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The Increasing Presence of Chinese Migrants in Japan

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The Increasing Presence of Chinese Migrants in Japan

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Chinese migrants have the longest history of any migrant group in Japan. They are also remarkable for their numbers, forming the second largest group in Japan today after Koreans. The population of Chinese in Japan is growing rapidly, and may exceed that of Koreans to become the biggest group in the near future. Today Chinese migrants are increasing their presence in Japan not only quantitatively but also in many other ways.

In this paper, I would like to provide an overview of Chinese migrants in Japan and analyze how their presence is growing, by paying attention to their transnational flow and activities. I examine the flow of the Chinese population in Japan by analyzing the statistics on foreign residents gathered by the Ministry of Justice. Also, through cases of Chinese migrants with whom I have conducted interviews and done field work in Tokyo, Yokohama, and Kobe on and off from 2003 to 2007, I will try to clarify the question of why Chinese cross borders so frequently, and also show how Chinese migrants in Japan are increasing in numbers and in diversity.

Demographic Transition of the Chinese Population in Japan

Chinese migrants in Japan can be classified into two groups based on nationality. One consists of those overseas Chinese known as *kakyo* (華僑), having Chinese nationality. Chinese nationality here refers not only to the People's Republic of China (mainland China), but also to the Republic of China (Taiwan). All ethnic Chinese who are not naturalized in their country of residence are called *kakyo*. They are registered as Chinese¹⁾ according to the Japanese alien registration (*gaikokujin toroku*; 外国人登録) system.

The second group consists of those Chinese migrants who have naturalized and obtained Japanese nationality. These are called *kajin* (華人). Because they have Japanese nationality, they are registered both in Japanese family registers (*koseki*; 戸籍) and residence registers (*juminhyo*; 住民票). They are not categorized by ethnicity in any Japanese official identification, and therefore, once Chinese have naturalized, only their ethnic background and personal identity distinguish them as *kajin*.

In 2006, foreign residents in Japan amounted to 2.08 million people, and Chinese migrants form the second largest group, with a population estimated in 2007 (Statistic of Foreigners Registration; Ministry of Justice 2007) to be 560,741, about 26.9 percent of the total foreign resident population. Koreans comprise the biggest group at about 598,212 (28.7 percent). However their numbers are decreasing year by year. On the other hand, the Chinese population has grown rapidly since 1978.

Figure 1 provides data about changes in the proportions of foreign residents by

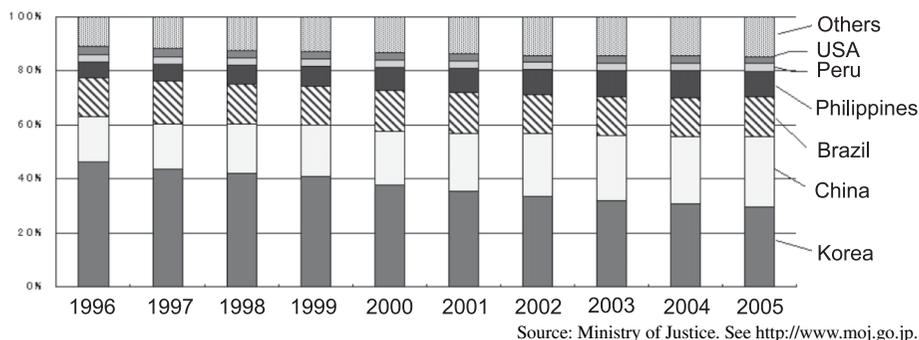


Figure 1 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by Nationality

nationality: the gray bar, indicating Koreans shortens, while the white bar, indicating Chinese lengthens. It is clear that Chinese migrants are likely to become the largest migrant group in Japan in the near future (Chen 2003).

Chinese have been migrating to Japan since 1858, when the Edo Shogunate concluded a treaty with the USA and Europe agreeing to the opening of its ports and markets, which had long been closed. Most Westerners arrived in Japan together with Chinese compradors and employees with whom they were already working in Chinese ports (Nishikawa and Ito 2002). The other major event leading to an increase in the number of Chinese in Japan was the opening of shipping lines between Yokohama and Shanghai.

