
Japanese Emigrants' Process of Settling in Nanjing in 1900s-2000s

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Introduction

It is often said that Japanese people like living within the country rather than experiencing life in abroad. In this globalizing era, however, the number of Japanese who go out to other countries has been increased. For instance, Annual report of statistics on Japanese nationals overseas shows that the number of Japanese staying abroad has approximately doubled from 548,404 to 1,116,993 between 1988 and 2008. Their purpose has got more variety: for business, for study, for marriage, for fun, for better life, for new career, etc. As well as the purpose, their destinations have been getting more and more diverse. Nanjing is one of such destinations and has various types of Japanese residents.

This paper aims to reveal Japanese emigrants' process of settling in Nanjing, especially focusing on those who have settled for years and live locally. Nanjing locates near from Shanghai, which is one of the biggest business cities in China and has lots of Japanese people more than 40 thousands, however, it has a few number of Japanese residents such as 300-600. Some reasons can be pointed out: the size of the city, its market's tendency of close to foreign capital and a few Japanese companies, or relationship between China and Japan after WWII. Though the number of Japanese people is small, still there are some people living in Nanjing for years. What kind of people chose Nanjing as their living place? Why did they choose Nanjing as their destination?

Through describing the typology of those who live in Nanjing and investigate their motivation to stay in Nanjing, I try to disclose the features of emigrants in Nanjing, which is different from other large cities shown in the previous literatures. This is also a case study report of the new trend of Japanese staying a city of China after the Reform and Open.

1. Purpose

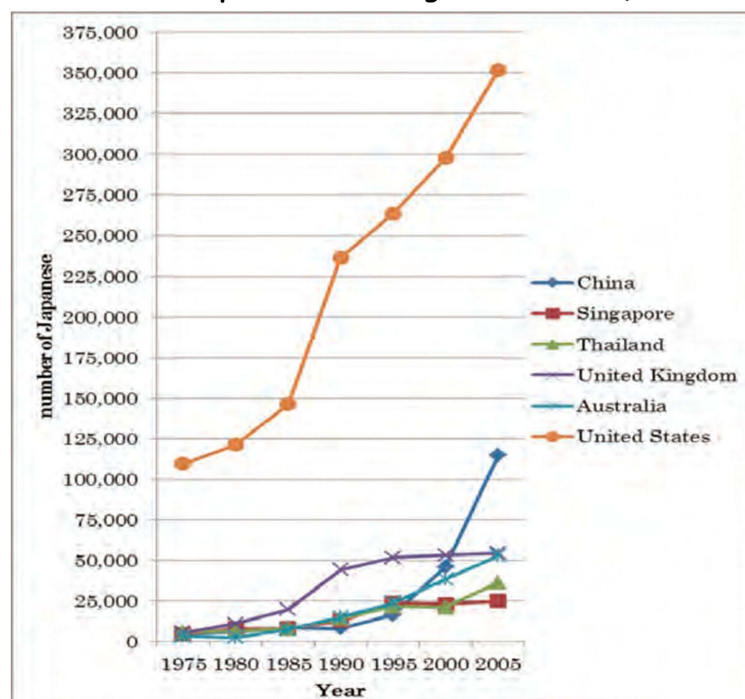
In this globalizing world, the characteristics or the process of migration has been changing in Japan as well as in other areas. Briefly overviewing the history of emigration in Japan, in 1970s, under the rapid economic growth, men business expatriates and their families moved abroad accordingly to the offshore transfer of Japanese companies. This is a drastic change of the quality of Japanese migrants from labor migrants sent by the government to Hawaii, North and South America etc. till the early 1970s. Following this tide, from 1980s-90s the variation of emigrants got increased, such as young women to Western countries and Asia via opportunities of overseas student programs, working holiday programs, or the locally employed working system; young men who remained in Asian countries while their back pack tour, so called “*sotokomori*(外こもり)”; elder people who enjoy their lifestyle in southern countries, being cared or transferring

their special techniques to the developing areas. Their destinations has become various and their way of emigrants also has got diverse, according to the socio-economic changes such as the long and serious depression in Japan while the economic development in the developing countries, particularly in Asian countries.

