This evaluation methodology has been used from 2009 to the present.⁴⁶ The description of this indicator provides that: “the ability of a university to attract undergraduates,

⁴⁴ “Shu Min,” Waseda University, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://researchers.waseda.jp/profile/ja.273e44f0b1288a642a86706f00e7f2e6.html>.

⁴⁵ For a comparative study of China’s higher education and Western influence, see Pan Su-Yan, *University Autonomy, the State, and Social Change in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

⁴⁶ “University Rankings,” accessed May 25, 2018, <http://www.universityrankings.ch/methodology/times>.

postgraduates and faculty from all over the planet is key to its success on the world stage.”⁴⁷ In another evaluator of universities, the QS World University Rankings, the international faculty ratio and international student ratio represent 5% of the score respectively.⁴⁸ This methodology has been used from 2004 to the present. The elements of this indicator are stated below:

A highly international university acquires and confers a number of advantages. It demonstrates an ability to attract faculty and students from across the world, which in turn suggests that it possesses a strong international brand. It implies a highly global outlook: essentially for institutions operating in an internationalized higher education sector. It also provides both students and staff alike with a multinational environment, facilitating exchange of best practices and beliefs. In doing so, it provides students with international sympathies and global awareness: soft skills increasingly valuable to employers.⁴⁹

Having a certain percentage of foreign academics is therefore indispensable to any university wanting to achieve a high ranking within this system.

Participating in the ranking system is part of the strategy for top Japanese universities wanting to become recognized internationally as leading institutions. “In striving to achieve the elusive ideal of truly international universities, hiring the best scholars and educators in their fields, regardless of nationality, is a central objective at most top-flight institutions.”⁵⁰ Waseda University is an example. In 2012, it drafted the “Waseda Vision 150” scheme,⁵¹ “a platform for

⁴⁷ “World University Rankings,” *Times Higher Education*, accessed May 5, 2018, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings>. Other four indicators and their percentage: teaching with 30 percent; research with 30%; citations with 30%; industry income with 2.5%.

⁴⁸ “The QS World University Rankings,” accessed May 5, 2018, <https://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings/methodology>.

⁴⁹ “The QS World University Rankings,” accessed May 5, 2018, <https://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings/methodology>.

⁵⁰ Adam Komisarof and Zhu Hua ed. *Crossing Boundaries and Weaving Intercultural Work, Life, and Scholarship in Globalizing Universities* (Routledge, 2015), 2.

⁵¹ The name of this scheme marks the 150th anniversary of this university, which will be in 2032. “Waseda Vision 150,” Waseda University, accessed May 5, 2018, <http://www.waseda.jp/keiei/vision150/about/message.html>.

envisioning a global Waseda University that goes beyond the borders of Japan.”⁵² According to this plan, the university strives to: (1) attract students of the highest caliber and character from around the world; (2) conduct research that will ultimately contribute to human society; (3) cultivate graduates (alumni) who, in all corners of the globe, and in every academic field, will contribute to the public good as global leaders; and (4) establish an organizational and management structure that will transform Waseda University into Asia’s premier “model university.”⁵³

The migrant faculty has not only added to the ratio of foreign academics, but also helped to attract both Japanese and international students. Japanese universities, especially private universities that receive less government support, have faced serious challenges in trying to recruit enough students. Tuition fees account for three quarters of their revenue.⁵⁴ Fewer students means less revenue, which is crucial to a university’s development and survival. In this regard, foreign academics and the international image they convey increase a university’s competitive advantage within Japan’s higher education market appealing to Japanese students. Plus, unlike in other countries, like the U.S. and Singapore, tuition fees for Japanese and international students are the same. Hence, recruiting international students does not generate more tuition for a university than recruiting a Japanese student. Nevertheless, international students to some extent make up for the decreasing number of Japanese students and the shrinking higher education market in Japan.

Since the 1980s, there have been more students from China than any other group of

⁵² “Taking Waseda University beyond Japan—The True Meaning of Globalization Reform,” accessed February 7, 2018, http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/adv/wol/dy/opinion/international_180205.html?from=waseda.

⁵³ “Waseda Vision 150,” Waseda University, accessed May 5, 2018, <http://www.waseda.jp/keiei/vision150/about/message.html>.

⁵⁴ Yamamoto Shinichi, “Higher Education Reforms in Japan: Changing Relationship between Government and Universities,” In *State and Market in Higher Education Reforms*, 204.

international students in Japan.⁵⁵ In conjunction with this, many of the interviewees in this study managed administrative affairs related to international students at their respective universities, particularly on behalf of Chinese students studying in Japan. For instance, one of the major duties of Professor Geng Wu, who supervised the international communications center at a Japanese university, was to communicate with China on such things as the terms of student exchanges or the enrollment of Chinese students.⁵⁶ Another professor, Geng Zi, was head of the international education center at a different Japanese university.⁵⁷ Similarly, Professor Jia taught Chinese at a private Japanese university after receiving a degree in linguistics. The university was medium size and was not top ranked, however, it positioned itself in the market by producing multilingual and multicultural talent. This elevated its status in terms of its international outlook. Chinese was a major language program among many other language programs at this university. As the head of the Chinese language program, Professor Jia promoted cooperation between his university and several Chinese universities. This not only attracted a large number of Chinese students to study (generally Japanese language and culture) at this Japanese university, but also appealed to Japanese students. In addition, more Japanese students went to China on exchange programs or to obtain degrees. Thus, it was a win-win outcome for both the Japanese university and the professor. Promoting Chinese language education and cooperation with Chinese universities contributed to the university's survival in Japan's competitive higher education market and enhanced its international reputation. By utilizing his ethnic resources and networks in China, Professor Jia established and advanced his

⁵⁵ "Chinese residing in Japan with student visa," Ministry of Justice, accessed February 5, 2018, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html.

⁵⁶ Interview on June 26, 2015, Osaka.

⁵⁷ Interview on July 18, 2015, Tokyo.

career in Japan.⁵⁸ Therefore, at least in this case, Chinese migrant faculty promoted Chinese students' studying in Japan.

Chinese migrant academics at Japanese universities have played a role in producing global talent since the 1980s. In a globalizing world, the function and attractiveness of higher education has been its ability to not only produce loyal citizens, but also disseminate globally capable and integrated talent. The global economy and transnational business community need graduate students with bilingual or bicultural skills. Clearly, a faculty whose cultural heritage is the same as its students can hardly fulfill this task. Academics from foreign backgrounds, with knowledge or cultural capital different from their Japanese colleagues have thus become a new part of the landscape in Japanese universities. The Japanese MEXT has even reflected on how its students can benefit from recruiting foreign academics: "the inclusion of non-Japanese teachers would enhance mutual understanding, strengthen foreign language education, and provide domestic students with opportunities to interact with foreigners."⁵⁹ Over the past four decades, the growing Chinese economy and China's geographic proximity to Japan have stimulated the need for students to master the Chinese language, understand China's cultural and social norms, and acquire the requisite professional skills so that after graduation they can work for China-Japan related businesses.⁶⁰ Japanese education has helped both local Japanese students and Chinese students studying in Japan develop such capabilities, and in producing such students, academics from China have played an important part.

Migrant academics have been one group of highly skilled professionals (*kodo jinsai*) in Japan's talent war. They have been viewed as a force to combat Japan's labor shortage and

⁵⁸ Interview on July 3, 2015, Osaka.

⁵⁹ Craig and Wright, "Perspectives from within," 28-45.

⁶⁰ Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*.

contribute to Japan's multicultural society.⁶¹

The employment of Dr. Han Yanli as an associate professor at The University of Tokyo in 2018 vividly illustrates the attributes a Japanese university considers when hiring a migrant academic. Under "Employment reason," it was stated:

Ms. Han Yanli's specialty is Chinese cinema studies. In addition to a published doctoral dissertation entitled "*On the Other Side of National Cinema: Films by Chinese Migrants and National Identity*," she also published 19 papers (12 peer reviewed), gave 13 presentations, and co-authored 11 books. Her research focuses on "Chinese films" by Chinese migrants. She examines cultural history, which cannot be captured by a nation-state centered cultural research approach, and explores the question of what national identity is. Such a perspective goes beyond cinema itself, and belongs to cross-disciplinary studies and studies of culture and representation. Beside her mother tongue Chinese, Han is also fluent in both Japanese and English. She has had experience in Chinese language education at the university level since 2008 and is adept at educating. She also has a calm, serious and sincere personality. As mentioned above, Ms. Han Yanli shows outstanding achievements in both research and education, and is seen to be a suitable person for the position of associate professor at our university.⁶²

This statement conveyed two key points related to hiring Dr. Han. On the one hand, she had demonstrated outstanding research achievement in migrant cinema studies. On the other hand, she met the expectations for Chinese language teaching experience and skills. Her good Japanese and English proficiency added marks. Thus, she was regarded as someone who could contribute to multicultural studies and foreign language teaching. Dr. Han graduated from Kyoto University with a doctorate in Human Environment and had working experience at Kansai Gakuin University before her appointment to this position. The case of Dr. Lin Shaoyang was similar. The University of Tokyo explained one of the reasons for hiring him as a professor: "Mr. Lin is

⁶¹ For definition and policies for such talent, accessed February 7, 2018, http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/newimmiact_3/index.html

⁶² Author's translation. For the original Japanese text and profile of Han Yanli, see "Introduction to New Academic Staff," The university of Tokyo, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://www.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/info/research/faculty/newlyappointed/ics/f016544.html>.

engaged in comparative studies of literature between Japan and China, and has published research in Japanese, Chinese and English.” He was expected to teach courses on the Chinese language.⁶³

To sum up, recruiting migrant academics has been an essential part of Japanese universities’ internationalization goals, and Japan’s path to a multicultural society.

Weaving the ethnic capital into knowledge production and dissemination

In the previous sections, the connection between the ethnic background of Chinese migrant academics and their recruitment by Japanese universities are discussed, with the author arguing that they have filled an occupational niche during the internationalization of Japanese universities in the post-1980 era. The last half of this chapter further investigates how Chinese migrant academics have utilized their ethnic resources to enhance their competitiveness and advance their academic careers over the past four decades. Information on the migrant academics’ key research has been extracted from their principal publications. However, because the dates of their publications span four decades, only the general features of their work and practices since 1980 have been considered.

Table 3.3 Major research areas of Chinese academics in Japan in the post-1980 era⁶⁴

⁶³ Author’s translation. For the original Japanese text and profile of Lin Shaoyang, see “Introduction to New Academic Staff,” The university of Tokyo, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://www.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/info/research/faculty/newlyappointed/ics/f009514.html>.

⁶⁴ The author created this table.

Research areas	Number of academics from interviews	Number of academics from autobiographies	Total
History (Chinese history, Japanese history, Sino-Japanese history, archaeology, sinology)	9	7	16
Literature (Chinese literature, Japanese literature, Comparative literature) Chinese language and linguistics	5	9	14
Political science, international relations, Chinese law	7	2	9
Economics (Japanese economics, Chinese economics, business administration)	3	5	8
Chinese in Japan	5	1	6
Education, media, tourism, Chinese graphic arts (China, Japan, comparative)	0	6	6
Science and technology	3	1	4
Total	32	31	63

Table 3.3 shows the research areas from the 32 interviews and the 31 autobiographies examined in this study. Generally, the research directions spanned a variety of fields: 16 academics specialized in history, 14 researched literature, 9 studied political science, and 8 focused on economics. There were also academics who concentrated on the areas of education, media, tourism, art, and the Chinese in Japan. Finally, there were academics specializing in science and technology. This study, however, focuses mainly on scholars in the humanities and the social sciences .

Moving from the general disciplines to the specific, most of the studies by Chinese migrant academics in the humanities and social sciences featured a China element, that is, a China

element⁶⁵ was incorporated into their research and teaching. In fact, this shows the strategies of Chinese migrant academics in terms of cultural capital possession and reproduction. These practices are analyzed in a more detailed manner by highlighting three main types: (1) academics with a research interest in the Chinese in Japan or who write fiction on this topic; (2) academics with a research interest in China related topics in their respective disciplines; and (3) teaching Chinese language irrespective of the discipline.

Research and writing fiction on the Chinese in Japan

Some Chinese migrant academics were engaged in researching or writing about the Chinese in Japan during the post-1980 era. Being migrants themselves, there was a shared motivation to research this field. One scholar reflected on undertaking Chinese migrant studies.

Paying attention to migrant novel studies should be ascribed to my leaving China. Without leaving China, I probably would not notice this new overseas Chinese writing group. Living overseas as a new migrant, I started noticing the existence of this writing group when reading overseas Chinese works.⁶⁶

Research on Chinese migrants has thus provided a space for the expression of ethnic awareness. This is similar to studying Korean nationals in Japan or naturalized Koreans conducting research on Koreans in Japan.⁶⁷ The same phenomenon has also occurred among Chinese scholars in other regions. Speaking about why he wanted to study Chinese migrants,

⁶⁵ The term “ethnic supplement” was used by Rey Chow to refer to scholars’ practices that fixed “their intellectual and theoretical content by way of a national, ethnic, or cultural location....” “Once a new type of discourse gains currency among academics at large, academics working on China-related topics will sooner or later produce a ‘Chinese’ response to it that would both make use of the opportunity for attention made available by the generality of the theoretical issue at hand and deflect it by way of historical and cultural characteristics that are specific to China.” Rey Chow, “Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem,” *Boundary 2*, no. 3 (1998): 3-5.

⁶⁶ Ni Liqiu, *Xinyimin xiaoshuo yanjiu* [Study on New Migrants’ Novels] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2009), 1.

⁶⁷ Teru, *Nihon no kokuseki seido to Koria-kei Nihonjin*. Chung, *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan*.

Wang Gungwu said, “About the only thing that encourages me to try again is that it is an outsider’s question and, being part of the Chinese overseas myself, the outsider in me remains intrigued by it.”⁶⁸

A large percentage of the scholars who studied overseas Chinese in Japan were themselves Chinese migrant academics.⁶⁹ Their research covered a wide range of themes. For example, Liao Chiyang, a professor who graduated from The University of Tokyo, specialized in the traditional business networks of overseas Chinese merchants in Japan. His interests also extended to various aspects of new overseas Chinese in Japan.⁷⁰ Wang Wei, who was born in Northeast China and educated at Nogaya University Japan, worked as a professor at Nagasaki University. Her research was on the Chinese in Japan, Chinatown, and cultural symbols.⁷¹ Guo Fang explored the issue of identity from a marriage perspective. She found that Chinese migrants were seeking a way to acculturate based on embracing their ethnic identity.⁷² Zhang Yuling was an associate professor at Yamaguchi Prefectural University. Her research investigated Chinese migrants' identity from a cultural angle by focusing on cultural symbols: Chinese school, lion dance, Guan Yu Temple and Kobe Kakyo History Museum.⁷³ In contrast to the several scholars mentioned above, Gracia Liu-Farrer was a Western-trained Chinese migrant academic in Japan. She mainly published in English, bringing the topic of Japan-based Chinese migration to English audiences.⁷⁴ These studies overall have contributed to the understanding of migrants in Japan.

⁶⁸ Wang Gungwu, “Chineseness: The Dilemmas of Place and Practice,” in his *Don't Leave Home*, 183.

⁶⁹ There were also some Japanese scholars and a few other scholars who were born in a third country other than China or Japan.

⁷⁰ For the profile of Liao Chiyang, accessed May 10, 2018, http://profile.musabi.ac.jp/page/LIAO_Chi-Yang.html.

⁷¹ For the profile of Wang Wei, accessed May 10, 2018, <http://www.hss.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/archives/professors/2232>.

⁷² Guo Fang, *Zai niche Kakyo no aidentiti no hen yo: Kakyo no ta gen teki kyo sei* [Changing Identity of Overseas Chinese in Japan] (Tokyo: Toshindo, 1999).

⁷³ Zhang Yuling, accessed May 7, 2018, https://portal.ypu.jp/kg/html/japanese/researchersHtml/102040%20/102040_Researcher.html

⁷⁴ For the profile of Gracia Liu-Farrer, accessed May 7, 2018, <https://www.waseda.jp/gsaps/en/about/faculty/liu-farrer-gracia/>.

There were also some Chinese migrant academics who studied the issue of migrant academics in Japan. Huang Futao, a Chinese professor working at Hiroshima University in Japan, initiated a collaborative research project, entitled “Foreign Academics Recruitment and Integration in International and Comparative Perspectives.” The goal of this project was to broadly explore the experience of academics at foreign universities, and how universities should provide better working and living conditions for them.⁷⁵

Professor Huang acted as the principal investigator and project coordinator, building a global project team whose members came from eight countries or regions: four non-English-speaking countries (Japan, China, Korea, and the Netherlands) and four English-speaking countries or regions (Malaysia, Singapore, the U.K., and Hong Kong). Many of the collaborators were migrant academics. Having such an identity prompted them to investigate the shared or distinct experiences of their colleagues and how they adapted to the Japanese higher education system and culture. The project targeted foreign academics from all eight countries and regions. At the same time, it reflected the increasing presence of migrant academics in Japan, and the pursuit of internationalization by Japanese universities. The project received support from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.⁷⁶

In addition to the migration scholars, some Chinese migrant academics explored Chinese migrants in another distinct way: creative writing. Some writers were hired by universities after they achieved fame. Others worked for a university and became famous through their literary work.

Literature has constructed another space for the “articulation” of these migrant writers’ life

⁷⁵ Fieldwork, Workshop in June 2016, Hiroshima.

⁷⁶ Fieldwork, Workshop in June 2016, Hiroshima.

experience.⁷⁷ Yang Yi, who was mentioned at the beginning of this study, has been a Chinese migrant academic and writer in Japan. Her Japanese language novels *Wan-chan (Little Wang)* and *Tokiga nijimu asa (A Morning When Time Bleeds)*⁷⁸ won the 105th Bungakukai Newcomer's Prize in 2007 and the 139th Akutagawa Prize in 2008 respectively. At the time, it was unprecedented to award the Akutagawa Prize to a migrant rather than to a native Japanese speaker. The award turned Yang Yi into an overnight media sensation. Both the Japanese and Chinese press were eager to explore what kind of a Chinese migrant could receive such a prestigious and honorable award and they wanted to know what her works were about.

Yang Yi was born in 1964 in Heilongjiang Province, mainland China and came to Japan in 1987 as an undergraduate. She first worked for a Chinese newspaper in Japan, and later taught the Chinese language as a part-time lecturer at universities and other institutions. She married a Japanese and had two children, however, the couple later divorced. Thereafter, life became more difficult for the single mother of two children. Nevertheless, in 2007, Yang Yi began to write novels in her spare time. The award immediately and dramatically changed her life. Due to her achievement, a famous Japanese university offered her a position as a visiting professor, and many universities invited her to lecture.

Yang Yi's novels depict a literary world of overseas Chinese in Japan. *Wan-chan* tells the story of a Chinese girl who came to Japan in the 1980s by marrying a Japanese, and later became employed in the business of international marriage between Chinese women and Japanese men. *Tokiga nijimu asa* portrays two young Chinese men, Liao and Xie, who were classmates and roommates in college. Liao married a girl who was the daughter of a Japanese orphan then

⁷⁷ Wang, *Transpacific Articulations*.

⁷⁸ The translation is based on <http://www.booksfromjapan.jp/publications/item/308-a-morning-when-time-bleeds>, accessed September 2, 2017.

worked in Japan. After winning the award, Yang Yi published a sequel, *Kingyo seikatsu (Life with Goldfish)* in 2009, which expressed the loneliness of a Chinese mother who came to Japan to take care of her daughter and newborn grandson. *Ro shojo (Old Virgin)* is another book about a Chinese female in her forties who taught Chinese at a Japanese university but questioned her choice to live in Japan, comparing herself to a classmate who had returned to China and lived a more successful life.

The life paths and experiences of migrants in Japan, the bitterness and sweetness of their inner world, the exotic elements portrayed in Yang Yi's novels (Chinese vocabulary, Chinese poems, festivals), have appealed to Japanese readers. By reading these books, they have gained a deeper understanding of the increasing number of migrants in contemporary Japanese society. When she was awarded the 139th Akutagawa Prize, the award committee explained: "Yang depicts something only people who [have] crossed borders could notice." The migrant theme has also injected vitality into Japanese literature.⁷⁹

There were more academic writers in this study. Mao Danqing, a professor at Kobe International University, was born in 1962 in Beijing. He once worked as an assistant researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, but later traveled to Japan as a student at Mie University. After graduation, he worked in various business sectors then started writing, and later joined a Japanese university. Compared with Yang Yi, Mao Danqing's novels and essays, (e.g., *Travel Note of a Japan Worm*, 2001) expresses his perceptions of and experiences in Japan, targeting both Japanese and Chinese audiences. He has also written Chinese language textbooks

⁷⁹ For interviews of Yang Yi, see <http://www.nbweekly.com/news/people/200810/8074.aspx>
<http://www.dongyangjing.com/displ.cgi?zno=10090&&kno=001&&no=0001>
<http://www.nfcmag.com/article/1472.html> Accessed September 2, 2017

for Japanese students and Japanese language textbooks for Chinese students.⁸⁰ In addition, he founded the magazines *To know Japan (zhiRi)* and *In Japan (zai Riben)*, which disseminate knowledge between China and Japan. Another academic writer, Jiang Pu, was born in 1949 and graduated from Keio University in 1992. She was a lecturer at Kyolin University but also a writer, publishing the Chinese novel *Green Sun in Tokyo* (1998). This book tells the story of Chinese Ph.D. students at a Tokyo university during the early 1990s. Another migrant professor, Cong Xiaorong from Iwaki Meisei University, was born in 1954, graduated from the Japanese Department of Beijing Normal University and later worked in the research institute of foreign economic studies. He came to Japan in 1985 where he received a doctorate from Chuo University. His works include *Studying in Tokyo*, *History of China's Five Thousand Years*, and *Zeng Guofan*, which targets Japanese audiences interested in China-related knowledge.⁸¹

The works of the Chinese migrant writers have reached both Japanese and Chinese audiences. Those who have written in Chinese have mainly shared their experiences and observations of Japanese society with Chinese readers. Those who have written in Japanese have presented China related themes to Japanese readers.⁸²

Overall, many of the scholars interested in conducting research on or writing about migrants in Japan were academic migrants themselves. Their personal experiences motivated them to explore this topic. Their work has provided knowledge to help Japanese people understand “the other” in Japanese society. Conversely, it has conveyed the writers’ understanding of Japan to

⁸⁰ “Academic Staff: Mao Danqing,” Kobe International University, accessed May 7, 2018, http://www.kobe-kiu.ac.jp/staff_info/index.php?c=teacher_view2&pk=1492397038#education.

⁸¹ For profile of Cong Xiaorong, see Fuji, 325-329.

Iwaki Meisei University, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://www.iwakimu.ac.jp/releases/detail---id-301.html>
Shinchosha, accessed May 7, 2018, <http://www.shinchosha.co.jp/writer/4588/>

⁸² Surely, if one’s work produced influence, it might be translated into Chinese or Japanese or other languages, reaching a larger readership.

Chinese audiences.

Working on China-related topics

Since the 1980s, working on topics related to China has become another prominent theme among these academics regardless of their discipline. For example, as Table 3.3 shows, history academics have specialized in Chinese history and the history of interactions and relations between China and Japan, and economics scholars have tended to focus on corporate policy and management in the Chinese context.

In addition to the 63 academics in this study, there have been other academics to whom this applies. Xu Weidong, an associate professor at Osaka University, researched the Chinese and Asian economies.⁸³ Tang Yanxia, a professor at Aichi University, conducted research and taught courses on Chinese society.⁸⁴ Tang Liang, a professor at Waseda University, studied and taught courses on Chinese and international politics.⁸⁵ Sun Junyue, a lecturer at the University of Tokyo, studied translations of Japanese literature in China.⁸⁶

Interestingly, the “China element” represented a shift from these scholars’ interest in Japan prior to coming to Japan. As discussed in Chapter Two, many of the migrant academics studied the Japanese language or related topics when they were undergraduates in China. After arriving in Japan, training in Japan and working at Japanese universities, they gradually changed their focus from Japan to China.

⁸³ For the profile of Xu Weidong, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://www.dma.jim.osaka-u.ac.jp/view?l=ja&u=2128>.

⁸⁴ For the profile of Tang Yanxia, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://www2.aichi-u.ac.jp/education/teacher/detail05>.

⁸⁵ For the profile of Tang Liang, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://researchers.waseda.jp/profile/ja.e1699f58570ed6239b36fc9884c57991.html>.

⁸⁶ For the profile of Sun Junyue, accessed May 7, 2018,

<http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/teacher/database/273.html?phpMyAdmin=c53873f5a43613de1640d5512da37328&phpMyAdmin=oNfe8iIKovE07NDvuySfVA3WzB2>.

The geographic proximity of China and Japan, the long history of exchange and fluctuating binary relations, have made China-Japan studies a controversial area and a hot topic, attracting scholars from a range of fields. Accordingly, some scholars have conducted their research from a comparative or cultural interaction perspective.

In brief, amid the need for China related knowledge in Japanese society, Chinese academics have highlighted their distinctiveness as ethnic academics by weaving China into their scholarship. Adding a China element to their research has been important. In so doing, the sense of “otherness” has not been negative, but rather, has provided these scholars with an opportunity to advance their careers.

Teaching Chinese language in Japan

Chinese migrant academics in Japan have not only conducted research on China-related topics; they have also taught the Chinese language since the 1980s. For most Chinese academics in the social sciences and humanities, teaching the Chinese language in Japan has been part of their academic responsibilities at Japanese universities, regardless of their specific research areas (history, sociology, literature, linguistic, politics, economics, education).