The Chinese population has grown every year since 1858, except for 1931 (the 918 Incident or Mukden Incident) and 1937 (the Marco Polo Bridge Incident), when military conflicts occurred between Japan and China. After World War II, even though the People's Republic of China shut its doors to the international world and regulated migration, Chinese migrants in Japan still increased year by year because many of them came not directly from mainland China but via Taiwan and Hong Kong. After 1978, the Chinese population in Japan grew rapidly, because people from mainland China could also join the flow.

Ministry of Justice statistics indicate the number of Chinese passport holders (*kakyo*), but do not include Chinese migrants who have naturalized and obtained Japanese nationality (*kajin*). The total number of Chinese migrants is not clear, but according to a report of the Ministry of Justice, over 4,000 Chinese have naturalized every year in the past two decades. No fewer than 80,000 ethnic Chinese are therefore uncounted in the statistics given above. Furthermore, Chinese who are not duly registered as legal migrants, amounting to about 40,000, are not counted either. In reality, there are therefore nearly 700,000 Chinese migrants in Japan.

The Chinese population in Japan is relatively small compared with other Chinese migrant communities around the world. One reason is that Japan has not allowed unskilled labor to enter Japan. Also, compared to the USA, Canada, Australia, and other

Table 1 Chinese Population in Japan 1876–1942 and 1946–2005

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1876	2,266	1921	15,056	1963	47,827
1877	2,218	1922	16,936	1964	49,174
1878	2,810	1923	12,843	1965	49,418
1879	3,281	1924	16,902	1966	49,387
1880	3,046	1926	22,272	1967	49,592
1884	4,143	1927	23,934	1968	50,445
1885	4,071	1928	29,297	1969	50,816
1886	4,130	1929	31,827	1970	51,841
1887	4,209	1930	31,890	1971	52,333
1888	4,805	1931	19,135	1972	48,089
1889	4,975	1932	18,471	1973	46,642
1890	5,498	1933	20,599	1974	47,677
1891	5,344	1934	23,968	1975	48,728
1892	5,574	1935	28,000	1976	47,174
1893	5,343	1936	29,671	1977	47,862
1895	3,642	1937	17,584	1978	48,528
1896	4,533	1938	17,043	1979	50,353
1897	5,206	1939	18,622	1980	52,896
1898	6,130	1940	20,284	1981	55,616
1899	6,359	1941	18,078	1982	59,122
1900	6,890	1942	19,195	1983	63,164
1901	7,730	1946	30,847	1984	67,895
1902	8,027	1947	32,889	1986	84,397
1903	7,423	1948	36,932	1988	129,269
1904	9,411	1949	38,241	1990	150,339
1905	10,388	1950	40,481	1992	195,334
1906	12,425	1951	43,377	1994	218,585
1907	12,273	1952	42,147	1996	234,264
1908	10,847	1953	43,778	1997	252,164
1910	8,420	1954	43,282	1998	272,230
1911	8,145	1955	43,865	1999	294,201
1913	11,867	1956	43,372	2000	335,575
1915	12,046	1957	44,710	2001	381,225
1916	11,869	1958	44,789	2002	424,282
1917	13,755	1959	45,255	2003	462,396
1918	12,139	1960	45,535	2004	487,570
1919	12,294	1961	46,326	2005	519,561
1920	14,258	1962	47,096	2006	560,741

Sources: For 1876–1942 and 1946–1996, Hsu Shuzhen. 1998. “Japan” in Lynn Pan (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*, p. 334. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. For 1997–2006, Zairyū gaikokujin tokei (*Statistics of the Foreigners Registered in Japan*), Tokyo: Zaidan hojin Nyūkan kyōkai (Japan Immigration Association).

multiethnic countries, Japan is less tolerant of immigrants. For example, in Japan, many second- and third-generation Chinese are still regarded as foreigners, although they speak fluent Japanese and may never have set foot outside Japan.

Oldcomers (*Rou-kakyo*), and Newcomers (*Shin-kakyo*)

Apart from the nationality issue, Chinese migrants can be classified into two groups. The first group consists of those called *rou-kakyo* (老華僑), who came to Japan before the 1980s. We might call them oldcomers. Most live near Chinatowns in different parts of Japan. The second group consists of newcomers, who are known as *shin-kakyo* (新華僑) and who came directly from mainland China after the start of its Open Door Policy in 1978. The Chinese population in Japan jumped from 52,896 in 1980 to 560,741 in 2006, increasing by a factor of 10 in 25 years. The pull factor for this human flow was Japan's economic boom in the 1980s, which resulted in a severe labor shortage, especially in the service and construction industries. Also, Japan's "Hundred Thousand Foreign Student Plan"²² of the early 1980s attracted many young people to Japan as a destination for studying abroad, including a large number of Chinese students. On the other hand, the push factor of this human flow from China to Japan was China's Open Door Policy, which sent many young Chinese out into the world to work and study. Japan ranks as the number two destination for them, next to the USA. Geographical proximity as well as economic development also attracted Chinese to Japan.

