Subjective Well-Being and Adaptation of Newcomer Chinese Immigrants in Japan

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Abstract

In 2015, over 650 thousand Chinese nationals legally live in Japan and an additional 100 thousand have become naturalised Japanese citizens since the 1980s. Several studies have described Chinese immigrants' economic and social life in Japan, but not enough attention has been paid to their psychological wellbeing. This dissertation examines the levels of subjective wellbeing (SWB) and the process of adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, and discusses the major influences on their SWB and adaptation outcomes. The study employs both quantitative and qualitative data. It first uses the Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) 2008 to evaluate Japanese people’s attitude towards Chinese immigrants in order to gauge whether attitudes of the host country towards immigrants influence the latter’s SWB. It then uses the multicultural survey in Shizuoka Prefecture (2009) to examine the determinants of SWB and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in comparison with other immigrant groups. Furthermore, to explain the results of the quantitative research and to obtain more detailed information, this dissertation study collects interviews with newcomer Chinese immigrants to understand their perceptions of Japan, issues in their social relations with Japanese people, life satisfaction and their adaptation process in Japan. The results show that Japanese natives are more likely to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues or neighbors rather than close relatives. Newcomer Chinese immigrants present lower life satisfaction than immigrants from Brazil, Peru, the Philippines and Vietnam, while they are more likely to be satisfied with migratory lives than Korean immigrants. Furthermore, Chinese female are likely to confronting gender barrier in Japan rather than male, and education as well as employment status present negative impact on life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants.

Keywords: Subjective well-being, Chinese Immigrants, Life satisfaction, Japan.
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Chapter 1  The Sardines

Fish, the oldest vertebrate, I didn’t know there are so many Kanji related to fish until I came to Japan, for the first time I saw that Japanese use the Kanji combining “fish” and “weak” to refer to sardine (Iwashi). The sardines are gregarious marine fish, phototoxic, behavior highly uniform and always crowd together, just pretty like this society we are living in, but it’s just confusing to me, why is sardine linked to “weak” in Japanese?

We talk to Japanese every day, but they never care about what you study, what you do, or what you think……. It is quite awkward living here, feels like locking people on a production line, everyone living here is like a screw or a nut on the line.

“The Sardines”, Entry for the 13th Chinese Student Film Festival

In March 2012, a film named “The Sardines” was presented in the 13th Chinese Student Film Festival, that described the lives of Chinese nationals in Japan and the reactions of Chinese residents right after the 3.11 earthquake. In this movie, the director reflected the life situation and perceptions among Chinese residents in Japan from their own perspective, and highlighted the difficulty of adapting to Japanese society as foreigners, which implied the reality of homogeneity in Japan. Multiculturalism refers to “the acceptance of various cultural divisions for the sake of diversity that applies to the demographic make-up of a specific place”

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1 “The Sardines”, produced by Li Zihuan in 2012, a Master student in Waseda University, based on personal experience and perceptions, he produced this film and attended several film festival. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KHQ_o-R8f4 (March 27, 2012)

2 The 3.11 earthquake, refers to the 2011 earthquake off the Pacific coast of Tōhoku (東北地方太平洋沖地震 Tōhoku-chihō Taiheiyō Oki Jishin). It was a magnitude 9.0 (Mw) undersea megathrust earthquake off the coast of Japan that occurred on March 11 2011, with the epicentre approximately 70 km east of the Oshika Peninsula of Tōhoku and the hypocenter at an underwater depth of approximately 30 km. It was the most powerful earthquake ever recorded to have hit Japan, and the fourth most powerful earthquake in the world since modern record-keeping began in 1900. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Tōhoku_earthquake_and_tsunami (December 30, 2015)
(Lott Bernice, 2009) and it has been discussed by local government in the last two decades, yet Japan is still far from achieving this goal. Previous studies in Japan argue that while multiculturalism is generally favored by the public, many “who demand cultural homogeneity within a nation approve of multiculturalism but are unwilling to grant equal rights” (Nagayoshi, 2011; Burgess, 2004; Tai, 2007). A large number of Japanese citizens consider immigrants a threat to labor market competition, and Japan is still far from being multiculturalism because of its ethnic homogeneity (Nagayoshi, 2009). As of 2015, roughly 1.7 percent of the registered population in Japan are non-Japanese. Even if naturalized citizens of non-Japanese ethnicity are taken into account, this figure still represents a significant minority of roughly 2 percent. In 2009, Hays reported that Japanese people recognize Japan as “one of the world’s most insular countries”; law enforcement officials and scholars sometimes begin their explanations of Japan’s low crime figures with statements like Japan is a “monoracial society” (Hays, 2009) although evidence supporting a link between diversity and crime is baseless.

However, the issue of labor force shortage pushed Japanese government to consider how to attract foreign labors, such as the proposal presented by members of the Liberal Democratic Party to accept 10 million foreigners by 2050 (Roberts, 2012; Ito and Kamiya, 2008). In May 2012, a points-based system that provides highly skilled foreign professionals with preferential immigration treatment was introduced by the Immigration Bureau of Japan to promote entry of highly skilled foreign professionals.3 Meanwhile, the number of immigrants from China are likely to increase. Since the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations formally established in 1972, the Chinese population in Japan jumped from 48,089 in 1972 to 654,777 in 2014, increasing over 10 times in 42 years, this rapidly increasing number has resulted in Chinese immigrants ranking first in the total foreign population in Japan.4

These immigrants enter Japan through various visa categories, and whether they stay in Japan as students, dependents or skilled professionals, they are all actively involved in the Japanese labor market, some of them even trying to make Japan their second home. In 2014, a

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total of 215,155 Chinese nationals were registered as permanent residents in Japan. On average some 9,000 non-Japanese gain permanent residency each year, with 3,060 Chinese in 2014 out of a total of 9,277. Previous studies have showed how Chinese achieved success in different areas after coming to Japan, however newcomer Chinese immigrants still encounter many adaptation difficulties arising from cultural and social differences in the host society (Ying, Samaratunge and Hartel, 2011; Birrell and Healy, 2008). Japanese society has only become heterogeneous and multiethnic in certain large urban areas, especially for immigrants from China, immigrants experience social alienation while living in Japan. Due to the strong identity of being “Japanese” among Japanese people, immigrants’ cognitive and affective evaluations of personal life rarely climb up to the same level as Japanese, and are often lower than people in their origin countries.

1.1 Research Aims

In both empirical and academic fields, the mental well-being of Chinese immigrants in Japan is still a topic that needs to be explored. In empirical fields, Japan is still far from achieving the goal of “multiculturalism”, and many efficient policies need to be implemented to improve immigrants’ mental well-being and attract them to settle down. There is strong pressure on Japan to become a global society, while the adaptation difficulties are seen as an obstacle for immigrants. Only when Japanese natives are willing to accept foreigners, will immigrant groups be able to integrate into Japanese society, then the Japanese government can further ensure the stability of society and steady development of economy. Therefore, to improve immigrants’ adaptation into host society, it is necessary to understand their perceptions as the first step.

Meanwhile, in academic fields, the perceptions and psychological states of Chinese immigrants in Japan are still unclear. In academic fields, during recent decades, many scholars focusing on newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan have researched Chinese immigrants by diverse groups, foreign students, workers, self-business and others (Liu-Farrer, 2011); other

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6 Please refer to definition in section 1.2. Research Objects.
studies focused on the general increase of Chinese nationals in Japan, by looking at the number of Chinese in Japan and analyzed how their presence was growing (Maher, 1995; Duff, Kuczmarska and Lin, 2008; Chen, 2008). However, the context of adaptation process and emotional perception among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan are rarely analyzed. In previous research, “subjective well-being” (SWB) has frequently been used in research on emotional perception, referring to a person’s cognitive and affective evaluations of his/her life (Diener, Oishi and Lucas, 2002). Numerous research have investigated immigrants’ SWB in the host country. Recent studies included how personality and bicultural identity integration influenced Chinese Americans’ SWB and life satisfaction (Amy La, 2011); a qualitative study on housing, employment, access to health care and child care as sociological dimensions in their settlement process for Chinese immigrants to Finland (Qian Cao, 2011). Studies in Australia found that first generation Chinese immigrants encountered many adaptation difficulties arising from cultural and social differences after entering the Australian workplace (Birrell and Healy, 2008); other scholars focused on acculturation strategies also revealed that social support at work is the better indicator of adaptation among professional Chinese immigrants in the Australian workplace (Ying, Samaratunge and Hartel, 2011).

As for Chinese immigrants in Japan, a couple of questions will be put forth: How do newcomer Chinese immigrants evaluate their lives in Japan? What factors exactly affect their sense of SWB? As the largest number of immigrants in Japan, the case of mental well-being among Chinese immigrants may help to give insight to perceptions of overall migrants in Japan, thus contributing to migration studies from the perspective of mental health. Moreover, it may promote policies conducted by local government to not only attract foreign labor force to enter Japan, but also attract them to settle down as long term residents. Considering the differences of living environment and human capital among Chinese immigrants in Japan due to their visa status, the present study will mainly focus on Chinese nationals in Japan with regular visas such as students, dependents, permanent residents and skilled professionals.

1.2 Research Objectives
To gain insight into new characteristics contrasted with “oldcomers”, this study focuses on Chinese residents who came to Japan since the late 1990s. Although a large number of Chinese enter into Japan during recent decades, Chinese nationals, especially those who came to Japan since late 1990s, prefer to identify themselves as “New Oversea Chinese” rather than “Immigrants” (Liu-Farrer, 2012). By comparing with Chinese oldcomers who came to Japan before 1972 (the resumption of diplomatic relations between Japan and China), newcomer Chinese show new characteristics on place of birth and cultural capital. They are mainly born in Shanghai, Fujian province and Heilongjiang province, and most of them are overseas university students and school students who came to Japan since the end of the 1980s (Liu-Farrer, 2011; Tajima, 2004). Meanwhile, many Chinese nationals who came to Japan after 1970s shows a strong intention to stay in Japan through naturalization or permanent residency, their identifications and transnational outlooks represent their strategies to overcome their marginality in a society they perceive as resistant to immigration and closed to outsiders (Liu-Farrer, 2012). Therefore, this study uses the term “Newcomer Chinese Immigrants” to refer to those Chinese nationals who entered Japan since the late 1990s.

To understand the perceptions of Chinese immigrants in Japan under different level of human capital and living environments, this study aims to investigate those Chinese nationals who are actually communicating with Japanese and have the opportunity to really integrate into Japanese society. Therefore, present study focuses on Chinese immigrants’ stay in Japan with regular visa status, including students, dependents (family stays), engineers, specialists in humanities/international services, permanent residents and long-term residents. Other visa categories like trainees, specific activities and performance will not be included. I chose these five categories for the following reasons. Firstly, these visa categories make up a major proportion of the Chinese populations in Japan. According to statistics from the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in 2014, there are 215,555 permanent residents (32.92 percent), 105,557 students (16.12 percent), and 62,599 dependents (9.56 percent).  

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Secondly, compared with Chinese residents who are living in Japan as trainees, specific activities and performances, Chinese students, dependents, engineers and specialists in humanities/international services there are obvious differences in motivation of migration, education level, and socio-economic status. Most of them are graduate from university before moving to Japan, and migrate to Japan with clear goals, such as gaining better education, finding a job in a big company, or establishing their own business; moreover, these Chinese residents get better financial support from their home in China than those who migrate to Japan a decade ago (Liu-Farrer, 2012).

Thirdly, Chinese residents who are holding regular visas have much more actual engagement in Japanese society than others, such as students, dependents, engineers and specialist in humanities/international services. They live as neighbors with Japanese people, they study and work with Japanese classmates and colleagues, and they even become members to Japanese families. However, Chinese residents staying in Japan as spouses of Japanese, entertainer or trainees are mostly isolated from the main Japanese society, their perceptions somehow determined by particular life environment and socio-economic status. Their life experiences and perceptions are significantly different from other Chinese immigrants, therefore, these particular groups will not be included in the research subjects in this study.