This phenomenon deserves attention. In general, teaching Chinese has been the work of those who have specialized in linguistics or teaching Chinese as a second language. Many Japanese universities, however, have asked their Chinese academics to undertake the role of language instructor. Accordingly, we must ask: how have Chinese academics perceived this extra task, and in what ways has language instruction shaped their academic identity?

To further analyze this phenomenon, in this study Chinese migrant academics have been classified into three groups: (1) those who have graduated from Japanese universities and have

become full-time staff conducting research in their specific areas, but who also teach Chinese; (2) Chinese migrant academics who have graduated from Japanese universities but have been hired as part-time employees whose sole responsibility is teaching the Chinese language; and (3) Chinese migrant academics trained in the West who have been exempted from language teaching. There have been significant differences among the people in these three groups in terms of their employment, job responsibilities, salaries, and career prospects.

Many academics in this study performed two tasks: academic research in their respective field and language teaching. These academics enjoyed long-term careers at their universities. For instance, Zhang Yang was based at Hokkaido University and specialized in comparative education with a focus on China and Japan. She taught courses on Chinese language and education.⁸⁷ Zhang Yuling specialized in migration, but she also taught courses on the Chinese language.

How did they feel about the tasks that the universities assigned to them? Some said Chinese language teaching was related to their research, because in traditional oriental studies the Chinese language was an important subject. However, many admitted that language teaching was time-consuming, leaving them insufficient time to teach in their specialty, conduct research, or perform administrative work.⁸⁸ Despite their complaints, they said they had no other choice.

For some Chinese migrant academics, teaching Chinese was the only option they had if they hoped to work at a Japanese university. If no university positions were open in their field of research, only a language teaching position might have been available. Therefore, they had to compromise: teach Chinese while continuing their own research. For example, Yu Xiaofei

⁸⁷ For the profile of Zhang Yang, accessed May 6, 2018, https://www.edu.hokudai.ac.jp/graduate_school/profile/%E5%BC%B5%E3%80%80%E6%8F%9A/.

⁸⁸ Interview on June 26, 2015, Osaka.

graduated from Qiba University in cultural anthropology, conducting research on ethnic minorities. An example of his work is *Comparative Study on the Hezhe and Ainu* (2009). Yu was a professor at Nihon University, but only taught Chinese language courses.⁸⁹ Guo Wei was a lecturer at Hokkaido University who specialized in Law, but he also taught only Chinese.⁹⁰

Alternatively, many of the Chinese migrant academics were hired as part-time lecturers and had difficulty securing tenured university positions. Most had to work for several universities. They had no administrative duties, and did not enjoy the benefits afforded tenured staff. This situation was, however, not specific to Chinese language teachers in Japan; many English language instructors also found themselves in similar situations. Given the unfavorable terms of their contracts, why did they take up this kind of job in the first place? Geng Chen, one of the informants in this study, explained that many part-time lecturers were women. They claimed that working part time allowed them to strike a balance between job and family.⁹¹ Apparently, both they and their universities considered part-time positions to be mutually beneficial to the parties involved. However, the irony for these Chinese language teachers was that regardless of how many years they taught, they would always be language instructors with no upward prospects for their career development.

Generally, Japanese universities have not required Western-trained Chinese academics to teach the Chinese language. This has been reflected in the way in which Japanese universities, and Japanese society in general, have identified Chinese academics. Those lacking Western training have been thought of as “Chinese,” whereas Western-educated Chinese have been

⁸⁹ For profile of Yu Xiaofei, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://kenkyu-web.cin.nihon-u.ac.jp/Profiles/31/0003027/profile.html>.

⁹⁰ For profile of Guo Wei, accessed May 6, 2018, <https://researchers.general.hokudai.ac.jp/profile/ja.DO9WmIrc.alcNmL7C5NQMA==.html#Syllabus1>.

⁹¹ Interview on July 1, 2015.

regarded as “international.” In this study, the latter remarked they were lucky to have been exempted from language teaching. They considered themselves to be different from their colleagues and they often stressed their transnational identity in their work, for instance, teaching and publishing papers in English.

To sum up, Chinese language teaching has been part of the duties of Japan trained Chinese migrant academics in the humanities and social sciences. Regardless of what their research specialization has been, they have been expected to contribute to their university through their language-teaching activities.

The ethnicity paradox of migrant academic faculty at Japanese universities

Drawing on the experiences of migrant academics in Japan, this part analyzes the ethnicity paradox related to their cultural citizenship practices in the workplace.

Ethnicity for Chinese migrant academics in Japan has been a paradox. On the one hand, it has added to the competitiveness of migrant academics wanting to join Japanese universities and advance their careers. The use of ethnic cultural capital in knowledge production has been the outcome of negotiations with the nation-state and the market.

Japanese universities’ internationalization initiatives have prompted the employment of “foreign” academic staff. The diverse ethnic cultural backgrounds of the migrant academics have greatly appealed to the universities. However, Japanese universities have expected migrant academics to contribute to their institutions in ways that are different from their Japanese colleagues. Specifically, although migrant academics have been competitive in terms of their respective language, culture, history or education, the market needs of Japanese society have also

impacted university practices. The result has been more vacant positions in language teaching, but fewer openings in teaching general knowledge. Under these circumstances, migrant academics have had to take up extracurricular activities if they aspired to work for Japanese universities.

The migrant academics have also sensed the needs of their host society. Internally, they have admitted that their ethnic background has been an advantage, allowing them to establish themselves in Japan. Therefore, they have not resisted the expectations imposed on them. Rather, they have used their ethnicity to advance their careers.

In this study, there were abundant cases supporting this point. Chinese migrant academics' working on China-related topics was a practical strategy. It was easier to be recognized for studying China than studying Japan. Some scholars also understood how ethnic background helped migrant academics make a living in Japanese academia, saying: "This is their advantage that they definitely would not abandon."⁹² Professor Bing Wu explained this choice, noting, "If you are doing research on Japan, you are competing with huge numbers of Japanese scholars in their land. You need to work twice or three times as hard to match or surpass them. Working on China is different."⁹³

The profiles of the migrant academics in Japan revealed that not only Chinese migrant academics, but also migrant academics from other countries made use of or were expected to use their ethnic resources. For example, Korean migrant academic Kim Sungwan, associate professor

⁹² Liao Chiyang, "Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian [Transnational Practice and Ideas of Contemporary Organization of Ethnic Chinese Intellectuals: A Case Study of the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan]," *Huaren yanjiu guoji xuebao* 4, no.2 (2012): 1-30.

⁹³ Interview on July 4, 2015, Osaka.

at the University of Tokyo, studied Korean related topics in Japan.⁹⁴ Indian migrant academic Pallavi K. Bhatte, who graduated from Kyoto University in 2014, was a lecturer in Japan-India relations at Kyoto University.⁹⁵ Utilizing ethnic resources was therefore an outcome of negotiations between migrant academics and their Japanese contacts.

Ethnicity however also had adverse effects for the migrant academics. Migrant status and ethnic stereotyping as “foreigners,” could create a rice-paper ceiling for upward career mobility. Internally, some migrant academics in this study conveyed paradoxical feelings. Foreign language teaching exemplified this paradox. Migrant academics were expected to play the role of language instructors, but also be the “bearers of foreign knowledge,” providing their students with a broader understanding of a foreign culture and “talking about their home country and themselves.”⁹⁶ As a result, the Japanese always perceived them as foreigners. Ms. Gui Mao shared her experience: “Even though I am naturalized, my Japanese students still think that I am a teacher from China.”⁹⁷

Non-Chinese migrant academics were in a similar situation. Brian J. McVeigh, who taught in Japan for many years, said that foreign language teachers in Japan were “often hired for their ‘foreignness’ and are expected to somehow ‘internationalize’ the university and its students.” They were perceived as representing an “idealized and stereotypical ‘foreign’ culture.”⁹⁸ An English language teacher also recalled her job interview with a Japanese university in which her prospective employer expected to “act American.”⁹⁹

⁹⁴ For the profile of Kim Sungwan, accessed May 7, 2018, http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/assets/files/teacher/KIM_Sung-won.pdf.

⁹⁵ For profile of Pallavi K. Bhatte, accessed May 6, 2018, https://www.h.kyoto-u.ac.jp/academic_f/faculty_f/241_bhatte_p_0/.

⁹⁶ McVeigh, *Japanese Higher Education as Myth*, 168-169.

⁹⁷ Interview on June 22, 2016, Tokyo.

⁹⁸ Craig and Wright, “Perspectives from Within,” 28-45.

⁹⁹ Andrea Simon-Maeda, “The Complex Construction of Professional Identities: Female EFL Educators in Japan Speak out,”

Ethnicity also produced some barriers for the migrant academics' daily university life. Dr. Gracia Liu-Farrer, a Western-trained Chinese migrant academic in Japan related her "experience and feeling of marginalization and otherness."¹⁰⁰ She said she needed to negotiate with her employer on her title and the form of her employment because she was among the first academics to be hired for a tenure-track position. She also explained how her limited Japanese language skills prevented her from assuming administrative duties or taking part in faculty meetings during the first several years of her employment. In addition, her "teaching performance in courses instructed in Japanese" was used as a criterion and posed a challenge for her to secure a tenured position, even though she was recruited based on Japan's determination to hire academics who could teach in English. Liu-Farrer also shares her experience of using cultural tools to overcome limitations in the workplace. At faculty meetings, she chose to speak in English when she felt unable to fully express herself in Japanese. In addition, she attended a hearing and complained about the tenure-track system of Japanese universities. This is how she negotiated with the institution and initiated changes.¹⁰¹

The migrant academics in this study, as members of Japanese universities, always faced such identity dilemmas. However, identity was not singular or static, but multiple and fluid. Adam Komisarof,¹⁰² an American migrant academic at Reitaku University (2006-2016) and Keio University (2016-present) in Japan, reflected on his four identities in the Japanese workplace: "marginalized outsider," "alien," "assimilated member," and "integrated member." When he

TESOL Quarterly, no. 3 (2004): 405.

¹⁰⁰ Gracia Liu-Farrer, "From Outside In: Cultural Practices and Organizational Life of a Chinese Immigrant in Japan," in *Crossing Boundaries and Weaving Intercultural Work, Life, and Scholarship in Globalizing Universities*, ed. Adam Komisarof, and Zhu Hua, 53-66, (New York: Routledge, 2015).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² After graduating from Brown University, he first arrived in Japan in 1990 through an official Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, as an assistant language teacher. The two years' experience in Japan gave him the feeling of being an outsider and during his postgraduate years motivated him to explore more about the membership of foreigners in Japan's workplace.

planned a sabbatical after completing his two-year term on the Dean's committee, he was asked by his leader to do a third year or risk losing his job. Although he insisted on the sabbatical and still kept his seat, this experience gave him a "marginalized outsider" feeling. In another meeting, during which academics who were eligible to open senior seminars were listed, he sensed that his nationality had become a key factor in his Japanese colleagues' minds, which made him feel "alien." However, while attending an open campus event, his "foreign appearance" and "Japanese cultural and linguistic competencies" won the respect of both the prospective student visitors and his colleagues, making him feel like an "assimilated member." Similarly, in undertaking tasks in which an English educational background and language skills were required, he felt like an "integrated member." This is an example of how complex and fluid identities manifested in one individual, and how he tried to gain acceptance from the Japanese and break the rice-paper ceiling by adopting Japanese norms.¹⁰³

The use of ethnic capital in the migrant academics' knowledge production practices became an outcome of the negotiations between the needs of the society and the workplace in Japan. It added to the migrant academics' competitive power within the occupational niche of the Japanese universities, but it could also bring about feelings of being marginalized. In response, many of the migrant academics in this study developed multiple strategic and fluid identities as opposed to singular and fixed ones.

¹⁰³ Adam Komisarof, "Organizational Membership Negotiated, Denied, and Gained: Breaking the Rice-paper Ceiling in Japan," in *Crossing Boundaries and Weaving Intercultural Work, Life, and Scholarship in Globalizing Universities*, 23-38.

Conclusion

This chapter investigated the relationship between Chinese migrant academics and Japanese universities. It first contextualized the employment of migrant academics during Japanese universities' internationalization endeavors in the post-1980 era. Examining the national higher education reform schemes and universities' action plans and employment practices, it found that some of major indicators used to evaluate the level of internationalization by the Japanese government and Japanese universities included: the ratio of foreign academics (the term used by Japanese universities, to refer to non-Japanese nationality academics); the ratio of international students and the proficiency of foreign languages by the university students; and the number of English-only degree programs. Such indicators overlapped the world university ranking indicators to some extent, namely the ratio of international students and faculty. Therefore, employing "foreign academic staff" became part of the way Japanese universities enhanced their internationalization levels.

The employment of Chinese migrant academics, both Japan-trained and Western-trained, was in furtherance of Japanese universities' internationalization goals. Moreover, the close relations between China and Japan (economic, social, cultural, educational, etc.) and the rise of China expanded the need to understand China, learn the Chinese language, and attract Chinese students to Japan. To some extent, the Chinese migrant academics fulfilled these objectives. However, with the advance of English taught programs at Japanese universities, Chinese migrant academics with Western educational backgrounds became favored because they could teach China related knowledge or cross-cultural knowledge in English. All of these contexts created an occupational niche in Japanese universities for Chinese migrant academics to occupy, because they were more competitive in this niche than their Japanese or (non-Chinese) Western

counterparts.

Ethnicity not only acted as a factor in employment, but also became a feature of Chinese migrant academics' knowledge production practices, especially for those in the humanities and social sciences. These individuals realized the importance of their ethnic capital and wove it into their academic activities. They produced some distinct knowledge outputs, mainly by conducting research on and writing fiction about the Chinese community in Japan, teaching the Chinese language, and working on China-related topics.

Reliance on ethnic resources was a subjective practical strategy that migrant academics used to become competitive in the workplace. It was also a response to nation-state policies and the market needs of Japan. Chinese migrant academics benefitted from disseminating Chinese knowledge, creating international working environments, and building a multicultural society. As a result, the ethnic capital helped them advance their careers. Alternatively, it led them to become stereotyped by the Japanese universities as Chinese migrants, which created barriers for their upward mobility in the workplace.

CHAPTER FOUR: TRANSNATIONAL PUBLIC ACADEMICS:

CHANGING VOLUNTARY CHINESE MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS IN JAPAN

Chinese migrant associations (*shetuan*)¹ have blossomed worldwide and have functioned as a pillar of Chinese migrant communities. However, the existing literature² has mostly focused on the traditional associations in Southeast Asia and North America.³ Few studies have compared the traditional with the new associations, or examined the development of associations through the historical stages of Chinese migration and social transformation.⁴ The development of

¹ Association/organization in Chinese and Japanese share the same vocabulary. See Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). There has been no firm definition, but scholars have summarized some main points in defining it, such as, “non-government,” “non-profit” and “voluntary.” See Zhuang Guotu et al., *Jin sanshi nian lai Dongya huaren shetuan de xin bianhua* [The Changes of Ethnic Chinese Associations in East Asia since the Last 30 Years] (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2010). Liu Hong, “Old Linkages, New Networks: The Globalization of Overseas Chinese Voluntary Associations and Its Implications,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 155 (1998): 582-609.

² For general discussions of Chinese migrant voluntary associations, see Li Minghuan, *Dangdai haiwai huaren shetuan yanjiu* [A Study on Contemporary Overseas Chinese Associations] (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1995). Fang Xiongpu, and Xu Zhenli ed., *Tracing the Overseas Associations* [Haiwai qiaotuan xunzong] (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubanshe, 1995). Liu Hong ed. *The Chinese Overseas* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006). Zhuang, *Jin sanshinian lai Dongya huaren shetuan de xin bianhua*. For a comparative study of migrant associations, see Fernández-Kelly, María Patricia, Portes Alejandro et al., *The State and the Grassroots: Immigrant Transnational Organizations in Four Continents* (New York: Berghahn, 2015).

³ For classic studies on traditional types of associations, see Maurice Freedman, “Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, no. 1 (1960): 25-48. Lawrence W. Crissman, “The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities,” *Man*, 2, no. 2 (1967): 185-204. Richard H. Thompson, “From Kinship to Class: A New Model of Urban Overseas Chinese Social Organization,” *Urban Anthropology*, no. 3 (1980): 265-293. Edgar Wickberg, “Overseas Chinese Adaptive Organizations, Past and Present.” In *Reluctant Exiles: Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*, ed. Ronald Skeldon (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 68-84.

⁴ For the few studies that have paid attention to the changing characteristics in the associations in recent decades, or have compared traditional ones and new ones, see Liu, “Old Linkages, New Networks,” 582-609. Zhou Min and Rebecca Kim, “Formation, Consolidation, and Diversification of the Ethnic Elite: The Case of the Chinese Immigrant Community in the United States,” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 2, no. 2 (June 2001): 227-247. Peter H. Koehn, and Yin Xiao-huang, *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in U.S.-China Relations: Transnational Networks and Trans-Pacific Interactions* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002). Anne-Christine Trémon, “From ‘Voluntary’ to ‘Truly Voluntary’ Associations: The Structure of the Chinese Community in French Polynesia, 1865-2005,” *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 3, no. 1 (2007): 1-33. Els van Dongen, “Entangled Loyalties: Qiaopi, Chinese Community Structures, and the State in Southeast Asia,” in *The Qiaopi Trade and Transnational Networks in the Chinese Diaspora*, ed. Gregor Benton, Liu, Hong and Zhang Huimei (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Chinese migrant associations in Japan, the features of the new associations in recent decades, and the role Chinese migrant academics have played in these associations have yet to be thoroughly researched.⁵

This chapter delves into public academics⁶ in voluntary Chinese migrant associations in Japan through the lens of their organizational cultural citizenship (defined below). An historical overview of Chinese migrant associations in Japan is first provided to show that over time these communities have experienced considerable change in type, configuration and function. Thereafter, the associations are examined over the past four decades and their features are compared with traditional associations. As the overseas Chinese communities in Japan have developed, there has been a rapid augmentation of professional associations and a growing presence of public academics within these associations. In addition, the functions of Chinese migrant academics within these associations, especially the public academics, have evolved from serving the adaptive needs of the associations' members to promoting transnational interactions between China and Japan involving culture, society, and education.

In recent studies of citizenship and migration, as discussed in Chapter One, some scholars have challenged the established definition of citizenship (i.e., legal membership of a nation-state). They have suggested that citizenship can also consist of membership in a formal or informal group.⁷ Drawing on the experiences of Chinese migrant public academics in Japan, in this

⁵ Several scholars have paid attention to Chinese migrant associations in Japan, but these studies have mostly been case studies written in Chinese or Japanese. For example, Liao, "Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian," 1-30. Yang Wenkai, "Ribei xinhuaqiao huaren hui: xinyimin shetuan de zhenghe yu riben huaqiao huaren shehui de qianzhan [New Overseas Chinese Association in Japan]," in *Kuayue jiangjie*, 205-219. Liao Chiyang, "Ribei Zhonghua zongshanghui: Yi xinhuaqiao wei zhuti de kuaguo jingji tuanti [Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Japan: A Transnational Economic Organization Composed Mainly of New Immigrants]," in *Kuayue jiangjie*, 220-257.

⁶ Public academics are those who work on research projects or teach at universities or both, but who also participate in organizational activities within the public sphere.

⁷ Sian, *The Anthropology of Citizenship*. Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*.

chapter the author argues that the emergence of Chinese professional associations can be viewed as their members' quest for cultural citizenship within the space of the associations. To them, the associations are "symbolic stages"⁸ within which they seek "visibility."⁹ Their aim is to enhance their status in both China and Japan.

In the past, the nation-state has been entangled with the transnational space of voluntary associations. The relationship between the state and the associations has been mutually beneficial. To enhance their status and expand their influence, the associations have networked with both Chinese and Japanese official institutions. Concurrently, the governments have made use of rather than governed these professional associations organized by highly skilled professionals.¹⁰ In other words, the governments, especially the Chinese government, have acted as players in the transnational space of the associations. The main purpose has been to acquire overseas knowledge, enlist talent and facilitate the governments' overseas affairs.

Focusing on the less researched new voluntary associations in Japan by taking an historical perspective, this chapter illuminates the features of the new voluntary associations and compares them with traditional associations. It also explores how these academics have sought cultural citizenship within the space of voluntary associations, and how practicing cultural citizenship within these organizations has played a role in transnational interactions between China and Japan.

⁸ Some scholars have pointed out that associations have been a "symbolic stage" for the established migrants (merchants and entrepreneurs). They have used organizational activities to seek "symbolic capital." See Liu, "Old Linkages, New Networks," 591. Zhou and Lee, "Traversing Ancestral and New Homelands, Chinese Immigrants Transnational Organizations in the United States," 50-51.

⁹ "Visibility" has different meanings. Some scholars have claimed that the discrimination experienced by migrants partly resulted from their visibility in the host society; in response, associations provided shelter for the migrants. Wickberg, "Overseas Chinese Adaptive Organizations," 68-84. In contrast, some scholars have found that established and highly skilled migrants have sought "global visibility" through organizational activities. Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*, 158-184.

¹⁰ Some scholars have used "transnational governance" to explain the role of the nation-state in overseas Chinese affairs. Liu Hong, and Els van Dongen, "China's Diaspora Policies as a New Mode of Transnational Governance," *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 102 (November 2016): 805-821.

Historical stages of traditional Chinese migrant associations in Japan

Chinese migration to Japan has taken place in several stages: prior to 1896, from 1896 to 1945, from 1945 to 1978, and from 1978 to the present. Social transformation and changes in the migrant population have affected the type, configuration and function of the migrant associations.

Chinese migrant associations in Japan have also varied in type: clans (*zongqinhui*), hometown/district associations (*huiguan*, *tongxianghui*), trade associations (*shanghui*), alumni associations (*tongxuehui*, or *xiaoyouhui*), professional associations (*zhuan ye shetuan*), and federations (*lianhe hui/zonghui*).

Table 4.1 Some of the main Chinese associations in Japan before the 1990s¹¹

No.	Year	English Name	Chinese Name
1	1868	Bamin Guild Hall	Bamin huiguan
2	1902	Chinese Youth Association	Zhongguo qingnianhui
	1907	Nagasaki Chinese Chamber of Commerce	Changqi zhonghua zongshanghui
3	1909	Kobe Chinese Chamber of Commerce	Shenhu zhonghua zongshanghui

¹¹ List compiled by and translated into English by the author. These associations were mentioned in the source book Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, ed., *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi* [The History of Movement of Overseas Chinese and Chinese Students in Japan] (Kawaguchi: Nihonkyōhōsha, 2004). This list is partial, given that this chapter only focuses on the main associations and does not list similar ones. For example, in addition to the Federation of Overseas Chinese in Japan, there are dozens of locally based federations, such as the Kyoto Overseas Chinese Federation, Nagoya Overseas Chinese Federation and so on. For a list of such overseas Chinese associations in Japan, see Fang and Xu, *Haiwai qiaotuan xunzong*, 474-482. There were also organizations founded by migrants from Taiwan. For example, the Taiwan Student Alliance (Taiwan xuesheng lianmeng) was founded in 1945. This association merged with the Tokyo Student Association (Dongjing tongxue hui) in 1946 to become the Overseas Chinese Student Federation (LiuRi tongxue zonghui). The Taiwan Hometown Association (Taiwan tongxiang hui) was created in 1945 to help Taiwanese migrants cope with life issues in Japan, make contact with their hometown, and return to Taiwan.

	1909	Yokohama Chinese Chamber of Commerce	Hengbin zhonghua zongshanghui
4	1915	All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals	Zhongguo liuRi tongxue zonghui
5	1940	Tokyo Chinese Cuisine Association	Dongjing zhonghua liaoli tongyehui
6	1945	Taiwan Student Alliance	Taiwan xuesheng lianmeng
7	1946	Tokyo Chinese Alumni	Dongjing tongxuehui
8	1946	Taiwan Hometown Association	Taiwan tongxianghui
9	1946	Tokyo Overseas Chinese Federation	Dongjing huaqiao lianhehui
10	1946	Overseas Chinese Federation in Japan	LiuRi huaqiao zonghui
11	1947	Chinese Alumni Association in Chuo University	Zhongyang daxue huayouhui
12	1947	Chinese Drama Research Society	Zhongguo yanju yanjiuhui
13	1949	Chinese Industrial Technology Society	Zhongguo gongye jishu yanjiuhui
14	1950	Overseas Chinese Association for Democracy Promotion	Huaqiao minzhu cujinhui
15	1950	Social Sciences Research Society by Overseas Chinese Students in Japan	Zhongguo liuri xuesheng shehui kexue yanjiuhui
16	1954	Chinese Alumni Association in Waseda University	Zaodaotian daxue zhonghua xiaoyouhui
17	1956	Overseas Chinese Youth Friendship Association in Japan	LvRi huaqiao qingnian lianhehui
18	1957	Fujian Youth Association	Fujian qingnianhui
19	1959	Overseas Chinese Youth Friendship Association Tokyo	Dongjing huaqiao qingnian lianyihui
20	1969	Assembly of Representatives of Overseas Chinese in Japan	Liuri huaqiao daibiao huiyi

As Table 4.1 shows, the most noteworthy Chinese organizations in Japan have been the trade organizations, the student/youth associations and the federations (overarching associations). The following section highlights the major associations, analyzing the backgrounds in which they emerged, their leaders, and their major functions.