Oldcomers generally live near Chinatowns in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, which were former Foreigners' Residence Areas. In the 19th century, as the nation underwent a wave of reformation and modernization, Japan tried to end extra-territoriality and finally abolished the Foreigners' Residence Areas in 1899. However, with the prospect of the ethnic boundaries between communities being opened up, many Japanese began to fear losing their jobs to Chinese immigrants. The Japanese government therefore issued "Ordinance 352" to restrict the admission of foreign workers. Although Ordinance 352 applied to all foreign laborers, it targeted Chinese immigrants in particular (Hsu 1998). Under the law, only those Chinese working in certain occupations could reside in Japan. Hence, the composition of the Chinese population was transformed significantly, as well as their economic activity. Under the new Ordinance, Chinese were only allowed to engage in the professions of cook, tailor, and barber, the so-called *San-ba-dao* (三把刀; "three knives").

Limited by these restrictions, it was difficult for Chinese to expand their businesses and join mainstream society in Japan. The only "knife" to have survived and flourished was the cooking knife. With their restaurants, local Chinese have successfully revitalized Chinatown as a tourist attraction (Sugawara 1996; Wang 2003). Yokohama's Chinatown has become one of the city's most popular tourist spots and attracts 20 million tourists annually. Similarly, Chinatowns in Nagasaki and Kobe attract many tourists to

those cities. Nowadays, Chinatowns in Japan seem more famous as sightseeing spots than as ethnic enclaves (Chen 2007). Many Chinese businesses have expanded with the development of Chinatowns as tourist attractions to include trading, travel, transportation, hotels, and other entertainment-related businesses.

A review of the economic activities of the Chinese suggests that most oldcomers are in business and have their own property, so they have a certain degree of stability in Japanese society. They belong to the middle or upper-middle classes. On the other hand, because unskilled workers are not in theory allowed to enter Japan, newcomers initially arrive on student visas but spend most of their time outside the classroom working part-time. Many college students (known as *ryugakusei*) work hard as well as studying to pay for the high cost of tuition and living expenses in Japan. Some even have to spend a few years in a Japanese-language school before they pass the language exam and qualify to enter college. These pre-college students are called *shugakusei*.

Because most newcomer Chinese came to Japan as students, they often became highly educated. Up to the year 2002, more than 6,000 Chinese completed Ph.D.s and more than 1,000 of these now work as professors in more than 600 colleges in Japan. Many came as *ryugakusei* and, after acquiring degrees, found jobs in Japan and became residents: some even naturalized. This group soon joined the middle class of Japanese society. They live in Tokyo, Chiba, and Saitama, as well as other cities outside Chinatowns. Newcomers blend into the local Japanese community rather naturally through their work and college educational background.

Besides students, there are other Chinese who arrive under the category of *kenshusei*, or “trainees.” Under this system, many qualified Chinese professionals are recruited by various enterprises through official channels and work as short-term contract staff. The purpose of the program is to bring in skilled labor and train these workers in improved techniques in order to assist the development of their country after they return home. However, in reality, the jobs are fairly low-level ones and located in ill-equipped factories in remote countryside locations, where Japanese are reluctant to work (Gaikokujin Kenshusei Mondai Nettowāku 2006).

There are an estimated 40,000 illegal or overstaying Chinese in Japan. Some entered on tourist or student visas, but their purpose was to get a job and earn money, so they overstayed after their visas expired. Some came with fake documents or were smuggled into Japan (Morita 2001). Because they do not have legal documents and are not legally registered, they are anxious to avoid contact with officials, and so often face limitations in finding jobs and living an ordinary life under such conditions. It is difficult for them to break out from the lower class.