Many Japanese people view Chinese immigrants who move to Japan as “students” as a “side door for cheap labor import”. Many of these Chinese students work two low-paying jobs simultaneously to fund their course fees and loans and some even drop out after the first month in Japan (Liu-Farrer, 2011; Mori, 1997). They are too “busy” to engage in social activities as school and workplace are the only two parts of their lives (or even just workplace). Unlike dependents (the spouse and children of a foreign national with working visa), most of these Chinese students who moved to Japan during recent years are much younger, with higher level of education, and get better financial support from home in China. However, they seem not as happy as dependents. Visa restrictions prevent students from remaining in Japan after their studies, thus hindering their opportunities to learn the language and gain international work experience. Immigrant students often work long hours in addition to studying, and some students save money for further courses or send money home to China. Based on my fieldwork, many students have experienced of being discriminated against by Japanese people.
We may say that the marginalization of Chinese students in Japan is caused by their limited socio-economic status, education level and language proficiency, but what about other Chinese residents who are holding different visa status? In May 2012, a points-based system that provides highly skilled foreign professionals with preferential immigration treatment was introduced by the Immigration Bureau of Japan to promote entry of highly skilled foreign professionals. The activities of highly skilled foreign professionals are classified into three categories: “advanced academic research activities”, “advanced specialized/technical activities” and “advanced business management activities”. According to characteristic features of each category of the activities, points are allocated to each item, such as “academic background”, “professional career”, or “annual salary”. If the total points reach a certain number (70 points), preferential immigration treatment will be granted to the applicant with the aim of promoting the acceptance of highly skilled foreign professionals in Japan.\(^8\) Despite its open and lenient policies for highly skilled migration, Japan has not been successful in attracting many professionals from overseas and Japanese corporations have also found it difficult to retain migrant professionals (Oishi, 2012). Besides, there is another visa category that has become popular among Chinese residents who moved to Japan in recent years. The visa status of “specialist in humanities / international services” is often sought by companies such as trading companies and travel agencies which frequently have businesses with foreign companies. This visa is granted to staff of trading companies, interpreters and translators, financial analysts, and language instructors. The positions require knowledge in human sciences such as law, economics, and sociology. Also designers and architects who are required to have knowledge and sense of foreign cultures are granted this visa.\(^9\)

According to the Ministry of Justice’s statistics, there are 34,574 Chinese residents holding visa as “specialist in humanities / international services”, making up over 5 percent of the total Chinese immigrants population.\(^10\) In 2009, demands for foreign students in these four

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occupational categories were the highest: translation/interpretation (honyaku, tsuyaku), sales/marketing (hanbai, eigyo), information technology (jouhou shori), and overseas business (kaigai gyomu). Except for information technology, the other three categories place priority on multilingual skills or multi-cultural backgrounds; in a nutshell, over half of foreign graduates in 2005 were hired partly because of their linguistic and cultural skills (Liu-Farrer, 2009). Even though highly skilled worker and specialist in humanities / international services have been listed as two important visa statuses in Japan and there is strong pressure on Japan to become a global society, adaptation difficulties of these newcomer Chinese immigrants will obstruct the way.

Furthermore, in pursuing better education and socio-economic status and after having studied or worked in Japan for several years, many Chinese bring their families to Japan. While the Japanese media often report the issues of foreigners staying in Japan as spouses of Japanese – for example, work-life balance, raising children, relationship with husband – it is rare to see any Japanese media attention on foreign wives in Japan, especially those from China. During recent years, many Chinese wives moved to Japan through international marriage intermediary and often need to rely on their own to sustain life. Some of them live separately from their husbands, working over 12 hours a day, not being able to speak Japanese well, and having no friends, they are becoming a marginalized group in Japanese society (Saihanjuna, 2011). On the other hand, due to the work of these Chinese women, they are also becoming important members of the labor force in Japan. Their perceptions and life satisfaction may affect their willingness to stay in Japan, thus having an impact on the Japanese labor market.

Compared to other Chinese immigrants involved in specific activities in Japan, these Chinese students, dependents, permanent residents and skilled professionals are the core members of the foreign labor force in Japanese dominant labor market. Also they are the ones who can really communicate with Japanese natives, which is crucial in a mental well-being study. Moreover, the life experiences and perceptions of these Chinese immigrants can reflect their sense of well-being in Japan as “newcomers”, therefore, the present study will mainly focus on Chinese immigrants with these four visa status.
1.3 Research Structure

This study aims to examine the level of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants, and understand the narratives of their processes of adaptation in Japanese society. In order to comprehend the perceptions of Chinese immigrants in Japan, the present study was conducted under the following structure. To give a full view of Chinese immigrants in Japan, Chapter 2 surveys the literature on Chinese immigrants in Japan and introduces the characteristics of groups of different legal statuses. It also reviews the literature about SWB and migration and establishes a model to investigate how the social environment and social resources influence the sense of well-being of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. Moreover, according to the review of literature about SWB and migration, I established a model to investigate how the social environment and social resources influence the sense of well-being of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Based on the model have established to investigate how social environment and social resources impact on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, Chapter 3 introduces the methodology of this dissertation. Considering the advantages and gaps existing in both quantitative and qualitative study, in order to discern the level of SWB and perceptions among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, these two methods are both used in the present study. To validate whether attitudes of the host country towards immigrants influence the latter’s SWB (Choi and Thomas, 2009), and understand the attitudes Japanese natives have toward immigrants especially those from China, the Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) 2008 was used in this study first to look into Japanese attitude towards newcomer Chinese immigrants. Based on the findings of Japanese attitudes, the present study then employed another quantitative data—the multicultural survey in Shizuoka Prefecture (2009)—to examine the levels and predictors of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. Since utilizing only statistical analysis provides limited understanding of how these factors work on every individual’s psychological outcomes, and why they can affect newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of SWB, a qualitative method is necessary. To examine the results of the quantitative research, and obtain more detailed information, a qualitative method was utilized through interviews with newcomer Chinese immigrants to record their life stories in Japan. Interviews focused on their perceptions of communication with the Japanese, life satisfaction and their adaptation process in Japan.
By following the models established in Chapter 2 and the methodology in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 examines Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Previous research have examined Japanese present negative attitudes towards immigrants (e.g. Nagayoshi, 2009; Bartram, 2010; Tanabe, 2011), but it is still unclear whether Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants are truly negative and whether these are more serious than their attitudes toward other immigrant groups. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the attitudes Japanese citizens have toward accepting Chinese immigrants, and discuss the predictors of those attitudes. This chapter mainly addresses whether the Japanese people are likely to accept immigrants from China, and identifies the factors that shape their attitudes.

Using Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) 2008, lower level of acceptance among Japanese toward immigrants in Japan has been examined by comparing their attitudes toward immigrants from China with those from South Korea, Southeast Asia, Europe and North America. The results show that Japanese people are more likely to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues or neighbors rather than as close relatives. Japanese females tend to have more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than males, while older Japanese express strong anti-immigrant attitudes toward the Chinese. Moreover, positive correlation between education and acceptance attitudes are found. However, neither population size nor household income bear significant effects on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese migrants. The implications of these findings are used to discuss Chinese immigrant incorporation and ongoing multiculturalism in contemporary Japan.

Based on these findings, the next step is to see how newcomer Chinese immigrants are perceived in Japan. Are they satisfied with their migrant lives? What are the indicators of SWB among these Chinese residents in Japan? By employing the multicultural survey conducted in Shizuoka prefecture (2009), Chapter 5 investigates the predictors of adaptation and SWB of Chinese immigrants by comparing with other countries’ immigrants in Japan. This survey involved 1,980 immigrants from Brazil, China, Korea, Indonesia, Peru, Vietnam, and the Philippines aged between 16 and 87. This research indicated the factors that shape life satisfaction, perceived discrimination, psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. The main results of this quantitative study are as follows: a) newcomer Chinese immigrants presented lower life satisfaction than immigrants from Brazil, Peru, Indonesia, Philippines and
Vietnam, but they are more likely to be satisfied with their migrant lives than Korean immigrants; b) newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan are mainly dissatisfied with their assets, savings and income; c) Chinese immigrants are mainly worried about their children’s education and their own life in old age; d) when having trouble with Japanese citizens, Chinese residents thought the main reasons are language and lack of communication; e) education, length of stay and economic capital presented negative effect on life satisfaction among Chinese immigrants, whereas better language proficiency can help Chinese residents to gain higher level of life satisfaction in Japan.

As a complement to this quantitative study, a qualitative study has also been implemented (see Chapter 6). Interviews and participant observation were conducted with 52 Chinese immigrants from 2012 to 2015. Through independent interviews, this study found that gender inequality generally exists in Japanese society, which permeated Chinese nationals’ migration process. Encountering disjuncture from lives before migration, uselessness of education gained in China and obstacles of child care during full-time employment, Chinese female immigrants generally find it harder to gain better SWB than male immigrants. Moreover, for those Chinese residents who have a better education, they may have more experiences and abilities that they can utilize when dealing with Japanese citizens, but at the same time, they are faced with unequal treatments and discrimination. Some informants in the qualitative study mentioned their experiences of being discriminated by Japanese colleagues and classmates. These experiences may lead to negative attitudes of newcomer Chinese immigrants toward communication with Japanese citizens, however, language proficiency can still help them to better understand Japanese culture, and gain better social status in Japanese society, even though this is yet to translate into social equality.

In the end, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings in both quantitative and qualitative studies, and analyze how social environment and social resources influence the sense of well-being among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. Based on these findings, the present study also discussed the potential policies worthy to be implemented to improve Chinese immigrants’ level of SWB in Japan, and help them to truly adapt into Japanese society. Since the objects of this dissertation are mainly focused on students, dependents, permanent residents and skilled professionals who are core members of Japanese foreign labor force and have social contact with
Japanese natives, the principal suggestions are mainly considered from the perspective of gender barriers, employment inequality, work-life balance and rights of habitation.

1.4 Significance

This study makes a significant contribution in three ways. Firstly, like it or not, Japan will be forced to come to terms with its future as a major country of immigration; as one of the dominant economic powers of this region, the country will increasingly become a major destination of migrants from various countries especially China. The future impact this will have on Japan's economic system, ethnic composition, public opinion, national identity, and citizenship laws is quite fascinating (Tsuda, 2001). As a significant component of the Japanese labor market, the psychological perceptions of newcomer Chinese immigrants may influence their migration trajectories in Japan, hence affecting Japanese economic and cultural compositions. Therefore, this study on SWB of newcomer Chinese immigrants will reflect the effect of Japanese immigration policies and explore the understanding of the current status of Chinese nationals in Japan, so as to contribute to future policy formulation in both China and Japan.

Secondly, recent research on adaptation and SWB of immigrants mainly tend to focus on Eastern world immigrants moving to Western countries (Amit, 2010; Bălțătescu, 2007; Bartram, 2010), and some studies on immigration in Japan always pay attention to the labor market, education and gender issues (Oka, 1994; Yamanaka, 1993). SWB and adaptation of newcomer Chinese immigrants, especially considering the political aspect, are important to immigration research in Japan. This study highlights the predictors of SWB and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, which can provide information for organizations developing effective programs to assist immigrants with adaptation to host society.

Thirdly, research on SWB tend to use quantitative method to examine the determinants, or qualitative method to understand the context of SWB among immigrants. However, the comparison of SWB of immigration before and after migrating, the impact to their destination and outcomes, and whether or how political issues influence their adaptation and SWB still need to be studied. By using mixed research methods, this study tries to figure out these questions,
and fill the gaps of research on immigrants’ SWB and adaptation. Moreover, this study highlights newcomer Chinese immigrants’ assimilation towards Japanese society to reduce the cultural gap between the two societies, referring to Japan as the host society and China as the homeland society, thus achieving positive acceptance.
Chapter 2  Literature Review:
Immigration SWB and Chinese Immigrants in Japan

The history of Chinese in Japan can be traced back to the 5th century, and its development process is inseparable with Sino-Japanese relations. Since this study aims to investigate the subjective well-being of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, it is necessary to first have a basic understanding of Chinese immigrants’ history in Japan, so as to recognize their trend and potential of development.

2.1. Four Periods of Chinese Immigration in Japan

The recent history of Chinese in Japan started in the 1970s. From Japan’s defeat in World War II until 1972, an “ice-era” existed in the development of Sino-Japanese relations which was mainly influenced by the Cold War, U.S. policy toward China and the constraints of U.S.-Japan relations (Wang, 2012). Despite the People’s Republic of China’s shutting its doors to the international world and regulating 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 (Chen, 2008). In 1972, with normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations formally established, the official development period between these two countries started. In addition to allowing its citizens to go abroad as foreign students and long-term residents, the Chinese government decided to begin exporting labor to foreign countries. Labor export from China primarily occurs through two channels: contracted projects and service cooperation on the basis of foreign economic cooperation. The scale of labor export from China has increased greatly with the acceleration of foreign trade and economic cooperation since the country commenced its reforms and opened itself to the world (Yin Hao, 2001). Also since 1972, the later 40 years of Sino-Japanese relations have been divided into four periods (Wang, 2012).
The first period is the “friendly and cooperative period (1972-1982)”: in 1978, Deng Xiaoping visited Japan and concluded "Peace and Friendship Treaty" with Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda; in 1979, Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira visited China and provided "Official Development Assistance" (ODA). In this period, there was rapid development in Sino-Japanese relations, and the Chinese market and its resources strongly attracted Japanese capital and technology. The second period is “friction and cooperation (1982-1992)”: the first friction of this period was the textbook event in 1982 with some positive interactions. For instance, the General Secretary Hu Yaobang visited Japan in 1983 and invited 3000 Japanese youths to visit China; in 1984, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone visited China with 470 billion yuan’s second batch of loans, which was the first batch of nearly nine times of aid loans to China. Moreover, Japan entered the 1980s with a strong economy and an ambition to become a political superpower (Liu-Farrer, 2011). The third period is “opposition and cooperation period (1992-2002)”: at this stage, a huge difference emerged between the two countries on economic development. By following Deng Xiaoping’s southern tour speech in 1992, China opened its market system and entered a new period of high-speed economic development, while Japan went downhill after the bubble economy burst in 1992, which damaged Japanese economic development for over a decade. During this period, bilateral trade increased from 28.9 billion dollars in 1992 to 85.7 billion dollars in 2000; China's trade surplus with Japan also expanded from 5 billion dollars to 24.9 billion dollars, but trade friction emerged between the two countries in the agricultural products and textiles industries. The fourth period is “confrontation and cooperation (2002-2012)”: relations between China and Japan became much more serious than the previous 30 years, the main reason being Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, who made two activities - economic reform and played the history card, claiming that China will be a threat to Japan. Sino-Japanese relations also fell into "cold politics and hot economy" situation at this time.¹¹

These four periods had significant influences on the development of Chinese immigration in Japan in both political and economic contexts. Although there are conflicts and frictions in Sino-Japanese relations during recent years, the keyword “cooperation” still ran through all these four periods.

periods. After 1978, the Chinese population in Japan grew rapidly, since the Chinese government began to encourage people to go abroad following the flow of economic reform. 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 during the two decades since 1978 (Chen, 2008). No fewer than 80,000 ethnic Chinese are uncounted in the statistics given above; furthermore, Chinese who are not duly registered as legal migrants, amounted to 8,647 by the Ministry of Justice in January 2015, but the real number of Chinese illegal migrants in Japan could be larger, therefore, there are nearly 700,000 Chinese migrants in Japan\textsuperscript{12}.