Before the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Chinese in Japan primarily comprised small groups of maritime traders and artisans. After the “Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty” was signed in 1871, trading relations between the two countries entered a new stage. With more Chinese merchants arriving in Japan, numerous Chinese organizations emerged in the port areas of Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama, and Hakodate.¹²

During this time, the main type of Chinese organization in Japan was the trade association, because traders were the dominant migrant group. Given that many of the traders came from Fujian, Guangdong and some other coastal areas of China, these trade associations were also organized based on locality. The function of the district based trade association was to provide a venue for traders coming from the same place in China to conduct business and other activities related to their hometowns. The Fujian merchants trading in Nagasaki, for example, founded an association known as the Bamin Guild Hall (Bamin huiguan)¹³ in 1868. It provided a vehicle through which Fujian merchants could hold events (e.g., business agenda, worship ceremonies and get-togethers).

Later, in 1907, under the direction of the Qing government, the Nagasaki Chinese Chamber of Commerce was founded and in 1909 the Kobe Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Yokohama

¹² For some business and district associations, see Cui Chen, “Ribei huaren huaqiao jingji he shangyexing shetuan zuzhi [Overseas Chinese Economy and Business Associations],” in *Jin sanshinian lai Dongya huaren shetuan de xin bianhua*, 293-313. Friman, “Evading the Divine Wind through the Side Door,” 9-34.

¹³ Bamin refers to the eight prefectures of Fujian: Fuzhou, Xinghua, Jianning, Yanping, Tingzhou, Shaowu, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou.

Chinese Chamber of Commerce were established.¹⁴ These became the umbrella associations for guild and businesses associations, reflecting the Qing government's intention to manage its overseas population and business. In addition to the organizing efforts of the Qing officials, these Chinese Chambers of Commerce oversaw three merchant groups, from Fujian, Guangdong, and Sanjiang (i.e., Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi) Provinces.¹⁵ Although business organizations existed in Japan, they had not become as prominent as their counterparts in Southeast Asia and North America. However, a new intellectual group soon replaced the merchants and would become the main player on the stage of overseas Chinese in Japan over the coming decades.

From 1895 to 1945, Chinese students and intellectuals became the dominant group within the Chinese community in Japan, comprising a new group of Chinese in Japanese society. Their ambition was to save and strengthen China by learning from Japan. In particular, they wanted to learn how Japan had managed to absorb Western knowledge and technology to achieve modernization. It is estimated that from 1895 to 1905 there were as many as 15,000 Chinese students in Japan.

Some of the students became political activists and radicals and set up student organizations. Unlike the merchant organizations, the student organizations aimed to enlist overseas Chinese support for the revolution back in China. They also encouraged Chinese students and intellectuals in Japan to actively participate in China's political affairs, with the purpose of creating a better future for China.¹⁶ In addition to these China-oriented student associations, there

¹⁴ Cui, "Ribei huaren huaqiao jingji he shangyexing shetuan zuzhi," 293-313.

¹⁵ For a study of Chinese Chambers of Commerce, see Zhuang Guotu, "Ershi shiji chu haiwai zhonghua zongshanghui de sheli [The Establishment of the Overseas Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the Early 20th Century]," in *Jin sanshinian lai Dongya huaren shetuan de xin bianhua*, 44-54.

¹⁶ Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change*, 210.

were also student associations whose major purpose was to defend overseas Chinese in Japan.¹⁷ One such example was the “All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals.” It was established in 1915 by revolutionary Li Dazhao, a co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party, who was studying at Waseda University in Japan at that time. The same year, Japan imposed the Twenty-One Demands on China to advance its expansionism into China. Li Dazhao wrote a paper in the name of the association calling for Chinese people to resist the Japanese.¹⁸

In the 1930s and 1940s, when the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, many Chinese joined the war effort, interrupting the normal operations of the associations. After the War ended in 1945, the remaining overseas Chinese in Japan started to reorganize the associations. As discussed in Chapter One, from the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 until China opened its door to the world in 1978, migration from China to Japan virtually ceased. Japan joined the Western countries in isolating China. There were no diplomatic relations between China and Japan before 1972.

Against this backdrop, in 1946, the overarching association, the Overseas Chinese Federation in Japan (LiuRi huaqiao zonghui), was founded. It was to play a leading role in overseas Chinese communities in Japan for more than half a century. First, it fought for the survival and betterment of overseas Chinese in Japan. These Chinese had lived in unfavorable conditions after the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. The Japanese government was hostile to socialist China and treated the Chinese in Japan unfairly. Many suffered from food shortages. Because China and Japan had no diplomatic relations in the 1950s and 1960s, the federation

¹⁷ Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*.

¹⁸ All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals, accessed March 24, 2108, <http://www.obcs.jp/about-us/history/>.

acted as the representative of overseas Chinese in Japan, and asked the Japanese authorities to afford them equal treatment.¹⁹

Second, in the 1950s, this association helped many Chinese in Japan return to the motherland. This action was a direct response to the Chinese government's call to overseas Chinese to return to and "serve" China.²⁰ In the 1950s, the Japanese government imposed restrictions on travel between China and Japan. The federation persuaded the government to ease some of the restrictions, thereby facilitating reunions between the overseas Chinese in Japan and their relatives in China.²¹

Third, the association was instrumental in helping the Chinese government make unofficial contacts with Japan by dispatching delegations to Japan. During the 1950s, the federation organized committees to send four major Chinese delegations to Japan: the China Red Cross led by Li Dequan in 1954, the trade delegation led by Lei Renmin in 1955, the Academy of Sciences led by Guo Moruo in 1955, and the Peking Opera delegation led by Mei Lanfang in 1956.²²

Fourth, the Overseas Chinese Federation in Japan initiated the Assembly of Representatives of Overseas Chinese Federations in Japan (LiuRi huaqiao daibiao huiyi), which functioned for thirty years and contributed to both advancing the rights of overseas Chinese in Japan and the economic development of China.

¹⁹ Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*.

²⁰ For studies of *guiqiao* and China's policies towards *guiqiao*, see Stephen Fitzgerald, *China and the Overseas Chinese: A Study of Peking's Changing Policy, 1949-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Michael R. Godley, "The Sojourners: Returned Overseas Chinese in the People's Republic of China," *Pacific Affairs* 62, no. 3 (September 1989): 330-352; Glen Peterson, *Overseas Chinese in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

²¹ Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*.

²² Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*.

Table 4.2 Assembly of Representatives of Overseas Chinese in Japan (LiuRi huaqiao daibiao huiyi)²³

Time	Year	Theme
1st	1969	Opening meeting; to strengthen patriotic unity; to promote Sino-Japanese friendship
2nd	1969	Anti-“two bills (Immigration Control Bill, Foreigners’ School Bill)”; anti-Chiang Kai-shek
3rd	1970	Against the setting up of Chiang Kai-shek Pavilion at Osaka World Exposition; against Sato government’s hostility to China
4th	1971	Newspaper (Huaqiaobao); set up welcoming committee for Chinese ping-pong representatives
5th	1971	Celebrate the People’s Republic of China’s membership of the United Nations
6th	1972	Anti- “Immigration Control Bill”; anti “two-China”
7th	1972	Call for the normalization of China-Japan relations
8th	1973	Passport and visa status issues that were associated with the setting up of the Embassy of China in Japan
9th	1973	Letter of appeal to the overall Chinese
10th	1974	Send celebration delegation to China
11th	1975	Celebration of China’s 26th anniversary
12th	1976	To normalize the Yokohama and Kobe Overseas Chinese Association
13th	1977	To enlarge patriotic unity
14th	1978	Discussion of patriotic unity
15th	1979	To contribute to China’s Four modernizations
16th	1980	To improve China’s air industry and tourism

²³ This table is provided in Japanese in Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*, 667. Author’s translation.

17th	1983	Set up of admin office for Tokyo Overseas Chinese Association (Dongjing huaqiao zonghui)
18th	1984	To cultivate successors for overseas Chinese movements
19th	1985	New Nationality law and ask for repeal of anti-fingerprinting
20th	1986	Discussion of youth issues
21st	1987	Kyoto student house (<i>koka ryo</i>) incident
22nd	1988	Discussion of current situation and future directions of Overseas Chinese in Japan
23rd	1989	Discussion of future directions for this assembly
24th	1990	To unite naturalized Chinese (<i>Riji huaren</i>)
25th	1991	To improve the legal status of overseas Chinese
26th	1992	To promote the solidarity of overseas Chinese
27th	1993	To cope with the changes in overseas Chinese society
28th	1994	Discussion of issues faced by the overseas Chinese communities
29th	1996	To support China's basic education
30th	1997	To cooperate with new Chinese migrants (<i>xinhuaqiao huaren</i>)
31st	1998	Celebration of China's 50th anniversary
32nd	1999	Reorganization of this assembly, establishment of United Federation of Overseas Chinese in Japan (Liuri huaqiao lianhe zonghui)

As Table 4.2 shows, the agendas of the assembly mainly centered on the overseas Chinese society in Japan. “Immigration control” and the “Foreigners’ School Bill” in the 1960s and 1970s, and “fingerprinting” in the 1980s were implemented by the Japanese government to discriminate against migrants. For example, “immigration control” enforced repatriation of migrants living in Japan illegally. Many pre-war migrants and their children who had been residing in Japan were not given legal resident status. The assembly played a role in representing

overseas Chinese rights in Japan and voiced objections to these questionable laws (e.g., the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 19th times).

The Japanese government took discriminative measures against foreigners, such as the “Immigration Control Bill” and the “Foreigners’ School Bill,” in the 1960s and 1970s. The “Immigration Control Bill” aimed at enforcing the repatriation of illegal migrants in Japan. Many pre-war migrants and their children who resided in Japan did not have legal resident status. The “Foreigners’ School Bill” attempted to suppress ethnic (mainly Chinese and Korean) education in Japan. According to this bill, schools for foreigners had to seek the approval of the Ministry of Education. In addition, Japanese government officials could enter these schools, inspect their operation and teaching, or block them at any time.

From the 1980s, with the influx of new Chinese migrants and the increasing rate of naturalization among Chinese migrants, the overseas Chinese society experienced change. The Assembly held many seminars in the 1980s and 1990s to discuss these changes and to improve the solidarity of the overseas Chinese society (e.g., the 8th, 12th, 17th, 20th, 22nd -28th, 30th, and 32nd times).

In addition, the society was concerned with major events in China and Sino-Japanese relations, such as China’s establishment of an embassy in Japan, China’s membership of the United Nations (in the 1970s), the anniversary of PRC, and China’s economic development (e.g., the 1st, 4th, 5th, 7th, 10th, 11th, 15th, 16th, 29th, and 31st times). The Chinese association was concerned with issues involving overseas Chinese in Japan. These concerns were reflected in its meetings and actions. For example, the Chinese association convened meetings to discuss the main issues faced by overseas Chinese. Moreover, it attempted to address these issues. The Tokyo Overseas Chinese Association, for example, asked the Japanese government to examine the Foreigners’

School Bill with caution. It also appealed for help from all walks of life to express their opposition to the bill, which aimed at repressing Chinese education in Japan. Under pressure, the Japanese government eventually abandoned the legislation of the bill.

The relationship between the Republic of China in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China on the mainland also caused conflict within the Chinese community in Japan from the 1950s to the 1970s.²⁴ The Kyoto student house incident, for example, was a conflict in which students from the two sides contested the ownership of a student house (see the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 21st times).

Unlike the localization trend of Chinese overseas (*huaren*) in other regions, (e.g., Southeast Asia) during the same period,²⁵ the overseas Chinese in Japan exhibited a sojourning mentality (*huaqiao*) and a keen concern over China's social development.

In general, there have been three major types of Chinese associations in Japan: 1) merchant communities and their associations, based on the locations of their respective hometowns and on their specific trading activities after Japan opened its ports for maritime trade in the 17th century; 2) Student and youth associations established by Chinese students and intellectuals in Japan after 1896 whose aim was to enlist support for revolution in China; and 3) the overarching overseas Chinese associations in Japan established between World War II and 1978. Depending on the composition of their members and changing China-Japan relations, these three types of associations offered support to their members through different activities. Before China and

²⁴ For a discussion of the effect of the "two China" issue on overseas Chinese in Japan, see Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*; Liu and Tan, *Shinkakyō rōkakyō*.

²⁵ Liu Hong, "Introduction: Toward a Multidimensional Exploration of the Chinese Overseas," in *The Chinese Overseas*, ed. Liu Hong (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1-4.

Japan established formal diplomatic relations in 1972, the Federations of Overseas Chinese in Japan played an active role in promoting unofficial contacts between the two countries.²⁶

Diversification of new Chinese migrant organizations in Japan since the 1990s

Important developments in China-Japan relations took place in the 1970s. As discussed in Chapter One, China and Japan signed a “Joint Communiqué” to normalize their relations in 1972. In 1978, the two countries finally signed the “Treaty of Peace and Friendship,” after which diplomatic contacts formally began. In October of that year, the then vice-premier Deng Xiaoping visited Japan. The year 1978 was also when the Chinese government adopted its policy of “reform and opening up.” After that, Japanese officials visited China multiple times, the most notable of which was when the then Japanese Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi visited in December 1979. In addition, China began to modernize and Japan commenced its internationalization during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

These important developments resulted in a new wave of migrants from China to Japan. Some were highly skilled professionals. New migrants (*xin yimin*) began to replace the old migrants (*lao yimin*) to become leaders of and major participants in Chinese migrant associations. The Chinese migrant associations thus entered a new stage of development with diversity as its main feature.

Table 4.3 Main new overseas Chinese associations in Japan since the 1990s²⁷

²⁶ Nihon kakyō kajin kenkyūkai, *Nihon kakyō ryūgakusei undōshi*.

No.	Year	Name in English	Name in Chinese
1	1990	The Association of Hunan in Japan	Hunanhui
2	1992	Association of Chinese Students and Scholars in Japan	QuanRiben Zhongguo liuxue renyuan youhao lianyihui
3	1993	The Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan	ZaiRi Zhongguo kexue jishuzhe lianmeng
4	1993	Asia Construction Technology Promotion Organization	Yazhou jishu jianshe jiaoliuhui
5	1995	Nankai University Alumni Association of Japan	Nankai Riben xiaoyouhui
6	1995	Association of Chinese Alumni in Japan	Zhongguo liuRi tongxue zonghui
7	1995	Japan China Economic Development Center	RiZhong jingji fazhan zhongxin
8	1995	Life Science Association of Chinese in Japan	LiuRi zhongguoren shengming kexue xiehui
9	1996	Tianjin Association in Japan	ZaiRi Tianjin tongxianhui
10	1996	Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan	QuanRiben zhongguoren boshi xiehui
11	1998	Shanghai Jiao Tong University Alumni Association in Japan	Shanghai Jiaotong Daxue Riben xiaoyouhui
12	1998	All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals	Zhongguo liuRi tongxue zonghui
13	1999	Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Zhonghua zongshanghui

²⁷ Inventory compiled by author with sources from multiple channels: association websites, news reports (such as World Chinese Media, accessed January 24, 2018, <http://www.worldchinesemedia.com/ss/?action-viewnews-itemid-1144>), government nonprofit organization search (China-related Associations in Japan, accessed January 24, 2018, <https://spc.jst.go.jp/cdb/pages/home>.) The list is also partial. It does not list the entire Japanese locality based federations, Chinese based hometown associations, or university based alumni associations. According to the statistics of the Chinese language media in Japan, there are approximately two hundred associations. This is still only a portion, because associations based on place of origin in China, settlement district in Japan, and alma mater in China or Japan are numerous. Besides, small associations that may not have websites, written association missions or related reports are hard to count. Hence, this table mainly charts the relatively influential ones.

14	1999	Federation of Overseas Chinese in Japan	Riben huaqiao huaren lianhe zonghui
15	1999	Beijing Association in Japan	Riben Beijing tongxianghui
16	2000	Federation of China Lawyers in Japan	ZaiRi Zhongguo lvshi lianhehui
17	2003	Association of Chinese in Japan (in 2013, renamed as Federation of Chinese in Japan)	Riben xin huaqiao huaren hui(Renamed in 2013 as QuanRiben huaren huaqiao lianhehui)
18	2003	The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan	Riben huaren jiaoshou huiyi
19	2004	The Communicating Association of Chinese Women in Japan	ZaiRi huaren nvxing jiaoliuhui
20	2004	Chinese Association of Management Science in Japan	Riben huaren guanli kexue xuehui
21	2005	Research Center for China-Japan Exchange	RiZhong jiaoliu yanjiusuo
22	2005	Japan Chinese Society of Automotive Engineers	ZaiRi huaren qiche gongchengshi xiehui
23	2006	Zhejiang University Alumni Association in Japan	Riben Zhejiang Daxue xiaoyouhui
24	2006	China-Japan Volunteers Association	ZhongRi zhiyuanzhe xiehui
25	2007	Chinese Medical Association in Japan	ZaiRi zhongguoren yishi xiehui
26	2008	Overseas Chinese Federation of Literature and Art in Japan	Riben huaqiao huaren wenyiji lianhehui
27	2009	East Japan Chinese Teacher Association	DongRiben hanyu jiaoshi xiehui
28	2009	Overseas Chinese Association of Toyama	Fushanxian huaqiao huaren hui
29	2009	China-Japan Organization for High-tech Promotion	ZhongRi gaokeji cujin jigou
30	2009	Hunan Hui	Hunan hui
31	2010	Heilongjiang Association in Japan	ZaiRi Heilongjiangsheng tongxianghui

32	2010	Overseas Chinese Women Professionals Club	Riben huaren zhiye nvxing lianyihui
33	2010	Jilin University Alumni Association of Japan	Jilin Daxue Riben xiaoyouhui
34	2011	Fujian Economy and Culture Promotion Association in Japan	Riben Fujian jingji wenhua cujinhui
35	2012	Shanghai Association in Japan	Riben Shanghai ren tongxianghui
36	2013	Japan China Exchange Association	RiZhong jiaoliu hehuahui
37	2013	Chinese Ph.D. Association in Japan	LiuRi boshi zonghui
38	2013	Zhejiang Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Zhejiang zongshanghui
39	2013	Hunan Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Hunan zongshanghui
40	2013	Inner Mongolia University Alumni Association in Japan	Neimenggu Daxue Riben xiaoyouhui
41	2014	Asian Culture and Art Exchange Foundation	Yaxiya wenhua yishu jiaoliu jijinhui
42	2014	Hainan Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Hainan zongshanghui
43	2014	Jilin Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Jilin zongshanghui
44	2014	Tianjin Economic Development Promotion Association in Japan	Riben Tianji jingji fazhan cujinhui
45	2014	Changchun Association in Japan	ZaiRi Changchun tongxianghui
46	2014	Overseas Chinese Women Association in Japan	Riben huaqiao huaren funv lianhehui
47	2015	Yanzhao Association	Yanzhao hui
48	2015	China-Japan Youth Promotion Association	ZhongRi qingnian cujinhui
49	2015	Alliance for Global Youth Leadership Japan Community	Quanqiu qingnian lingdaoli lianmeng Riben shequ
50	2015	Chinese Overseas Association in Japan	QuanRiben huaren lianhehui

51	2015	Chuanyu Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Chuanyu zongshanghui
52	2015	Inner Mongolia Association in Japan	Riben Neimenggu tongxianghui
53	2015	Beijing Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Beijing zongshanghui
54	2016	China Japan Translator Association	ZhongRi fanyijia xiehui
55	2016	China Japan Disaster Prevention and Environment Protection Association	RiZhong fangzai huanbao yanjiuhui
56	2016	Tokyo Beijing International Culture Communication Association	Dongjing Beijing guoji wenhua jiaoliu xiehui
57	2016	Changchun Chamber of Commerce in Japan	Riben Changchun zongshanghui
58	2016	Shandong Association in Japan	ZaiRi Shandong tongxianghui
59	2016	Japan Chinese Innovation Association	Riben huaren huaqiao chuangxin xiehui
60	2017	Japan Overseas Chinese Science and Technology Promotion Association	QuanRiben huaren kexue jishu cujinhui

As Table 4.3 shows, Chinese migrants in Japan have established some sixty volunteer associations since the 1990s. The 1990s can thus be regarded as a demarcation of sorts among the Chinese communities in Japan. New Chinese migrants had begun to arrive in Japan in 1978, however, until the 1980s they had focused mainly on studying, and their collective activities had largely been confined to university student clubs or councils.²⁸

Looking at the years these associations were founded, a pattern appears: they emerged at an accelerated pace. In the 1990s, these associations sprouted. Some of the associations shown in

²⁸ All Japan Overseas Chinese Federation, accessed March 10, 2018, <http://www.ucrj.org/ceshi0001/>.

the table were based on traditional associations. The All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals is one such example. Its origins can be traced to 1915, but it was reorganized in 1998. The All-Japan Federation collaborated with the Western Returned Scholars Association (Oumei tongxuehui) and the Overseas-educated Scholars Association of China (Zhongguo liuxue ren yuan lianyihui). However, many other professional associations were also developed during this period, organized by well-educated and highly skilled professionals. The Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan²⁹ and the Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan, established in 1993 and 1996 respectively, are examples.³⁰

Because Chinese entrepreneurs in Japan dominated the business associations, these took on an intensive new hi-tech and transnational look. The business associations organized transnational activities and investments in China. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Japan is one such example.³¹ Established in 1999, it has evolved into the largest overseas Chinese economic association in Japan.³² Its four organizers Li Xingxiong, Yan Hao,³³ Yan An, and Huang Yueting were all entrepreneurs. Thus, it has primarily consisted of corporate members,³⁴ many of which have been high-technology firms.³⁵ Compared with the traditional merchant associations, these business associations of new migrants have strengthened the connections among entrepreneurs and developed transnational business networks between Japan, China, and beyond.³⁶ In his “presidential address,” in 2012, Yan Hao outlined the tasks for the association: “The first task is

²⁹ The Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan, accessed March 5, 2018, <http://www.npo-ohp.com/acsej/cn/>.

³⁰ Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan, accessed March 5, 2018, <http://www.casej.jp/index.html>.

³¹ For a case study of the “Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Japan,” see Liao, “Ribei Zhonghua zongshanghui,” 220-257.

³² Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Japan, accessed February 25, 2018, <http://www.cccj.jp/?mid=1>.

³³ Born in 1962 in Jiangsu, Yan Hao was elected to study in Japan in 1981. After earning his doctorate in medical statistics, he threw himself into starting up medical firms, which proved to be a great success.

³⁴ The corporate members included Chinese entrepreneurs and those with a background of Chinese investment.

³⁵ Liao, “Ribei Zhonghua zongshanghui,” 220-257.

³⁶ Ibid.

to facilitate the development of overseas Chinese enterprises in Japan, the second task is to promote cooperation and communication with the home country and overseas Chinese community, and the third task is to establish a base in Japan and to understand and incorporate into Japanese society.”³⁷

The 2000s were a period of rapid growth. By their nature, the overarching associations had nominal power over their member associations. The New Overseas Chinese Association in Japan (Riben xinhuaqiao huaren hui) is a case in point. Founded in 2003, this federation was renamed in 2013 to become the All Japan Overseas Chinese Federation (Quan Riben huaqiao huaren lianhehui). At the time it was established, the federation consisted of eight associations: the Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan (1993), the Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan (1996), the All-Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals (1902, re-established in 1998), the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Japan (1999), the Association of China Lawyers in Japan (2000), the Western Japan New Overseas Chinese Association (2002), The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan (2003), and the Hokkaido New Overseas Chinese in Japan.³⁸

The 2010s saw a blossoming of the associations. Among them were professional associations of various sizes and influences, whose members were professors, lawyers, doctors, life scientists, and engineers. Both traditional types and new types of associations flourished. Several chambers of commerce and district associations were founded, such as the Hainan Chamber of Commerce in Japan (2014), the Beijing Chamber of Commerce in Japan (2015), the Yanzhao Association in Japan (2015), and the Shandong Association in Japan (2016). In addition to traditional wealth,

³⁷ “Presidential Address,” Yan Hao, accessed February 25, 2018, see <http://www.cccj.jp/?mid=4&lan=ja>.

³⁸ All Japan Overseas Chinese Federation, accessed March 5, 2018, <http://www.ucrj.org/ceshi0001/>.

cultural capital also became a means of obtaining leadership in these associations. Dr. Ju Dongying, mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, was one such example. As a well-established professor and vice president of the Saitama Institute of Technology, he earned prestige among the Chinese migrant community in Japan. He served as a council member for the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan, and as chairman of the Shandong Association and the Overseas Chinese Association in Japan. It should also be noted that the concept of “hometown” changed in these associations during this time. Members no longer necessarily came from a given village or province; they could also have some connection with or interest in the “hometown.” However, compared with the associations established in the 1990s and 2000s, those founded in the 2010s were relatively young.

In summary, in the post-1990 era, most overseas Chinese organizations in Japan transformed. Although a few organizations continued along the traditional lines, most of the Chinese migrant organizations were new or renewed. New Chinese migrants, outnumbering the older members, gradually replaced them as leaders of their organizations and exerted greater authority. Among all the Chinese migrant associations in Japan, professional associations organized by well-educated and highly skilled migrants were the most prominent, and they had remarkable influence. Within these, Chinese academics were the most noteworthy.

Public academics: the changing composition of new associations in Japan

Public academics with knowledge capital became major players in organizing the overseas Chinese migrant associations in Japan.³⁹ This was a distinct phenomenon because leadership in overseas Chinese associations had traditionally been based on wealth and power, as with the merchants in previous periods or the entrepreneurs in recent decades.⁴⁰

The increasing presence of academics in the associations can be seen in several aspects. Some were founding members or active members of their organizations. Some played leadership roles as council directors. They also reoriented their associations' activities, from focusing solely on China or Japan, to addressing issues in the bilateral relationship between the two countries. They formed a number of new associations, such as the Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan (1996), the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan (2003), the Center for China-Japan Exchange Studies (2005), and the China-Japan Volunteers Association (2006). Some public academics became leaders of these associations. Many actively participated in events organized by alumni associations, hometown associations and federations.