The previous literatures on the Japanese emigrants mostly focus on the large cities with lots of Japanese such as London[Sakai, J 2000], New York and London[Fujita 2008], Los Angeles[Minamikawa 2005], Dusseldorf[Grabe 2003], or Hong Kong[Sakai, C 2003]. Other literatures which investigated the whole countries, still mainly focus on the large cities. Now we need to see the variation of Japanese migrants and find the different ways of emigration to small cities. I chose Nanjing as the field because the city is in China, in which the number of Japanese has increasing(see Figure 1⁸), however it is a small city and has small number of Japanese. I try to broaden the literatures of Japanese emigrants in abroad using the example of Nanjing city.

In this paper I concentrate on the former part of their migration process and overview the typology of those emigrants so as to reveal an aspect of Japanese emigrants' process of settling in Nanjing. Why did they decide to emigrate? How did they choose Nanjing as their destination? What are the common features and the differences between migrants in Nanjing and those who in other large cities?

Figure 1. The Number of Japanese in Foreign Countries⁹ (1975-2005)



based on “Annual report of statistics on Japanese nationals overseas”
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (1976-2006)

⁸ Though the number of Japanese in the US is much larger than other countries, you would find the presence of China for Japan has getting larger since the late 1990s.

⁹ This concludes both permanent residents, and temporary residents who stay more than 3 months.

2. Research Methods

Period of research is from July 25th to September 19th. In order to expose the emigrants' view through the process of migration, I mainly used semi-structured interview (sample size is 18 in total). I used the snowball sampling technique to identify interviewees and the starting point of the snowball sampling was a Chinese woman who has worked in a Japanese company and central members of Japanese associations. Since I focus on people who settled for years and live locally in this paper, I chose people who have lived or at least intend to live for several years in Nanjing. To focus on this group, I do not tell much about expatriates sent by their headquarters in Japan as well as the wives of them, or students sent by their universities (although some of them study at their own expense for 1 year or more than 4 years), who are generally separated from the local community. However I'll briefly refer to the elderly students since their choices are new and reflects the recent social changes in Japan. Moreover, some of them stay as long as 6 or 8 years and can be core members of Japanese community in Nanjing. The general information of interviewees is hereunder. Considering the fact that the informants live not concentrated but separated, while the assigned business expatriates often said to live around *Xinjiekou*(新街口), which is the central area of Nanjing city, it can be said that the informants live more locally than business expatriates.

General information of Interviewees

total number	18
age	24-77
sex	M:F=7:2
income	3,000-15,000RMB (note1)
marital status	married 13 married to Chinese 6
period of stay	1-10years
living place	separated

note1)except for people who didn't earn when the interview held

In addition, I also used the following techniques to clarify the whole image of Japanese: students, expatriates, wife of them, entrepreneurs, Japanese teachers, and their life in Nanjing. I attended a tennis circle on Sunday, the special party for Chinese and Japanese students who have studied in Japan before and who are studying in Nanjing on September 19th. I observe and joined Japanese classes both in a public and in a private school, where Japanese residents teach or work as volunteers. I attended the Japanese School¹⁰ (日本語補習授業校) for Japanese children, using the same curriculum as in Japan, supported by Japanese Club of Commerce and Industry(南京日

¹⁰ the Japanese School(日本語補習授業校) was built in 2006, locates at the edge of the central city. It was formally recognized as an, educational facilities in abroad of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in 2007 fiscal year. It has classes of Japanese, mathematics, and social studies etc. for school children, drawing and manual arts, reading picture books or other activities for kindergartener, on Saturday morning. After the Lefman shock the number of the students decreased sharply and now the school has 1 in kindergarten, 2 in primary school and 1 in junior high school. Japanese students who study Mandarin in university are employed as teachers.

本商工クラブ). I visited a Japanese style bar and a bar where lots of Japanese people gather. Through these observation, I communicate with young students in Nanjing University(南京大学) and Nanjing Normal University(南京師範大学), expatriates and a wife of those expatriates. I collected magazines-for-free for Japanese residents in Nanjing named “MAP(城市指南) magazine¹¹”.