Thus, in the mid-1980s, the “Temporary Decisions about Self-financed Education Abroad” issued in 1984 permitted Chinese citizens to go abroad to study if they could secure financial sponsorship or scholarships; in 1986, the Chinese government further relaxed the restrictions on Chinese citizens’ mobility and started issuing personal passports to people who planned to migrate, study, work or even just to visit (Liu-Farrer, 2011). Meanwhile, unlike other countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Japan implemented its reconstruction and launched its post-war economic reforms without recourse to immigration. The immigration policies of the Japanese government have been modified since the end of the 1980s but remain restrictive: Japan permits only a small number of qualified workers to enter the country. To cope with industry labor requirements, “the government consciously resorts to side door or back door policies” (Le Bail, 2005). In this context, the plan to increase the number of foreign students to 100,000 by 2000 (a project that was initially announced in 1983) provided a privileged immigration route for the Chinese. Chinese students accept unskilled employment, frequently temporary work, until their studies are completed. After they graduate from Japanese universities, those who decide to stay in Japan generally attain skilled posts, sometimes even highly skilled posts. The temporary nature of unskilled jobs could assist in explaining the low level of segregated activity, and access to skilled employment explains the wide geographic dispersal of Chinese immigrants. The large number of Chinese immigrants who entered the country through the selective route of study has experienced greater social mobility (Le Bail, 2005). Entering the 21st century, even though the Japanese government saw China as a threat to

Japan, the economic relation between China and Japan became much closer than before. A large number of Chinese residents entered Japan during recent years through various visa categories, and no matter they were staying in Japan as students, dependents or skilled professionals, they were all actively involved in the Japanese labor market. Prior to the 1980s, the number of long-term immigrants was approximately 50,000 people. Given that 654,777 Chinese immigrants were living in Japan at the end of 2014, we can estimate that over 600,000 Chinese people arrived in Japan since late 1980s and currently live in Japan.13

2.2. Era of “Newcomer Chinese Immigrants”

Like other Chinese migrant communities around the world, many Chinese residents in Japan called themselves “Kakyo” (Huaqiao), refering to those oversea Chinese who were holding Chinese nationality (Tajima, 2003). According to Chen’s arguments (2008), there are two standards to classify Chinese immigrant groups: the first standard is nationality. Chinese residents who were holding Chinese nationality in Japan were called “Kakyo” (Huaqiao), which referred not only to the People’s Republic of China (mainland China), but also to the Republic of China (Taiwan). A second group consists of those Chinese migrants who have naturalized and obtained Japanese nationality, these are called “kajin” (Huaren), because they have Japanese nationality and are registered both in Japanese family registers (koseki) and residence registers (juminhyo). They are not categorized by ethnicity in any Japanese official identification, and therefore, once the Chinese have naturalized, only their ethnic background and personal identity distinguish them as “kajin” (Chen, 2008).

Besides nationality, another standard to classify Chinese immigrants is the time they came to Japan. The first group consists of those called “rou-kakyo” (Lao Huaqiao), who came to Japan before the 1980s (Tajima, 2003). The second group consists of “shin-kakyo” (Xin Huaqiao) who came directly from mainland China after the start of its Open Door Policy in 1978.

13在留外国人統計(Statistics of the Foreigners Registered in Japan), Ministry of Justice:
(Chen, 2008). The Chinese population in Japan jumped from 52,896 in 1980 to 654,777 in 2014, increasing over 10 times in 34 years. This rapidly increasing number also made Chinese immigrants rank first in the total foreign population in Japan. In 2003, Tajima Junko divided the Chinese immigrants in Japan into two parts, using the terms “oldcomers” and “newcomers” to designate immigrants who arrived before 1945 and their descendants, and those who have arrived since the second half of the 1970s, respectively. The old comers are primarily Koreans, but this group also includes a small number of Chinese people who are primarily from Taiwan, however newcomers Chinese, who came to Japan after 1970s, are mainly from mainland China. The gap between the old comers and new comers’ communities is related to both the successes of part of Chinese immigrants and the difficulties of others (Chen, 2008). During interviews that were conducted in Tokyo in 2004 and 2005, new comers who had succeeded in society often expressed their respect for the earlier generations of immigrants (whom they currently refer to as old immigrants) while emphasizing the socio-cultural gulf that divides these generations (Tajima, 2003). Fuji Ren, the president of the Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers in Japan stated the following:

*Relations between one group of Chinese people living in Japan and another are often virtually nonexistent. As between the new comers and the old immigrants, this is due to differences in education. Ourselves, we’re mostly employed in the high-tech sector, while the old comers are very often in trade or catering: these are different worlds (Le Bail, 2005, P.4).*

Since the early 1990s, when the number of Chinese students increased rapidly in Japan, the number of illegal overstay residents, fake students and criminal behaviors also increased synchronously. This phenomenon was soon exposed by media, and Chinese residents began to leave a negative image in Japanese society (Chen, 2008). Thus, such activities by Chinese newcomers undermined the positive images established by older generations in past decades. In

order to preserve their own image as a model community, the antecessors sought to distance themselves from the young generations. The separation between the two communities was facilitated by the rare family connections between groups and by the few work opportunities that the old Chinese community offered to the new comers, indeed, the latter group rarely sought to revive former ties (Le Bail, 2005).

Figure 2.1. Statistics of Foreigners Registered in Japan (1972-2014)


This study uses the term “newcomer Chinese immigrants” to refer to those Chinese residents who came to Japan since the end of the 1980s because they were mainly born in Shanghai, Fujian province and Heilongjiang province, and most of them were overseas university students and school students who were different from oldcomers (Liu-Farrer, 2011; Tajima, 2004). They showed a strong intention to stay in Japan through naturalization or permanent residency (Liu-Farrer, 2011); moreover, these newcomers’ family background, migration motivation and their knowledge before migration were all different characteristics from oldcomers. Before the 1980s,
Chinese who came to Japan were barely getting any financial support from home, some of them came to Japan with usurious loans and some even achieved their dreams of going abroad through smuggling. Although some of the newcomer Chinese to Japan after 1980s faced a similar situation, many of them, especially those Chinese who were born in the 1980s and 1990s could easily get financial support from their families.

Thus, compared with oldcomers, newcomer Chinese could gather more information about Japan before migration. Many oldcomers chose the way of smuggling or usurious loans because they did not know other channels like how to apply for visa and scholarship or contact with Japanese apartments and schools. For newcomer Chinese immigrants, gathering these information became much easier with the internet. Furthermore, despite normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations since 1972, Sino-Japanese relations still had turbulent situations over the past decades. There is no previous study that examined how the political environment could significantly affect Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan, but according to my interviews with newcomer Chinese immigrants, some felt nervous in watching news on TV that reported negative events about China or confrontation between China and Japan. On the other hand, some informants felt pressure from their families in China because their relatives kept asking about the political environment in Japan and talked about the demonstration in China. Although most of my informants kept telling their families that it is quite safe in Japan, their perceptions were partly influenced by their parents’ concern. These new characteristics shown by newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan could become the indicators of their SWB in Japan.

Although many empirical evidence from both labor market and scholars showed that Japan needs more foreign workers, it is debated whether Japanese people and institutions should accept increased immigration, particularly from China. A recent poll that was conducted by the Japanese government revealed that two-thirds of the respondents held negative views of China. Some Japanese people view Chinese immigrants as “criminal intent on wreaking havoc in Japanese society.” One author declared that the violent crime rate for Chinese is consistent with that of other foreign populations in Japan, whereas statistics from the National Police Academy indicate that immigrants from China (including mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong) accounted for a disproportionate 38% of arrests for serious crimes and 39 percent of arrests for larceny offences in 2007. Illegal immigration is also an issue; the MOJ (Ministry of Justice)
recently estimated that 27,698 illegal Chinese immigrants live in Japan and thus constitute the third largest group of illegal immigrants in the country. Japanese companies are reducing payrolls amid the brutal economic downturn, and these actions have led to anger and unease among employees and significant resentment toward the hiring of foreigners. Furthermore, some politicians argue that immigrants do not represent an ideal solution to the demographic problem in Japan, due to the fact that immigrants also age and consume resources and even though many immigrants are actively engaged in the mainstream labor market, there is still no guarantee that immigrants will perform productive work. Alternative solutions that have been offered include increasing social security taxes and delaying retirement (Duff, Kuczmarska and Lin, 2008). Even though many studies and news have shown that Chinese immigrants achieved success in different areas, Chinese immigrants still encounter many adaptation difficulties arising from cultural and social differences in host society (Ying, Samarutunge and Hartel, 2011; Birrell and Healy, 2008). Anti-immigrant sentiment clearly exists in Japan and is becoming an increasingly serious problem. The relationship between China and Japan is more sensitive than other international relationships because of its long history, its close and contentious cultures and policies, and the economic ties between the countries. A Chinese resident of Japan must endure many hardships as a result of this “special” relationship. This study addresses the important issue of Japanese discrimination toward Chinese immigrants and the effects of this discrimination on the mental health of immigrants. As this study aims to look into newcomer Chinese immigrants’ lives in Japan, understanding the social context of Japanese society is an important requirement. By investigating Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, this study will give a clearer picture of the kind of social environment that Chinese immigrants are living in, and this will help us to understand their perceptions in the host country.

In the cases of various immigrant groups in different host countries, previous research on immigrants’ SWB also showed multiple findings which may give some reference significance to study on Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan. A current study in the U.S. examined how personality and bicultural identity integration influence Chinese Americans’ SWB and life satisfaction. It found that both perceived cultural distance represented negative effect on SWB among Chinese American in the U.S., and cultural conflicts between them and natives showed insignificant correlation with the former’s SWB (La, 2011). Studies in Australia found that first generation Chinese immigrants encountered many adaptation difficulties arising from cultural
and social differences after entering the Australian workplace (Birrell and Healy, 2008). Other scholars focusing on acculturation strategies also revealed that social support at work is a better indicator of adaptation among professional Chinese immigrants in Australian workplace (Ying, Samaratunge and Hartel, 2011). As to newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, there are a couple of questions about SWB that may need to be resolved: First, how do Chinese immigrants evaluate their life in Japan? Second, what factors exactly affect their sense of SWB? This study aims to examine the level of SWB of Chinese immigrants in Japan, and their processes of adaptation, including psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation in host society. It also highlights other potential predictors of SWB and adaptation, the relationship between these two concepts, and investigate the characteristics of SWB and adaptation among Chinese immigrants in Japan.

In order to gain clearly insight into SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, this study also divided range on research subjects through visa status. As I have introduced in Chapter 1, for Chinese nationals who stay in Japan with visa status such as Japanese spouse, trainee, specific activities and performance, their experiences and migration trajectories in Japan represented huge differences to other Chinese immigrants, for instance, trainees who are mainly living in the countryside and have been strictly isolated from Japanese society by factory owners, and due to the restrictions, most of them barely get a chance to regularly communicate with Japanese citizens, which thereby determined their limited level of life satisfaction. Some Chinese nationals migrate to Japan through marriage agencies and they married Japanese strangers in order to gain Japanese spouse visa status. Since entering Japan, most of them have to work otherwise they may not able to pay their husband for “international marriage business”, and they rarely experience the sense of having a “family” in Japan even though they are married. Therefore, their perceptions resulted in limited life satisfaction as a consequence of particular experiences and environment in Japan. Yet, this study aims to investigate SWB among Chinese immigrants who can actually communicate with Japanese and have the opportunity to really integrate into Japanese society. Hence, this study focuses on Chinese immigrants staying in Japan with regular visa status, including students, dependents (family stays), engineers, specialists in humanities/international services, permanent residents and long-term residents. Other visa categories like trainees, specific activities and performance will not be included. As to these Chinese nationals who stay in Japan with different visa status, their migration processes,
motivations, life experiences and social networks may represent diversification, which further affect their SWB. Therefore, to understand the perceptions among different divisions of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, I will introduce them historically by visa status in the next section.