³⁹ Chinese academics explained why they did not participate in organizational activities. Some academics thought that they could manage their migrant life without migrant associations, even though these associations claimed to be able to provide services, information, and a network to members. Other academics felt that migrant associations had inclinations and indicated that they had no interest in engaging in these activities. In terms of providing services to host and home societies, some academics felt that they did not have the time to provide such services through the associations. These examples show the tension between these academic migrants in associations and between these academics and other migrant groups.

⁴⁰ Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations," 25-48. Crissman, "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities," 185-204. Thompson, "From Kinship to Class," 265-293. Wickberg, "Overseas Chinese Adaptive Organizations," 68-84. Zhou and Kim, "Formation, Consolidation, and Diversification of the Ethnic Elite," 227-247.

Their activities suggest that established Chinese migrant academics in Japan made an effort to improve their collective social status. Dr. Zhu Jianrong, the first representative of The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan, best exemplifies the efforts of this group.⁴¹

Dr. Zhu was born in 1957 in Shanghai. After completing his undergraduate studies in Japanese language and a Master's training program in international relations, he became a researcher at the Shanghai Institute of International Studies, arriving in Japan in 1986 as a visiting academic. Later, he wrote a dissertation on the policy decision processes related to China's participation in the Korean War, obtaining a doctorate in political science from Gakushuin University in 1992. In the same year, he became an associate professor, and four years later, in 1996, he started work at Toyo Gakuen University as a professor. He has frequently appeared in Japanese media as a commentator.

Dr. Zhu took the initiative to establish the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan,⁴² and dedicated himself to the development of this association for ten years. His three successors were also new Chinese migrant professors. Dr. Du Jin became the second representative of the society in 2012. Born in 1953 in Shanghai, he graduated from Hitotsubashi University in 1988 with a doctorate in economics. From 2001 onward, he was a professor at Takushoku University.⁴³ Dr. Li Chunli was the third representative of the society from 2014. Born in 1962 in Liaoning Province, he obtained a Master's degree in China before coming to Japan in 1986. From 1997, one year after his graduation from The University of Tokyo, he started teaching at Aichi University.⁴⁴ Dr. Liao Chiyang has been the society's representative since 2016. Born in 1960 in

⁴¹ For a case study of this association, see Liao Chiyang, "Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian," 14.

⁴² Zhu Jianrong, in *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*.

⁴³ Profile of Du Jin, accessed February 18, 2018, http://fis.takushoku-u.ac.jp/education/staff/to_shin.html.

⁴⁴ Profile of Li Chunli, accessed February 18, 2018, see http://www.aichi-u.ac.jp/tsearch/AUT_detail.aspx?pid=11239.

Fujian Province, Dr. Liao was a graduate of Xiamen University, and worked at Huaqiao University. He came to Japan in 1988 to enroll in a Ph.D. program at the University of Tokyo. Afterwards, he began his academic career at Musashino Art University.⁴⁵

Dr. Duan Yuezhong used his own resources and networks to develop the Center for China-Japan Exchange Studies in 2005⁴⁶ and the Sunday Chinese Language Circle in 2007. Born in Hunan Province in 1958, he had been a reporter for *China Youth Daily*. In 1991, he came to Japan to join his wife who was studying there. Later he received a doctorate from Niigata University, specializing in Chinese students in Japan and Sino-Japanese relations. Unlike many of his peers, Dr. Duan was not a full time academic, but a part time lecturer teaching at several Japanese universities. This was his choice, because he wanted to spend more time managing his publishing company, the Duan Press, and working for the two volunteer associations he had founded.⁴⁷

Dr. Zhang Jianbo, a part time lecturer teaching in the Tokyo area, was the founder of the China-Japan Volunteers Association (2006). Born in Hunan, Dr. Zhang was working as a technician in an agricultural extension station when in 1987 he received an opportunity to visit Japan for one year as a trainee. After this visit, in 1988 he decided to enroll in a postgraduate program in Japan using self-financing. When he eventually obtained his Ph.D. degree in politics from Waseda University, he was already in his 40s. He could not find a fulltime position at a Japanese university, so worked as a part-time lecturer to make a living. Despite the hardship that he faced in his professional life, Zhang proceeded to organize the China-Japan Volunteers

⁴⁵ Profile of Liao Chiayang, accessed February 18, 2018, see http://profile.musabi.ac.jp/page/LIAO_Chi-Yang.html.

⁴⁶ Duan Press, accessed February 18, 2018, <http://duan.jp/jp/index.htm>.

⁴⁷ For the autobiography of Duan Yuezhong, accessed February 18, 2018, <http://my.duan.jp/>.

Association in 2006 to help overseas Chinese improve the quality of their lives in Japan.⁴⁸ Using social media like WeChat, he managed to grow the association into more than ten thousand members.

A professor from Hosei University, Dr. Li Lei established the Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan. He was born 1961 in Jiangsu Province, and received his Ph.D. in China in 1989. Upon graduation, he received a scholarship from the Japanese government to conduct postdoctoral research. Completing the one-year program in 1990, Dr. Li began working at several Japanese universities. In the meantime, he completed a second Ph.D. at Tohoku University, graduating in 2002. He was then appointed Professor of Computational and Applied Mathematics at Hosei University, and in 2008, he became the Chair (*gakubucho*) of the Faculty of Science and Engineering at the university.⁴⁹ According to the Academy's statistics, by 2009 34% of its 510 members were working in Japanese universities, 32% were at research institutes, 28% worked in enterprises, and 6% were students.⁵⁰ Advancing technology and professionalism have been the two major goals of the Academy. It has organized visiting groups to China, seeking entrepreneurial opportunities and participation in China's venture competition.

With 200 members, the Chinese Ph.D. Association in Japan is similar to the Academy, but was only founded in 2013. One of its leaders, Dr. Zhang Zhihua, was a professor in computer and information technology at Sanyo Women's College. The association has aimed to improve the status of Chinese in Japan, promoting China-Japan exchanges, and contributing to China's

⁴⁸ For reports about Zhang Jianbo, accessed February 18, 2018, <http://koubeijapan.com/zhonggrizhiyuanzhe-zhangjianbo/>. Zhang Jianbo, *Yori yoi kyōsei no tameni: zainichi chūgokujin borantia no choson* [For Better Interdependence: Challenges for Overseas Chinese Volunteers in Japan] (Tokyo: Nihonkyohosha, 2015).

⁴⁹ Profile of Li lei, accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.hosei.ac.jp/riko/shokai/message.html>. http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrhwb/html/2009-07/10/content_292978.htm.

⁵⁰ Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan, accessed February 27, 2018, <http://www.casej.jp/jp/2009/ayumi.pdf>.

further development.⁵¹ It has also developed three branches in Jiangsu, Beijing and Shanghai, and eight sub professional associations (services for the elderly, medical, law, IT, robotics, civil construction, new energy, and new material).⁵²

Among the six presidents of the New Overseas Chinese Association in Japan (Ribei xinhuaqiao huaren hui),⁵³ five were professors. Dr. Zhou Weisheng taught at Ritsumeikan University, Dr. Ren Fuji at Tokushima University, Dr. Wu Zhishen at Ibaraki University, Dr. Chen Daiheng at Tokyo University of Science, and Dr. Liu Hongyou at Nanjing University of the Arts (Japan Campus). The only exception was Yan An, who was an artist and entrepreneur.

Membership in Chinese migrant organizations has been nonexclusive. However, some associations have had specific membership requirements. Members of the Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan, for example, must hold a doctoral degree, whereas members of the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan must be professors at Japanese universities, or hold a position in a business or research institute that equates to a professorship. Some other associations have been created and organized by Chinese academics, however, their membership has been open to non-academics. In addition, the practice of “concurrent directorship” across associations has enabled them to maintain close networks and collaborations with one another.⁵⁴ Duan Yuezhong, who has held key positions in several associations, including the Hunan Association, is another example on point. The cases of Ju and Duan show that Chinese migrant organizations, although large in number, have been operated by a relatively small group of notable Chinese migrants, who have been influential in their respective fields.

⁵¹ Chinese Ph.D. Association in Japan, accessed February 27, 2018, <http://chinesephjd.jp/intro.html>.

⁵² For the profile of Zhang Zhihua, accessed February 27, 2018, <http://www.sanyo.ac.jp/department/teacher/entry-66.html>.

⁵³ For a case study of this association, see Yang, “Ribei xinhuaqiao huaren hui,” 205-219.

⁵⁴ Li, *Dangdai haiwai huaren shetuan yanjiu*. Liu, “Old Linkages, New Networks,” 582-609.

In addition to the changes to association types and the different profiles of the organizers, the form, internal structure and influence of these associations has also changed. Compared with some traditional associations that have owned real estate (land, buildings, schools) in Chinatown, the contemporary associations have mostly rented offices, using cyberspace webpages and social media to communicate with group members or publish reports. Internal relations have changed from being hierarchical to more equal. Chairmen have enjoyed respect from their members, or spent time connecting with them; however, they have had no control over the members. Leaders and members have had equal status and relationships have become more informal.⁵⁵

From serving the adaptive needs to promoting China-Japan interactions: the changing functions of new migrant associations

As a result of social transformation, the functions of migrant associations have undergone change. Serving the adaptive needs of migrants was the traditional function of overseas Chinese associations. Some scholars have analyzed how traditional district, dialects, or surname associations helped their members navigate the stages of adaptive needs: the emerging need of housing and employment for newcomers; the developmental need to connect with the hometown in matters like sending remittances and helping family members become long-term residents; the

⁵⁵ Participant observations in 2015 and 2016, Tokyo. See also Liao Chiyang “Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian,” 1-30.

further need to educate the children of settlers.⁵⁶ The traditional associations prioritized helping new migrants settle into their host society.⁵⁷

Some Chinese migrant associations in Japan have continued to function in this way, facilitating overseas Chinese' adjustment to Japanese society, even after the 2000s. For instance, the China-Japan Volunteer Association, established in 2006, has positioned itself as a "grassroots" organization, with a mission to help overseas Chinese migrants tackle problems in their daily lives. From renting a house and dealing with accidents, to finding missing persons, this association mobilizes its members, even offering face-to face consultations to those in need. To help overseas Chinese better understand Japanese law, the association has organized lectures on the laws and regulations related to renting houses and apartments, inviting Japanese lawyers to provide practical tips on how to avoid conflicts or traps.⁵⁸

Many new Chinese migrant associations in Japan have shifted their focus to external goals, such as serving the needs of the home and host societies related to globalization and the knowledge economy. Membership to them has not primarily been about seeking help for personal needs, but to offer services to society. For these associations, membership has been about "serving the public good," promoting the flow of people and ideas between China and Japan through a wide range of activities.

What is the context of this emergence and change of direction in organizational activities? First, the tide of Chinese people migrating to Japan has increased since the late 1970s, profoundly affecting the composition of the Chinese community in Japan. Indeed, many migrants were students who later became highly skilled professionals. With cultural and knowledge

⁵⁶ Wickberg, "Overseas Chinese Adaptive Organizations," 70-71.

⁵⁷ Zhou and Kim, "Formation, Consolidation, and Diversification of the Ethnic Elite," 227-247.

⁵⁸ Field participation and observation in June 2016, Tokyo.

capital, the organizational activities of these professionals demonstrate a knowledge-oriented feature. Second, China-Japan relations are another important factor in the formation and operation of organizations. Sandwiched between China and Japan, Chinese migrant academics hope to enhance China-Japan relations through organizational efforts. Third, China's rise in the age of globalization has also contributed to Chinese migrants' participation in China's development. Since the reform and opening-up, China has grown to become a regional power. It has been involved in unprecedented globalization, with the need to understand and communicate with other countries. Therefore, the Chinese government has considered overseas Chinese as an asset to achieve its goal, involving them in its diplomacy of "reaching out and inviting in." With their knowledge capital, new Chinese migrants in Japan have become participants in China's diplomatic initiatives. Therefore, Chinese migrant organizations in Japan orient their activities and functions toward enhancing China-Japan relations.

The China-Japan Volunteer Association discussed above has also performed functions beyond serving its members. For example, it has organized activities to help overseas Chinese in Japan project a positive image of themselves. Collecting trash in the streets, at bus stations and tourist sites are among such activities. Street cleaning has also enhanced the new migrants' awareness that as members of the host society they not only have rights, they also have a duty to contribute to society. Importantly, these activities have resulted in the local Japanese forming a favorable impression and better understanding of the Chinese migrants. An interdependent relationship between the Japanese and the migrants has begun to develop.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Zhang, *Yori yoi kyōsei no tameni*.

Among their activities, the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan organized The All-China Selected Japanese Speech Contest. An annual event, this contest first started in 2006, and has continued for the past 12 years. Chinese universities select student representatives majoring in the Japanese language. Regional contests are then held in Beijing, Huabei, Dongbei, Xibei, Huazhong, Huadong, Huanan, and Xinan. Members of the Society serve as judges and select two candidates from each region for the final competition to be held in Japan. The *Japanese Economic Newspaper* (*The Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, *The Nikkei* in short) co-sponsors and publishes reports on the final competition, which is held in the Nikkei Hall.⁶⁰

Over the years, the contestants' speeches have primarily focused on Japan-China relations. The following are the themes of some of the speeches: "My dreams: The friendly exchanges between China and Japan from now on" (2nd speech, 2007), "Japan-China exchanges from the lens of sports" (3rd speech, 2008), "Youth culture in China and Japan" (6th speech, 2011), "Bond between China and Japan: The importance of cross-cultural communication" (7th speech, 2012), "A blueprint of Japan-China exchanges: Chances and challenges" (10th speech, 2015), "Cultural diversity observed from Japan-China exchanges" (11th speech, 2016), and "To enhance mutual understanding between China and Japan: what I have done and what I want to do" (12th speech, 2017).

This contest has facilitated interaction between China and Japan. First, the winners from previous years were invited to give a special lecture during the event. One winner became a Chinese lecturer at a Japanese university. Other winners worked in Japanese firms. Therefore, this event enhanced contestants' mobility and connection with Japan. Second, the organization of

⁶⁰ For reports of the past 12 contests, accessed March 17, 2018, <https://cn.nikkei.com/china/sc/12/>.

this contest itself involved cooperation between multiple parties in China and Japan: the Chinese migrant organization, the Chinese Embassy in Japan, Japanese universities, Japanese firms, and Chinese firms in Japan. Representatives of the main parties attended this contest and gave opening addresses. Third, the audience for this contest consisted mainly of Chinese people in Japan and Japanese people. The content of the speech contest allowed them to better understand Chinese youth. In this light, the author believes that this event facilitated cultural and educational communications between China and Japan.⁶¹

The Center for China-Japan Exchange Studies has organized a similar event: a writing contest for Chinese students, with the winner being invited to Japan. Mr. Duan Yuezhong has used his networks to introduce the winners to Japanese notables and to obtain invitations for them to various events. In addition, the Duan Press has published selected price-winning essays.⁶² Song Yan, a Japanese language undergraduate from Hebei University of Technology, was the winner of the thirteenth writing contest. Her essay was entitled “May the Japanese Day Blossom.” In it, she described how she had learned a Japanese song about the Tokyo earthquake through her Japanese language studies. She expressed her admiration for the tenacity of the Japanese people in the face of a natural disaster. At the invitation of Mr. Duan, Song Yan arrived in Japan and visited several notables: former prime ministers Fukuda Yasuo and Hatoyama Yukio, the Japanese ambassador to China, Yokoi Yutaka, the former Japanese ambassador to China, Uichiro Niwa, the president of the Japan Science and Technology Agency, Okimura Kazuki and others. She also visited Asahi Shimbun and Toshiba, and attended the China-Japan educational

⁶¹ Field observations on July 21, 2015 and July 19, 2016, Tokyo.

⁶² For reports of past contests, accessed March 17, 2018, <http://duan.jp/jp/index.htm>.

cultural communication seminar. NHK (*Nippon Hoso Kyokai*) interviewed her and reported on her activities in Japan.⁶³

Two Sunday Chinese language circles that Mr. Duan established in Yokohama and Ikebukuro, Tokyo, have also provided a platform for members of both societies to network and learn from each other. Each time, approximately 40 persons gather. They come from all walks of life, including students, salaried employees, and retirees, to freely exchange ideas with one another.⁶⁴

Symposia and guest lectures have been the most important way for public academics to boost the flow of ideas. The former has been a platform for academics to express their opinions on social development issues, whereas the latter has been a way for them to disseminate their know-how and ideas in China.

Since 2004, the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan has held an annual international symposium. Table 4.4 shows that during this event, discussions have focused primarily on issues related to Japan and China: bilateral relations, the multicultural society, and economic developments, among others. The goal of the symposium has been to seek collaboration between the two countries and other countries in East Asia. For example, the theme of the first symposium in 2004 was “Towards the Construction of Japan-China Shared Knowledge.” Representatives from The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan, the Deputy Director of the Nikkei, and the Chinese Ambassador to Japan attended the opening ceremony. During the discussion sessions, the president of Toyota, officials from China's National Development and Reform Commission, and Chinese migrant professors from Kobe University delivered lectures.

⁶³ For Song Yan related reports, accessed March 24, 2018, see http://duan.jp/jp/vol_13/houkoku01.html.

⁶⁴ Field participation in 2015 and 2016, Tokyo.

Their lectures discussed ways to forge shared knowledge and common interests among East Asian countries to develop interdependent relationships in the region.

Table 4.4 Annual activities organized by the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan⁶⁵

Year	Annual International Symposium
2004	Towards the Construction of Japan-China Shared Knowledge
2005	Towards the Building of East Asian Community: The Cooperation of Japan, China and Korea
2006	The Building of East Asian Harmony Society
2007	Towards the Enrichment of Strategic Mutually Beneficial Relations
2008	Globalization and Multi-Ethnic Society: a reality for China as well as a global issue
2009	The World in the Post Financial Crisis Era and Japan-China Relations
2010	Between Tradition and Modernity: The Transformation of Mysterious Tibet from Fieldwork Observation
2011	The Development of the Middle Class and the Trends of China
2012	Sino-Japanese Studies in China: Communications between Chinese and Japanese Scholars
2013	China's New Silk-Road and Global Collaboration
2014	The Future of Metropolis Construction in East Asia
2015	China's Innovation and Chinese Economic Trends in the 21 st Century
2016	The World and Japan-China Relations in An Age of Great Transformation
2017	The Future of East Asian Collaboration in An Age of Uncertainty

⁶⁵ Table compiled by author based on data from *East Asia Forum*, no.1-no.12 (2005-2016). English translations are the author's.

It is interesting to note that the themes (2004-2017) listed in Table 4.4 are different from the agendas (1969-1999) listed in Table 4.2 earlier in this chapter.⁶⁶ Table 4.2 shows that the most influential traditional assemblies back then focused mainly on the well-being of the Chinese community in Japan, the major events in China and Japan, and the relations between the two countries. The symposia put on by the professors since 2000 have focused more on developments in the East Asian community and key issues from the contemporary period.

Personal networks have also facilitated the flow of ideas. At the invitation of Chinese universities, members of the overseas professional associations in Japan have visited China and delivered lectures. A major feature of these lectures has been their transnational themes and content. Zhang Zhihua, a professor of computer science and information at Sanyo Women's College and Chairman of the Chinese Ph.D. Association in Japan, is an example.⁶⁷ She visited Hefei Industrial University in May 2017, and gave a lecture on "Talent Training and University Education: Drawing Lessons from Japan's Coping Strategies."⁶⁸ Yuan Fujie is another example. A professor of higher education studies, with a multicultural background from her training in China, Japan and the U.S., she earned a Bachelor's degree from Peking University, a Master's degree from Hiroshima University, and research fellowships from Stanford University and the University of Pennsylvania.⁶⁹ On May 23, 2014, she delivered a lecture at Hunan University entitled, "The Use of ICT (Information And Communications Technology) in Higher Education: A Comparison between China, Japan and the U.S."⁷⁰ Her training in various countries has

⁶⁶ See page 124-125.

⁶⁷ For the profile of Zhang, accessed March 17, 2018, see <http://www.sanyo.ac.jp/department/teacher/entry-66.html>.

⁶⁸ For more information on this lecture, accessed February 27, 2018, see <http://chineseph.d.jp/katudou170510.html>.

⁶⁹ For Yuan's profile, see "The Open University of Japan Researcher Information," accessed March 22, 2018, https://cv01.unity.jp/ouj_faculty/.

⁷⁰ For a report on this lecture, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://edu.hnu.edu.cn/info/1098/1951.htm>.

enabled her to adopt a broad and comparative approach to her research. Guest lectures at Chinese universities have facilitated the distribution of her research findings in China.

There have been other examples similar to Zhang Zhihua. On October 26, 2009, Luo Huanzhen, a professor from Tokyo Keizai University, lectured at Xibei University on the strategies of Chinese enterprises investing in Japan.⁷¹ On February 22, 2010, Zhai Linyu, a professor from Osaka City University, spoke at Dongbei University of Finance and Economics on the development of the capital market in China and Japan.⁷²

These lectures have facilitated the spread of transnational knowledge to Chinese faculties and students. Although many Chinese migrant academics have trained in more than one country nowadays, the knowledge structure of those with longtime experience working in Japan differs from those who have studied or lived in Japan for shorter periods of time then worked outside of China. One professor in this study indicated that he had lived much longer in Japan than he had in China and that he knew more about the former than the latter.⁷³ Therefore, the knowledge Chinese migrant academics at Japanese universities have disseminated to Chinese audiences has been valuable.

⁷¹ For a report on this lecture, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.nwumba.com/news/show/1/52>.

⁷² For a report on this lecture, accessed March 22, 2018, http://sf.dufe.edu.cn/index.php?c=default&a=content&p=2&ic_id=26&id=237.

⁷³ Interview on May 24, 2018, Tokyo.

Entanglement of Chinese and Japanese nation-states in transnational cultural citizenship practices

Associations and nation-states interact and their relations with the government are often delicate. In this study, the activities of voluntary associations demonstrate that relations between nation-states and voluntary associations are mutually beneficial rather than antagonistic, with parties working together on social development issues.

Indeed, these associations collaborate with China's "inviting in" initiative. In this collaboration, the associations are in constant contact with China's central and local governments. Considering these organizational events as *qiaowu* affairs, ambassadors from the Chinese Embassy in Japan and officials from other government sectors attended many important events. The *qiaowu* work of the Chinese government has also evolved, shifting focus from overseas Chinese who returned to China to those living abroad.⁷⁴

The main official Chinese institutions collaborating with these associations on the flow of people and knowledge are the following: the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Japan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, and local governments and Chinese officials in charge of overseas Chinese matters (*qiaowu*). For example, every year since 2003, the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan has invited Chinese officials to attend its main events, held meetings with officials from the Chinese Embassy in Japan, and led groups of visitors to China to meet with officials in charge of overseas Chinese affairs.⁷⁵ The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan invited embassy officials to conduct the

⁷⁴ Liu and van Dongen, "China's Diaspora Policies as a New Mode of Transnational Governance," 805-821.

⁷⁵ The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan, *East Asia Forum*, no.1-12 (2005-1016).

opening ceremony of their events. When preparing their annual conference, they discussed the title of their conference and the guest speakers they should invite. They thought that including embassy officials would add importance and expand the influence of their events. Similarly, embassy officials were invited to the Japanese Speech Contest.⁷⁶ They met with officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office. In other words, any party can be the initiator. In September 2009, members of the Society communicated with members of the diplomatic policy committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. As previously mentioned, the Society's practices focus on promoting the flow of people and ideas.

Overseas professional associations are the main points of contact for overseas Chinese talents wishing to return to China. In a survey of overseas Chinese professionals attending talent fairs in Sichuan, Jiangsu, and Guangdong Provinces in 2012-2013, the Center for China and Globalization, a think tank, finds that 21.6% of its respondents had contacted these associations. Other points of contact and communication included the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council (13.5%), its local branches (18.9%), Chinese embassies (12.2%), and Chinese firms (12.2%).⁷⁷ Public academics in new migrant associations are a bridge between the Chinese government and Chinese talent in Japan. As leaders of their associations, these public academics are the "brains" in their respective specialties, maintaining close contact with the transnational "brain" network in Japan.

In general, professional associations do not limit their interactions with the central government. In addition, they organize different types of activities to connect overseas Chinese associations with local governments in China. For instance, the Chinese Ph.D. Association in

⁷⁶ Fieldwork on July 19, 2015, Tokyo and on July 21, 2016, Tokyo.

⁷⁷ Wang Huiyao, and Miao Lv, *Haiwai huaqiao huaren zhuan ye renshi baogao (2014)* [Report on Overseas Chinese Professionals (2014)] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2014), 230.

Japan, established in 2013, organized activities to allow Chinese talents to get in touch with local Chinese governments. In conjunction with the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office in Jiangsu Province, the association selected overseas Chinese in Japan to participate in talent fairs in China. These fairs offered participants the opportunity to learn about the talent policies of the Jiangsu provincial government and to consider whether they might be interested in working in Jiangsu in the future. Kunshan (a city in Jiangsu Province) Day was one of these fairs. The fair was held on July 25, 2015 to help participants learn about the opportunities offered by the city.⁷⁸

The case of the Chinese Academy of Science and Engineering in Japan also exemplifies Japan's dynamic relations with China's central and local governments. This organization was founded in 1996 and its members are educated at the doctoral level. One of its objectives is to promote scientific and technological exchanges between China and Japan. To this end, it actively communicates with *qiaowu* officials to promote talent flow. For instance, the *qiaowu* officials connected with between August and October 2015 included the consul of the Chinese Embassy in Japan, the director of the Bureau of Foreign Experts Affairs of Tianjin, and officials of the Jiangsu *qiaowu* department.⁷⁹

Professional associations also serve as hosts of venture competitions. For example, the Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan hosted the Nanjing Venture Competition for Overseas Talents, an initiative created in 2012 by the Nanjing government to attract overseas talents. The Minister Counselor of the Chinese Embassy in Japan and

⁷⁸ For this event, accessed March 24, 2018, <http://chinesephhd.jp/info20150725.html>.