Plate 1: The Building Japanese School (日本語補習授業校) use¹²



Plate 2: Japanese version of MAP(城市指南) magazine



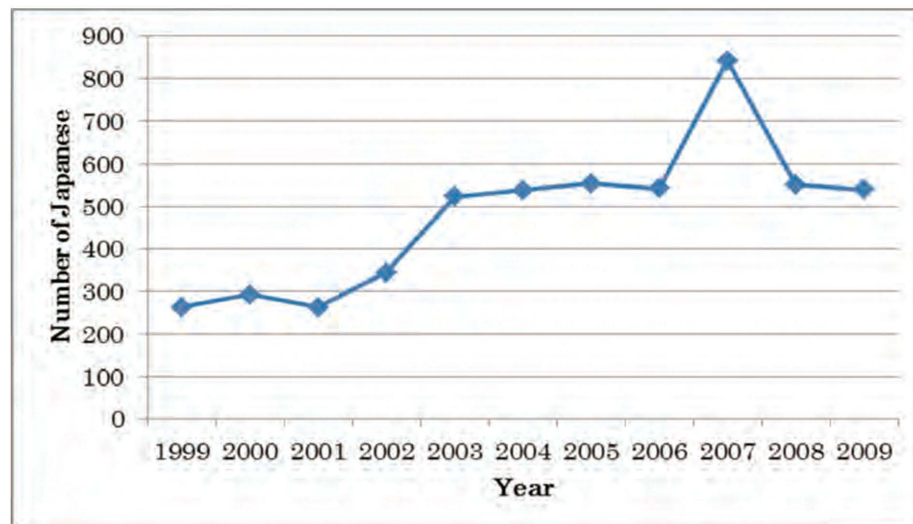
¹¹ “MAP” has Chinese version, English version, Japanese version and Korean version, published by *Maiqiuchuanmei*(麦秋传媒). The English version started 8 years ago, followed by the Japanese version 3 years ago. The Korean version is the new one and began to be published last year. Each of them has different articles, including local information such as of events, of restaurants or of clinics, etc. They are put in public spaces such as universities or restaurants.

¹² Japanese School (日本語補習授業校) use class rooms of Nanjing international school building.

3. General Information about Japanese in Nanjing

The transition of the number of Japanese people in Nanjing is given hereunder. It indicates that the number is approximately more than 200 and less than 600 and has gradually increased in the former part of 2000s and relatively got stable except for the sudden increase in 2007. It counts 500-600 in these 2 years.

Figure 2. The Number of Japanese in Nanjing¹³(1999-2009)



based on “Annual report of statistics on Japanese nationals overseas”

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan,

inquired of Consulate-General of Japan in Shanghai

I found three central communities for Japanese residents: Japanese Club of Commerce and Industry(南京日本商工クラブ), Japanese Association(日本人会), and Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会). Japanese Club of Commerce and Industry(南京日本商工クラブ) have approximately 80 corporations and approximately 25 personal members in 2010 and the officer told the increase and decrease of the number have been stable and have not experienced the sharp change. It started in the end of 1990s. On the one hand, Japanese Community(日本人会) began 3 years ago and has many personal members such as entrepreneurs or students. Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会) has approximately 30 members (M:F=4:1) in Nanjing city in 2010. Male members consist of 7 in 20-30s, 3 in 40-50, 11 in 60-70s. Female members are composed of 4 in 20-30s and 1 in 60-70s. Japanese residents also have some small circles or communities such as a tennis circle. A number of the tennis circle told that because of the small number of the Japanese residents, they could not make each prefecture associations and so they collected members, using fliers in Japanese restaurants, Bars or “Clubs”, widely from business expatriates, entrepreneurs, to locally employed workers. In addition, some

¹³ The data is at the time of October 1th of each year, includes both permanent residents and temporary residents who have stayed or will stay more than 3 months. However the reported permanent resident in Nanjing city is 1 person in 2008 and in 2009.

universities have Japanese student associations.

Restaurants, Bars, and “Clubs” for Japanese increased and most informants said the living environments were getting better and better. According to the 2010 September issue of the “MAP”(number 38), Nanjing has 15 Japanese restaurants and most of them concentrates in *Xinjiekou*(新街口) area.