2.2.1. Chinese students in Japan

Since the 1980s, Chinese students have become a major component of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. Le Bail (2005) argued that the choice of coming to Japan with a student visa may be analyzed in terms of migratory strategy, because those who arrived in the 1980s often had a stable situation in China and reasonably skilled employment; as for these newcomer students, their principal motivation for choosing to live as a student was the desire to see beyond the frontiers, to seize new opportunities for training and professional experience. During recent decades, Chinese student migrants in Japan present obvious characteristics in organizing network with relatives in their home country. At the beginning, they were mainly from various big cities such as Shanghai and Beijing, and provinces in northeast and Fujian, whereas the tendency changed around 2003 (Le Bail, 2005; Liu-Farrer, 2011). Since these Chinese students came to Japan, many of them began to “pull” their relatives or friends to come to Japan through student visa. With “one-by-one” system, Chinese students introduced their school or supervisors to relatives and friends in China, teaching them how to prepare documents for visa application and even helping them with preparation of exams in Japanese schools. Le Bail (2005) found that the Chinese student network in Japan is a powerful system:

_They help each other to find work and accommodation; as with the students coming from other Chinese regions, the educational level of these Mongolians is high, many of them are teachers at secondary level or higher, and the great majority are university graduates; those who stay on after their studies in Japan are the most highly qualified and some obtain posts as university teachers; the fact that education has been the immigration route favored by the Chinese has imposed a strong element of educational_
selection on the newcomers; once they have graduated from Japanese universities, those able to stay and work in Japan have often obtained skilled employment in the best Japanese enterprises; in the space of one generation, these Chinese people who came in as students and who suffered a temporary drop in social status just long enough to pay for their studies have quickly gone on to highly skilled posts and to a stable social situation (Le Bail, 2005, P.5).

Figure 2.2. Number of Chinese students in Japan (2006-2014)


Existing literature about international students mainly focus on their academic performance through qualitative research. Liu-Farrer (2011) showed the overall lives of Chinese students in Japan: the majority of Chinese students enter Japan with the goal of pursuing an education and expanding their career opportunities, most of them follow the trajectory of language school—university—employment; there are also students who arrive as non-credited research students (Kenkyusei) before they manage to enter graduate schools; moreover, some cases in her fieldwork
reflected that some Chinese students encountered racial discrimination by Japanese natives (Liu-Farrer, 2011). As to what factors indicate Chinese student migrants’ SWB in Japan, Tamaoka, Ninomiya and Nakaya (2003) investigated life satisfaction of international students in Japanese universities, these students were from both Eastern and Western countries. This research examined students’ life satisfaction through three aspects including academic life, daily life and Japanese language ability. It found that, supervisors in Japanese university are more likely to give advice to those with mother tongues which use kanji script (i.e., mainland China, Taiwan and Korea) than to those with mother tongues which do not use kanji script. Putting cultural (or partly racial) matters aside, since international students from mainland China, Taiwan and Korea tend to have better Japanese reading and writing skills than those with alphabetic languages, Japanese language ability seems to have no relation to supervisor’s advice (Tamaoka, Ninomiya and Nakaya, 2003).

As for newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, the level of their general life satisfaction is still unclear. In addition, other predictors failed to be examined on Chinese students’ SWB in Japan in previous studies, such as demographic characteristics, economic status, and experience of perceived discrimination. Since those indicators presented significant effect on immigrants’ general SWB in previous studies, it is also necessary to examine whether the level of SWB of Chinese students changes when these predictors are controlled for. These puzzles will be resolved in this study through both quantitative and qualitative data.

2.2.2. Chinese Dependents in Japan

Besides student, many Chinese immigrants who came to Japan since the late 1980s also explored another way, which is to move to Japan as dependents. Among newcomer Chinese immigrants, there are mainly two kinds of residence status to achieve this way, marrying Japanese or marrying Chinese (Le Bail, 2005). Chinese immigrants who obtained family visa to Japan are dominated by female.

Newcomer Chinese immigrants who hold this type of visa include some descendants of the Japanese wives and children who stayed on in China after the Japanese were defeated in 1945,
but their numbers are falling as they obtain permanent residence visas or Japanese nationality, and this type of visa corresponds today to marriages between Chinese women and Japanese men (Le Bail, 2005). As to Chinese women married to Japanese men, two tendencies have been detected, and both are explained by new migratory inflows from the northeast of China (Le Bail, 2005):

Firstly, whereas up to now these marriages were the result of meetings in Japan between Chinese women students and Japanese men, it seems that the proportion of marriages organized on the Chinese mainland is growing significantly; secondly, while the practice of making arranged marriages has for a long time been more prevalent among Fujian women, today the women of northeast are in first place; the evidence can be seen by browsing their numerous websites or by looking through the small ads in Japan’s Chinese newspapers; while one cannot speak of a network in this instance, one can imagine that Chinese women will more readily embark on this venture if they have acquaintances already living in Japan; moreover, most of the matrimonial agencies in Japan were founded by Chinese residents, in co-operation with old acquaintances in the cities they came from; in very many cases, the Japanese applicants for arranged marriages are either old men, or farmers, or low-paid workers, their Chinese wives find themselves isolated in their homes, or obliged to take low-skilled jobs, many of these women suffer a drop in social status by comparison with their situation in China (Le Bail, 2005, P. 6).

Japan is not only known for its high life-expectancy and its increasingly aging society (Coulmas, 2008), but also for its relatively traditional, rigid social structures with predetermined life courses and career paths (Sugimoto, 2010). These features suggest that gender differences in SWB are more evident in Japan than in other societies (Tiefenbach and Kohlbacher, 2013). Although a number of studies on SWB have shown similar results regarding the effects of marriage (Blanchflower and Oswald, 2011), the effects of basic control variables such as gender are still discussed controversially. Regarding gender differences the international literature found that women are happier than men (e.g. Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004; Frey and Stutzer, 2002;
Praag and Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2008), whereas in most of these studies the size of the gender effect is small or negligible (Tiefenbach and Kohlbacher, 2013).

Unlike the argument by international literature, many Japan-related studies found rather big happiness gaps between men and women (Sano and Ohtake, 2007). It found only a small coefficient of the gender variable (Yamane et al., 2008); thus, gender coefficient has even lost significance in some research (Oshio et al., 2011). Indeed, the universal finding is that women are happier than men and for country specific result, the gender gap in happiness is rather big in Japan compared to other countries (Tiefenbach and Kohlbacher, 2013).

**Figure 2.3. Number of Chinese dependents in Japan (2006-2014)**

![Number of Chinese family members in Japan](http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichi-ran_touroku.html. (May 10, 2015)

Considering the particular social context in Japan with gender issue and the significant number of newcomer Chinese immigrants living in Japan with family visa status, this study will investigate the level of these Chinese immigrants’ SWB by employing both quantitative data and qualitative data. By examining the level of life satisfaction in this group, this study will give
answers to what factors affect the SWB of these Chinese immigrants. Furthermore, to give specific explanation to quantitative findings, analysis on the narratives of Chinese immigrant who migrate to Japan as dependents will be organized in this study.

2.2.3. Chinese in Japan as Permanent Residents

To gain more economic benefits and better personal development, a large number of newcomer Chinese immigrants, especially student and dependents choose to stay in Japan through permanent residence rather than Japanese citizenship. They desire to keep flexible cross-border living arrangements and remain active in the international labor market to gain the benefits of both societies (Liu-Farrer, 2011). Liu-Farrer (2011) argued that there are aspects of Chinese immigrants’ transnational living that are common conditions of all immigrants:

They struggle alone in a foreign land in order to accumulate a fortune, to earn a better living for the family or to give children a better future; pioneers and sojourners can be found among the Filipinos, the Mexicans, the Turkish and the Chinese in many parts of the world; Migrants and the families endure prolonged geographic separation as a consequence, yet some patterns of Chinese immigrants’ transnational living arrangements are more particular to Chinese student migration in Japan; they reflect distinct characteristics of the Chinese student migrant population, particularities of Japan as the receiving context, and the dynamics of contemporary economic globalization; Chinese immigrants move their families back and forth between Japan and China and they plan their life course to be transnational; these designs are made possible by transnational career mobility and motivated by the intention to maximize the utility of their economic resources and to enjoy the benefits of both societies; the decision of many migrants to send their children to elite school in China shows their understanding of the challenges and opportunities of the contemporary global economy and their expectation for their children to succeed in a globalized world (Liu-Farrer, 2011, P. 139).
As for these Chinese residents’ perceptions in Japan, their level of life satisfaction during the migration process may influence their decision of living places. Holding permanent residency can make them more flexible in finding a better place for living. Therefore, this study aims to examine the level of SWB among Chinese permanent residents in Japan, and discuss the determinants of life satisfaction.

![Figure 2.4. Number of Chinese permanent residents in Japan (2006-2014)](http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichi-ran_touroku.html)


### 2.2.4. Chinese Skilled Professionals in Japan

During recent decades, the Japanese labor market has become one of the main destinations for Chinese immigrants. Chinese now constitute one third of all foreign residents in Japan. As one of the major residence status among newcomer Chinese immigrants, skilled migrants result from the Japanese government’s migration policy towards skilled foreign professionals. In Japan a
large percentage of Chinese residents entered Japan as students (college or pre-college) and then decided to stay and work in Japan. The policy creates skilled professionals, who have also mastered the Japanese language and are thus re-socialized in Japan, contributing not only to the Japanese economy, but to civil society as well (Le Bail, 2013).

**Figure 2.5. Number of Chinese skilled professionals in Japan (2006-2014)**

[Bar chart showing number of Chinese skilled professionals in Japan from 2006 to 2014.]


Due to low fertility replacement levels, a rapidly aging population, and a competitive global market, Japan needs a large number of immigrants to fill labor shortages. In 2005, the Justice Ministry reported that in order to encourage the welcoming of skilled foreign professional, the Japanese government issued an “open country policy” to create a business environment that would attract highly skilled professionals. There were also confessions by prominent nationalists that Japan needs a sensible immigration policy (Duff, Kuczmarska and Lin, 2008). In May 2012, a points-based system that provides highly skilled foreign professionals with preferential immigration treatment was introduced by the Immigration Bureau of Japan to promote entry of
highly skilled foreign professionals. The activities of highly skilled foreign professionals are classified into three categories: “advanced academic research activities,” “advanced specialized/technical activities,” and “advanced business management activities.”. According to characteristic features of each category of the activities, points are set to each item, such as “academic background,” “professional career,” “annual salary”. If the total points reach a certain number (70 points), preferential immigration treatment will be granted to the relevant person, with the aim of promoting the acceptance of highly skilled foreign professionals in Japan. The point system will inevitably attract people to the economic and financial centers of Japan, and to wherever innovative, dynamic companies and research centers are to be found, in other words where most highly skilled foreigners are already living (Le Bail, 2013).

Chinese skilled migrants in Japan increased quickly till 2008, yet the number of skilled professionals was strongly influenced by the economic environment. Le Bail (2013) found that, after the 2008 crash, the total foreign population started to decline. Numbers of Chinese are still on the increase but at a slower rate than before. Thus, residential statuses requiring higher qualifications (engineers, specialists and investors) have been less affected by the decrease, whereas interns, spouses of Japanese nationals and long term residents, who for a large part hold less qualified positions, show a more drastic decrease. Since Chinese students’ activities in the Japanese labor market clearly demonstrate their objectives as skilled labor, their labor outcomes in Japan showed a new migration pattern under the conditions of economic globalization (Liu-Farrer, 2011). It should be noted that the number of foreign students was not affected by the 2008 crisis, however, the numbers of those changing status from student status to employee has clearly decreased, which is worrying from the point of view of maintaining a skilled workforce (Le Bail, 2013).

Skilled migrants’ experiences and perception at the workplace could be important indicators of their SWB. Existing literature focusing on general job satisfaction has examined how employee’s perceptions (especially perceived discrimination) from a variety of sources affect their work-related attitudes and behaviors (Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson, 2001). It is

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found that, employees presented higher levels of organizational discrimination than supervisor discrimination, and there were no significant differences between ethnic or racial groups on perceived discrimination, which suggest that discrimination creates an overall negative perceptions of underrepresented groups such as women or minorities (Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson, 2001). This research investigated the level and predictors of employees’ job satisfaction, however, these employees’ life satisfaction has only been examined in the domain of job satisfaction. Their level of general life satisfaction failed to be investigated. Moreover, the factors outside of the workplace should also be included as considerable predictors of employees’ SWB, such as demographic characteristics, economic status and human capital.

As for these Chinese skilled professionals in Japan, their perceptions may have significant effects on their life satisfaction and hence, effects on their strategy of the migration process. Yet, only a few scholars studied skilled migrants’ perceptions in Japan (Liu-Farrer, 2011; Le Bail, 2013). Previous studies showed that, Chinese skilled labors also encountered discrimination and may hold conflictual relations with Japanese bosses. Since the reform of gender equality has been implemented during recent decades, Chinese women are playing predominant roles at both work places and families mainly in urban areas. Thereby as for Chinese corporate women in Japan, many of them brought gender norms and emphasized gender equality (Liu-Farrer, 2011; Le Bail, 2013). For these points, SWB of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan may partly reflect the Japanese workplace culture, which is also important to Chinese residents’ migration strategies in Japan. Therefore, this study will investigate Chinese skilled migrants’ mental well-being and their perceptions in Japanese enterprises.

2.3. Multiculturalism and Group Threat Theory

“Multiculturalism” has had a profound effect on immigration research, which discourses have focused on the issue of how to treat different kinds of culture within the same society, however it is not surprising given public discomfort with multiculturalism (Nagayoshi, 2011; Jopper, 2004; Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2007). Throughout the years, numerous research examined predictors of attitude of host society toward foreign groups. In 2010, Pettigrew argued that there is a higher correlation between contact and prejudice reduction in cases of high level of intergroup
hostility (Pettigrew, 2010); and interracial friendships was found to be a strong predictor of positive racial attitudes (Powers and Ellison, 1995); thus, learning about the culture of the group can improve intergroup attitudes and stereotypes (Gardiner, 1972; Weldon et al., 1975).