⁷⁹ For this event, accessed March 24, 2018, <http://www.casej.jp/cn/index.html>.

representatives from the Nanjing government attended the competition in Japan. In other words, these professional associations are a platform for China's "inviting in" initiative.⁸⁰

For the Chinese government, professional associations help manage the affairs of overseas Chinese and their involvement in international relations. Furthermore, these associations organized by highly skilled professionals help generate a flow of investment, knowledge, and talent. The Chinese government specifically targets association leaders by organizing conventions for them. For example, since 2001, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council has organized the "Conference for Friendship of Overseas Chinese Associations" with the aim of "enhancing friendship and solidarity, and promoting collaboration and development." For these associations, interactions with the government are necessary to carry out their mission of promoting transnational interactions. Networking with the government is also essential to extend their transnational practices.

Similarly, Chinese migrant associations in Japan interact with Japanese political circles. The Society of Chinese Professors in Japan, established in 2003 with around 100 well-established Chinese migrant professors, is a remarkable example of how professional associations interact with political parties and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2004, the Society organized seminars with members of the Japanese Democratic Party, and from 2006, started to communicate with members of the Liberal Democratic Party. It also developed communication channels with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Discussions with Japanese officials focus mainly on China-Japan relations and key economic, educational, and cultural issues. For example, in 2011, the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan discussed China-Japan relations

⁸⁰ For this event, accessed March 24, 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2017-12/18/c_129768887.htm.

with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in charge of China's affairs. This was a "soft" way for the Society to enhance its influence and promote China-Japan communication through unofficial, non-political, and friendly interactions with Japanese officials.

The Japanese government is less involved with these associations than the Chinese government, but pays attention to voluntary associations, using them as a platform to understand and communicate with China. For these associations, their networks of Japanese officials contribute to their goal of enhancing transnational interactions between China and Japan and strengthening their influence in Japanese society.

For the most part, nation-states influence these transnational spaces and practices. The growing participation of public academics in new associations can be interpreted as their members' quest for cultural citizenship in the transnational space of these associations. This cultural citizenship not only entails their right to participate in public affairs, but also their responsibility to serve societies through their events.

To this end, these associations cultivate government networks to further their transnational interactions, as discussed above. For governments, these associations are a means to promote international relations and social development. From their perspective, these associations are tools they can use to promote cultural diplomacy, *qiaowu* work, and talent planning. For public academics, interactions with governments help increase their influence. Therefore, despite differences in the agendas of governments and associations, their interactions are a mutually beneficial way of advancing their respective interests.

Comparative analysis

As mentioned in the Introduction, migration from China to overseas has flourished since the 1980s. Chinese people have migrated not only to Japan, but also to other countries and regions, such as North America, Europe, and Australia. Many Chinese migrants in these places work as academics and are active in migrant associations. What are the shared and distinct characteristics of Chinese migrant academics in Japan? This section compares them with their counterparts in the United States, another major destination for Chinese migrants.

Many Chinese migrants live in the United States. In the 2010s, there were about 4 million Chinese migrants in the United States, including some working in American universities and some actively engaging in Chinese migrant associations. There are various types of Chinese migrant associations in the United States, including hometown associations, business associations, alumni associations, and professional associations.⁸¹

Promoting communication between home societies and host societies is a shared pursuit of Chinese migrant associations in Japan and in the United States. For example, the founding members of the Chinese Professors claim to have formulated their principles under the influence of the Committee of 100 (C-100, Bairenhui),⁸² an organization founded in 1989 in the United States. Its 153 members are Chinese Americans, who are the elites in their respective fields:

⁸¹ Min Zhou, and Rennie Lee, "Traversing Ancestral and New Homelands, Chinese Immigrants Transnational Organizations in the United States," in *The State and the Grassroots: Immigrant Transnational Organizations in Four Continents*, edited by Maria Fernández-Kelly, and Patricia, Portes Alejandro, New York: Berghahn, 2015, pp.27-54. Peter H. Koehn, and Xiao-huang Yin, *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in U.S.-China Relations: Transnational Networks and Trans-Pacific Interactions*, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. Xianwen Wang, Mao Wenli, Chuanli Wang, Peng Lian, and Hou Haiyan, "Chinese Elite Brain Drain to USA: An Investigation of 100 United States National Universities," *Scientometrics*, vol.37, no.1 (2013), pp.37-46.

⁸² Fieldwork on July 19, 2015, Tokyo.

company CEOs or chairmen, university professors, and celebrities.⁸³ The C-100 has organized events to discuss such issues as “United States-China trust-building, next-generation leadership development and Chinese Americans for greater inclusion.”⁸⁴ Using this committee as a model, Chinese migrant professors in Japan formed their own society. The stated principles of the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan are the following:

To improve the academic level and expand academic communication; to improve the social status of overseas Chinese in Japan; to contribute to China’s development through broad academic communication; to enhance Sino-Japanese mutual understanding and trust; and to create a global academic culture through active communication.⁸⁵

Liao Chiyang points out that the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan is “not an overseas Chinese association, not an association based on occupation, and not an association of university teachers.”⁸⁶ Instead, it is a transnational association of intellectuals wishing to facilitate Sino-Japanese exchanges against the backdrop of the problematic Sino-Japanese relations of recent years.

The rapid growth of professional associations has been marked by the development of the overseas Chinese community since the 1980s. These professional associations organize events to promote talent circulation and communication between host and home countries and actively

⁸³ The Committee of 100, accessed February 20, 2018, <http://www.committee100.org/>.

⁸⁴ The Committee of 100, accessed February 20, 2018, <http://committee100.org/programs/>. This significance of the associations has also drawn comments from Chinese president Xi Jinping, who said “It is the loving care and hard work of the national governments, local authorities, friendly organizations and people from all walks of life in both countries that have made China-U.S. relations flourish. In particular, the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, the U.S.-China Business Council, the U.S.-China Policy Foundation, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the China General Chamber of Commerce-USA, the Committee of 100, the Brookings Institution and many other friendly groups and individuals have made untiring efforts over the years to promote friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries and brought the relationship this far.” See “President Xi’s speech on China-US ties,” China Daily, accessed September 22, 2017, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015xivisit/2015-09/24/content_21964069.htm.

⁸⁵ *East Asia Forum*, no.1 (2005).

⁸⁶ Liao, “Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian,” 1-30.

participate in the development of China. The Chinese Association for Science and Technology, founded in 1992, aims to “serve as a ‘bridge’ between China and the US for both personnel and information exchanges, and for the cooperation in science and technology, economic, trade and other areas.”⁸⁷ Through a range of events, such as conferences and talent fairs, this association plays a role in China’s “inviting in and going out.” Similarly, the Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan was created in 1993 with the mission to promote exchanges between Chinese scientists and engineers in Japan and those in China. To this end, it actively cooperates with the Chinese government and local governments for talent circulation.⁸⁸

Chinese academics in Japan and their associations resemble those in other countries in organizing principles and events. However, they differ in terms of the context in which they operate in the host country and the relations between the host country and the country of origin.

The situation of the host country and its policies toward foreigners have a profound impact on migrants and their organizational activities. The United States is commonly considered a multinational immigration country and has a long tradition and complicated policies of receiving migrants from around the world. In contrast, Japan is considered a non-immigrant country. The ratio of migrants in Japanese society is extremely low. The government lacks well-developed policies to integrate migrants and Japanese society shows a lower degree of acceptance of migrants. These factors have a negative effect on the identity of migrants. In an interview, a Chinese professor in Japan comments that “There is no resistance in naturalizing in the United

⁸⁷ The Chinese Association for Science and Technology, accessed January 7, 2019, <http://cast-ut.n945.net/association/page/archive-information?sid=1>.

⁸⁸ Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan, accessed January 7, 2019, <http://www.npo-ohp.com/acsej/cn/page.php?id=1>.

States, but there is in Japan.”⁸⁹ A Chinese writer also writes: “Migrants in America could say ‘our America,’ but for migrants in Japan, even though they have naturalized, rarely could they say ‘our Japan.’ This might be due to the tangled feeling of Chinese toward Japan.”⁹⁰ Therefore, at the nation-state level, Chinese migrants in Japan have unique life experiences and identities. As part of migrants’ lives, these organizations provide a space for migrants to express a fluid identity through organizational activities.

The relationship between countries is also an important factor affecting migrants’ lives. China-U.S. relations are generally amicable, although there are conflicts. In comparison, China-Japan relations are extremely complex. There are issues with contested territories and controversial history textbooks. Moreover, according to the Public Opinion Survey on China-Japan Relations, from 2005 to 2014, the favorability of China in Japan decreased and the percentage of Japanese people believing that China-Japan relations were important also dropped.⁹¹ Therefore, compared with Chinese migrant societies in other regions, Chinese migrants in Japan have a particular experience because of China-Japan relations. To overcome this unfavorable situation, Chinese people in Japan set up associations or participate in organizational activities to enhance China-Japan relations and exchanges. For example, Liao Chiyang points out that the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan was founded against the backdrop of the problematic China-Japan relations and that many members joined with the motivation to enhance China-Japan relations.⁹²

⁸⁹ Interview, accessed January 7, 2019, <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/91052-3.html>.

⁹⁰ Li Changsheng, *Xuedi mangmang ya*, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2017), introduction.

⁹¹ Chinese Daily, “Research Report of Public Opinion Survey on China-Japan Relation”, September 9, 2014.

⁹² Liao, “Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian,” 1-30.

Nevertheless, Chinese migrant organizations, especially new migrant organizations, aim at promoting exchanges between their host society and China in the areas of education, culture, science, and technology. However, for Chinese migrants in Japan who live in a non-immigrant country and are sandwiched between China and Japan, it is particularly important that they participate in organizational activities and promote China-Japan relations.

Conclusion

These discussions above contribute to the scholarship on migrant organizations in the following aspects. Firstly, it reveals that academics with knowledge cultural capital have fulfilled important leadership roles organizations. Secondly, it finds that many academics involved in migrant organizations have devoted themselves to educational-cultural interactions. Thirdly, it analyzes the relations, ties and interactions between the migrant academics and the nation-states. It regards these interactions as manifestations of migrants' strategic positioning in the space of migrant organizations. Fourthly, using a comparative perspective, this study highlights the impact of China-Japan relations on migrant academics' social positioning in the space of organizations. This comparison is original, and it deepens our knowledge of Chinese migrant organizations in Japan.

The history of Chinese migration to Japan has profoundly shaped the form and nature of the Chinese migrant associations in Japan. Before 1895, merchants stood out as the dominant type of migrant association in Japan, against the backdrop of China-Japan maritime trade. Business-district organizations emerged to serve the commercial and cultural needs of the merchants.

With the first tide of students coming to Japan after 1896, student intellectuals became a distinct feature of the overseas Chinese in Japan. The relations between China and Japan at this stage were analogous to student-teacher or invader and invaded. These student intellectuals organized associations, using Japan as a model for the modernization of China and a base for organizing revolutions and reforms within China.

China remained isolated from the West between 1945 and 1978. During this time, China and Japan did not have official diplomatic relations, and migration from China to Japan virtually ceased. The overseas Chinese in Japan were those who had arrived before 1945 and remained. Unlike the rapid integration or assimilation of overseas Chinese into local societies in Southeast Asia, due to the local policies, the Chinese living in Japan at this time maintained a sojourning mentality. The number of associations decreased, but the influence of the Overseas Chinese Federation in Japan, as an overarching association, grew.

After China and Japan re-established official contact in 1978 and China started its “reform and opening up” the same year, a second boom of Chinese traveling to Japan emerged. With diversification of the growing overseas Chinese population, new associations flourished.

The new associations in this latest stage have manifested several distinctive features compared with the traditional associations. In addition to the traditional type (e.g., hometown, kinship, surname, secret, guild), new types of organizations were founded (e.g., Ph.D., engineers). In addition to wealthy entrepreneurs, public academics with knowledge and cultural capital emerged as major players in organizing voluntary associations. During this time, Chinese migrant academics became a prominent community. A common feature of these academics was their transnational knowledge, which was based on their understanding of both China and Japan.

In terms of function, the associations' practices have shifted from providing services to meeting their members' adaptive needs and organizing events to boost the transnational flow of knowledge and people between China and Japan. China and Japan have been building a knowledge society and economy. By mastering transnational knowledge in their respective fields Chinese migrant academics have been placed in an advantageous position, where they can better comprehend and offer solutions to some of the issues their home country and host society have faced. These issues have included, among other things, facilitating the circulation of talent and transforming knowledge between China and Japan.

Overall, these public academics have used their organizations as a "symbolic stage" to demonstrate their cultural identity, accumulate "symbolic capital," and make themselves "visible" in the host society, their home country, and the transnational spaces. Organizational activities initiated by these associations have reflected this pursuit of "visibility." Their expertise, networks and concern for the public good have made it possible for public academics to achieve their goals through collective efforts made in the public sphere. Their main tool for so doing has been the promotion of transnational interactions between China and Japan. They have positioned themselves as both migrants in Japan and transnational subjects of China and Japan, with an aim of enhancing their status in both countries.

The nation-state has also acted within the transnational space, and relations between associations and nation-states have shifted. Associations have maintained ties and collaborated with Japanese or Chinese government branches. For the associations, maintaining ties with the Chinese government has helped them expand their influence. For the government, the associations have been a channel for them to manage foreign affairs.

CHAPTER FIVE: TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AS A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD FOR MIGRANT ACADEMICS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Transnational mobility provides opportunities for migrant academics to advance their careers. Such mobility, however, also poses challenges to their families. Mobility, therefore, is a double-edged sword. Contemporary scholarship has concentrated mainly on the benefits transnational mobility brings to migrant academics. It has seldom paid attention to the instability such mobility can cause migrant families. This chapter first examines the transnational mobility of academics through the lens of family. Drawing on the narratives of the interviewees in this research¹ and autobiographies from *Writing History in Japan*,² and relying on the migrant family literature, this chapter explores how the lives of Chinese migrant academics have unfolded amid their transnational academic mobility in Japan, and how this has affected their spouses and children. The chapter then discusses the migrant academics' mobility, their choices over legal citizenship, their perceptions of cultural citizenship, and their strategies for constructing new self-identities. The chapter sheds light on such issues as the ways family life has affected the career mobility of migrant academics, the pros and cons of transnational mobility for migrant families, the ways in which family members have coped with the undesirable effects of such mobility, and the relationship between transnational mobility and the formation of new identities for both the migrant academics and their family members.

¹ Fieldwork and interviews the author conducted in 2015 and 2016 in Tokyo and Osaka.

² Duan, *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*.

Migrant families in the long shadow of transnational mobility

Family members have had a direct impact on the migratory process of migrants. Taking family into consideration provides us with a more comprehensive understanding of the life trajectories of migrants and their perceptions of citizenship and cultural citizenship.³

In a case study of Vietnamese migrant families in Canada, the authors wrote:

As an institution, the family lies at the heart of a triangle linking the local host society, the diaspora, and Vietnam. The resolution of personal and familial strains emanating from emergent forces of such triangulation raises important sociological as well as anthropological questions about cultures, family, identity and citizenship.⁴

Studies on the family issues of Chinese migrants have so far focused on two groups of people: the less skilled⁵ and the highly skilled.⁶ In the historical stages of Chinese migration, members of the first group have generally migrated alone, even though some were married. This has been largely due to the immigration laws of the host countries, prohibiting the migrants from bringing family members. These migrants viewed migration as merely a temporary way to make money. They intended to return home after working abroad.⁷ They were typical sojourners whose history

³ Chan Kwok Bun, and Sing Seet Chia, "Migrant Family Drama Revisited: Mainland Chinese Immigrants in Singapore," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 18, no. 2 (October 2003): 171-200. Ajay Bailey, and Clara H. Mulder, "Highly Skilled Migration between the Global North and South: Gender, Life Courses and Institutions," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 16 (December 2017): 2689-2703.

⁴ Chan Kwok Bun, and Louis-Jacques Dorais, "Family, Identity, and the Vietnamese Diaspora: The Quebec Experience," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 13, no. 2 (October 1998): 286.

⁵ For migration studies that contain family life discussion of the less skilled, see Paul C. P. Siu, "The Sojourner," *American Journal of Sociology* 58, no. 1 (1952): 34-44. Madeline Yuan-yin Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (California: Stanford University Press, 2000). Janet W. Salaff, Siu-lun Wong, and Arent Greve, *Hong Kong Movers and Stayers: Narratives of Family Migration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

⁶ For migration studies that contain family life discussions of the highly skilled, see Chan, "A Family Affair," 195-213. Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*. Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*. Ju Yuhua, Riben *Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu* [A Study on Cultural Inheritance and Identity of the Offspring of Overseas Chinese in Japan] (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 2015). Johanna Waters, "Transnational Family Strategies and Education in the Contemporary Chinese Diaspora," *Global Networks* 5, no. 4 (October 2005): 359-377.

⁷ Siu, "The Sojourner," 34-44. Chan, "A Family Affair," 195-213. Zhou Min also explains the causes of a bachelor's labor life overseas, that is, during the early period of migration, women in Chinese villages were not allowed to leave their villages. See Zhou Min, "huren guoji yimin de lishi huigu he shehuixue fenxi [A Historical Review and Sociological Analysis of Chinese

can be traced to the nineteenth century.

Many Chinese migrants in the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries were sojourners. Modern scholars have compared the family pattern of these migrants to a rainbow, with a job and money at one end, and a wife and children at the other.⁸ In the United States, they worked in the gold mines of northern California where they were known as “gold mountain guests” (*jinshanke*) and their spouses were known as “gold mountain wives” (*jinshanpo*). Remittances were the only link between the two ends. Roughly during the same period, a “dual family system” developed among Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia. Some married males formed second families with local women. They maintained two homes, with one in China and the other in the host country.⁹

In contrast, highly skilled migrants (i.e., professionals with wealth or expertise) in the post-1980 era have had a different lifestyle experience. For example, in Hong Kong, a husband might stay and work there, but send his wife and children abroad to live. He then shuttles between Hong Kong and the place where his spouse and children reside. Such families have been described as “astronaut families” or dispersed families. This transnational lifestyle has been the deliberate choice of many highly skilled migrants and their family members. They have chosen “to be together translocally,”¹⁰ and use this arrangement as a strategy to accumulate family wealth.¹¹ In Japan, the Chinese professionals have displayed similar lifestyles to their Hong Kong counterparts. A survey of family patterns in 2004 revealed that among the 64 spouses of

International Migration],” *Huaren guoji yanjiu xuebao*, no.1 (June 2009), 62. Philip Q. Yang, “From Sojourning to Settlement to Transnationalism: Transformations of the Chinese Immigrant Community in America,” in *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora*, ed. by Tan Chee-Beng (New York: Routledge, 2013), 122-140.

⁸ For discussion of *jinshanke* and *jinshanpo*, see Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home*. Wang Gungwu, “Patterns of Chinese Migration of Historical Perspective,” 33-49.

⁹ Chen Ta, “The Family,” In *The Chinese Overseas*, 3-30.

¹⁰ Chan, “A Family Affair,” 195-213.

¹¹ For a discussion of transnational strategies of Hong Kong businessmen in the US, see Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*.

professionals migrating to Japan in the post-1980 era, 28 were living in China. Forty-one out of seventy-four children were also with their mothers in China. They chose this lifestyle to enjoy the benefits of both Japan and China.¹²

Transnational studies scholars suggest that the dispersed family is a rational lifestyle for migrants and an effective strategy for family wealth accumulation. However, other scholars discuss the side effects of transnational mobility on the family.¹³ How does transnationalism bring about unfavorable outcomes for migrant families? How do members of the family regime compromise and respond to the undesired effects? How do the social factors of transnationalism support both opportunity and inequality in academic mobility? Further studies are needed to fully understand whether transnationalism is a double-edged sword, cutting both ways.

Among the Chinese migrant academics in this study, only a few lived alone. Most were accompanied by their spouses and children.

Table 5.1 Marital and living status of the interviewees in this study

Marital and living status		Born in the 1950s	Born in the 1960s	Born in the 1970s	Born in the 1980s	Total
Married	Live together in the same place in Japan	7	2	4	2	15
	Live in two places in Japan	1	0	1	0	2
	Live apart internationally	2	1	0	2	5

¹² For the transnational living situation of Chinese professionals in Japan, See Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*, 125-140.

¹³ Chan, "A Family Affair," 195-213. Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*, 125-140.

Single	1	2	2	2	7
Unknown	1	1	1	0	3
Total	12	6	8	6	32

Table 5.1 shows that at the time of their interview, 22 academics were married,¹⁴ seven were single; and three preferred to keep their marital status confidential. Among the 22 married couples, five maintained long distance relationships with their spouses in China. Two couples lived in different cities in Japan. The remaining 15 lived together.

Among the 22 married academics, 7 spouses were also academic staff, 6 spouses worked in the business sector, 6 were housewives, and the employment status of 3 spouses was unknown. This study also took generational background into consideration, but found that the family arrangement had little relationship to it.

The married migrant academics in this study said they treasured family life. However, when they first traveled to Japan they were often alone, leaving their spouses and children behind in China. They endured loneliness and separation from their families, inevitably leading to what scholars have called the “emptiness of marriage,” or the “missing role of [the] parent in children’s education.”¹⁵ This unfavorable situation motivated both the academics and their spouses to unite the family in Japan. They related how the dispersal of family members was detrimental to both the marriage and the children’s upbringing, and said they would do whatever they could to bring family members together. When asked about their reasons for coming to

¹⁴ Twenty of these academics married Chinese, and four of them had an international marriage.

¹⁵ Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*, 130-132. Chan, “A Family Affair,” 195-213.

Japan, one interviewee replied: “I came to Japan because my spouse worked in Japan.”¹⁶ Another said, “I came to Japan because I married a Japanese.”¹⁷ For the spouses left behind, joining the primary mover was a popular choice. They became co-movers, even though many were career women.¹⁸

In addition to the individual preference for family unification, the highly skilled nature of the academic profession has prompted immigration policies that encourage migrant academics to bring their families to Japan. In the contemporary period, barriers to family reunification for the highly skilled have been removed, evidenced by the “professor” visa and “highly skilled” visa. According to the visa policy of the Ministry of Justice of Japan, foreigners holding a “professor” visa can apply for a family visa for their family members (spouse and children only). The “highly skilled visa” allows applicants to bring family members. For example, by the end of 2017, 1,058 Chinese highly skilled professionals held this visa, and 2,725 Chinese people had arrived in Japan as family members of these highly skilled professionals.¹⁹

Co-movers have often come to Japan with the status of student, visiting researcher or dependent. Many have chosen to enroll as postgraduate students in Japanese universities because their qualifications from China have not been recognized in Japan and their skills have been inadequate to secure decent employment. This reality has caused some to become depressed²⁰ because they have realized the only practical way to cope is to acquire Japanese educational

¹⁶ For instance, interview on July 1, 2015, Osaka.

¹⁷ For instance, interview on June 30, 2015, Osaka.

¹⁸ Chan and Chia explored the voices of the wives who followed their husbands from China to Singapore. A common reason for their migration was because their husbands were there. Many experienced dislocation and disappointment, but they said their sacrifice was worth it because the whole family benefited. See Chan and Sing, “Migrant Family Drama Revisited,” 171-200.

¹⁹ “List of Statuses of Residence,” Immigration Bureau of Japan, accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/kanri/qaq5.html>.

²⁰ Martine Schaer, Janine Dahinden, and Alina Toader, “Transnational Mobility among Early-Career Academics: Gendered Aspects of Negotiations and Arrangements within Heterosexual Couples,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 8 (June 2017): 1292-1307. Chan, “A Family Affair,” 195-213. Marit Aure, “Highly Skilled Dependent Migrants Entering the Labour Market: Gender and Place in Skill Transfer,” *Geoforum* 45 (March 2013): 275-284.

credentials and restart their careers. The story of Mrs. Shen Jie provides an example.

Mr. Zhao Jun, the husband of Mrs. Shen, was an associate professor of history in Sino-Japanese relations at a Chinese university. He arrived in Japan in 1988 as a visiting research fellow, leaving behind his wife and their four-year old son. The next year, Mrs. Shen received a visiting research fellowship from Japan, allowing her to join her husband and bring her son. Later, she enrolled in a Ph.D. program. After graduation, she accepted a teaching position in China, leaving Japan in 1995. Her stay in China was not long. In 1998, she returned to Japan to accept an academic position at a Japanese university.²¹ The life trajectory of Mrs. Shen demonstrates how a female academic managed the conflicting demands of career and family.

The life of Mrs. Zhang Xiaorui was different from Mrs. Shen. She had been an English language teacher at a Chinese university before marrying a Japanese man and giving up her job to follow him to Japan in the early 1990s. Thereafter, she became a dependent housewife. However, it was difficult for her to adapt to this new lifestyle, and she suffered from depression. In her words:

At Japanese universities, the spring term began in March. After my husband started his study, I was left alone at home. I had nothing to do, because I could not do anything. ... I locked myself in my home, writing letters in tears to my parents, brother, friends, and then anxiously waiting for their reply. For the first time in my life, I understood what loneliness meant. ... I decided to end this situation by working part-time at supermarkets and stores, which I really disliked. My mom also criticized me for having given up my university job in China and working now as a cheap laborer in Japan.²²

After working part-time in stores for half a year, Mrs. Zhang enrolled in the postgraduate program of a university. Upon graduation, she found a part-time job as a Chinese language

²¹ For the profile of Shen Jie and profile of Zhao Jun, see *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 414-420, 730-737.