Increasing Chinese Presence in Many Fields

Today, the opportunity to encounter foreigners is increasing in Japan. Chinese especially

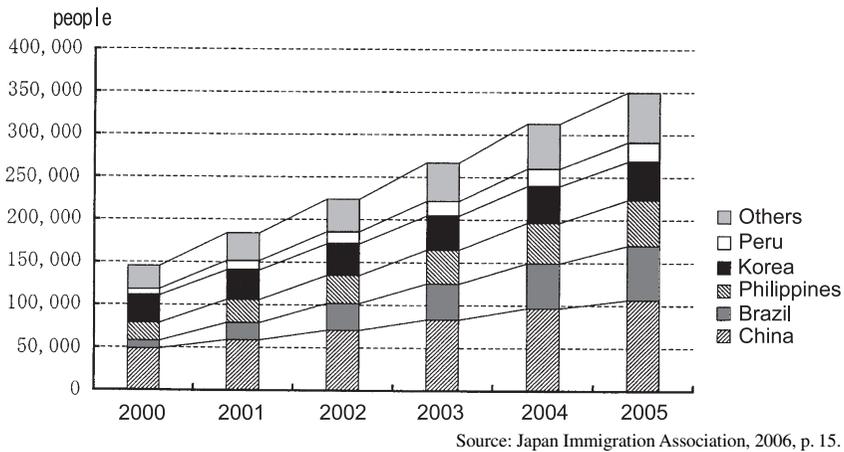


Figure 2 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by Permanent Residents (*eijusha*)

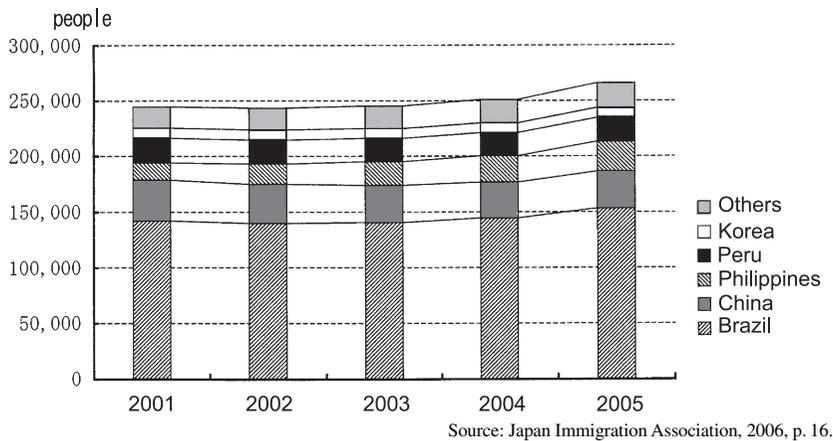
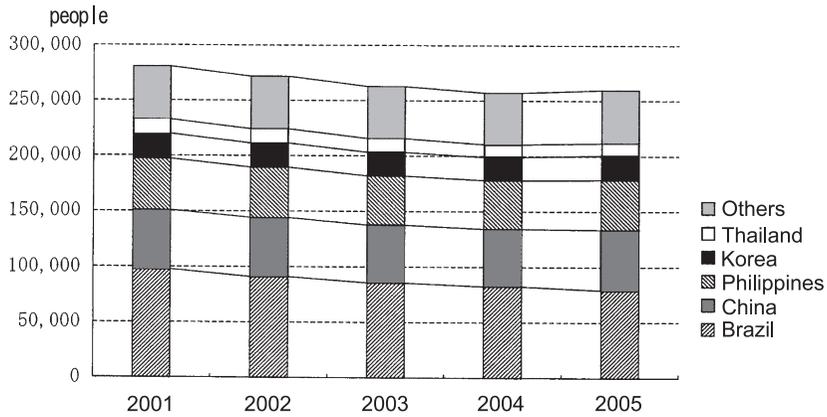


Figure 3 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by Long Term Residents (*teijusha*)