4. Typology of Japanese Residents in Nanjing

In this section I try to describe the typology of the Japanese residents in Nanjing, concentrating on their way to Nanjing and the reason they chose this city. Although their business status, marital status or other environments are various, main groups could be summarized according to their main field of activity as 1)independent business person, 2) Japanese teacher, 3)locally employed worker, and 4)elder student. in addition. From a viewpoint of protection of personal information, I cut the biographies of informants and just concentrate on general tendency of informants.

4-1. Independent Business Person

In Nanjing it's hard to be employed as local staff because of 1)a few Japanese companies and 2)few staffing agencies for Japanese residents. As mentioned before, there are not so much Japanese companies in Nanjing(see He(2003)¹⁴ etc. to understand the reasons of the small number of Japanese companies). In addition, they do not have staffing agencies only for Nanjing. A staffing agency located in Suzhou(苏州) covers the whole Jiangsu province(江苏省) especially like Nanjing, Wuxi(无锡), and Kunshan(昆山) since 2007. However it looks still not used by Japanese residents in Nanjing. In this situation, a way of getting money for non-expatriates is to do their own small business. Independent business people include both the elder and the younger.

A man came to Nanjing as a business partner of other Chinese. He simply suggests his reason of emigration was the lower rate than Japan, which means it was easy to start a new business with small amount of initial capitals. He thought his initial capitals were small for a new business in Japan, but enough in China. The reason of choosing Nanjing was 1)convenient place to have an office for the business and 2)moderate developed area; not so much developed and good for him to transfer his technology and make use of his ability acquired in Japan; not so less developed to live.

¹⁴ He insists the historical problem still has an effect on the difficulty in business of Japanese companies in Nanjing, however, it is not the only factor. He points out 5 reasons for the small number of Japanese companies in Nanjing such as industrial environment, geographical disadvantage. Here I add the effect of the historical problem between China and Japan to the life of Japanese residents in Nanjing. Most informants exaggerated the gap between the image of Nanjing made by mass media and their daily life in Nanjing. They told they needed to keep in mind that they lived in Nanjing as foreigner/Japanese, however, their friends worried too much about the situation of Japanese residents in Nanjing. Additionally, I met 2 Japanese who made efforts to improve the relationship of the two countries through grassroots culture exchange in the symbolic city of Nanjing.

The other man began his own business after working in China as a business expatriate. He mentioned 3 reasons to start his business in Nanjing. At first, he compares Nanjing with Shanghai and thought the labor cost in Shanghai is too expensive, additionally the center of the Chinese business would be moving to the inland area, where locates closer to Nanjing. He judged Nanjing is a potential business city. Second, he appreciates the living environment of Nanjing. He told that the city has a long history with many remains or monuments and has lots of trees. The last one is his experience to work in there. He knew well about the city and he has developed his business network in that city.

In these 2 cases, working experience, whether it was as expatriates or business owner, would be a crucial factor to start his own business in Nanjing and middle aged person would be better to start his/her business. However, the third person is younger and has no experience of living in Nanjing before.

A man in his late 30s at first considered Shanghai for the place to do his business, however he did not find a good location because of the high price. A Chinese friend asked him to go to Nanjing, introducing a plan of building a new shopping area like *Xintiandi*(新天地)¹⁵ in Shanghai. That place matched their image of the place for their shop.

From above, some important factors to choose Nanjing to do their business could be pointed out; the lower monetary value in China than Japan and the lower labor price or equipment cost than other cities such as Shanghai. Now Shanghai is much developed and needs much amount of money for new business. They use the condition of moderate developed to start a small business with small amount of capitals. In addition, the living environment, which means lots of trees and enough developed is also important to decide to settle in, which is important not only for entrepreneurs but for elder students or other type of emigrants. And not all but in some cases the experience of staying and network built in Nanjing before effects their choice of the place for business and living.