²² For the profile of Zhang Xiaorui, see *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 387-395.

teacher.²³ After many years, she eventually became a professor.²⁴

There were other co-movers who found Chinese language teaching jobs without having a postgraduate degree.²⁵ Mrs Xia Yuji was one.

I came to Japan with my daughter in February 1987 as a self-financed visiting researcher. At that time, my husband, who had arrived in Japan three years earlier for further study, was already working as an artist and an educator. I attended workshops and wrote papers. Two years quickly passed by. At this point, I could choose to become a housewife and live an easier life, helping my husband who already made a successful career in Japan, taking care of the children, and attending to housework. My husband's income also allowed me to live such a life. But many Chinese women like myself did not want to lose contact with the wider world and to live under the halo of their husbands. I believed I could find a suitable position for me to contribute to my family and the society. Therefore, I chose to become a Chinese language teacher.²⁶

Although some co-movers succeeded in building careers in Japan, others quit their jobs in China and followed their spouses to Japan as dependents.²⁷ Most of these were women.²⁸ The wife of Mr. Xin Wei was such a co-mover. In the early 1990s, Mr. Xin Wei secured a position at a Japanese university after graduating in Japan. His wife gave up her job in China and brought their son to live with her husband in Japan.²⁹ Similarly, Mr. Yi Mao was an assistant professor at a university in Singapore where his wife was pursuing a Ph.D. When he accepted a new position in Japan in the early 2010s, his wife withdrew from her postgraduate program and followed him.³⁰ Mr. Yi Wei's wife also moved to Japan with him, because Mr. Yi Wei studied and worked

²³ For the profile of Zhang Xiaorui, see *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 387-395.

²⁴ "Faculty of English and American Literature Department," <https://www.meisei-u.ac.jp/academics/gs/hum/english/theme.html> Accessed 17 April 2018.

²⁵ Teaching the Chinese language was also a common choice for co-movers in Singapore. See Chan, "A Family Affair," 195-213.

²⁶ For the profile of Xia Yuji and the profile of Guan Naiping, see *Fuji dongying xiechunqiu*, 92-101.

²⁷ "List of Statuses of Residence: Professor," Immigration Bureau of Japan, accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/kanri/qaq5.html>. See also Nana, "Redefining the Highly Skilled," 421-450. Nana, "The Limits of Immigration Policies," 1080-1100.

²⁸ For similar cases, see Leung, "Social Mobility via Academic Mobility," 2704-2719. Chan and Sing, "Migrant Family Drama Revisited," 171-200.

²⁹ Interview on August 1, 2016, Tokyo.

³⁰ Interview on May 24, 2016, Tokyo.

at a Japanese university.³¹

Chinese wives found it difficult to quit their jobs in China and begin new careers in Japan where their Chinese husbands were working. However, for a Japanese wife married to a Chinese man, her husband's decision to work in Japan was welcome news. She could return home. In such cases, the couple often made the decision together. The story of Mr. Bing Chen is a good example. He was a language teacher in China when he met and married a Japanese woman and they later had a child. The husband and wife then decided to move to Japan in the early 2010s. Although he was the breadwinner of the family, Mr. Chen did not make the decision on his own. "I did not want to live in Japan," said Mr. Chen, "but my wife wished to return home; so we decided to come to Japan."³² In Japan, he worked hard to obtain a Ph.D., and subsequently secured a full-time teaching position. At the time of his interview the family was well settled in Japan.

Mr. Wu Zi was also married to a Japanese woman. He had been teaching in the West when he received an offer from a Japanese university. Accepting the offer, he moved to Japan with his family in the late 2000s. When asked about how his wife responded to his decision, he said, "She was very excited as she could come back to her home country after many years of living overseas with me."³³

Most co-movers were female. However, there were also male co-movers. Unlike their female counterparts who were often on dependent visas, male co-movers preferred student visas. The common belief in both China and Japan was that a man was supposed to be the breadwinner of the family, not his dependent wife. Mr. Wang was also married to a Japanese. He quit his

³¹ Interview on July 15, 2016, Tokyo.

³² Interview on June 30, 2015, Osaka.

³³ Interview on June 25, 2015, Osaka.

government job and arrived in Japan as a student in 1988.³⁴ Mr. Duan, who was once a reporter for *China Youth Daily*, followed his wife to Japan as a student in the early 1990s. He obtained his doctorate and made a career in Japan.³⁵ Mr. Gu, who arrived in Japan in the early 1990s said, “I had a Japanese girlfriend, but going abroad through marriage was not an appealing idea to me. I therefore managed to come to Japan by entering Nagoya University as a student.”³⁶

Living together as a family was the dream and choice of many migrant academics across different generations in this study. Nevertheless, some had to come to terms with living apart from their spouses, who had decent jobs in China and were unwilling to move abroad. Mr. Yi Hai, a professor in Japan born in the 1950s and arriving in Japan in the 1980s, lived alone because his wife would not give up her career in China.³⁷ Mrs. Ding You was born in the 1960s had a full-time position in China, but her husband and children lived in Japan. Unwilling to quit her job, Mrs. Ding shuttled between the two countries.³⁸ Similarly, Mrs. Ren, who was born in the 1980s and studied and worked in Japan in the 2010s, worked in Japan alone. However, for her, a split family was a deliberate lifestyle choice, and she saw it as a temporary arrangement. Knowing that she would probably return home eventually, her husband decided not to co-move.³⁹

Some couples lived apart because they did not work in the same city in Japan. For example, Mr. Ding, who was born in the 1970s and moved to Japan in the 2000s, had a wife who was also an academic. Because both husband and wife wanted to pursue their careers, they compromised on family life by getting together on weekends or holidays.⁴⁰ Aside from career choices,

³⁴ In *Fuji Dongying xiechunqiu*, 74-79.

³⁵ Ibid, 361-369.

³⁶ Ibid, 193-194.

³⁷ Interview on July 19, 2015, Tokyo.

³⁸ Interview on June 30, 2016, Tokyo.

³⁹ Interview on July 2, 2015, Osaka.

⁴⁰ Interview on June 15, 2016, Tokyo.

separations could be based on lifestyle preferences. Couples who could not agree on a lifestyle that suited them both might not live together. One of the interviewees, who was born in the 1950s and came to Japan in the 1980s, said, “My wife does not like this remote Japanese town where I work. She prefers a cosmopolitan life.”⁴¹

In brief, transnational mobility has had a significant impact on migrant academic families. The careers of both husband and wife in the home or host country, and their lifestyle choices have all come under pressure, and there has been no exception for their children.

The dilemma of children’s education

As Table 5.2 shows, 32 interviewees in this study had a total of 22 children. At the time of the interviews, three children were living in the U.S. and Australia, two were in China, and the remaining seventeen were in Japan.

Table 5.2 Residency status of the children in this study

Places where children lived	Total
Lived in Japan	17
Lived in China	2
Lived in a third country	3

Some scholars have outlined the several stages of migrants’ adaptive needs: the first stage is

⁴¹ Interview on July 4, 2015, Osaka.

housing and employment, the second is networking with the hometown, and the third is the children's education. As one scholar wrote:

The immigrant has become a settler, and a major concern has become what to do about the younger generation in his family, possibly born outside China but at least raised in the new environment. Language and cultural maintenance and the availability of some kind of Chinese education [have] become of concern. A tension develops: the settler's perception is that his children need Chinese education for cultural maintenance, but he also wants them to have all the skills and qualifications needed for full economic opportunity in the new society. There is inadequate time to get both kinds of education in the way desired. Therefore, economic opportunity usually wins, cultural sacrifices are made, and the younger generation's education is more in local than in Chinese terms.⁴²

There are five traditional Chinese language schools that provide Chinese language and cultural education in Japan: the Yokohama Overseas Chinese School (1898-), the Yokohama Yamate Chinese School (1898-),⁴³ the Kobe Chinese Tongwen School (1899-),⁴⁴ the Tokyo Chinese School (1929, 1946 restarted), and the Osaka Chinese School (1946-).⁴⁵ By the year 2010, there were only 363 students at the Yokohama Chinese School, 526 at the Yokohama Yamate Chinese School, 676 at the Kobe Chinese Tongwen School, 338 at the Tokyo Chinese School, and 252 at the Osaka Chinese School respectively.⁴⁶

The functions of these schools in the post-1980 era have been limited. On the one hand, the small number of schools and the four cities they cover have not been enough to meet the needs of the growing number of new Chinese migrants and the diverse population. More importantly, the perceptions of the new migrants have changed regarding their children's education. Few Chinese

⁴² Wickberg, "Overseas Chinese Adaptive Organizations," 71.

⁴³ Split of the Yokohama Chinese School which was founded in 1897 by Sun Yat-sen.

⁴⁴ Kobe Chinese School, accessed March 24, 2018, <http://www.tongwen.ed.jp/gaiyou/rekishi.html>. It was initiated by Liang Qichao. For a case study on this school, see Benjamin Ng Wai-ming, "Chinese Education and Changing National and Cultural Identities among the Overseas Chinese in Modern Japan: A Study of Chuka Dobun Gakko (Tongwen Chinese School) in Kobe," in *Chinese Migrants Abroad: Cultural, Educational, and Social Dimensions of the Chinese Diaspora*, ed. Michael W. Charney, Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and CheeKiong Tong (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), 85-100.

⁴⁵ The Osaka Chinese School, accessed March 24, 2018, <http://www.ocs.ed.jp/>.

⁴⁶ Ju, *Riben Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu*, 128.

migrants enroll their children in Chinese language schools because they are not part of the official Japanese school system.⁴⁷ If their children attended these schools, they would have difficulty adapting to Japanese society after graduation.

The transnational mobility of migrant academics in Japan has raised a series of issues related to their children's education. Included among them is the child's name, the preferred spoken language at home, and the place where the child attends school. Instead of focusing on the traditional Chinese language schools, this section offers an alternative view of the new migrants' flexible approach to their children's education.

Adopting a Japanese name for the child or keeping its Chinese name?

A name is an identifier of a person. It can reveal or conceal a host of information about the person: his or her pedigree, nationality, race, and cultural traits, among others. A name matters to academics and their children. Academics usually do not change their name, even if they become naturalized, because in academia a name is linked to publications. (It is different for businessmen. To win Japanese customers or for other reasons, they usually adopt Japanese names upon being naturalized.) For children, adopting a Japanese name or keeping their Chinese name may influence other people's impression of them. Such an impression can work to their advantage or disadvantage when they interact with others in daily life. This consideration has prompted some Chinese migrants in Japan to adopt Japanese names for their children.

When Mr. Gu was nine years old in the early 1990s, he and his mother migrated to Japan to join his father, an associate professor at a Japanese university. His parents registered him in a

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Japanese primary school under a Japanese name. As a child, Mr. Gu learned Japanese quickly and was soon able to speak the language with near native fluency. His school friends treated him like a Japanese. After entering university, Mr. Gu decided to use his Chinese name, because both he and his parents identified themselves as Chinese living in Japan. This name change immediately resulted in other people identifying him as Chinese, even though he was by then already a Japanese citizen. He began to encounter unfair treatment in daily life.

I rented an apartment in a building in Tokyo. This building was popular with Japanese. On the floor where I lived, all my neighbors were Japanese. Residents of this building were required to dispose of their garbage at a designated public area on each floor. One day, the building manager left a note outside my door, saying that litter had been found on this floor. I went to confront the manager, telling him I did not litter, and asked him whether he had also left the same note with my neighbors. His negative reply made me realize that it was my Chinese name that led him to believe that I was a foreigner (Chinese). I felt unfairly treated, and questioned him as to how he could have the bias that only foreigners would litter, and how he could jump to the conclusion that I was the culprit because of my Chinese name. The Japanese could litter too. The manager said nothing to me.⁴⁸

Mr. Gu's experience was not unique. The child of another academic was also identified as Chinese because of his name. His mother explained, "Nowadays the Japanese have become more open to diversity in their society. However, the peers of my kid sometimes still treat him differently because his parents are Chinese migrants." She was then asked: "How did they know your child is Chinese?" She responded: "His name....You know, a Chinese name is obviously different from a Japanese one."⁴⁹

Language spoken at home

Most Chinese migrants have faced another challenge in their children's education: mastering

⁴⁸ Informal interview with a child of an academic in July 2016, Tokyo.

⁴⁹ Interview on July 1, 2015, Osaka.

their mother tongue. There has been no exception for migrant academics. In this study, they urged their children to learn the language, telling them a correlation existed between a child's Chinese language skills and his or her identity as an overseas Chinese. The parents were also pragmatic: mastering the Chinese language would make their children bilingual, providing them with more job opportunities in the future.⁵⁰ These considerations motivated Chinese academics to equip their children with Chinese language skills. They tried to achieve this through various means.

In some migrant families, Chinese was the language spoken at home. Children from these families were likely to acquire basic Chinese language skills. One of the interviewees in this study said, "At home, I insist on speaking Chinese to my children."⁵¹ This was, however, not the case in all families, even when both parents were Chinese. Another interviewee helplessly related, "I wish my children could learn Chinese, and I try to talk with them in Chinese. But they just reply to me in Japanese and my two children always talk with each other in Japanese."⁵² Waiting until children reached adolescence could be worse. Attempting to provide language instruction at such a late age would almost certainly result in failure. Thus, in this study, Japanese was the spoken language in some families, even though both parents were Chinese. One reason for this was that when the parents first arrived in Japan they availed themselves of every opportunity to practice and improve their Japanese language skills, speaking the language at home even after they had children.⁵³

In this study, for children with Chinese fathers and Japanese mothers, the mother played an

⁵⁰ Ju, *Riben Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu*, 164.

⁵¹ Interview on July 1, 2015, Osaka.

⁵² Interview on July 4, 2015, Osaka.

⁵³ Fieldwork observation at an academic get-together on July 19, 2015, Tokyo.

important role in the child's language development. Many mothers spent most of the time with their children helping them master the mother tongue. Furthermore, they spoke Japanese to the their Chinese husbands, who needed to improve their Japanese. In this way, Japanese became the family language.⁵⁴ This was also the case for girls born to Chinese fathers and Japanese mothers in English-speaking countries. As the child grew up, English was used in school and Japanese was spoken at home. One father said he wanted his daughter to learn Chinese, but failed to persuade her to do so: "My child would take French rather than Chinese as her third language in middle school!"⁵⁵

The inability to communicate with one another in Chinese created a generation gap between the migrants' children and their grandparents in this study. In a typical Chinese family, with three generations living under the same roof, grandparents ordinarily enjoy close relations with their grandchildren. However, the migrant families were essentially "nuclear," comprising one set of parents and their children.⁵⁶ To close the generation gap, the migrant academics took their children to visit their grandparents in China. However, these children could barely chat with their grandparents in Chinese.⁵⁷

Trying to address this issue, many migrant academic parents hired a home language teacher for their children, or sent them to weekend Chinese language school. These children did not study the language out of their own interest, but saw it as a burden and a way of fulfilling an obligation to their parents. To them, Japanese and English were the most important languages.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Interview on June 30, 2015, Osaka.

⁵⁵ Interview on June 25, 2015, Osaka.

⁵⁶ Chan and Dorais, "Family, Identity, and the Vietnamese Diaspora," 294.

⁵⁷ Interview on July 1, 2016, Tokyo.

⁵⁸ Ju, *Riben Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu*, 152.

Where should my children attend school?

The place where a migrant family's child received his or her education depended on the category to which the family belonged. In a "modern split family," one parent lived with the children in the host country and the other parent remained behind in the home country. The host country was where the children attended school. In a "parachute-kid family," both parents lived in the host country (Japan), but their children attended school in a third country like the United States, Canada, or Australia, where some parents would eventually settle. The academic migrants in Japan tended to make such arrangements for their children.⁵⁹

This expectation or arrangement for their children may reflect the perception of these academics on Japan and their family strategies. First, as migrant academics from China to Japan, although they enjoy the benefits of living in Japan, they also face negative experiences: pressure in the workplace, the generally unwelcoming environment, and a non-immigrant society, among others. As a result, they may want their children to explore a different lifestyle by studying in another culture. Another plausible explanation is the perception of Western countries by Chinese people. According to Fong's study, Chinese students perceive Japan as a country superior to China but inferior to the United States.⁶⁰ Therefore, academics already working in Japan may wish for their children to study or live in a better place than Japan. Second, understanding education as a family strategy of capital accumulation, studying in another Western country may better serve the interests of family development.⁶¹

However, contrary to their wishes, many of these children grew up like their Japanese peers,

⁵⁹ Interview on June 26 and 29, 2015, Osaka. See also the autobiography of Xia Yuji, in *Fuji Dongying xiechunqiu*, 92-101.

⁶⁰ Fong, *Paradise Redefined*.

⁶¹ Pál Nyíri, "Training for Transnationalism: Chinese Children in Hungary," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 7 (2014): 1253-1263; Shirlena Huang, Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and Theodora Lam, "Asian Transnational Families in Transition: The Liminality of Simultaneity," *International Migration* 46, no. 4 (2008): 3-13. Johanna Waters, "Transnational Family Strategies and Education in the Contemporary Chinese Diaspora," 359-377.

who had no intention of leaving Japan. One professor spoke about his son with pity:

My son is studying for a Ph.D. in Japan. I once wanted him to study abroad. But he told me that he preferred living in Japan, and did not wish to go anywhere else. I had no choice but to respect his will. I understand that my son is just like many of my Japanese students. They are content with life in Japan.⁶²

In a “reverse parachute-kid family,” both parents remain in the host society, but send their children to the home country where they are cared for by their grandparents and attend local schools.⁶³ Some academic migrants in Japan made such arrangements,⁶⁴ hoping they would improve their Chinese language skills and deepen their understanding of China. The outcomes of such arrangements, however, varied from one child to another.

One of the interviewees in this study said, “I sent my children back to China to attend school. They stayed in China for several years and improved their Chinese language skills.”⁶⁵ In contrast, the experience in China of some children led them to dislike their natal country:

I had once planned to send my children back to China for education. But I changed my mind after a family trip to China. The short trip left a bad image of China on my children. They disliked the crowded cities. Worse still, their impression of China even affected me. I started to reflect on my views of the country.⁶⁶

Overall, in this study only a few Chinese migrant families in Japan were “modern split families” where the child lived with one parent in either China or Japan. The rest of the migrant families managed to keep their members together.

The children of Chinese migrant academics living in Japan in the post-1980 era often shared

⁶² Interview on June 26, 2015, Osaka.

⁶³ Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*. Ju, *Riben Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu*. Yang, “From Sojourning to Settlement to Transnationalism,” 122-140.

⁶⁴ Some scholars also mention such a practice. Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*. Ju, *Riben Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu*, 218-235

⁶⁵ Informal interview at an academic get-together on July 19, 2015, Tokyo.

⁶⁶ Interview on July 1, 2016, Tokyo.

some distinctive features. Born or growing up in Japan, they developed a strong sense of attachment to the country. As members of the second generation of Chinese migrants, they differed from their cohort in China, who admired the “developed countries” and saw them as “paradise.”⁶⁷ In many ways, the children of Chinese migrant academics resembled their Japanese peers. Unfortunately, they were still not accepted in Japanese society as being truly “Japanese.” This was not their fault. They did not choose their place of birth. Nor could they reject the family’s migratory decision. When they were young, they accepted the arrangements their parents made for weekend Chinese language study and Chinese education. As they approached adolescence, however, they began to show a preference for language study. In addition, they knew where they wanted to reside and where to receive a university education. They also acquired a perspective of the Chinese language and culture, and developed a sense of self-identity, all of which were quite different from their parents.⁶⁸

Factors affecting transnational academic mobility

The high degree of mobility that migrant talents enjoy throughout their careers has gained scholarly attention.⁶⁹ This section expands that research by examining three factors that either facilitate or impede such mobility: family, government immigration regulations, and job market

⁶⁷ Fong, *Paradise Redefined*, 1-66.

⁶⁸ Ju, *Riben Huaqiao Huaren zinv wenhua chuancheng yu wenhua rentong yanjiu*, 218-235. Ju had worked at a Japanese university before she returned to China. This book is relevant to this study, as it is a monographic study of Chinese education in Japan and a study of migrant children. But this book seems to present a positive evaluation of the inheritance of Chinese language and culture, as it is written by a Chinese academic from a Chinese university, and is written in Chinese and published in China. Gregor Benton and Edmund Terence Gomez, “Belonging to the nation: generational change, identity and the Chinese diaspora,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no.7 (2014): 1157-1171.

⁶⁹ Kim, “Shifting Patterns of Transnational Academic Mobility,” 387-403.

mechanisms.⁷⁰ When contemplating the possibility of working overseas, international talent often consider the impact the decision will have on their family. Family thus plays an important role in deciding whether to move overseas or remain in the home country. Governmental regulations also have an obvious impact on the possibility of any person pursuing international mobility. In addition, the supply and demand of the international job market, seniority, and field of specialization determine the terms of employment for prospective employees.⁷¹

The Chinese migrant academics in this study who completed their university degrees in Japan during the 1980s and 1990s generally remained at the universities or institutes they worked for. The author surveyed the autobiographies of 31 academics, published in 1998, and traced their current locations in 2017. Among the 31 academics, one had returned to China to become a school chair and another left academia to start a company in China. The remaining 29 were still in Japan, working in academia. Most had achieved the level of professor. Three explained their decision to stay in Japan.

I receive a fixed salary in Japan. While the salary for a professor in China seems less than mine, I could actually earn more if I work in China by delivering lectures to private companies. I once contemplated returning to China, but eventually gave up the idea. My family has been settled here, there is no need for me to abandon the comfortable life in Japan, just to earn more money.⁷² (Male, professor of social sciences who arrived in Japan in the 1980s)

Upon graduation from a Japanese university in the 1990s, I received two offers, one from a top Chinese university, and another from an ordinary Japanese university. I decided to stay in Japan, because the environment of Japanese universities was much more conducive to research in terms of both hard and soft wares. I do not regret staying in Japan.⁷³ (Male, professor of humanities who arrived in Japan in the 1980s)

I want to return to China, but there are few positions available for me. We came to Japan after completing undergraduate studies in China. And we do not know many

⁷⁰ Schiller and Salazar, "Regimes of Mobility across the Globe," 183-200.

⁷¹ Chen, *Globalization and Transnational Academic Mobility*.

⁷² Interview on July 7, 2016, Tokyo.

⁷³ Interview on June 26, 2015, Osaka.

Chinese scholars who could support our job applications. In China, if you do not have personal networks in academia, you could hardly secure a job interview, even though you have an overseas post-graduate degree. [Jia: “Then how about your family?”] My wife and I have already discussed this matter. As long as one of us could find a full-time position in China, the family will go back together.⁷⁴ (Male, visiting researcher in technology, married with children)

In contrast, a female academic holding a visitor position at a Japanese university chose not to permanently remain in Japan, even though her husband and children were living there. She explained, “A tenured position is more attractive to me. I am already a tenured associate professor in China. Why should I give it up and become contract-based staff in Japan? That is why I shuttle between the two countries.”⁷⁵

Worldwide economic stagnation since the 2000s has resulted in a very competitive job market for younger academics. For the academics in this study in the early stages of their careers, or who had contractual appointments, transnational career mobility was not a preference, but a necessity. They were compelled to move to any place where jobs were available. Some frequently changed jobs as a way of achieving upward mobility in their careers.⁷⁶ The challenges associated with relocation did not deter them. They said a promising new job, like a tenure-track or tenured position, would bring more benefit to their family.

Government policies also affected the academics’ mobility. In 2015, the Japanese government issued guidelines to national universities, asking them to phase out some humanities courses. An interviewee from a national university explained how his university implemented this policy.

⁷⁴ Interview on July 28, 2016, Tokyo.

⁷⁵ Interview on June 30, 2016, Tokyo.

⁷⁶ Schaer, Dahinden, and Toader, “Transnational Mobility among Early-Career Academics,” 1292-1307.

This is an incredibly absurd policy. My university has already started implementing it. In my department, there are three teaching positions for this humanities subject. Although they will not fire me, the university authorities have indicated that they will close my position after I retire, and will not hire a new recruit to replace me. This is what they will be doing.”⁷⁷

In contrast, the Chinese government initiated talent programs as discussed in Chapter Two, such as the “One thousand talent scheme” and the “Ten thousand talent scheme,” that made returning to China attractive to some early career academics. This can be seen in the following comments:

I definitely would like to stay in Japan. My mother wants me to stay as well. I have a good impression of this country. However, it is difficult for me to get a full-time position here. If I could find a position in China, I would consider going back. [Jia: “Then how about your husband if you stay in Japan?”] I have not given much thought to that issue, as I think there is very little chance for me to stay here.⁷⁸ (Female, postdoc in humanities, married with no child)

I have a contractual position here, and am not sure whether my contract will be extended. I may consider going back if I can find a decent position in China. My wife agrees with me. She is currently a full-time mother of two children. She will come with me to any place where I have a position.”⁷⁹ (Male, assistant professor of science and technology, married with two children)

In summary, considerations of job security, career development, and family life exerted considerable influence on the transnational mobility of Chinese migrant academics in Japan. Compared with other migrants who worked as managers or company employees, the migrant academics engaged in knowledge production and the dissemination of their knowledge to the public, their fellow scholars in Japan and the world. The nature of their work exposed them to the

⁷⁷ Interview on July 4, 2015, Osaka.

⁷⁸ Interview on July 2, 2015, Osaka. A year after the interview, she finally got a lecture position and returned to China without hesitation.