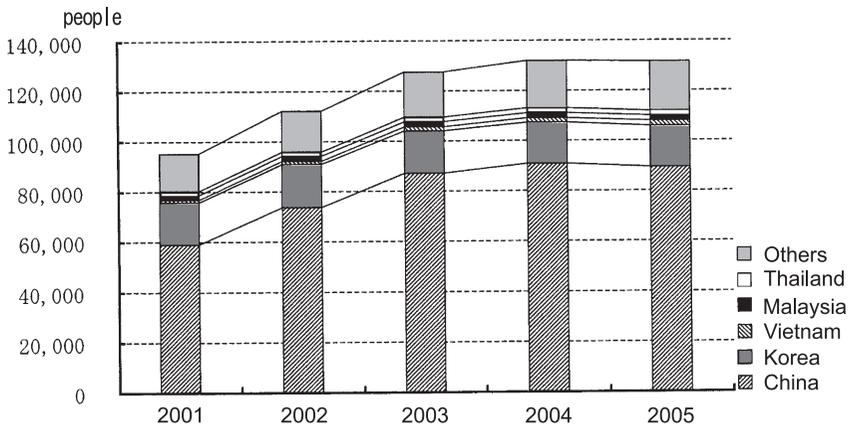
have spread widely into many different places, as well as into many different fields, unlike such other ethnic groups as Filipinos or Brazilians, who tend to concentrate in one field or certain cities.

In the figures for status of residence, Chinese are generally near the top for each category. There are 106,269 Chinese living as permanent residents. This number is one third of the total number of general permanent residents (*ippan eijusha*), while special permanent residents (*tokubetsu eijusha*) are mostly Korean. As for long term residents (*teijusha*), Chinese numbered 33,086, second to Brazilians, who have a favorable status under the policy of the Japanese government since the late 1980s (Kajita, Tanno and Higuchi 2005). There are 54,565 Chinese registered as “spouses of Japanese nationals and so on” (*Nihonjin no haigusha nado*), second also to Brazilians.



Source: Japan Immigration Association, 2006, p. 17.

Figure 4 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by "Spouses of Japanese nationals and so on" (Nihonjin no haigusha nado)



Source: Japan Immigration Association, 2006, p. 18.

Figure 5 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by College Students (ryugakusei)

The existing statistics also document the tendency, mentioned above, for many Chinese to come first as college students or pre-college students. Today, there are 89,374 Chinese living in Japan as college students, about 69 percent of the total. Also, there are 15,915 pre-college students, of whom around 56.5 percent are Chinese. Further, there is a high ratio (74.9 percent) of Chinese working in Japan as trainees (*kenshusei*).

As for the professions in which Chinese migrants are engaged, their numbers are near the top in many fields. There are 1,381 Chinese residing in Japan for investment purposes, 20,995 are in international business, and 3,157 have come through job relocation. It is obvious that Chinese are active in the economic sphere apart from the growth of the economy in China and the use of the Chinese language in Japan. In the intellec-

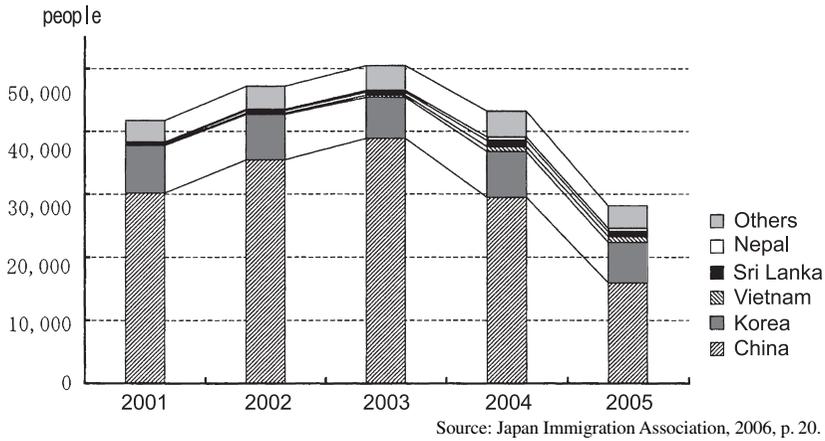


Figure 6 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by Pre-College Students (shugaku)