In recent years, with the issue of multiculturalism becoming popular in Japan, many scholars have been trying to explain anti-immigrant sentiments, which refers to a collection of negative impressions (Nagayoshi, 2011; Moshe Semyonov, Raijman, Gorodzeisky, 2006). Existing literature showed that the strong ethnic identity of the Japanese people is often assumed to be one of the important reasons why multiculturalism has not yet taken a foothold in Japanese society (Nagayoshi, 2011), Japanese people believe in and are willing to maintain the myth of ethnic homogeneity within the nation (Nagayoshi, 2011; Befu, 2001; Lie, 2000). In the analysis of anti-minority sentiments, Moshe Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky (2006) argued that negative attitudes toward out-group populations are shaped by the relative size of the out-group population and changes in economic conditions. Moreover, the comparative studies that combined individual- and country-level variables to examine cross-national variation in anti-minority attitudes relied mostly on two indicators of group level threat as sources for prejudice: group size and economic conditions (Kunovich, 2004; Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002; Nagayoshi, 2011).

As for immigrants, the issue of treatment on them in Japan has existed for a long time. Among immigrant groups, Nikkei Brazilian always experienced the social alienation in Japanese society as an ethnically segregated, immigrant minority (Tsuda, 1999). According to Takeyuki Tsuda’s research, Nikkei Brazilian feel socially separated and estranged from the Japanese even though they work in the same factories and live in the same towns and apartments buildings, and interaction between the two groups is minimal in most cases. Obviously language is a significant cultural barrier for the Nikkei Brazilian, and they also respond to their ethnic rejection by actively withdrawing into their own social groups and isolating themselves in an act of ethnic self-segregation. Therefore, although the Nikkei Brazilians are beginning to settle long-term or permanently in Japan, many continue to view themselves strictly as sojourners who intend to return to Brazil in a few years after accumulating sufficient savings. It found that individuals who enter a liminal state frequently experience a decline in social status to the lowest rungs of society, causing previous status distinctions to recede (Turner, 1969, cited in Tsuda, 2001).
Compared with Nikkei Brazilian, immigrants from Asian countries (like Korea and China) assimilate more easily to Japanese culture due to their similar appearance and culture, so they may show higher integration into Japanese society. However, for decades, the earlier Korean immigrants who came to Japan in the last century have also experienced systematic discrimination, such as being paid lower wages than their Japanese workmates, and would have felt the racist contempt of many individual Japanese (Fukuoka, 2000). Those feelings of contempt, avoidance and discrimination toward ethnic Koreans remain deeply ingrained in Japanese society, and in the course of their personal development, most ethnic Koreans are made to internalize the negative image that Japanese people hold toward them. This negative image constitutes a powerful magnetic field around which contradictory self-images of assimilation and differentiation co-exist, creating an intricate mixture of assimilatory and differential aspirations (Fukuoka, 2000).

Although the number of immigrants in Japan is still increasing, only in certain large urban areas has Japanese society thus become heterogeneous and multiethnic. However, this has not precluded a scattering of foreigners living throughout Japan. Especially for immigrants from China, Korea and Southeast Asian countries, they all have to experience social alienation as long as they live in Japan. Due to the strong identity of “Japanese” among Japanese people, immigrants’ sense of well-being, their cognitive and affective evaluations of personal life are hardly climbing up to the same level with Japanese, or even lower than people in their original countries.

In previous studies, Group Threat Theory is often used to explain the attitudes of majority towards minorities (Blumer, 1958), which assumes that individuals identify with one or more groups, and the diverse interests of different groups generate conflicts and negative attitudes (Hjerm and Nagayoshi, 2012). Based on this theory, two schools of arguments were derived, the ‘realistic group threat theory’ school argues that anti-immigrant attitudes are a result of real experiences and interests (Bobo, 1983; Sears and Jessor, 1996), and the ‘perceived threat’ school claims that what matters is not whether threats are real or not, but that they are perceived as such (Hjerm and Nagayoshi, 2012). In other words, according to the ‘realistic group threat theory’ argument, the attitudes of anti-immigrant should be affected by objective indicators, whereas the ‘perceived threat’ school argues that subjective indicators significantly affect anti-immigrant attitudes.
Although many scholars have analyzed perceived threat among majority groups (McLaren, 2003; Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2007), it is still difficult to identify what aspects of subjective indicators can influence the perception of threat. In contrast, objective indicators are frequently examined by many researchers. For instance, age, and education have been claimed to have significant effect on prejudice (Pettigrew, 2000). Moreover, Blalock (1967) argues that the majority group could feel threatened by the relative size of the minority group, because large numbers of immigrants means strong competition on culture or economic status. The effect of economic threats on anti-immigrant attitudes has been examined in labor market competition theory. In developed countries, immigrants who come from developing countries are more willing to work for lower wages and poor conditions, thus gaining more job opportunities than the majority population (Boswell, 1986). Meanwhile, in the majority group, those who have lower socioeconomic status tend to show stronger xenophobia towards minority groups (Coenders and Scheepers, 2003; Esses et al., 2001). However, Van der Brug et al. (2000) found that economic and social variables are mostly insignificant in explaining support for anti-immigrants attitudes in European countries (Hjerm and Nagayoshi, 2012).

Due to the mixed messages found within this research, Contact Theory came to receive the attention of scholars (Nukaga, 2006). Linguistic differences are likely to be an important predictor of xenophobia (Esser, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008), whereas contact with immigrants indicates positive attitudes towards them (Mclaren, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998). Nevertheless, those previous researchers mainly focused on majority groups in European countries and the U.S., and some indicators of anti-immigrant attitudes such as economic status and size of minority group showed opposite effects in different studies. However, these factors were rarely examined in Japan. In this case, it is necessary to examine the indicators of anti-immigrant attitudes in Japanese society.

Previous studies on multiculturalism in Japan have found that Japanese generally hold negative attitudes toward immigrants (Tanabe, 2011; Nagayoshi, 2011; Zhang, 2015). Yet, as for Chinese and South Korean immigrants, to better understand their adaptation process, it is necessary to first clarify Japanese attitudes toward immigrants and distinguish the different perceptions of differing nationalities. The willingness of Japanese locals to accept the increasing number of immigrants from China and South Korea reflect their thoughts on multiculturalism. Therefore, this study investigates Japanese attitudes toward Chinese and South Korean residents
through this perspective, and the determinants of such attitudes. Building on Kunovich (2004), aside from economic capital and social capital, human capital such as age, gender and education may also be equally significant potential indicators of immigrant perception and awareness.

2.4. Subjective Well-Being and Adaptation

Subjective well-being (SWB) is defined as “a person’s cognitive and affective evaluations of his or her life” (Diener, Lucas, and Oshi, 2002; Luhmann, Hofmann, Eid and Lucas, 2012). Previous research divided SWB into two different components: affective well-being (AWB) and cognitive well-being (CWB) (Busseri and Sadava, 2011; Diener, 1984; Eid and Larsen, 2008). Affective well-being (AWB) refers to the presence of pleasant affect such as feelings of happiness, and unpleasant affect such as depressed mood; while cognitive well-being (CWB) refers to the cognitive evaluation of overall life (for example, global life satisfaction) as well as specific life domains, for instance, satisfaction of job, income or marriage. AWB and CWB are distinct constructs (Lucas, Diener and Suh, 1996), they differ in their stability and variability over time (Eid and Diener, 2004) and in their relations with other variables (Schimmack, Schupp and Wagner, 2008).

According to Warner Wilson’s definition on “correlates of avowed happiness”, a person with high level of SWB should be “young, healthy, well-educated, well-paid, extroverted, optimistic, worry-free, religious, married person with high self-esteem, job morale, modest aspirations, of either sex and of a wide range of intelligence” (Warner, 1967). Numerous studies in psychology, medicine and economics have seen SWB as important research objects to investigate people’s mental states such as happiness, satisfaction and other desirable states (Diener and Seligman, 2004; Kahneman et al., 2004). “Happiness” has been seen as an important measurement of SWB, and previous studies found that people’s happiness is shaped by both psychological factors and life circumstances (Easterlin, 2006), which indicates that to improve personal SWB, people can actively make considered choices within their life strategies, such as changing job or moving house. Also, migration can be seen as a potential improvement in happiness (Nowok et al., 2011). However, there are lots of risks and uncertainty in the migration process, especially from a governmental perspective. The driving force of migration is often seen as labor shortages or
competition in host labor market, which is a strategy of managing economic risks (Boese and Campbell, 2013). Once a person decides to migrate to another country, he/she may face different kinds of risks and uncertainty such as losing their job or getting divorced because of separated life with spouse for a long time. Thus, in order to examine the level of SWB, scholars need to investigate the immigrants who have stayed in the host country for a long enough time to become key actors and community members, after which their perceptions are able to stand for mainstream perspectives (Boese and Campbell, 2013). As Nowok et al. (2011) argued, there are several advantages to establishing a SWB framework for the analysis of migration:

*It takes a wider perspective that incorporates the richness and diversity of current geographical mobility in terms of motivations and outcomes; people migrate for a variety of reasons, not only economic ones, but most expect to increase their quality of life and happiness through changing their place of residence, migration is a stressful event requiring many adjustments and therefore it has to offer the chance to gain something in return (Nowok et al., 2011, P.1).*

However, in studying subjective well-being of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, “happiness” might not be an appropriate term to measure their SWB. The most important reason is, in Chinese “happiness” generally has been translated into the word “Xingfu”, which implies complex meanings to Chinese people. It could simply mean “happy”, or it could mean a kind of satisfaction caused by achieving an ideal. The term “happiness” might often be used by English speakers, but it is barely used by Chinese in daily life. When you ask a person in China about his evaluation of life, or the evaluation of some life events such as marriage or job, he/she may answer with “satisfied/dissatisfied” rather than “happiness”. It would be difficult to use the term “happiness” to study SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants, especially in a qualitative study. Therefore, to conduct a precise investigation of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants, this study will use the term “life satisfaction” instead of “happiness” to measure their perceptions in Japan.
2.4.1. Life satisfaction

According to Diener’s research on SWB, the term “life satisfaction” refers to “people’s evaluations of their life which can be cognitive or affective” (Diener et al., 2003), it is seen as an important component with “positive affect” and “negative affect” used together to measure SWB (Andrews and Withey, 1976). For immigrants, whether the migration process can bring a higher quality of life to them in the host country is a crucial question that determines whether leaving their homeland is a worthy decision (Verkuyten, 2008). Previous studies on life satisfaction argues that general life satisfaction can be divided into different domains of life (Verkuyten, 2008) and literature on domain-of-life argued that there are actual differences between how people feel about their general life and how they feel about different domains of life (Wu and Yao, 2007).

Even though there are differences between general life satisfaction and domains of life, people’s satisfaction on different aspects of life can contribute to understanding their life satisfaction (Rojas, 2006; Wu and Yao, 2006; Verkuyten, 2008). Previous studies divided life satisfaction into six domains, including job, housing, financial situation, health, leisure and environment (Wu and Yao, 2006). A migration process means not only geographic movement, but also reestablishment of economy and social connection for individual or a whole family. Migration is a tough decision for a person because he/she has to leave most of their social connections that have been established in their home country, he/she needs to leave behind family, friends, neighbors, former classmates or colleagues. They may face more opportunities or risks to build new social connections in the host country, and they still have to overcome the differences in language and culture (Nowok, 2011).

If immigrants can gain better socioeconomic status in the host country, then their evaluation of life satisfaction should be better than before, however, their sense of well-being may also be influenced by the perceptions of connection with relatives in the home country, and communication with residents in the host country. Therefore, one key question for immigrants is: compared to different reference groups, can the migration process improve immigrants’ SWB?
2.4.2. Social Comparison Theory

In previous migration research, Social Comparison Theory has been widely used to investigate effects on SWB. In 2010 Bartram, using the cross-sectional World Values Data, suggested that being an immigrant in the US is associated with lower levels of life satisfaction compared to natives (Bartram, 2010). He also found that immigrants from poorer countries report lower levels of life satisfaction than natives. Bartram concluded that the level of life satisfaction among migrants from poorer countries is more strongly determined by their absolute level of income (Bartram, 2010; Melzer and Muffels, 2012).

As an important domain of life, economic domain soon received much attention in research on migration, however, scholars found that the level of income did not present positive effect on SWB all the time, especially in long term migration where the improvement of economic status is often ignored in evaluation of life satisfaction (Kahneman et al., 2006; Nowok et al., 2011). Nowok et al. (2011) argued the weak effect of absolute income on SWB with three explanations:

First, individuals adapt to material goods over time, people get used to most easily to material possessions and very often they underestimate the process of habituation; second, higher income often shifts time-use towards activities associated with higher tension and stress; third, in evaluating their financial situation people compare themselves to others, as a result relative income rather than absolute income is seen to affect SWB (Nowok et al., 2011, P.3).

Numerous research have investigated the life satisfaction of immigrants by using Social Comparison Theory of which the main results showed that generally people compare themselves to others (Veenhoven, 1991) and experience gains in SWB only if they gain better economic status than others (Melzer and Muffels, 2012). Thus, in general, individuals tend to compare themselves to people whom they regard as similar, that is, “people-like-me” (Clark, Frijters and Shields, 2008). Then one question emerged: whom do the immigrants compare to? Previous studies answered this question with various arguments, such as comparison with people of the
same social class, employment, age, colleagues, or even neighbors (Veenhoven, 1991; Clark, Frijters and Shields, 2008).