⁷⁹ Interview on July 15, 2016, Tokyo.

outside world, rendering them vulnerable to both upheavals in the host society and volatilities in the China-Japan relationship. In this study, “flexible living” became a common practice for academic migrants, helping them cope with the uncertainties in their lives.⁸⁰ Against the backdrop of socio-economic development in both China and Japan, members of migrant families invented different strategies to manage the important issues in their lives: career paths, migration decisions, and children’s education. Once they were settled in Japan, they faced another difficult decision: the choice of citizenship.

Choosing a passport based on pragmatism

As an official document, a passport certifies a person’s citizenship, and entitles him or her to consular services while travelling abroad. The Chinese migrants in Japan, however, had a more pragmatic reason for considering whether to apply for a Japanese passport or keep their Chinese passport: the convenience of travel the passport provided them.

Table 5.3 Passports or visas of the interviewees in this study

Passport	Visa issued Japan	Number
Chinese passport	Permanent residence	13
	Professor visa	9
	Cultural activities visa	2
	Highly skilled professional visa	1

⁸⁰ Liao, “Dangdai huaren zhishifenzi shetuan de kuaguo shijian jiqi linian,” 14.

Japanese passport		4
Third country passport	Professor visa	1
Unknown		2
Total		32

As seen in Table 5.3, 25 of the 32 interviewees were Chinese passport holders. They were Chinese nationals with permanent resident status in Japan. This was a popular choice for most Chinese migrant academics. Nine were residing in Japan on professor visas,⁸¹ two on cultural activities visas, and one on a highly skilled professional visa. Among the 32 interviewees, only 4 became naturalized citizens of Japan. One of the interviewees held a third country passport, and two others preferred to keep their legal status confidential.

Before the migrants' perceptions and strategies behind their legal status choices are discussed, it is necessary to first introduce residence status and Japan's immigration policies related to migrant academics.

Table 5.4 Residence status of the interviewees of this study⁸²

Residence status (visa type)	Activities authorized to engage in	Period of stay
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⁸¹ "Professor" is the name of a Japanese visa type, not a rank title in a university. Those who teach or who conduct research are categorized into this type. The period of residence varies from 3 years, 1 year, half a year, to 3 months.

⁸² This table is an excerpt from the "List of statutes of residence in Japan," Immigration Bureau of Japan, accessed May 14, 2018. <http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/english/tetuduki/kanri/qaq5.html>.

Professor	Activities for research, guidance of research or education at a university, equivalent educational institutions or colleges of technology (<i>Koto senmon gakko</i>).	5 years, 3 years, 1 year, or 3 months
Highly Skilled Professional	<p>(i) Activities that come under any of the following (a) to (c) to be conducted by foreign nationals who meet the criteria provided for by an ordinance of the Ministry of Justice as human resources who possess advanced and specialized skills, and who are expected to contribute to the academic research and economic development of Japan.</p> <p>(a) Activities of engaging in research, research guidance or education based on a contract entered into with a public or private organization in Japan designated by the Minister of Justice, or in conjunction with such activities, activities of personally operating a business which is related to such activities or activities of engaging in research, research guidance or education based on a contract entered into with a public or private organization in Japan other than the applicable organization.</p> <p>(b) Activities of engaging in work requiring specialized knowledge or skills in the field of natural sciences or humanities based on a contract entered into with a public or private organization in Japan designated by the Minister of Justice, or in conjunction with such activities, activities of personally operating a business which is related to the applicable activities.</p> <p>(c) Activities of operating international trade or some other business of a public or private organization in Japan designated by the Minister of Justice or of managing such business, or in conjunction with such activities, activities of personally operating a business which is related to the applicable activities.</p> <p>(ii)</p>	5 years for (1) and indefinite for (2)
Cultural Activities	Academic or artistic activities that provide no income, or activities for the purpose of pursuing specific studies on Japanese culture or art, or activities for the purpose of learning and acquiring Japanese culture or art under the guidance of experts (except for the activities listed in the “Student” and “Trainee” columns of this Table).	3 years, 1 year, 6 months or 3 months

Student	Activities to receive education at a university, college of technology (<i>koto senmon gakko</i>), senior high school (including the second half of a course of study at a school for secondary education (<i>chuto kyoiku gakko</i>) or senior high school course of a school for special needs education (<i>tokubetsu shien gakko</i>), junior high school (including the second half of a course of study at a school for compulsory education (<i>gimu kyoiku gakko</i>) and the first half of a course of study at a school for secondary education) or junior high school course of a school for special needs education, elementary school (including the first half of a course of study at a school for compulsory education) or elementary school course of a school for special needs education, special training school (<i>senshu gakko</i>) or miscellaneous school (<i>kakushu gakko</i>) or equivalent educational institution in terms of facility and organization in Japan.	4 years and 3 months, 4 years, 3 years and 3 months, 3 years, 2 years and 3 months, 2 years, 1 year, 6 months, or 3 months
Permanent Resident	Those who are permitted permanent residence by the Minister of Justice.	Unlimited

Many of the Chinese migrant academics in this study first entered Japan on “student” visas. After they obtained positions at Japanese universities, they transferred to “professor” visas. Once they had worked in Japan for an extended length of time, they could apply for citizenship or permanent residency. In addition, some visiting academics were on “cultural activity” visas. Other migrant academics were directly recruited by Japanese universities, and the universities helped them apply for visas corresponding to their status.

Some migrant academics were in a new category of visa designed in 2012 for “highly skilled professionals.” The major criteria for highly skilled foreign professionals were their academic background, years of work experience in business, and annual salary. Mastery of the Japanese language and completion of courses at Japanese universities were an advantage. Qualified persons were issued a special visa, granting them a five-year stay in Japan with permission to

engage in multiple activities, and priority in processing their entry and residence documents. In addition, they could bring a domestic worker, a parent, and a spouse who was eligible to work in Japan.⁸³

One interesting aspect of Japan's foreigner policy is that it has encouraged citizenship application rather than permanent residence, which is the opposite of policies in countries like the U.S. or Singapore. The foremost lever Japan has used is the migrants' length of residence. The mandatory residence requirement has been five years for naturalization and ten years for permanent residency.⁸⁴ With the launch of the "highly skilled professional" category in 2012, however, the requirements to apply for permanent residency were relaxed. According to the revised points-based system, for a person with 80 points or more, the length of mandatory residence in Japan is one year, and for a person of 70 points or more, it is three years.⁸⁵

The Japanese immigration policies suggest that highly skilled migrants are favored. Meanwhile, Japan has promoted naturalization. Some scholars have explained the politics behind this: once a migrant becomes naturalized, he or she is longer perceived as a migrant in Japanese society and Japan maintains the façade of a homogenous society.⁸⁶ Basically, it has been easier for highly skilled migrants to apply for naturalization rather than for permanent residence in Japan. However, 13 interviewees in this study were permanent residents, and only 4 had been naturalized. These 13 academics had become eligible for naturalization before they were eligible to apply for permanent residence. Therefore, it was their choice.

⁸³ "Points-based System for Highly Skilled Foreign Professionals," Ministry of Justice, accessed November 4, 2017, http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/newimmiact_3/en/system/index.html.

⁸⁴ "Requirements for permanent residence," Ministry of Justice, accessed November 4, 2017, http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyukan_nyukan50.html.

⁸⁵ "Points-based System for Highly Skilled Foreign Professionals," Ministry of Justice, accessed November 4, 2017, http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/newimmiact_3/en/system/index.html.

⁸⁶ For the politics of naming in Japan's management of immigration, see Roberts, "An Immigration Policy by Any Other Name," 89-102.

The migrant academics in this study often chose their legal status based on family considerations. The parents, spouses, and children of many of them lived in China, requiring them to travel to there to attend to family matters. They needed a passport that facilitated their travel. As one of the interviewees elaborated:

My parents are still in China. If I switch to a Japanese passport, I can stay for only 14 days in China without a visa. This is obviously too short for me. Of course, if I give up my Chinese passport, I could apply for a long-term visa for my visit to China. But the process is long and quite tedious.⁸⁷

Another professor shared a similar consideration. He often accompanied the Chancellor and other key office holders of his university to visit foreign universities. Many European countries were visa-free for Japanese passport holders; however, Chinese nationals needed a visa to enter these countries. Every time he was planning a business trip, he travelled all the way to Tokyo to apply for a visa. It then took the embassy of the country he was visiting time to process his application. Nevertheless, this professor did not switch to a Japanese passport despite the inconvenience he endured as a Chinese national travelling abroad. A Japanese passport would have allowed him free access to many countries. Yet he kept his Chinese passport because he had important connections in China and frequently travelled there.⁸⁸

Having worked in Japan for many years, some migrant academics chose to be naturalized in Japan. The reason behind this decision was also consideration of their parents. One of these academics originally came to Japan as a teenager to attend middle school. However, it was not until recently that she applied for Japanese citizenship. She reflected on her considerations:

Should I consider it attractive, I would have already acquired the Japanese

⁸⁷ Interview on July 18, 2015, Tokyo.

⁸⁸ Interview on July 3, 2015, Osaka. For this consideration, if China changes its immigration policy, making it easy for foreigners to obtain permanent residency, the consideration of whether to change passports may be different.

citizenship ten years ago when I first entered the workplace. But I was reluctant to do so. I knew people would not treat me as a Japanese even if I had the citizenship. Besides, I did not want to become a Japanese at all. However, I changed my mind due to my mother. She lived with me, but did not have a job. If I became a Japanese citizen, she would benefit from my new legal status. So, I naturalized in Japan. But I still do not consider myself a Japanese.⁸⁹ (Lecturer, arrived in Japan in the 1980s, holder of a Japanese passport.)

The legal status of an academic's spouse could also affect his or her passport choice.

The work of my husband requires him to travel globally. A Chinese passport obviously makes it difficult for him to meet the requirements. How could you wait for a visa, which takes at least several days to process, when your boss asks you to fly off immediately? Due to this consideration, my husband and I applied for a Japanese passport together.⁹⁰ (Part-time lecturer, arrived in Japan in the 1990s, Japanese passport holder)

The choice of permanent residence has not been unique to Chinese migrant academics. It has also been popular among other Chinese migrant groups.

[With a permanent residence status,] one does not need to face the psychological barrier [to become "Japanese"], does not need to abandon the possible benefits in China, and does not need to go to the Immigration Bureau to renew the visa.... Permanent residence, to most of the overseas Chinese [in Japan], is almost a golden choice. What is more, a permanent resident can further apply for naturalization; however, a naturalized person can no longer switch back to Chinese citizenship.⁹¹

To sum up, academics, as highly skilled migrants, have faced fewer barriers when applying for naturalization or permanent residence pursuant to Japan's foreigner policy favoring them. Japan's policy also encourages naturalization over permanent residence. However, more migrant academics in this study preferred permanent residence. Their choice of legal status was

⁸⁹ Interview on June 22, 2016, Tokyo.

⁹⁰ Interview on June 30, 2015, Osaka.

⁹¹ "To apply for permanent residence or to naturalize? Overseas Chinese hesitating at naturalization," Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, accessed March 27, <http://www.gqb.gov.cn/news/2007/1207/1/7322.shtml>. See also Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*, 125-141.

pragmatic and strategic, with consideration mainly given to their family, career and mobility. In addition to the citizenship issue, they also displayed fluid cultural identities, which were not necessarily aligned with their legal status.

Cultural identity and transnational positioning of migrant academics

Contemporary scholars have pointed out that “cultural identity pertains to the way one perceives his or her basic relations to the world, together with the mental images and social habits within which this perception is embodied.”⁹² The migrant academics in this study shared their views of what they were and were not. Nearly all of them described themselves as “culturally Chinese.” They used a range of terms to address the issue of self-identity: “Chinese (*zhongguoren*),” “ethnic Chinese (*huaren*),” and “ethnic Chinese in Japan (*zaiRi huaren*).” They strongly objected to the notion that they were “Chinese Japanese” or “Japanese Chinese,” asserting that these two terms essentially defined them as Japanese. The following are some of the interviewees’ responses to the question of self-identity:

I am a Chinese (*zhongguoren*).” [Jia: “Are you not a *huaqiao*?”] No, I am not. Is that term not used to refer to those who have settled in Japan for good, and who have offspring of the second, or even the third generations?⁹³ (Assistant professor, on a professor visa who has been living in Japan for 15 years. He arrived in Japan in the 2000s.)

I am an alien/foreigner (Chinese: *wairen*, *waiguoren*; Japanese: *gaijin*, *gaikokujin*).⁹⁴ (Assistant professor, arrived in Japan in the 2010s, on a professor visa)

We have naturalized in Japan, but are not Japanese. I always tell my children: “We

⁹² Chan and Dorais, “Family, Identity, and the Vietnamese Diaspora,” 294.

⁹³ Interview on May 16, 2016, Tokyo.

⁹⁴ Interview on May 24, 2016, Tokyo.

are ethnic Chinese in Japan (*zaiRi huaren*).”⁹⁵ (Part-time lecturer, arrived in Japan in the 1990s, Japanese passport holder)

I spent my first twenty years in China, and then lived in Japan for more than thirty years. In fact, I know more about Japan than China. China is my first home, and Japan the second.”⁹⁶ (Professor, arrived in Japan in the 1980s, a permanent resident)

My family is still looking for a home.⁹⁷ (Professor, arrived in Japan in the 2000s, holding a third country passport, on a professor visa)

I belong to neither Japan nor China. I am a transnational person. You can never be a Japanese if you cannot celebrate the Japanese festivals every year and eat Japanese food daily the same way as the Japanese.⁹⁸ (Professor, arrived in Japan in the 1980s, a permanent resident)

These responses make it clear that citizenship and cultural identity do not always align. The transnational mobility of the migrant academics in Japan resulted in their forming a transnational identity based on a shared cultural ethnicity. In other words, the migrant academics in Japan did not fully embrace the Japanese or the Chinese version of cultural identity because certain elements of both were mutually exclusive.

The notion of a Japanese identity (*nihonjinron*) has been a self-defining ideology. It emerged in postwar Japan in the hope of motivating people to overcome their economic difficulties and revive Japanese society. Under this ideology, the Japanese were described as a homogenous people with distinct characteristics.⁹⁹ A border between the Japanese and other peoples should always be maintained.

There has been, however, no straight answer to this seemingly simple question: who are the Japanese? In a seminar with graduate students from diverse cultural backgrounds, a professor

⁹⁵ Interview on June 30, 2015, Osaka.

⁹⁶ Interview on June 1, 2015, Tokyo.

⁹⁷ Interview on June 25, 2015, Osaka.

⁹⁸ Interview on July 4, 2015, Osaka.

⁹⁹ Befu Harumi, *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of “Nihonjinron”* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001).

posed this question. Some were stumped by it; others did not think it was a question at all. After serious consideration and discussion, the group came up with their own criteria for being Japanese: a person's ancestry, a sense of self-identity (belonging/attachment), command of the Japanese language, social behavior (the way one conducts oneself), and interpersonal skills (the ability to engage other Japanese).¹⁰⁰ In other words, the judgment of whether a person was Japanese was based on his or her mindset, language, and customs, rather than nationality.¹⁰¹ A person who had been naturalized in Japan was not necessarily Japanese. Many "native" Japanese were unwilling to accept a foreigner as "one of them," even though the person had already obtained Japanese citizenship. For them, there was a clear line between "self" (a native Japanese) and "other" (a naturalized foreigner).

This mentality of "self" and "other" has not been unique to the "native" Japanese. Many migrants in Japan have also differentiated themselves ("we") from the Japanese ("they"). An example on point is the Koreans. They have been active in striving for their rights and fighting discrimination against Korean workers in Japan.¹⁰² The rate of naturalization among Korean migrants has been quite low. Nevertheless, some have chosen to become Japanese citizens. The main reasons underpinning this decision have been their children's education and political voting rights.¹⁰³ A study of Korean migrants in Japan found that they did not want to be addressed as "Japanese Korean" or "Korean Japanese."¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Chinese migrants have also had a low

¹⁰⁰ Fieldwork on June 13, 2016, Tokyo.

¹⁰¹ "Jiang Keshi: An Academic Reflection of a Chinese Historian in Japan," <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/91052-3.html> Accessed April 19, 2018.

¹⁰² Chung, *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan*.

¹⁰³ Teru, *Nihon no kokuseki seido to Korai-kei Nihonjin*.

¹⁰⁴ The names include: Korean residents in Japan (Legal status, in English), Ethnic Koreans in Japan (Includes Japanese nationals of Korean ancestry, in English), Korean minority in Japan (Signifying the discursive position in Japan, in English), Korean-Japanese/Japanese-Korean (not widely accepted in Japan, in English), Overseas Koreans in Japan, Doho (In Korean it is named in this way, but some Korean Americans identify themselves as Americans of Korean Ancestry, in Korean), Zainichi Kankoku Chosenjin (South and North Korean Residents in Japan, official Japanese term).

rate of naturalization and many have refused to identify themselves as Japanese. Just as their Japanese counterparts have developed the notion of “*nihojinron*,” the Chinese government has encouraged the creation of a Chinese identity for overseas Chinese communities.¹⁰⁵ However, the Chinese migrants have already formed their own sense of identity.

Hence, a tension exists between the individual migrant academics’ perception and practice of cultural citizenship and the Chinese and Japanese nation-states’ promotion of loyalty-based citizenship. Barriers do exist between the Chinese migrants and the “native” Japanese, some of which cannot be easily overcome. Having lived in Japan for many years, several academics in this study could speak near native Japanese and communicate well with the Japanese; nevertheless, they still tended to identify themselves as Chinese in Japan.

Conclusion

This chapter examined transnational academic mobility, self-identity, and citizenship from a family perspective. As an institution, the family has been the driving force for some of the important events in the lives of migrant academics: career mobility, relocation to a foreign country, children’s education, passport choice, and the construction of self-identity. The migrants in this study valued family togetherness. However, when they, as the primary movers, decided to work overseas, many of their spouses, as co-movers, had to sacrifice their careers in the home country to maintain family unity. Further, their children were often required to relocate to foreign countries to attend school. Thus, the decision to work abroad was likely to involve difficult

¹⁰⁵ Pál Nyíri, “Expatriating Is Patriotic? The Discourse on ‘New Migrants’ in the People’s Republic of China and Identity Construction among Recent Migrants from the PRC,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 4 (October 2001): 635-653.

negotiations between husband and wife that not only affected their children but also the grandparents. Sometimes spouses declined to co-move and maintained their jobs in the home country. In that case, the couple lived separately, scattering the family members. Having said that, this arrangement was often part of a strategy to accumulate family wealth.

The Chinese migrant academics in this study refused to embrace the Japanese identity, claiming that they were not Japanese. Having worked in Japan for extended lengths of time, some chose to become naturalized in Japan. However, this newly acquired nationality did not necessarily affect their self-identity. They were still Chinese at heart. They became Japanese citizens for the convenience a Japanese passport could offer them when traveling: they could visit many countries without a visa. The decision to naturalize was therefore based mainly on pragmatic considerations. Most of the migrant academics clearly distinguished their Japanese citizenship from their self-identity, and had to reconcile their legal status as Japanese citizens and their Chinese mentality. To cope with this dilemma, they developed a sense of psychological transnational attachment. That is, they strategically positioned themselves as being culturally Chinese but living in Japan.

The children of the migrants had a different attitude toward self-identity. They exhibited less attachment to China and much affection for Japan. Most of the migrant parents expected their children to learn the Chinese language and embrace Chinese culture. However, this often proved to be too difficult for the children. Some migrants also wanted their children to attend overseas universities to develop a spirit of adventure and live a transnational life after graduation. Born or mainly educated in Japan, these children were reluctant to fulfill their parents' expectations of them.

The experiences of the Chinese migrant academics in Japan demonstrated that family was one of the important forces driving transnational academic mobility. Therefore, taking a family oriented approach was required to obtain a deeper understanding of mobility's dynamics. This approach closed a gap in the literature that has treated migrant academics as "singles." In reality, many did not migrate alone, but often brought their families. Beyond that, the current scholarship has tended to overemphasize the "free flow" migrant academics enjoy in their career development. Such mobility is not "borderless," but subjected to family considerations, the forces of the job market, and changes to institutional regulations and government policies.

Finally, some transnational academics in this study failed to keep their families together despite strenuous effort. They divorced, and their families dissolved. To protect their privacy, they often refused to discuss their failed marriages, making it almost impossible to study this group of academics. However, clearly these "academic singles," having freed themselves from family obligations, were able to enjoy greater transnational mobility in their careers. Some remarried and family again became one of the central issues in their career decisions. This added new vitality to their transnationalism. The story of transnational academics remains incomplete without the experiences of these people. Further research in this area thus awaits transnationalism scholars.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This empirical study has analyzed the less examined vibrant Chinese migrant academic community in Japan. Starting in 1978, it has explored the mobility trajectories and cultural citizenship practices of its members in three transnational social spaces: the university, voluntary associations, and the family.

This concluding chapter first reiterates the main findings regarding the origins of the community and the cultural citizenship practices of its members. It then reviews the impact nation-states have exerted on their practices and social spaces. Taking a bottom-up transnational approach, the findings from this study enrich our understanding of the life trajectories and experiences of Chinese migrant academics, thereby contributing to the field of cross-border migration. Furthermore, they have practical implications for Japan, a country faced with immigration and internationalization issues within its universities. Finally, this chapter discusses the future direction of migration studies. It suggests that beyond the three social spaces mentioned above, academic migrant transnationalism and cultural citizenship practices should be examined in an even broader context.

Cultural citizenship practices in transnational social spaces: the university, voluntary associations and the family

Transnational knowledge production and dissemination

In the post-1980 era, the ethnic background of a person could be an asset when he or she tried to find a job at a Japanese university. Japanese universities aimed to recruit faculty with different cultural backgrounds to fulfill their mission of internationalization. Two groups of Chinese migrant academics appeared to be desirable candidates: those who were trained in Japan, and those who trained in Western English-speaking countries.¹

With their transnational knowledge structure,² Chinese academics trained in Japan developed a comparative or intercultural vision and skills in research and teaching. Combined with their mastery of the Japanese language, these academics met the Japanese universities' demand for China-related courses (on Chinese society, politics, and the economy), and also offered Chinese language courses that were popular with Japanese students. Chinese academics trained in Western English-speaking countries, although small in number, were distinct in their ethnic background, mastery of English, and knowledge of Western culture and education. Both groups of Chinese migrant academics could be considered transnational academics who had knowledge of two or more cultures. They contributed in their respective ways to the internationalization of Japanese universities. They also facilitated the flow of knowledge and the spatial mobility of academics.

These Chinese migrant academics were involved in researching or teaching topics related to either China or Japan. They combined ethnic cultural traits and his or her academic activities. In

¹ Some interviewees in this study were trained in English-speaking countries. Also, Japanese universities have enhanced their efforts to use English as a medium of instruction in recent decades, especially since 2000. Therefore, this study only covers Chinese migrants who had an education in English speaking countries.

² A person with a transnational educational background has a transnational knowledge structure. However, that structure varies among different groups. For example, an academic who has been trained in Japan and who has worked in Japan would mainly work on China related topics in Japanese. A Chinese background was therefore his/her distinctive feature. By comparison, a Chinese who was educated in Japan and then returned to China, would tend to teach Japan related topics in Chinese. For these two cases, the proportion of their knowledge structure on China or Japan is different. Similarly, for a Chinese migrant academic who had a Western education, knowledge of both China and the West could be his/her distinctive feature. See Chapter Three.

this study, three types of activities related to this topic were investigated: (1) migration studies or writing fiction on overseas Chinese in Japan; (2) studying Sino-Japanese relations, or undertaking cross-cultural or comparative studies of China related topics; and (3) teaching the Chinese language and courses on Chinese culture.

The use of ethnic cultural capital of Chinese migrant academics gave them an advantage over others, given that Japanese universities wanted to offer China-related courses and conduct research on China. As a strategy for survival and the betterment of the university, Chinese migrant academics often highlighted their competitiveness by using their ethnic identity as a resource. Thus, their cultural practices in the universities, on the one hand strengthened their sense of belonging as transnational migrant academics, and on the other hand helped to realize the universities' goal of internationalization.

Transnational public academics and voluntary associations

Since 1978, Chinese migrant academics have become increasingly prominent members not only of Japanese universities, but also of voluntary Chinese associations in Japan. Looking back on the history of the Chinese in Japan, before 1895, merchants from South China were the dominant group of overseas Chinese. They established trade or hometown associations. In 1896, after the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War, Chinese students and intellectuals began to come to Japan. They organized student associations and became a prominent force in China's reform and revolution in the early 20th century. However, migration from China to Japan essentially ceased in 1945, after the end of World War Two, and especially after the PRC was founded in 1949.

Between 1945 and 1978, the leading figures in the Chinese voluntary associations in Japan were the “old migrants” (*lao huaqiao*), who had arrived earlier and settled in Japan. During this time, the Federation of Overseas Chinese in Japan (LiuRi huaqiao zonghui) became the most influential association in Japan, functioning as a public institution for Chinese migrants to protect their rights. Since 1978, the arrival of new Chinese migrants has changed the landscape of overseas Chinese in Japan. Coming from various provinces in China, these migrants have received a high-quality education at Japanese universities; obtained decent, good-paying jobs; and have joined various voluntary associations. Their membership fees and contributions have kept these associations on a sound financial footing. Compared with the traditional associations before the 1980s, the criteria for leadership in the new voluntary associations has expanded. In addition to the wealthy merchants or modern entrepreneurs, renowned academics have become active organizers in these new associations.

The forms of activities and functions of these new migrant organizations have also been different from the old migrant organizations. For example, the new organizations have aimed to facilitate the exchange of highly skilled talent and the flow of ideas between China and Japan. Members of these organizations have exchanged cross-cultural ideas, skills, knowledge, and networks. They have collaborated with the Chinese government to promote talent flow and knowledge transfers. They have organized speech contests, composition contests and language circles to facilitate communication between the Chinese and Japanese. These activities have been instrumental in exploring new ways to forge harmonious economic, cultural, and political ties between China and Japan.