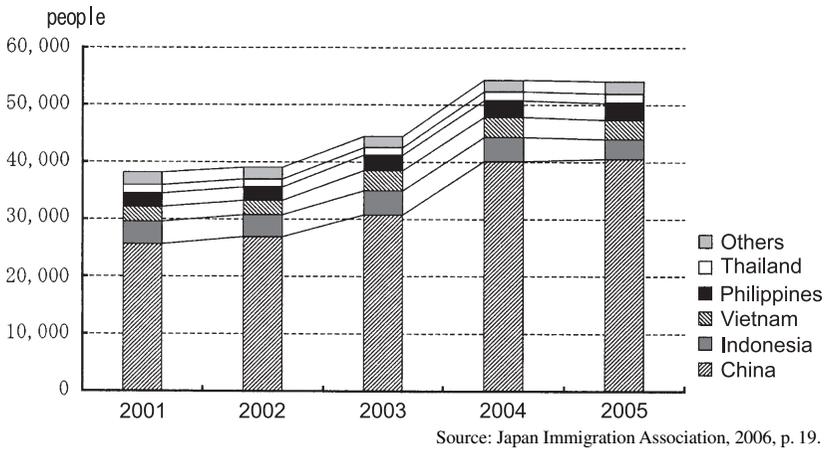


Figure 7 Changing Proportions of Foreign Residents by Trainees (kenshusei)

tual field, there are 2,519 Chinese teachers working in colleges in Japan. This number is about one third of the total of foreign teachers employed in Japanese colleges. The numbers also include 997 researchers and 14,786 scientists. These mostly work in research institutes or the research centers of private industries that support the development of new technology. As for artists and people working in the field of cultural activity, Chinese are also present in high numbers. The opportunities to see performing arts such as Chinese opera or other Chinese related cultural events are increasing in Japan because of this group of people.

Students and Trainees Doing Work which the Japanese are Reluctant to Do

As well as those fields for which figures are available, Chinese are also working in restaurants, bars (*izakaya*), convenience stores, etc. They are mostly students doing part-time work to earn tuition and living expenses. Apart from such jobs, there are others in industry or agriculture which Japanese are reluctant to do because they are one or more of the so-called 3Ds (difficult, dirty, and dangerous), and which are taken on by trainees from China. Ms. Han, a college student I interviewed in Tokyo in 2003, provides an example. She explained that in her first year in Japan, she attended a Japanese language school from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. After school, she worked in a “love hotel” as a housekeeper to clean up rooms, because the job did not require Japanese language ability, paid fairly well, and she could work long hours. This was suitable for her at the time because she had to work hard to earn tuition for Japanese language school. By 2006, she was studying international economics at college, and working in an *izakaya* after school. Her Japanese ability had improved and allowed her to communicate with Japanese customers. Many Chinese work in *izakaya* some of them even becoming *tencho* (managers). Ms. Han said, in fact, that her boss (*tencho*) was Chinese too. She said that many of her Chinese friends were working in *izakaya*, family restaurants, and also in convenience stores, because there they can work long hours in the evening and at night. On the other hand, her Japanese friends seemed reluctant to work in those jobs, preferring telemarketing and sales. These are well-paid office jobs that are not easy for Chinese students to take up at an early stage because of the language barrier.

Newcomers Crossing Borders Frequently

There are many Chinese intellectuals who can be categorized as newcomers who have completed their higher education in Japan and remained as residents. Many have obtained bachelors, masters, or doctoral degrees. Now they are working in offices or research fields and enjoying stable occupations and lifestyles. However, many worry about the education of their children. They wish their children to be educated in Chinese, but there are not enough Chinese schools in Japan. There are only five in the whole country, with room for only 2,000 students. These Chinese schools were established by oldcomers, and are mostly located near Chinatowns or other oldcomer communities, not very close to where newcomers live.

Some newcomers therefore send their children to China for their education. Ms. Chen, who came from Jilin in 1985, started teaching at a college in Osaka after finishing her Ph.D. Her husband, who has also completed his degree, is now working in a research institute. They are satisfied with their stable jobs and lifestyle in Japan, but they have been worried about the education of their children, because they wish them to

speak Chinese. They decided to send them to China for schooling. Professor Chen's parents take care of the two children while they are in China. Cheap international calls—even free ones recently—and advanced Internet communication systems help these far-flung families share a transnational virtual family space. Like the Chens, there are many “transnational dispersed families” among Chinese newcomers in Japan. Family members gather every few months when they have long holidays, either in Japan or in China. Most of them keep nationality or residency in both countries, and renew visas when necessary.