4-2. Japanese Teacher

According to Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会), there are at least 30 Japanese teachers in Nanjing. Japanese teacher is one of the usual ways of staying abroad since it is easy to get working visa as professional job of Japanese. This situation is similar to other cities. In previous researches I conducted in Hong Kong and Shanghai, I met some Japanese teachers. Some books for possible emigrants to abroad introduces this job as an useful option[Sudo 2007:42-43, Alc 2010 etc.]. These days there are some training schools for people who want to be Japanese teachers in Japan. In addition, Nanjing has many universities and schools and some of them have Japanese classes. Japanese institutions in Jiangsu province(江苏省) counts

¹⁵ *Xintiandi*(新天地) is a famous shopping, eating and entertainment district located in the central area of Shanghai. It reconstituted the traditional *shikumen*(石库门) houses, which is an traditional architectural style of residential buildings in Shanghai. It recreates the scenery of the old French Settlement and has some cafes, restaurants and shopping malls.

29 and most of them locates in Nanjing city¹⁶. This works as a pull factor.

Japanese is one of popular languages for Chinese students. Professor Peng, the sub-manager of the Japanese department of school of foreign studies of Nanjing University, points out the changes of the tendency of students who learn Japanese. In his generation students yearned to the electrical appliances or the industrial technology of Japan and wanted to get a good job. While now students are attracted by Japanese popular culture such as cartoons and comics, or the youth culture. They choose Japanese for their pleasure rather than for their future career¹⁷. The situation has changing, but still Japanese language has its position in foreign languages for Chinese students.

Let me introduce the other episode. A Japanese teacher of a public school which has Japanese classes, told the students in Nanjing want much more opportunities to use Japanese with native speakers but it's a little difficult since the number of Japanese people who can help them is very small. He held a party for communication of Japanese students and Chinese students, and found the number of Chinese students who want to participate in is much larger than the number of Japanese students so that he had to restrict Chinese participants. I visited the public school and a private school of Japanese. I met very eager students in the both schools.

This group could be classified into 2 sub-groups: young teachers trained in Japan and elder teachers after retirement. In most cases of the young teachers, they did not choose Nanjing as the destination at first. They tend to just consider their job as a way of living abroad with earning enough and went to a training school for Japanese teacher. They do not stick to a particular destination so much. Because of the offer from Nanjing, they came to work.

For instance, in a case of a woman, who is in the middle of 30s, she wanted to be a Japanese teacher since her childhood and entered a training school for Japanese teacher. After training she got a job in a public school in Nanjing, which is introduced by her acquaintance. The other man in his late 30s, looked for the method of getting money in abroad and got the idea of becoming a Japanese teacher from a flier in a newspaper. He entered a training school and found the present job through internet.

On the other hand, the latter group is also big. As mentioned in section 3, 60-70s members of Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会) count 12, while members in 20-30s count 11. This indicates there are many Japanese teachers who retired in Japan and came to Nanjing.

In a case, a man invited to an university by his friend, a professor of the university. Networks built before emigration works here as well as some cases of independent business

¹⁶ According to the directory which consists of an updated version of the data gathered in the "2006 Overseas Japanese-Language Education Organization Survey" conducted by the Japan Foundation (<http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/japanese/survey/area.html>) (2010.11.9).

¹⁷ He also points that now students face the turning point of the significance of learning Japanese language. So far students whoever learned Japanese got their job if they master it, however, now the number of students who learned Japanese got larger than their possible posts.

people. The other teacher used travel agencies to move to Nanjing.

There are not only full-time teachers, but also part-time Japanese teachers. A man moved to Nanjing in order to study Mandarin after retirement. After that, he started to teach Japanese in universities. At the same time, he is a student and a teacher. In his case, teaching is something to live for as well as a subordinate way of earning. Some of the elder teachers have no experience of teaching Japanese and they are not trained to be. Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会) have study meetings to share how to teach Japanese for those people.

Considering the phenomenon of the trend of the choice of Japanese teachers in abroad among the youth and the other phenomenon of the increasing number of elder people staying in abroad after retirement, it looks these 2 groups show the 2 patterns of Japanese teachers. One is the people who are trained to be a Japanese teacher and accidentally move to the place, the other consists of those who chose the place under their own reasons and find a job as teacher. This tendency would be apply not only to Nanjing but also to other places.