The leaders of these new organizations have set about to enhance the visibility of migrant academics, and to raise the status of overseas Chinese in Japan. They have stated that their

mission is to “serve the public good.” That is, their participation in the organization’s activities has not only been to serve the adaptive needs of association members. Rather, the association members together have strived to enhance the status of migrants overall and to contribute to China-Japan interactions in culture, education, and the economy, among other things. Due to their unofficial nature, these voluntary associations have had to cope with changing China-Japan relations when organizing activities. To handle the thorny issues of political allegiance, the leaders of these associations have presented themselves as transnational intellectuals with fluid identities.

Academic mobility and family migration

When academics decide to work abroad, they gain career mobility. However, such mobility has been associated with a range of issues the academics have had to face: family togetherness, children’s education, nationality, and cultural citizenship, among others. The ways in which the academics have handled these issues have often been based on consideration of their family members, which in one way or another could affect their career mobility. Nevertheless, although discussions of transnational academic mobility are lopsided without considering the family, there have been few studies of family migration.

Compared with their predecessors who left their families behind, the new Chinese migrant academics who were married strived to achieve family togetherness. To this end, husband and wife consulted each other. However, it was usually the wife who sacrificed her career in the home country, becoming a co-mover, and joining her husband. After experiencing dislocation, some co-movers became academics at Japanese universities; some worked in the business sector; and others lived as dependents.

In this study, a female co-mover unwilling to relinquish her career had to overcome the difficulty of dislocation and obtain a doctoral degree from a Japanese university before she could restart her career. If she was successful in securing a faculty position at a university, she had to work twice as hard as her male colleagues to advance her career, as gender inequalities were prevalent at Japanese universities. Female academics were also in the minority, plus their average income was lower than that of their male counterparts and it took them longer to achieve full professorship. The situation was the same for Chinese migrant academics who were female. However, they at least secured a relatively stable footing in their careers and could enjoy family togetherness. In addition to the female academics, some female co-movers worked in the business sector and some stayed at home as housewives. This situation applied to all four generations in this study.

Family togetherness was limited to the husband, wife, and children. The parents of both the primary mover and co-mover remained in China. Remittances linked them together. However, unlike the pioneer migrants, whose remittances were the main source of income for families left behind in China, the new migrant academics wired money home mainly as a way of maintaining emotional ties with their parents. Most of these parents were urban middle-class pensioners, financially independent of their overseas children. Having said that, as grandparents the emotional ties with their grandchildren could become weaker over time. Because the children of Chinese academic migrants grew up in Japan, they developed a self-identity and mobility that were different from their parents and grandparents. Moreover, they did not always speak Chinese, resulting in a generations

Academic mobility has changed across generations along with national policies and market needs. Many migrant academics who arrived in Japan in the 1980s and 1990s secured full-time

positions after obtaining postgraduate degrees from Japanese universities. They preferred job security and demonstrated a settlement mentality rather than a desire for spatial mobility. This phenomenon can be considered a form of preferred immobility. As a side effect of transnational mobility, preferred immobility also deserves a thorough examination.

In contrast, the younger generations of migrant academics, starting their education in Japan after 2000, faced a much more competitive job market upon graduation. They could not rule out the possibility of returning to China. This was especially the case for those who worked part-time or were on contract. To them, a promising position in China was attractive and worthy of consideration even at the cost of family relocation.

Compared with the stringent requirements for permanent residence in Japan, the migrant academics in this study faced fewer barriers when applying for Japanese citizenship. Over the past four decades, however, many of them chose permanent residence status rather than naturalization. Pragmatic considerations drove their decisions. These considerations included, among other things, the convenience a passport provided when traveling to and staying in China and other parts of world for extended lengths of time. The benefits that citizenship could generate for family members also featured prominently in the choice of nationality. Migrant academics refused to equate legal citizenship with cultural citizenship. They developed various practices of cultural citizenship and also formed self-identities that were fluid in nature. They identified themselves as cultural Chinese, describing themselves as “overseas Chinese in Japan (*ZaiRi huaren*),”³ and they objected to the use of any term that implied they were Japanese.

³ *Huaren* here does not conform to the legal meaning, which only refers to being naturalized. Instead, it implies that they were from China and had cultural identity as Chinese, regardless of whether they were naturalized or not. See Chapter One.

Theoretical implications of the relation between nation-states and cultural citizenship practices

The findings of this study have theoretical implications for migrant transnationalism and cultural citizenship practices. First, the study highlights the cultural aspects of transnationalism by this migrant academic group in multiple transnational social spaces. It shows that the identity of academic migrants can be understood from the perspective of cultural citizenship, shedding light on the strategic positioning of Chinese academic migrants for their survival and development. Specifically, in the university, they have articulated ethnic cultural capital in knowledge production and dissemination to advance their career. In the organization, academics have also participated in organizations to promote cultural interaction between China and Japan. Their cultural citizenship practices have also unfolded through the aspects of family life, such as the schooling of children, and choice of citizenship.

The Chinese migrant academics in this study have been investigated in three main spaces: the university, voluntary associations, and the family, covering the main aspects of migrant life. In this way, new empirical data was generated that contributes to the literature. Furthermore, because associations were treated as important transnational social spaces in cultural citizenship practices, a new multi-pronged dimension has been added to research on this topic: the intersection of highly skilled Chinese migrant academics, the community, and government.

To elaborate, in this study an alternative analytical framework was created within which to explore cultural citizenship by examining the role of nation-states in transnational social spaces. Contrary to the view that regimes exist within nation-states, this study looked at nation-states within disparate social spaces, asserting that nation-states always influence migration, the formation and function of transnational social spaces, and the practices of cultural citizenship.

The influx of Chinese students into Japan after 1978 would not have been possible if the Chinese government had not adopted its “opening up” policy. Similarly, the development of various Chinese migrant associations can be attributed, at least in part, to the Chinese government’s policy of persuading overseas Chinese talent to return home. During the past four decades, the professional and social lives of many Chinese migrant academics have been closely aligned with the national, social, and economic transformation of China and Japan, guided by their respective governments.

Taking an historical perspective, the Chinese migrant academics in this study were examined through their mobility trajectories from the 1980s to the 2010s. When the first wave of post-World War II Chinese academics traveled to Japan to study in the 1980s, some were already junior faculty at Chinese universities. Although they enjoyed a cultural prestige in China, they wanted further education overseas. To achieve this, they gave up their jobs and enrolled in postgraduate programs at Japanese universities. Perhaps this was the only way in, because at the time teaching positions in most Japanese universities were unavailable to foreign nationals.

Others came to Japan as students. These were the recent graduates of Chinese universities who had already been assigned jobs in China’s education and government sectors. Declining to report for duty because they wanted to study abroad, they forfeited promising careers in China.

Both the junior faculties and students could be regarded as the pinnacle of Chinese society. When they arrived in Japan as students, however, they lost their stable life. To make ends meet, many of them picked up part-time jobs.⁴ They fell to the bottom of Japanese society. Fortunately, this undesirable situation was temporary for some. After obtaining the necessary education

⁴ For a further discussion of the experience of Chinese students as part time laborers, see Liu-Farrer, *Labor Migration from China to Japan*, 63-84.

credentials, usually a doctorate, they became faculty members at Japanese universities, achieving the status of Chinese migrant academics. Their life experience might be summarized as “downward mobility first, followed by upward mobility.” Obviously, their early years as students in Japan represented downward career mobility.

After 2000, when the Chinese government reformed its higher education system, more students were able to attend university. However, because entrance to the top Chinese universities remained very competitive, some parents from middle-class backgrounds sent their children to Japan for tertiary education.

Once they completed their education and secured employment in Japan, the Chinese migrant academics organized various associations as their social spaces. These associations were “non-governmental” (unofficial) in nature. However, this did not mean there was no interaction between them and the governments of China and Japan. The Chinese government used overseas Chinese associations as instruments to assert influence on overseas Chinese and the Japanese.⁵ It helped the leaders of these associations organize events and send representatives to attend key events. Furthermore, the officials in charge of overseas Chinese matters (*qiaowu*) and the Chinese ambassador to Japan communicated with association leaders. The Chinese central government and local governments collaborated with these organizations to boost their talent programs.

In Japan, the government increased its enrollment of foreign students to internationalize its universities, creating the “100,000 International Students Plan” in 1983 and the “300,000 International students Plan” in 2008. After the late 1980s, students from China became the

⁵ Liu Hong, and Els van Dongen, “China's Diaspora Policies as a New Mode of Transnational Governance,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 102 (November 2016): 805-821.

largest group of international students in Japan. For example, among the 56,309 international students in Japan in 1992, 31,910 were Chinese and 13,381 were Korean. By 2016, there were 277,331 international students in Japan. The number of Korean students barely rose to 15,438, but the number of Chinese students climbed to 124,815.⁶

After graduation, some former students secured positions at Japanese universities. A small number of Chinese academics, trained in English-speaking countries, also joined Japanese universities. Thus, the composition of Chinese migrant academics in Japan diversified and a new Chinese migrant academic community emerged. The activities of its members, ranging from producing and disseminating knowledge to establishing voluntary associations, all came under the influence of the Chinese government.

Clearly the nation-state played an important role in regulating the migration of academics, managing their career mobility, and influencing their cultural citizenship practices across social spaces. The governments of China and Japan, their policies for socio-economic development, and the bilateral relations between the two countries all affected the direction of the migrant academics' research and teaching activities. The influence of the nation-state on their careers was too strong to be ignored.

The various associations of Chinese migrant academics also came to the attention of the Japanese government. It regarded these associations as windows through which to understand China, and treated the associations as think tanks of sorts, whose publications could provide useful information for policymaking. Beyond the associations, the migrants' familial space came under the direct influence of the Japanese nation-state. The Japanese government desired highly

⁶ Japan Immigration Association, *Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Immigration Association, 1993-2014). "Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan," Ministry of Justice, accessed April 25, 2018, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html.

skilled professionals and formulated favorable immigration policies to attract them, allowing them to migrate to Japan with their family members.

Practical implications of highly skilled academic migration and university internationalization

These findings also have practical implications for the immigration policies of both Japan and China. In the case of Japan, well-conceived policies have been needed to attract and retain highly skilled migrants; to manage a society with a large number of migrants; to internationalize its universities; and to regulate the cultural citizenship practices of its migrants. In the words of Hidenori Sakanaka, known as “Mr. Immigration Expert,” there has been an urgent need to make Japan “a nation for migrants.”

Mr. Sakanaka worked on immigration control at the Ministry of Justice for 35 years, from 1970 to 2005. After retirement, he established the Japan Immigration Policy Institute to advocate for immigration reform. He asserted that Japan faced formidable challenges related to survival and development, and that the country should transform from “Small Japan” into “Great Japan.” He once issued a strong warning to Japan’s politicians, industrialists, scholars, and journalists:

It may be that [they] are unwilling to squarely face the demise of the nation that will accompany the population decline, because it is too frightening. They may have self-servingly made up their minds that the problem is too great to deal with. They may not have the courage to abolish the system of a country closed to immigration which is the greatest prohibition that remains in Japan.⁷

⁷ Hidenori Sakanaka, *Japan as a Nation for Immigrants* (Tokyo: Japan Immigration Policy Institute, 2015), 31.

Hidenori Sakanaka urged the Japanese government “not to take the attitude of just sitting around and waiting to die,” adding that “we must bet the fate of the nation on becoming a migrant country.”⁸ To achieve this goal, he proposed a “grand design for a Japanese style immigration nation.” According to this plan, Japan should accept 10 million migrants over the next 50 years, raising the ratio of migrants in its total population from 1.6% to around 10%. An important part of this plan was to train foreigners to become skilled professionals, provide them with jobs, and grant them permanent residence status.⁹

The findings from this study are in accord with some of Sakanaka’s proposals. The Chinese migrant academics in Japan and their activities in multiple professional and social spaces, for example, have contributed to the openness of Japanese society. In universities, the migrants have been training Japanese and international students to become global talent with multicultural or multilingual skills. They have promoted the exchange of people, the flow of ideas and the transfer of knowledge between China and Japan. Migrating to Japan with family members, they have also transformed the demographic landscape of Japan. Their spouses and children are likely to add new blood to Japan’s labor force.

China has faced issues over migrant talent, citizenship, and world-class universities similar to Japan’s. However, it has already shown signs of progress in these areas. For example, it has transformed government institutions and immigration policies, such as the Green Card and five-year talent visa.¹⁰ Wang Huiyao is China’s immigration expert. In 2008, he and Mao Lv

⁸ Sakanaka, *Japan as a Nation for Immigrants*, 10, 81. Sakanaka’s concern comes from the population decline in Japan, with an aging society and low birth rate. According to Estimated Future Population of Japan (2012), the working population between 15-64 years old will decrease from 81 million to 49 million by 2060.

⁹ Sakanaka, *Japan as a Nation for Immigrants*, 31.

¹⁰ Zhang Yan, “New immigration department set up,” *China Daily*, April 3, 2018.
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201804/03/WS5ac2be41a3105cdcf6515d6b.html>

established the Center for China and Globalization (CCG), an independent think tank. It has had remarkable influence on both government officials and the public regarding China's immigration and talent reforms.¹¹

The meaning of internationalization for universities and its relationship with migrant academics has varied across localities (e.g., Japan, China, and Singapore). In Japan, the internationalization of its universities has undergone change. As discussed in Chapter Three, foreign academics, international students, and foreign language courses (with English as a medium of instruction) have been the three key interlocking aspects of Japan's internationalization efforts. As a result, migrant academics from various cultural backgrounds have occupied this niche, contributing to the multicultural and international environment of Japanese universities. Even so, Japanese universities have transformed slowly in this respect. Migrant academics still comprise only a small segment of academic faculties in Japan.¹²

For Chinese universities, internationalization has referred more to their world ranking than to the creation of multicultural environments. More accurately, the goal has been to build the most "first class universities in the world" (*shijie yiliu shuiping de daxue*) rather than to internationalize such institutions. To this end, the Chinese government has indicated its intention to transform its top universities into world-class universities. The "211 project," "985 project," and "double first-class" (*shuangyiliu*) have been three representative nation-wide efforts in furtherance of this objective. The "211 project" to build "world-class" universities was initiated

¹¹ For CCG, accessed May 3, 2018, <http://www.ccg.org.cn/>. For Wang Huiyao, see Wang and Yue, *Reverse Migration in Contemporary China*. Wang, "China's New Talent Strategy," 49-64.

¹² Tanikawa Miki, "Japanese Universities Go Global, but Slowly," July 29, 2012. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/30/world/asia/30iht-educlede30.html>

by the Chinese government in 1995, followed three years later by the “985 project.”¹³ In 2017, the government initiated the “first-class universities and first-class disciplines,” programs or the “double first-class (*shuangyiliu*).” In brief, 42 universities and 95 disciplines have been shortlisted and given priority to work toward the goal of being “first-class.”¹⁴ In light of these projects, universities have been making determined efforts to attract talent, with overseas talent at the top of their recruiting lists. The government has regarded the number of such talent among university faculties as being one criterion of first-class universities.

These efforts, however, have so far produced mixed results. Although some China-born and overseas-trained academics have returned to work in China,¹⁵ very few scholars from the second generation of Chinese migrants, or those of other foreign origin, have come to China to offer their services. International students at Chinese universities have also faced barriers related to working in China,¹⁶ and China’s attempts to reform its immigration policies have remained challenging. Thus, it has been difficult to attract more overseas talent, whether Chinese or another nationality, to advance China’s high educational aspirations. Still, China’s immigration reforms have at least reflected its intent to align itself with other countries. This study offers some insight into its goal to attract global talent and reform its immigration policies.

This study is also relevant to Singapore, a country that depends heavily on both highly skilled and less skilled migrants. Just as it has been in Japan, Singapore’s labor shortage has been a serious issue for the country. However, Singapore has been more successful at internationalizing its universities. More migrant academics have attended Singaporean universities than universities

¹³ Ma and Wen, “A Study on Academic Salary and Remunerations in China,” 94-95.

¹⁴ For more information on this project, see “Shuangyiliu,” accessed May 10, 2018, <http://gaokao.chsi.com.cn/gkzt/syl>.

¹⁵ Wang, “China’s New Talent Strategy,” 49-64.

¹⁶ Zou Shuo, “Talented Foreign Graduates Like China, but There’s a Catch,” *China Daily*, April 30, 2018. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201804/30/WS5ae65a00a3105cdcf651b442_1.html

in Japan.¹⁷ Furthermore, compared with the Japan-trained students who later became migrant academics in Japan, many of the international academics in Singapore have had educational backgrounds in the U.S. and U.K. In 2015, a group of scholars conducted a survey of international talent employed at three Singapore universities and found that among the 643 respondents, the top 2 countries conferring doctoral degrees on them were the U.S. (46%), and the U.K. (14%), whereas only 9% of the respondent-academics had trained in Singapore.¹⁸

The above discussion suggests that the connotation of internationalization in universities has varied between Japan, China and Singapore. In the future, a comparative study of migrant academics in these three countries may provide food for thought for the officials who formulate immigration policies.

Besides, some findings derived from this study could be applicable in other contexts. Firstly, migrant academics actively participate in organizations in promoting communication between home societies and host societies. This could be observed by Chinese migrant academics in other regions than Japan. Secondly, weaving ethnic cultural capital in knowledge production and dissemination is also a strategy used by other academic group, such as Chinese academics in other places and other ethnic groups in Japan.

¹⁷ For studies of highly skilled professionals in Singapore, see Yasmin Y. Ortiga, Meng-Hsuan Chou, Gunjan Sondhi, and Jue Wang, "Working within the Aspiring Centre: Professional Status and Mobilities among Migrant Faculty in Singapore," *Higher Education Policy*, (2018): 1-18. Chou, Meng-Hsuan, Wang Jue, Li Andrew X., and Yasmin Ortiga, "Singapore in the Global Talent Race Survey Report," (May 2017 version). 10.13140/RG.2.2.11539.07208. Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and Theodora Lam, "Immigration and Its (Dis)Contents: The Challenges of Highly Skilled Migration in Globalizing Singapore," *American Behavioral Scientist* 60, no. 5-6 (May 2016): 637-658. Ravinder Sidhu, Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and Sushila Chang, "A situated analysis of global knowledge networks: capital accumulation strategies of transnationally mobile scientists in Singapore," *Higher Education* 69, no. 1 (January 2015): 79-101.

¹⁸ Chou, Wang, Li, and Ortiga, "Singapore in the Global Talent Race Survey Report." Ortiga, Chou, Sondhi and Wang, "Working within the Aspiring Centre," 1-18.

Locality based migrant transnationalism: a comparative perspective for future studies

In the future, studies of highly skilled migrant academics from various ethnic groups should adopt a comparative approach, focusing on their life experiences in different receiving countries. The following are some of the issues worthy of further exploration. In addition to Chinese migrant academics, migrant academics from Korea have been the second largest group in Japan, as discussed in Chapter One. What are the life trajectories, experiences and identity of Korean and American migrant academics in Japan? What are the affinities and differences among these different ethnic groups?¹⁹ Chinese migration has flourished worldwide, but how do the Chinese migrant academics in countries other than Japan practice their cultural citizenship? In what ways are their experiences different from their counterparts in Japan? These are topics that await both case and comparative studies.

The scope of China studies should also be reconsidered. Traditionally, scholarship on China has been divided geopolitically: China studies in China and China studies overseas. China studies in China used to be conducted primarily by Chinese academics, whereas China studies outside of China were mostly conducted by foreign scholars. Now, cross-border migrants and academic mobility have challenged such a conventional understanding. Scholarship both inside and outside China cannot be so easily bifurcated. Knowledge production and dissemination has become more transnational. More China-born and overseas-trained migrant academics are working in the field of China studies in Japan and other countries. Some have retained their

¹⁹ Some scholars have examined Korean migrants and English language teachers from Western countries in Japan, but the migrant academic group has remained largely unexplored.

Chinese nationality; others have been naturalized in Japan. What are the features of their academic activities? How does their ethnic background influence their academic output in one way or another? These are some of the key issues in studies of migrant transnationalism that await further research.

APPENDIX A PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES

No.	Pseudonym	Date of birth	Gender	Position	Interview date and place
1	Bing Zi	1950s	Male	Part time lecturer	2015.6.20 Tokyo
2	Wu Zi	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.6.25 Osaka
3	Geng Zi	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.6.26 Tokyo
4	Ren Zi	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.6.29 Osaka
5	Jia Chen	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.6.29 Osaka
6	Jia Wu	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.7.3 Osaka
7	Bing Wu	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.7.4 Osaka
8	Gui You	1950s	Male	Professor	2016.7.7 Tokyo
9	Ding Wei	1950s	Male	Professor	2016.7.26 Tokyo
10	Xin Wei	1950s	Male	Professor	2016.8.1 Tokyo
11	Gui Wei	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.7.21 Tokyo
12	Yi Hai	1950s	Male	Professor	2015.7.22 Tokyo
13	Jia Zi	1960s	Male	Professor	2015.6.1 Tokyo
14	Geng Wu	1960s	Male	Professor	2015.7.18 Tokyo
15	Yi You	1960s	Male	Part time Lecturer	2016.6.23 Tokyo

16	Ding You	1960s	Female	Visiting professor associate	2016.6.30 Tokyo
17	Si You	1960s	Female	Professor	2016.7.1 Tokyo
18	Ding Hai	1960s	Male	Professor	2015.7.23 Tokyo
19	Bing Chen	1970s	Male	Lecturer	2015.6.30 Osaka
20	Geng Chen	1970s	Female	Part time lecturer	2015.7.1 Osaka
21	Ren Wu	1970s	Male	Assistant professor	2016.5.16 Tokyo
22	Yi Mao	1970s	Male	Associate professor	2016.5.24 Tokyo
23	Ding Mao	1970s	Male	Associate professor	2016.6.15 Tokyo
24	Si Mao	1970s	Male	Lecturer	2016.6.17 Tokyo
25	Xin Mao	1970s	Male	Associate professor	2016.6.20 Tokyo
26	Gui Mao	1970s	Female	Lecturer	2016.6.22 Tokyo
27	Wu Chen	1980s	Female	Lecturer	2015.6.30 Osaka
28	Ren Chen	1980s	Female	Postdoc	2015.7.2 Osaka
29	Wu Wu	1980s	Male	Visiting researcher	2015.7.12 Tokyo
30	Xin You	1980s	Male	Visiting researcher	2016.7.2 Tokyo
31	Yi Wei	1980s	Male	Assistant professor	2016.7.15 Tokyo
32	Si Wei	1980s	Male	Postdoc	2016.7.28 Tokyo

APPENDIX B INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Part 1: Migration motivation

1. When did you first come to Japan? How did you come? Why Japan and not other countries?
2. Can you tell me about your educational background and work experience before first coming to Japan?
3. What is your birth date and hometown?

Part 2: Academic experience

4. What are the reasons for working or not working in this institute/university?
5. What does your daily work consist of?
6. Teaching: Where do the students you teach come from? What are your beliefs regarding educating the younger generation?
7. Research: What is your research field about? Can you introduce some of your publications?
8. Administrative work and others: Do you have any administrative positions here? How do you see this part of work?
9. What kind of conferences or workshops do you usually attend? Are they held mostly in Japan, or in other countries?

10. How often do you travel to other countries for work reasons? For instance, in the past year, how many times, where, and for what reason?
11. Do you need to collaborate with others? Do you think it is necessary or not? Why?
12. Do you have positions in other countries at the same time? What do you usually do for them? Why do you take this work?
13. Have you ever been or are you currently a part-time lecturer here or elsewhere? What are your opinions about this part-time policy?
14. In addition to your teaching and research field, are you required to teach Chinese as a second language here? How do you feel? Comment.
15. Do you think there are any gender issues in the higher education field? (For a female academic), do you think is it more difficult or easier for a female academic?
16. Have you heard of the government's notice on abolishing the humanities in national universities? As a scholar in this field/not in this field, do you think you will be affected? What is your opinion of this reform tendency?
17. What is the percentage of foreign faculty in your department/school? What are the recruitment and appointment policies for foreign academics? Do you think the foreign faculty contribute to the internationalization of Japanese universities?
18. Are faculties from different cultural background treated differently? Do you think there is any discrimination or inequality in the workplace? What is your relationship with your colleagues?

19. How do you see your contribution to this university, and how do you think you are perceived by the university and Japanese society?

20. What are the major hardships or challenges working as academics from other countries in Japan? What are your comments on Japan's higher education?

Part 3: Life experience in Japan

21. Besides the working environment, are you satisfied with life in Japan, and if so, to what extent? What are the disadvantages of living in Japan? Do you have any plan to settle down in other countries other than China or Japan? Why?

22. Do you have a spouse? Is he or she from China or elsewhere? Where is he or she living? What is her/his job?

23. Do you have children? Are they living with you? What are your expectations for them? Which language do you use in your family? And with your spouse and parents?

24. Do you still hold a Chinese passport now? What is your visa type?

25. How do you see yourself: as overseas Chinese or Chinese Japanese in Japan?

Part 4: Relationship with associations, states and the Chinese migrant community

26. Do you know the Chinese voluntary associations in Japan? Do you hold membership in those associations? Why did you join? How?

27. What kinds of events do you usually attend? Why?

28. How do you evaluate these associations on their contributions and challenges?

29. What role do you think academics play in these associations?

End

30. Can you provide me with some previous interview reports about you?

31. Do you think there are any important questions missing in this interview? If so, what are they?

32. What is your advice and suggestion regarding this research topic?

33. Can you introduce me to some of your Chinese colleagues and friends in Japan?

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