Newcomers cross borders very frequently, as we can see in the case of such families. However, education and family matters are not the only reasons. Business is also an important reason why newcomers become “frequent flyers.” Mr. Chang, the president of *Kengo Group*, provides an example. He came to Japan in 1987 from Shanghai. After graduating from Kobe University in 1990, he went back to China and worked in a company that supplies machine parts to Japanese firms. After a few years, a business customer asked him to find cheaper parts and encouraged him to start his own trading business between China and Japan, which resulted in today's Kengo Group, based in Kobe.

Mr. Chang's main job is guiding Japanese customers to industries in China. Once a contract is completed, he flies back to China to direct workers there and check the products to make sure they comply with the customer's requirements. Sometimes he accompanies Japanese technicians as a consultant. He says his job is filling the gap between Japanese customers and Chinese workers. Educating Chinese workers to meet customers' requirements plays an important part. He thus flies back and forth between China and Japan frequently.

The result is a detailed observation of both the Japanese market and Chinese industry. Also, thanks to his understanding of both Chinese and Japanese cultures and business customs, his company is growing steadily. There are now six group companies in both China and Japan, with an annual business volume of 3 billion yen. Mr. Chang is a typical case of a newcomer Chinese migrant in Japan who has completed a degree and became successful in business by utilizing his or her social networks and cultural background in both countries.

Oldcomers: Rooted in Japan but with Two Motherlands

In contrast to newcomers, who are very mobile, oldcomers seem rooted in Japan. Mr. Lim, for example, was born in Fujian in 1925 and came to Japan when he was ten years old. The Sino-Japanese war of 1937 and other political events kept him away from his homeland for decades. In 1972, when Japan normalized diplomatic relations with China, he finally revisited his homeland. However, he was already rooted in Japan.

Following his father, who had worked as a peddler, Mr. Lim started in the textile

peddling trade in the 1950s. He bought import quota rights from a Japanese trading company and imported high-quality textiles from Europe, supported by overseas Chinese in Europe and in Hong Kong. For most oldcomer Chinese migrants, it was hard to get a job in a Japanese company or compete in Japanese society, so they always had to depend on other overseas Chinese around the world to obtain inside information or even funds for business.³⁾ After some years, Mr. Lim was successful in his business and made a large fortune. He became a well-known leader of the Chinese community in Kobe because of his enthusiasm for education in Chinese schools and community development. He donated to and established schools when he went back to China in 1972. He is also very active in a charity supporting non-Chinese ethnic schools in Hyogo.

Mr. Lim says he has two motherlands: one is China and the other is Japan. Nevertheless, he is definitely rooted in Kobe. He speaks mainly Japanese, and needs translation support when he communicates with other Chinese. Compared with newcomers like Mr. Chang of the Kengo Group, oldcomers like Mr. Lim are more rooted in Japan. Their networks and connections lie more in Japanese society than in China.

Characteristics of Networks and Communities

Mr. Lim and Mr. Chang are typical cases of oldcomers and newcomers, respectively. Oldcomers tend to have established themselves in Japan and may be considered *luo di sheng gen* (落地生根), that is, “fallen leaves rooted in a new land.” Newcomers, however, are more mobile, and seem to create their own “transnational social space” spanning Japan and China. I would like to characterize them as “*chu chu zha gen* (処々札根),” “putting down roots in many places,” rather than “*luo ye gui gen* (落叶归根),” “fallen leaves returning to their roots,” which has been the traditional characterization of overseas Chinese longing for their homeland (Tai 1980).⁴⁾

In terms of business, oldcomers rely on family networks more than overseas Chinese networks, and mainly target the Japanese market. However, newcomers pay more attention to how products can win a place in the global market. Newcomers tend to have bases both in China and Japan. They are also aware of China’s cheap labor and huge market and of Japan’s technology, utilizing them together as their basic strategy.

As for community and organizational development, oldcomers mainly rely on their old hometown ties through associations of Cantonese, Fujianese, etc. On the other hand, newcomers tend to belong to associations based on professions and old school ties. Many newcomers are highly educated, resulting in the formation of such professional organizations as the All Japan Federation of Overseas Chinese Professionals, which includes many doctors and teachers. Oldcomers, in contrast, tend to own communal property and meeting places financed by donations from members of their associations, and they also utilize donations for community development, such as establishing Chinese cemeteries, schools, and temples. Newcomers do not have as much communal

property, perhaps because they do not need to rely on the ethnic community as much as oldcomers do. Instead, newcomers can exchange information virtually through the Internet or resolve problems by traveling across the border. Their solutions to educational issues also present a contrast: oldcomers establish Chinese schools in Japan; newcomers send their children to school in China.