4-3. Locally Employed Worker

The third group is consisted of locally employed workers. This type of worker has increased from late 1990s. A Japanese staffing agency recruited Japanese people to work in Hong Kong and ignited "Boom of Working in Asia." Most of those workers are young and they tend to go to relatively highly developed cities in Asia such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok, Shanghai, and so on, although this type of migration can be seen in the other places. They are not labor migrants sent by the government, nor business expatriates sent by headquarters of companies in Japan. They are employed as local staff. In large cities with many staffing agencies for Japanese, they use those agencies to find a new job in abroad. They receive almost the same treatment as other local staff. With terminable contract, without or less housing benefit or insurance, their status is unstable, however, it is an easier way to get an opportunity to work in abroad than to be employed as a business expatriate.

Differ from the case of economically-developed cities such as Hong Kong, Shanghai or Singapore, Nanjing is not the main destination to look for a locally employed position. The situations are different from those large cities, for instance, not so much Japanese companies and very few staffing agencies. It means there are a few jobs for Japanese locally employed workers. Because of this background, the cases of locally employed workers looked very rare in Nanjing. A man who has been in Nanjing for 2 years and knows well about various types of Japanese residents in Nanjing, insisted that some students try to find jobs in Nanjing while some Japanese companies in Nanjing need Japanese locally employed workers, however they could not know each other. He told that many graduates go back to Japan and some graduates move to other areas such as Shanghai to get jobs.

I introduce a young woman's case, which is a rare case of getting a locally employed position after graduate. She is in the middle of 20s. She was not satisfied with her Mandarin ability when she graduated university. She decided to continue to stay and work. She found a job in a

magazine company on a bulletin board of her university. In her case, she chose a university in Nanjing because of the good studying environment compared with Beijing, which is to large city and Shanghai, which is filled with people. In addition, she has acquaintances in Nanjing before moving. Later on she changed her job and at that time, one of her Japanese friend introduced the job to her.

I also met a young man, who used an agency in Japan to find a job in abroad and found his job in a hotel in Nanjing accidentally. At first he thought southern area such as Singapore or Kuala Lumpur as his destination, however it was difficult to find a post there immediately after the Lehman Shock. He finally got a job in Nanjing. He thought the age of China would come soon and he would get jobs constantly if he masters Mandarin. He also thought that Japanese who can use Mandarin would be needed in the near future because of deregulation of travel visa for Chinese.

Considering these 2 cases, some want to remain in Nanjing after graduating university in Nanjing, and some chose Nanjing as a possible work place in accident. The network before moving has a role of attracting in the first woman's case. On the other side, the case of the young man, similar to the cases of young Japanese teachers in 4-2, indicates the recent trend of young Japanese, in which they prefer working abroad, using options of Japanese teacher or locally employed worker, also occurs in a small city such as Nanjing. However, they have to find a job without the help of staffing agencies. The internet and the network with other Japanese residents has very an important role under this situation.

I note that the locally employed worker is not only for potential young workers in Japan but also for the people who stay abroad for some reasons and need to work. I'll mention the case of the woman who got married with Nanjing man.

4-4. Elder Student Studying Mandarin

In the second section, I declare that I mention elder students since their choices are new and reflect the recent social changes in Japan. In addition, some of them stay long and live locally. They have getting become one of the main groups of Japanese residents in Nanjing. Some Japanese residents who have lived for 5 and more years told the elder students has increased in these 2 or 3 years. One example is the man stays in Nanjing as an university student to study Mandarin and works as a Japanese teacher subordinately, whom I introduced in 4-2.

As a general back ground of them, they get the old-age pension and they can use the amount effectively in China because of the lower currency rate of Chinese RMB. Additionally, they chose China from their own interest. One was interested in the history, the other wanted to see the drastic economic-social changes in recent China.