In the case of cross-country comparison, scholars mainly employ two reference groups to investigate immigrants’ perception of social comparison: one is former peers in home country, and another is natives in host country (e.g. Easterlin, 2006; Bartram, 2010). Recent studies on life satisfaction of immigrants are mainly focused on North America and European countries. Several studies found that immigrants in the U.S. generally have lower levels of life satisfaction when compared to the U.S. natives and they are more likely to be dissatisfied with migrant life in the host country, whereas immigrants from developed countries such as Europe and Canada showed similar levels of life satisfaction with U.S. natives (Bartram, 2010). According to findings from previous studies, the evaluation of life satisfaction among immigrants from poorer countries are more strongly determined by their absolute economic status; they may less likely to assimilate successfully in the host country because they earn lower incomes; at the beginning of the migration process, immigrants may compare themselves with relatives in their home country, but as they spend more time in the host country, their comparison group may be changed, and they begin to compare themselves with natives in the host country, which easily causes dissatisfaction of migrant life due to the gap of income (Melzer and Muffels, 2012; Bartram, 2010).

In foundational theories, immigrants wanting to evaluate their job and social positions refer to the occupational status and social organization of their home country (Piore, 1979; Stark, 1991). However, recent studies on immigrant transnationalism argue that immigrants do not only compare their situation with one single group but during the migration process, they may compare themselves to both relatives in their homeland and the natives in destination countries (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994). By examining these two different theories, Gelatt examined the interaction between social standing and SWB. She found that the relationship between various measures of subjective social standing and SWB suggests that immigrants maintain simultaneous reference groups in both the United States and the country of origin, supporting transnational theories, and refuting earlier theories (Gelatt, 2013).

Yet, previous research merely answered the question of who composes the individual’s comparison group and most of the recent studies have just assumed a reference group (Clark and
Senik, 2010; Melzer and Muffels, 2012). In addition, empirical analysis is necessary to explain whether immigrants’ sense of well-being is changed before and after migration, but rarely scholars have done this. Only Melzer and Muffels (2012) concluded that migration has lasting, positive effects on immigrants’ SWB without closing the gap with the SWB of the new peers. Especially the migrants from Eastern Germany start at low level of SWB and despite their life satisfaction having been improved during the migration process, they are still likely to be dissatisfied with life because they compare themselves to Western Germans who do not migrate (Melzer and Muffels, 2012).

Despite these convincing arguments from previous studies, some issues are still left to be resolved. First, previous studies that examined cross-country comparison by mainly focusing on the destination countries in North America and Europe; immigrants in Asian countries were rarely mentioned. With different social context, immigrants in Asian countries may present different outcomes on life satisfaction. Moreover, besides relatives in home country and natives in host country, there is one more potential reference group: other immigrants from the same country. When immigrants evaluate their achievement and life satisfaction, they may compare themselves not only to the natives in the host country, but also other immigrants who came from the same country. For instance, based on my interviews with newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, some of them decided to move to Japan at the beginning because they saw other Chinese friends or relatives who migrated to Japan before and gained better education and economic status. By seeing these success cases, those Chinese immigrants believe they can achieve goals like their antecessors or even better. Therefore, as they live longer in Japan, they may compare themselves not only to Japanese people, but also other Chinese immigrants in Japan. This study will examine this hypothesis by qualitative study.

2.4.3. Set-Point Theory and Adaptation

In recent years, Set-point Theory is widely used in numerous studies on SWB, the central premise being that individuals have stable levels of SWB from genetics and personality (Headey, 2006; Lucas et al., 2003). Deviations from life events may occur in major life events, such as marriage, migration, unemployment, or serious injury, but their effects are usually transitory, which is
increasing evidence of lasting changes in individual SWB (Nowok et al., 2011). For instance, unemployment is considered a reasonably common event that causes long-term decrease in set-points (Clark et al., 2008; Lucas et al., 2003). Lucas et al. (2003) showed that marriage can have a long-lasting beneficial effect on SWB for some people. Easterlin (2006) showed that in family and health domains, adaptation to changes is only partial, whereas people completely adapt to gains in the economic domain. Headey (2006) found large and permanent changes in SWB set-points for a large number of individuals participating in the German Socio-Economic Panel Survey (SOEP), he challenged the Set-point Theory and called for a substantial revision. Considering the emerging findings, it appears that happiness is shaped by both psychological factors and life circumstances (Easterlin, 2006), which implies that people can play an active role in increasing their own happiness by making considered choices within their life strategies (Nowok et al., 2011).

Although numerous studies have found that major life events such as marriage or unemployment have tremendous effects on happiness, many scholars claimed that most of those life events can only affect the level of SWB for a few months because people adapt quickly and inevitably to any life changes (Luhmann et al., 2011). Previous research on adaptation argued that people are confined to a hedonic treadmill—their sense of well-being will all turn into stable levels eventually because they can always adapt to extreme positive and negative life circumstances over time (Brickman and Campbell, 1971). The Hedonic Treadmill Theory has received considerable empirical support, which has led some scholars to conclude that adaptation is quick, complete, and inevitable and that most of the long-term stable variance in SWB can be evaluated by personality and genetic predispositions rather than by life circumstances (Lykken and Tellegen, 1996). It seems that Set-point Theory and adaptation are leading everyone to the same level of SWB, because no matter what kind of life events people experience, finally they will all turn into a genetically predetermined state (Lykken and Tellegen, 1996).

Yet, a couple of questions still remain: Do life events have effects on SWB? Or to be more specific, do life events affect immigrants’ SWB in the host country during the migration process? Existing literature mainly argued the effects of life events by focusing on single life event such as marriage or unemployment, yet how can we verify the significance of those life events separately, especially differences in short-term and long-term? Furthermore, both the adaptation
and Set-point Theory cannot avoid one reality, which the difference is existing among individuals, people may react differently to the same life event. Therefore, by focusing on newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, I will examine the effect of life events on immigrants’ SWB, as well as examine whether adaptation occurred for newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

2.4.4. Determinants of SWB

According to Warner Wilson’s (1967) argument on SWB, the determinants of high level of subjective well-being should not just include demographic characteristics and social-economic status like age, gender, religious, marriage, education, occupation, income, but also include personality, adaptation, aspiration and environment interaction. These factors have been examined in many studies, for example, youth is a consistent predictor of happiness (Warner, 1967); men are slightly happier than women, but the magnitude of this difference is very small (Haring, Stock and Okun, 1984); small but significant correlations between education and SWB have often been found (Campbell et al., 1976; Cantril, 1965; Diener et al., 1993); married people report greater happiness than those who were never married or are divorced, separated, or widowed (Warner, 1967; Diener, 1999); the relation between wealth of a nation and average SWB is positive and strong (Easterlin, 1974); and health is strongly correlated with SWB but the association holds only for self-reported health measures (George and Landerman, 1984). Although many studies have discussed the ways of measuring SWB, the calculation is not an easy matter due to the complicated variables. Kozma et al. (2000) found that certain measures of SWB reflect short-term (momentary emotions) and long-term (satisfaction and moods) components to different degrees (Durayappah, 2010).

As to cross-country cases, research on immigrants in OECD countries\textsuperscript{16} based on self-reported life satisfaction surveys found that except the level of income, the status of health,  

\textsuperscript{16} The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international economic organization of 34 countries, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. It is a forum of countries describing themselves as committed to democracy and the market economy, providing a platform to compare policy experiences, seeking answers to common problems, identify good practices and coordinate domestic and
unemployment and social networks are particularly important for SWB with only some
differences across countries, and cultural differences barely showed significant effect on the
evaluation of life satisfaction (Fleche, Smith and Sorsa, 2011). Thus, Controlling for socio-
economic characteristics, income has only a small, positive impact on subjective well-being
(Bartram, 2010), yet improvement of economic status does not indicate an increase in SWB, especially in the long term (Nowok, 2011); immigrants who are unemployed and/or benefit from the welfare state are less likely to be satisfied with their life in the host country (Pohl, 2007).

Moreover, previous research has found that in order to understand immigrants’ life satisfaction, it is important to consider the perceived orientations of the majority group, so as to investigate immigrants’ social connection with their own ethnic community and mainstream society (Verkuyten, 2008; Berry, 2001). Scholars found that immigrants who claim to be discriminated against by natives or feel unwelcome by host society are less likely to be satisfied with their life in mainstream country while they tend to present stronger identification with their own ethnic community (Verkuyten, 2008). Perceived discrimination is an individual’s perception that he/she is treated differently or unfairly because of his/her group membership; hence, when individuals feel they are mistreated because of their group membership, they often feel alienated and angry, which can result in negative behaviors (Mirage, 1994; Sanhez and Brock, 1996). For immigrants, being discriminated against by host society can be considered to have negative influences on the way minority members evaluate their life in host country (Verkuyten, 2008). Previous research in different countries found a negative relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and evaluation of life satisfaction, thus, some scholars found that perceived discrimination was negatively related to psychological assimilation, including general life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2008).

Yet, limitations still exist in these previous studies. First, a distinction between general life satisfaction and life satisfaction in the country of settlement needs to be clarified when we examine the indicators of SWB. It is likely that perceived discrimination affects life satisfaction in the host country rather than general satisfaction directly, while Verkuyten (2008) showed that

life satisfaction in the home country (Netherlands) mediates the relationship between perceived structural discrimination and general life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2008). But the significance of perceived discrimination on life satisfaction cannot be investigated independently without considering other factors. Indeed, there are many potential indicators that can contribute to general life satisfaction, such as family life, work and employment (Argyle, 1987; Cummins, 1996; Michalos and Zumbo, 2001). Second, the rejection-identification model in previous research showed that discrimination presents a threat to group identity, making people increasingly turn toward their own minority group. Minority members cope with the pain of discrimination by increasing identification with their group, hence, this group identification would attenuate the negative effects of perceived discrimination on SWB (Branscombe et al., 1999). However, this rejection-identification model has not been tested in the case of Chinese immigrants in Japan. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether Chinese immigrants also turn toward their own group when they perceive discrimination by Japanese natives. Moreover, in order to examine whether perceived discrimination still affect newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB when other predictors such as demographic characteristics or life events (e.g. marriage; unemployment) have been controlled, this study will use quantitative data to investigate the determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants.

2.5. Does Migration Improves SWB?

Migration is a complicated process for a person and his/her family. As to the question of whether the migration process can improve immigrants’ SWB, various potential indicators need to be taken into account. These indicators can generally be divided into two parts: social resource and social environment. As Assimilation Theory assumed, the immigrants’ means of adapting to a host society depends significantly on the resources that they bring from their countries of origin and the social environment in the destination country (Portes et al., 2005; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; cited in Takenoshita, 2015, P. 49). An immigrant’s background factors strongly affect his/her social resource, including human capital and socioeconomic capital which they have gained before or after entering the host country (Diener et al., 1993). Thus, Chinese immigrants’ personal background factors such as their education, age, income and social
networks may affect their adaptation in Japan. Also, immigrants evaluate their life satisfaction based on the status they have gained in the host country. The standard line of evaluation is not quite objective actually, as it is often the results of comparison with other immigrants and other groups. Based on Social Comparison Theory, immigrants’ life satisfaction can be affected by the comparison group they choose. Whether they compare themselves to former peers in their home country or new peers in the host country may influence their evaluation of SWB (Bartram, 2010; Easterlin, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate who the Chinese immigrants compare themselves with and how they evaluate their socioeconomic status in Japan.

Besides social resources, social environment also significantly affect immigrants’ SWB (Portes et al., 2005), especially in Japan. First, according to immigrant control policies implemented by the Japanese government, Chinese immigrants are involved in diverse life environments and migration paths because of their visa status. As I have introduced in Chapter 1, Chinese nationals staying in Japan as trainees, spouses of Japanese and those who engage in specific activities show different life trajectories and socioeconomic status from other Chinese nationals who stay in Japan with regular visa status. Therefore, these Chinese nationals hardly gain better SWB due to their specific status. Second, the integration program conducted by the government in the host country is also crucial in improving immigrants’ assimilation, hence affecting their evaluation of migrant lives. In the case of Japan, even though the Japanese government has realized the importance of foreign labor force, a real integration program to help immigrants adapt to host society is still lacking. Third, immigrants’ adaptation and life satisfaction are not only influenced by their own background factors, but also significantly affected by attitudes of natives in the host country. Negative image in the host country constitutes a powerful magnetic field around which contradictory self-images of assimilation and differentiation co-exist, creating an intricate mixture of assimilatory and differential aspirations (Fukuoka, 2000).

Although it has been more than two decades since the local government initiated the implementation of multiculturalism as a mode of incorporating migrants, “Japanese multiculturalism” remains controversial. Previous studies in Japan argue that while multiculturalism is generally favored by the public, many “who demand cultural homogeneity within a nation approve of multiculturalism but are unwilling to grant equal rights” (Nagayoshi,
A large number of Japanese citizens consider immigrants a threat to labor market competition, and Japan is still far from multiculturalism because of its ethnic homogeneity (Nagayoshi, 2009).