Conclusions

Chinese will probably form the biggest ethnic group in Japan in a few years' time. This can be estimated from the statistics compiled by the Ministry of Justice, as reviewed earlier in this paper. There are already more than 80,000 ethnic Chinese with Japanese nationality, and more than 106,269 Chinese living as permanent residents in Japan. In addition, there are more than 50,000 Chinese living in Japan as spouses of Japanese. Besides these relatively stable and long-term migrants, there are also people who come with visas as college students, pre-college students and trainees, and short-term professionals. Chinese make up the largest numbers in these groups, and they may become long-term residents in the future.

Chinese are increasing their presence in many fields. In the business field, oldcomers have been engaged in small and medium-sized enterprises or family businesses for a long time. Many of them are successful in the food business or in trading based in Chinatowns. Chinatowns in Japan, unlike some other Chinatowns elsewhere in the world, are much more famous as tourist spots than as ethnic enclaves. Many Japanese are willing and even eager to visit Chinatowns to enjoy food and festivals. Chinese culture is well established in Japanese society. Japanese also often encounter Chinese in the business arena, as office colleagues and through established companies in Japan. Like Mr. Chang, newcomers are often quite active in business after completing their degrees in Japanese colleges. They utilize their connections and knowledge of both countries, and open up new markets that are transnational in scope.

However, Chinese are not only conspicuous in upper and middle ranking business fields and in Chinatowns. They are also a growing presence as clerks in convenience stores and waiters in *izakaya* and restaurants. Many Chinese students work in these industries in order to earn their tuition and living expenses. As for the "3D" industries in which Japanese are reluctant to work, many Chinese, including some overstaying migrants, are to be found working there.

Chinese are also noticeable in intellectual fields, as college teachers or technicians in industry. Newcomers who have completed their degrees often move into these intellectual circles in Japan. Many college students in Japan are taught by Chinese teachers; many others at least know of Chinese teachers in their colleges. This is another way in which Chinese migrants have become a feature of everyday life in Japan.

The presence of Chinese migrants is undoubtedly increasing. Newcomer Chinese

migrants, in particular, are crossing borders frequently and creating “transnational social spaces” that cut across borders and nationality. Their experience challenges the usual notions of migration as somehow permanent. Instead, Japan is not a destination for people to move to for a new life, but just another place from which to come and go. The natures of borders and nationality are likewise challenged. Now is the right time for anthropologists to discuss these issues further from the migrants’ point of view.

Notes

- 1) People holding passports of the Republic of China (Taiwan) are also categorized as “Chinese” in Japan. However, in the early 1970s, when Japan shifted diplomatic ties from Taiwan to China, some became categorized as *mukokuseki* (stateless) in Japan (Chen 2005). Overseas Chinese from Hong Kong who entered Japan with a British National Overseas travel document are categorized as British. However, all these people can be classified as *kakyo* based on their ethnic and nationality backgrounds.
- 2) In 1983, Prime Minister Nakasone officially announced that over 100,000 overseas students would be accepted by the early 21st century. At the end of 1982, there were only 8,116 overseas students in Japan. This number was too small for a developed country, when compared to 320,000 overseas students in the U.S. and 120,000 in France. After this plan was proposed, Japan therefore enhanced scholarships and other facilities in order to achieve its goal. (Internet, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo4/gijiroku/007/030101/2-1.htm, October 25, 2007).
- 3) Earlier, there was still strong discrimination against foreigners in Japan. Now, newcomers are in a relatively much more comfortable environment, since Japanese society has become more tolerant of foreigners and is eager to internationalize.
- 4) Chinese migrants are always symbolized as fallen leaves. One expression is *luo ye gui gen* (落葉歸根), and another is *luo di sheng gen* (落地生根). Overseas Chinese who still have Chinese nationality are presumed to want to go back home eventually, so they are characterized as “*luo ye gui gen* (落葉歸根),” “fallen leaves going back to their roots.” On the other hand, Chinese migrants who have naturalized in their country of residence are characterized as “*luo di sheng gen* (落地生根),” “fallen leaves rooted in a new land.” However, I think these figurative expressions are no longer sufficient to describe contemporary Chinese migrants.

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