They insisted the common reason of choice of Nanjing: its living environment. One said Nanjing had many plants and had less tall buildings. They often compare Nanjing with other big cities in China: Beijing and Shanghai. A man told Beijing or Shanghai is a magnificent city, however, built of steel and concrete, which is similar to Tokyo. The other woman decided to

choose Nanjing after travelling to Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing. She told in similar way to the man, Beijing and Shanghai were large cities and similar to Tokyo while Nanjing was quiet and calm. The density of Japanese people in each city also could be a positive factor. One said Nanjing has not so many but enough number of Japanese¹⁸. It means the number is enough small to concentrate on studying Mandarin or live locally and enough large to be supported by other Japanese residents.

In Some cases they have friends or acquaintances before moving, whereas the others do not have. Supporters of their living are needed, however, they can find them even after arriving in Nanjing. For instance, a woman learned to play *erfu*(二胡) and studied with Chinese students to teach their language each other. Through these activities, she got supporters: The teacher of *erfu*(二胡) and Chinese students.

One thing I'd like to exaggerate here is that they have their reasons for living and enjoy their days: teaching Japanese, daily and social activities such as grassroots culture exchange of Japan-China, or studying his own theme as well as Mandarin, etc.

In fact, people move among these business/staying statuses. They can participate in the above activities of doing business, teaching Japanese, or studying, at the same time. For instance, the elder man introduced in the 4-2 stays in Nanjing as a language student and at the same time he is a Japanese teacher. A man began his business after working as a business expatriate, who I mentioned in 4-1, told he had a plan to attend Mandarin classes of an university in the next semester since he need the language ability to do his business. An elder female student, shown in 4-4, who has stayed for 6 years in Nanjing, is now employed as an executive vice-president by an office of a Japanese man in order to get visa for further stay. Now she can be categorized as a locally employed worker under view of her visa status. A young man started his own business after graduating university in Nanjing. We can see, from these instances, that various patterns of their life.

5. Marital Status and its Effectiveness

So far I overviewed the migrants' from the aspect of their activities. In most cases their activities are related to their visa status such as student or worker. On the one hand, marital status reflects the different dimension of their life. It can be motives or reasons of living in Nanjing. I have to insist that their marital status also can be a negative barrier of moving especially in younger generation, depending on the planning of migration and marriage in their life course¹⁹. In

¹⁸ I add that some young students often insisted the similar thing. They told they did not want to go to Beijing or Shanghai because of too much of Japanese, which means a not good environment for studying a foreign language.

¹⁹ For instance, Kōu, A et.al insist that "If there is also a partner in the picture, this may mean that, with migration in mind, they get married earlier than they would have normally planned to. Not being married, after all, may mean that no use can be made of spousal facilities. If the knowledge migrant and his or her partner go away for only a short time, they may choose to postpone having children. This has consequences for the household career." [Anu Kōu et.al 2010: 11]

cases of elder people introduced in 4-4 are often married, they decide to move of their own will and live alone whilst their family live in Japan. In general, the main groups to which the marital status can effect or work as the motive for settling in or remaining to stay are consist of people introduced in 4-1 and 4-2. Among people approximately in their 30s-40s, their marital status could affect their life and the decision to migrate: moving to other area, returning to Japan, transition of their visa status or working condition.

The married people can be divided into 2 patterns according to the timing of their marriage and migration; one is that married before moving(pattern 1) and the other is that married after moving(pattern 2).

[Pattern 1]

A man in the early 40s got married with Nanjing woman in Japan. At the time they got married they planned to stay in Japan, however, after he visited Nanjing via Shanghai in the marriage procedures, he changed his mind. He was inspired by the atmosphere of China and believed China would develop more and more. He thought he and his children should learn Mandarin. He and his family came to Nanjing and now they do their own business.

The other young man I mentioned in 4-1, got married with a Chinese woman(her hometown is not Nanjing) while he was in Japan. He estimated her ability as an expert and wanted to start their business. Then he decided to go to his wife's country to do their business.

In the first man's trajectory, his option to live abroad came up from the marriage. And the main factor of deciding the living place was that Nanjing is her wife's hometown. In the second man's case, the main factor of choosing their destination city is more related to their business circumstances, but the country they chose has something to do with his wife's home country.

[Pattern 2]

A woman working as a Japanese teacher, initially intended to go back to Japan after 3 years stay in Nanjing. However she met her future husband while she worked in Nanjing and got married. She had to change her mind of returning to Japan. Now she still works as a Japanese teacher in the same school.