**Figure 2.6. Model of subjective well-being and adaptation among immigrants**

However, there are some indications that the government might be willing to consider increased immigration. The most notable indicator is the proposal that was presented by members of the Liberal Democratic Party for the acceptance of 10 million foreigners by 2050 (Ito and Kamiya, 2008). Thus, in 2005, following the Justice Ministry report that encouraged the welcoming of skilled foreign professionals, a separate government proposal for an “open country policy” under which Japan would create a business environment that would attract highly skilled professionals was made and there were also confessions by prominent nationalists that Japan needs a sensible immigration policy (Duff, Kuczmarska and Lin, 2008). Since the perceived orientations of the majority group are important in understanding minorities’ life satisfaction and their attachment to their own ethnic group and the larger society (Verkuyten, 2008; Berry, 2001; Vedder et al., 2006), it is necessary to examine Japanese acceptance attitudes toward immigrants as the social context of research on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.
According to these potential factors from both social resources and social environment, I have established a model to investigate newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan. Figure 2.6 shows the process of adaptation among immigrants, through different levels of background factors, immigrant control policy, integration program and attitudes of natives toward immigrants resulting in upward SWB or downward SWB. Based on this model, this study will examine the level of mental well-being among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, and validate which factors can positively or negatively affect newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan.
Chapter 3  Methodology: Mixed-Methods

Numerous studies examined immigrants’ SWB by employing quantitative data (e.g. Andrew and Withey, 1976; Campbell et al., 1976; Michalos and Zumbo, 2001). Quantitative method is widely used in psychological research, to examine the interrelations between variables, thus, demographic characteristics and other factors that determine psychological outcomes. Research on immigrants’ social mobility and perceptions of a host country, on the other hand, mainly use qualitative method to record and analyze life stories (Verkuyten, 2008; Nowok et al., 2011). Qualitative and quantitative methodologies are still widely considered in research method literature as they represent two distinct research traditions (Metso and Le Feuvre, 2006). At a basic level, qualitative research commonly refers to the collection and analysis of materials that uncover meaning and promote understanding of the experiences of research subjects. By contrast, quantitative research is about the collection and analysis of numerical data – the social facts; qualitative research methods include ethnographic case studies, interviews and observations; whereas questionnaires, surveys, statistics, as well as computer assisted analytical techniques are quantitative methods. Underlying this dual model is the notion that these methods are deeply rooted in different epistemological positions, i.e. different conceptions of what is knowledge, what is science, how we come to know things. Whereas from an epistemological point of view, qualitative research is often thought to value subjective and personal meanings and is said to be conducive for giving voice to the most oppressed groups in society, quantitative research is constructed in terms of testing theories and making predictions in an objective and value freeway (Metso and Le Feuvre, 2006).

Limitations in migration studies will still exist if the methodology is restricted to either quantitative or qualitative method. One the one hand, level and determinants as well as some theories of SWB can be examined by quantitative data, but the social context in host countries and the fact that the ways in which immigrants adapt into host society would be lost in the statistic numbers. On the other hand, qualitative study on immigrants can show specific pictures about how these immigrants adapt into host country and what they encounter daily through interviews and observations, yet, individual differences within narratives need attention, and the factors of
their psychological outcomes require validation. Therefore, this study employs mixed methods to investigate SWB of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

3.1. Analytical Strategy

By investigating both social resource and social environment in Japan, this study aims to examine how human capital and socioeconomic capital impact on newcomer Chinese immigrants’ assimilation in Japan, and whether immigration control policies, presence of integration program and attitudes of natives toward immigrants in Japan are significant on newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of well-being. First of all, perceived orientations of the minority group are important for understanding minorities’ life satisfaction and their attachment to their own ethnic group and the larger society (Berry, 2001). Minority members who feel unwelcomed or discriminated against by majority members are likely to be less satisfied with their life in the country of settlement (Verkuyten, 2008), there is a need to explain the social context of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Therefore, this study first examined whether Japanese native would like to accept Chinese immigrant, which can partly explain why Chinese immigrants showed up different level of SWB by comparing to other immigrant groups. Japanese General Social Survey (2008) included items of acceptance attitudes Japanese natives have toward several immigrant groups, so I can use this data set to investigate the social environment of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, hence understand their performance of mental well-being. The central questions are the following: 1) Would Japanese citizens like to accept immigrants from China rather than from other countries? 2) Would the Japanese like to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues, neighbors, or even more closely—dependents rather than those from other countries? 3) What are the predictors that may determine Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese immigrants?

To explain the negative attitudes Japanese natives hold toward immigrants, Nagayoshi (2009) states that ethnicities of immigrants relate to host residents’ perceptions about group positions, while social and economic positions of immigrants relate to perceptions of threat. She further asserts that the occupational status and increased numbers of foreign residents affect anti-
immigrant attitudes, and that immigrants who belong to unskilled working class may face stronger hostility from Japanese citizens (Nagayoshi, 2009). Nukaga, on the other hand, underscores that economic threat is positively associated with xenophobia, whereas education and contact factors are positively associated with pro-foreign attitudes (Nukaga, 2006). Following this argument, it can be assumed that Chinese immigrants face stronger hostility than other minority groups from Japanese citizens for being the largest group of foreign residents in recent years\(^{17}\) despite acquiring varied occupational status in Japan, thus human capital and economic capital are significant on Japanese attitudes toward immigrants. Thus, three hypotheses were created in present study:

\textit{H4.1: Compare to other immigrant groups, Chinese immigrants are the most unwelcomed group in Japan.}

\textit{H4.2: Human capital associate with upward acceptance attitudes among Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants.}

\textit{H4.3: Economic capital associate with upward acceptance attitudes among Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants.}

Based on the findings of acceptance attitudes of natives toward immigrants, level of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan should be examined. The multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009) provides relevant variables to measure the significance of human capital and socioeconomic capital on psychological well-being among immigrants. Employing this data, present study has examined the determinants of SWB and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in comparison with other immigrant groups. The questions addressed in this quantitative study are the following: 1) What is the level of life satisfaction among Chinese immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture? 2) What are the determinants that affect Chinese immigrants’ life satisfaction and willingness to stay in Japan?

Since demographic characteristics and human capital has been examined impact on SWB among immigrants in previous studies (cf. Takenoshita; 2015; Diener \textit{et al.}, 1993; Kozma \textit{et al.},

\footnote{Statistic sources from the Ministry of Justice: http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html. (November 20, 2014)}
items of demographic status and human capital in this survey are able to be used to reflect how newcomer Chinese immigrants utilize social resource to constructive migrate lives in Japan. Considering the gap of gender role norms between China and Japan, the significance of gender and marital status on SWB reflect how Chinese female immigrants confronting gender barriers and social inequality in Japan rather than Chinese male immigrants. Age and duration are meaningful to indicate what variation trend happens during the migration process among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Education mirrors whether social resource in home country is transferrable in host labor market, and whether gain education in Japan can help immigrants to engage into Japanese labor market by compete with both Japanese natives and other immigrants. Additionally, even though economic capital barely showed up significance on SWB in previous research, as for newcomer Chinese immigrants, their economic status in Japan distinct influences on their migrate lives (Liu-Farrer, 2011). The survey in Shizuoka provides items of income and occupational status to investigate whether better economic status implies upward assimilation and SWB. Thus, two hypotheses were created as:

**H5.1:** Human capital associate with upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

**H5.2:** Economic capital indicates upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Moreover, it is necessary to considering the social connection between Japanese natives and immigrants as its significance has been proved by previous research (Verkuyten, 2008; Berry, 2001). The multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009) also included items of communication and troubles between immigrants and natives, such as personal social relations, conflicts and perceived discrimination. For Chinese immigrants, personal contact with Japanese natives such as working together or making friends may improve their evaluation of migrant lives. In contrast, being discriminated against by host society can be considered as an negative factor to immigrants’ sense of well-being in host country host country (Verkuyten, 2008), therefore, this indicator also been included in present study to examine the evaluation of migrate lives and psychological assimilation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, one more hypothesis addressed in this study is:
H5.3: Social capital indicates upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Quantitative study suffice to show the context of immigration in Japan and the level as well as determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. However, utilizing only statistical analysis provides limited understanding of how these factors work on every individual’s psychological outcomes, and why they can affect newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of SWB. Therefore, a qualitative method is necessary to validate the results of quantitative research, and obtain more detailed information. As qualitative method for this research, interview and participant observation with newcomer Chinese immigrants were conducted to record their narratives in Japan. Interview focused on their perceptions of communication with the Japanese, life satisfaction and their adaptation process in Japan. Based on qualitative data, this study discussed why various indicators showed different level of impact on Chinese immigrants’ evaluation of migrate lives, and how immigration control policies and presence of integration program in Japan promote or restrict assimilation process and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants.


To understand the context of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, and validate whether the attitudes of Japanese society towards immigrants influence the latter’s SWB (Choi and Thomas, 2009), I used Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) 2008 to look into Japanese people’s attitude towards Chinese immigrants. The Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS) Project is a Japanese version of the General Social Survey (GSS) project which closely replicates the original GSS of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. It provides data for analyzing Japanese society, attitudes, and behaviors, which makes international comparisons possible.

The objectives of the JGSS project are three-fold: (1) to collect and build cumulative data on general social surveys in Japan in a regular and consistent manner, enabling a time-series analysis; (2) to provide data for secondary analyses to researchers and university students in various social science fields; and (3) to provide data in a format useful for international comparative studies,
research, and reports. While the survey is conducted in Japanese language alone, the data files and codebooks are produced and deposited both in Japanese and English. The 2008 JGSS is a nationwide survey, with 4,220 male and female respondents aged 20 to 89 years old. The survey administration involved both face-to-face interview and placement (self-administered) methods.

As the demographic characteristics and economic status show different effects in previous researches (Semynov et al., 2006; Hjerm, 2001), the present study retests these variables. Considering the effects of political environment on anti-immigrant attitudes, the age of the respondents ranges from 20 to 90 years old. To explore the gender variable, responses are classified as either male or female. Previous studies have shown that gender significantly impact on attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Hello et al., 2004; Hjerm and Nagayoshi, 2011). Therefore, this study also includes gender in analysis models (male = 0, female = 1). Since education is frequently examined as strongly correlated with anti-immigrant attitudes (Hjerm, 2001; Nukaga, 2006), this study considers looking into respondents’ range of educational experience from junior high school, high school, professional school to university. As the labor market theory argues, immigrants who obtain job opportunities are more likely to pose a threat to host residents (Boswell, 1986). To know whether the economic status of Japanese citizens would affect their acceptance attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, this paper incorporates occupational status and household income as crucial factors for evaluating acceptance attitudes. Respondents’ various work experiences such as professional manager, sales, self-employment, skilled worker, unskilled worker, and non-standard employment serve as economic status indicators. Moreover, since the composition of the immigrant population is of utter importance for the size argument to be valid for explaining the presence of cultural threats (Hjerm and Nagayoshi, 2011), this study also incorporates Chinese population size in Japanese prefectures and impact on Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

To understand the acceptance attitude of Japanese respondents, this study establishes six models under different aspects of acceptance among Japanese respondents. It used the following key questions: 1) How would you feel about having neighbors/close relatives/colleagues who are from the following countries or regions? 2) Do you accept the people who are from the following countries or regions? Based on these questions, the research compares acceptance attitudes in Japanese society toward immigrants from mainland China and other countries. To
determine the effect of these attitudes, I assessed independent variables comprising two levels: the first level includes demographic characteristics such as gender, age and education, while the second level consists of occupational status, household income and the population size of minority.

**Model 1:** Accepted as neighbor (controlled with gender, age and education). This model is the baseline which aim to, controlling for gender, age and education, to examine the Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese neighbors.

**Model 2:** Accepted as neighbor (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status and size of minority). This model tests whether demographic characteristics still show significance when economic status and size of minority are controlled for, to measure the synthesized effects of indicators.

**Model 3:** Accepted as close relative (controlled with gender, age and education). This model aims to gain insight on whether Japanese would like to accept Chinese immigrants as dependents, considering the importance of gender, age and education in marriage.

**Model 4:** Accepted as close relative (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status and size of minority). Demographic indicators such as gender, age and education are examined whether they still significant on Japanese attitudes when other factors are controlled for.

**Model 5:** Accepted as colleague (controlled with gender, age and education). Existing literature focused on general job satisfaction which has examined whether employees’ perceptions (especially perceived discrimination) from a variety of sources affect their work-related attitudes and behaviors (Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson, 2001). It is found that employees present higher levels of organizational discrimination than supervisor discrimination, and there are no significant differences between ethnic or racial groups on perceived discrimination. These findings further suggest that discrimination creates an overall negative perceptions for underrepresented groups such as women or minorities (Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson, 2001). While gender issues exist in Japanese enterprises for a long period of time, for newcomer Chinese immigrants, Japanese colleagues’ attitudes may influence their perceptions of workplaces, which may affect their job satisfaction. Meanwhile, colleagues in the same department always present the same level of education, but age reflects a hierarchy which
significantly depicts Japanese enterprises. Therefore, it is necessary to integrate these factors in this model.

Model 6: Accepted as colleague (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status and size of minority). This model tests the Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese colleagues which combine all variables. The different types of work in Japan verify one’s occupational status. Unskilled workers may encounter strong competition if the size of minority is significant. These indicators along with income are all included to assess Japanese attitudes toward Chinese colleagues.

3.3 Multicultural Survey in Shizuoka Prefecture 2009

Data analysis of JGSS 2008 has showed that the Japanese generally hold negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in Japan, and they are more likely to accept immigrants as colleagues, neighbors and close relatives from other countries rather than those from China. Based on these findings, the study further investigates the following: How do newcomer Chinese immigrants’ perceive their lives in Japan? How do they perceive communicating with the Japanese? Have they been discriminated against by Japanese people? What factors influence Chinese immigrants’ SWB and social adaptation? Employing another quantitative data from Shizuoka Prefecture, logistical regression models are conducted to shed light on these questions.