The other woman got married after she arrived in China. After graduate, she got a job in Suzhou(苏州) using her network. At that time she planned that she would return to Japan after 2 or 3 years stay. But while she was there she met her future husband, who is from Nanjing. After working in Shanghai, she moved to Nanjing to get married. In Nanjing she worked in a Taiwanese company, the owner of which is her friend. What I would like to exaggerate is that she insisted that it was harder to find a job of which conditions she would be satisfied with in Nanjing than in Suzhou or in Shanghai, however she chose to stay with her family.

The pattern 1 shows that in some cases the partner's home place might bring about

migration. On the other side, the pattern 2 indicates that the meeting with their partner has a strong effect to their process of migration and their life course. Both women changed their life plan and decided to stay in Nanjing for long. In both patterns, the partner's home place has a large role of deciding the settlement place: in Nanjing or widely in China.

In addition, their partners are very good supporters to find a job or solve daily problems. Their marital status should be related with their localizing process, as referred in migration literature.

Discussion and Conclusion

From this case study, I could suggest the general features of the migrants in Nanjing: a few locally employed workers, the presence of Japanese teachers and elder students, the impressive features of those who try to do their business in Nanjing, the effectiveness of their marital status to a particular age group.

At first, I summarize the merits and demerits of Nanjing as the destination. The crucial factors in the small number of Japanese residents in Nanjing would be 1)a few Japanese companies and 2)less staffing agencies for Japanese residents. Though the city's living environments of lots of trees, the calm atmosphere, good security, small but enough number of Japanese etc. are more attractive than Beijing or Shanghai, the worse conditions is related to business for Japanese residents looks critical for those who want to be locally employed workers or ambitious entrepreneurs. This would be the reason for the presence of Japanese teachers and elder students in the Japanese community. This is the big difference from the other economically-developed cities, which has many Japanese companies and enough staffing agencies. However, some chose this city to begin their business because of the lower cost of labor and tenant than large cities like Shanghai and the access to other big cities such as Shanghai or Suzhou(苏州) and inner potential business areas. This condition offers good business chances for small business, with the strong currency rate of Japanese Yen to Chinese RMB.

Secondary, I see the influence of the social economic change in Japan to the trend of emigration from Japan. I found the phenomena which seem to reflect the trend. From the presence of elder students, I can say the trend of staying abroad after retiring has getting spread and covering small foreign cities such as Nanjing. Though now some of them still need the acquaintances before moving, the others chose the city without friends or any acquaintances. They use some agencies to prepare for migration. In addition, some younger Japanese teachers, who did not chose Nanjing affirmatively might suggest the tendency of the present young emigrants who do not care the destination and just try to get language ability and work experience in abroad.

At last, I mention the relationship between their marital status and migration. In some cases, the network built before migration: acquaintances or friends they got in Japan or while they had worked in Nanjing, could be an important factor when they chose the destination. The marriage with Chinese also could be a trigger of migration and might lead them to Nanjing. On the one hand, after moving to Nanjing or other cities in China, some happened to get married with

Chinese and decided to stay longer with their new family. The strong relationship, such as marriage, with people in Nanjing, is one of the crucial factors for staying in Nanjing for long. Marriage might affect the decision-making of migration and the change of the quality of migration; it could make short-stay migrants to long-stay residents and might make change their living place.

At least in the present research, people who have no network before choose Nanjing as their working or studying place. They make networks needed to support their life after migration. Compared with large cities such as Shanghai or Hong Kong, where I had surveys before, the networks of Japanese residents in Nanjing seem to be tight and have a stronger role as their safety net. Especially for both of locally employed people and independent business people, the network which contains friends or acquaintances and marital partners is very important to find a job, develop business as well as to solve daily problems. The informants live separately, which means they get localized instead of living concentrated with other Japanese, however, they help each other.

This is a short overview of the Japanese residents in Nanjing. I would like to have further discussion on the phenomenon investigated in Nanjing and the recent migration tendency in this globalizing world from the sociological perspective, with more data if possible.

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