Quantitative study uses the general-purpose statistical software package Stata (similar to SAS or SPSS). This command-based software is available for Windows, Macintosh, and Unix systems. STATA provides a highly flexible interactive mode that is easy for beginners to learn and use. It also supports features for programming and matrix manipulation. STATA aided this research in analyzing the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009), and comparing the predictors of adaptation and SWB of Chinese immigrants with other immigrants in Japan. Initially, all 95,487 foreign households in Shizuoka, consisting of immigrants from Brazil, China, Korea, Indonesia, Peru, Vietnam, and the Philippines aged between 16 and 87, were considered for the survey. The individual members of these households possess several statuses, such as permanent residents, dependents, students, trainees, and technological workers.
A total of 10,000 targeted individuals lived in the sampled households. This questionnaire was sent on August 11, 2009, and collected for one month until September 18, 2009. The 12 cities of Shizuoka prefecture which is composed of the western (Hamamatsu, Iwata, Kakegawa, Kikugawa, Hukuroi, Kosai, Makinohara), central (Shizuoka, Yaizu), and eastern (Numazu, Huji, Godenba) parts were all covered in the survey. The research participants aged 16 to 87 completed the questionnaire, and 21.1 percent of the questionnaires were returned (N=1,980).

The main objective of the questionnaire was to investigate the SWB level among Chinese immigrants in Shizuoka prefecture. Comparing the results obtained from Chinese participants with other immigrant groups, the survey sought to identify what factors shape the life satisfaction, perceived discrimination, psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation of migrant residents in Shizuoka. The logistical regression models consisting of the following variables were used for analyzing the determinants of SWB.

**Independent Variables**

*Nationality:* To examine whether Chinese immigrants’ level of life satisfaction is lower than other immigrant groups, nationality controls for respondents living in Shizuoka prefecture who come from seven countries: (1) Brazil, (2) China, (3) Philippines, (4) Peru, (5) Korea (including South Korea and North Korea), (6) Indonesia, and (7) Vietnam (8) others.

*Visa status:* The visa statuses of the immigrants were recorded as follows: (1) special permanent resident, (2) permanent resident, (3) Japanese spouse, (4) long term resident, (5) family, (6) student, (7) trainee, (8) specific activities, (9) specialist in Humanities, international services, (10) skilled worker, (11) performance, (12) others. As explained earlier, Chinese immigrants who migrate to Japan as trainees, were found to have engaged in specific activities and performances in irregular circumstances (Le Bail 2005). They hardly to gain life satisfaction and mental well-being because of relatively closed environment and socio-economic status (Tajima, 2010). Therefore, the categories (7) trainee, (8) specific activities, and (11) performance were excluded in the analysis part. Yet, in order to reflect the level of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants who stay in Japan as permanent residents, dependents, students and skilled professionals, a significant reference group needs to be taken into account.
Considering the limited number of respondents and specific socioeconomic status of different visa statuses, this study chose trainees as reference group to test newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan. For Chinese nationals who stayed in Japan with a visa status as trainee, their life environment and activities in Japan are significantly different from other Chinese immigrants, thus, their evaluation of lives in Japan may significantly differ from other Chinese immigrants’ level of SWB. Moreover, due to the immigration control policies and particular life processes, trainees were treated as a separate category with regard to wages and benefits in comparison with other foreigners who stay in Japan with regular visa status. Therefore, this study conducts two different regression models with trainees who were included and excluded.

**Age:** Due to the classification of newcomers and oldcomers among Chinese immigrants, the newcomer Chinese immigrants present characteristics based on their place of birth, time of arrival to Japan, as well as age. Younger Chinese immigrants in Japan, especially those who were born in 1980s and 1990s can easily get financial support from their families. Most of their parents have jobs in China with a stable income. They were called “Little Emperor” or “Little Princess” since China implemented birth control policy since 1980s (one family can only have one child), and their parents and grandparents spoiled them. Newcomer Chinese immigrants may present significantly differences on economic status, education, Japanese language proficiency and experiences of perceived discrimination compared with oldcomers. Therefore, this study investigates the relationship between age and life satisfaction among Chinese respondents aged 16 to 87.

**Gender:** Japan is not only known for its high life-expectancy and its increasingly aging society (Coulmas, 2008), but also for its relatively traditional, rigid social structures with predetermined life courses and career paths (Sugimoto, 2010). These features suggest that gender differences in SWB are more evident in Japan than in other societies (Tiefenbach and Kohlbacher, 2013). Unlike the argument international literature posits, many Japan-related studies find it rather that big happiness gaps exist between men and women (Sano and Ohtake, 2007; Kusago, 2008). They also found that the gender variable only has a small coefficient (Yamane et al. 2008) in that even gender coefficient has lost significance in some research (Oshio, 2011). Considering the particular social context of Japan with gender issues and the significant number of newcomer Chinese immigrants living in Japan with family visa status,
gender is included as an important predictor of SWB among Chinese immigrants. Despite marrying a Japanese spouse in irregular circumstances (Le Bail, 2005), their lives in Japan still reflect Japanese traditional culture with gender issues (Saihanjuna, 2011). Therefore, the Chinese residents who hold both Japanese spouse visa and family member visa statues all became research objectives in this study, while Chinese males were analyzed as a reference group (male = 0, female = 1).

Marital status: Among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, there is a number of Chinese who hold residency status as Japanese spouse and dependent and, most of these dependents are husbands or wives of Chinese or other immigrants, their SWB and willingness of stay in Japan may be influenced by life environment and marriage lives. This study uses this variable to examine whether marriage can bring newcomer Chinese immigrants higher life satisfaction. The categories include: (1) single (reference group), (2) married, (3) divorced or widowed.

Children: Since many Chinese nationals move to Japan as dependents, the presence of children may induce the pressure to provide childcare and among these families and immigrants. Therefore, this study takes into account whether having children bear impact on the respondents’ migrant lives.

Education: Existing literature has found that small but significant correlations often exist between education and SWB (Campbell et al., 1976; Cantril, 1965; Diener et al., 1993). Many newcomer Chinese decided migrate to Japan at the beginning because they saw other Chinese friends or relatives who migrated earlier did gain better education and economic status (Liu-Farrer, 2011). As some successful cases have shown, those Chinese immigrants believe they can achieve goals like antecessors or even better. So I used education as a predictor for evaluating determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants. The levels of education in this survey are: (1) elementary school (reference group), (2) junior high school, (3) high school, (4) professional school, (5) university.

Employment status: In foundational theories, employment status refers to immigrants’ current type of employment (Piore, 1979; Stark, 1991). To test the amount of Chinese immigrants’ economic capital in Japan, this study categorizes employment status into: (1)
unemployment, (2) regular employment, (3) irregular employment (ex. part-time job, self-employment, and family employment), (4) training / internship.

*Household income:* Income has been examined through its relationship with SWB in previous studies. In 2010, Bartram uses the cross-sectional World Values Data, which suggests that being an immigrant in the US is associated with lower levels of life satisfaction compared to natives (Bartram, 2010). Meanwhile, he also finds that immigrants from poorer countries report lower levels of life satisfaction than natives. He concludes that the life satisfaction of migrants from poorer countries is more strongly determined by their absolute level of income (Bartram, 2010; Melzer and Muffels, 2012). To analyze the social comparison of immigrants’ SWB, household income was included in analysis models.

*Japanese language proficiency:* As for Chinese students in Japan, many of them started their migration process through studying in a language school. Previous research has examined students’ life satisfaction through three aspects, namely academic life, daily life and Japanese language ability (Tamaoka, Ninomiya and Nakaya, 2003). It is found that, supervisors in Japanese universities are more likely to give advice to those whose mother tongue uses characters (i.e., mainland China, Taiwan and Korea) than those whose mother tongue does not use such. Putting cultural (or partly racial) matters aside, since international students from mainland China, Taiwan and Korea tend to have better Japanese reading and writing skills than those with alphabetic languages, Japanese language ability seems to have no relationship to supervisor’s advising patterns (Tamaoka, Ninomiya and Nakaya, 2003). Japanese language proficiency, therefore, could be an important indicator of life satisfaction and adaptation of Chinese immigrants, especially Chinese students in Japan, so this variable was also included in this study.

*Duration:* Immigrants are evaluated according to their sense of well-being and adaptation in different levels through certain duration. The time of stay in Japan does not only depend on immigration control policy, but also on immigrants’ plan for themselves and their families. In this study, duration was accounted for as an independent variable to see how it affected Chinese immigrants’ SWB.

*Dependent variables*
Life satisfaction: Evaluating life in a host country is a central issue for immigrants and ethnic minority groups (Verkuyten, 2008). In this survey, life satisfaction was assessed in five levels: (1) very dissatisfied, (2) dissatisfied, (3) neutral, (4) satisfied, and (5) very satisfied.

Domains of life satisfaction: Previous studies on life satisfaction suggest that general life satisfaction can be distinguished from satisfaction in different domains of life (Verkuyten, 2008). In this study, the life satisfaction scale consisted of eight items that assessed Chinese immigrants’ satisfaction with their (1) income, (2) assets and savings, (3) consumer durable assets, (4) housing, (5) leisure, (6) job, (7) employment insurance, and (8) life insurance.

Willingness of stay: To gain more economic benefits and better personal development, more and more newcomer Chinese immigrants, especially student and dependents choose to stay in Japan through permanent residence rather than Japanese citizenship. Such preference bespeaks their desire to maintain flexible cross-border living arrangements and to possibly gain the benefits of both societies (Liu-Farrer, 2011). Meanwhile, there are many factors that can affect Chinese immigrants’ perceptions and adaptation in Japanese society, which influences their willingness to stay in Japan as long as they can. The willingness to stay has also been included to measure newcomer Chinese immigrants’ perceptions and adaptation. In this survey, Q60_1 was designed to test the respondents’ willingness to stay. The question is: “How do you think of the future if you stay in Japan?” The response, “stay in Japan as long as possible”, was coded in a dichotomy by assigning the value “1”.

Perceived discrimination: The question about whether Chinese immigrants have perceived discrimination is as follows: “Do you think that you are discriminated in Japan?” The answers were classified into five categories: (1) no discrimination, (2) a little discrimination, (3) some discrimination, (4) strong discrimination, and (5) very strong discrimination. The responses to this item were coded in a dichotomy by assigning the value “0” if a respondent reported no experience of discrimination by the Japanese and “1” if a respondent experienced discrimination in Japanese society. The other questions related to discrimination inquired on the life problems that immigrants have encountered and their levels of life satisfaction.

Models
To investigate SWB of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, the key questions focused on their life satisfaction and willingness to stay. I established three regression analysis models to analyze Chinese nationals’ SWB in Japan. The first model generally tested the level of SWB without considering the visa status; the second one added visa status as an independent variable and took trainee as a reference group; the third one included visa status but trainee was excluded. These three regression models were divided into nine branch models through human capital, economic and social capital. Thus, the independent variables comprising three levels were assessed. The first level is human capital, including gender, age, marital status, children, education, language ability and duration; second, economic capital, household income and employment status were combined; third, social capital derived from Chinese immigrants’ social networks, as well as their social contact with Japanese natives, perceived discrimination, trouble with Japanese and facing problems related to house renting. The model 1, 2 and 3 described below evaluated the determinants of SWB under different level of predictors without controlling visa status:

**Model 1:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic status such as gender, age and education). This model is the baseline; human capital is controlled for to examine the predictors of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants.

**Model 2:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic characteristics, length of stay, language proficiency and economic status). This model tests whether human capital still shows significance when economic status is controlled for, to measure the synthesized effects of indicators.

**Model 3:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic characteristics, length of stay, language proficiency, economic status, social contact, experiences of perceived discrimination and house renting problems), this model aims to gain insight on whether newcomer Chinese immigrants’ level of life satisfaction and willingness to stay in Japan change when social capital is included in this model.

To investigate Chinese immigrants’ SWB through different life environments and migration processes, models 4, 5 and 6 were also developed, controlling for visa status, to distinguish the
differences between residency statuses under different levels of determinants. In order to reflect on the regular groups’ life evaluation, trainee was taken into account as a reference group:

**Model 4:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with human capital). Compared to trainees, the level of SWB among Chinese immigrants who hold regular visa status in Japan are analyzed through demographic status such as gender, age and education.

**Model 5:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status, length of stay, language proficiency, employment status and household income). This model tests whether demographic characteristics still show significance when economic status is controlled for, to measure the synthesized effects of indicators.

**Model 6:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status, length of stay, language proficiency, experiences of perceived discrimination and social contact). This model aims to draw an insight on whether the level of life satisfaction and willingness to stay in Japan among newcomer Chinese immigrants change when social capital is considered in this model.

Moreover, to gauge whether the level of SWB can stay the same when reference group changes, three more models were established with trainee being excluded from the visa status. Chinese respondents who are permanent residents, students, dependents, and skilled professionals were included in these three models:

**Model 7:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with human capital). The demographic status such as gender, age and education will be examined whether they can impact on newcomer Chinese immigrants' SWB.

**Model 8:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status, length of stay, language proficiency, employment status and household income). The effect of human capital is tested in this model to see whether the results change when economic status was also take into account.

**Model 9:** Life satisfaction and willingness to stay (controlled with demographic characteristics, economic status, length of stay, language proficiency, experiences of perceived
discrimination and social contact), without trainees as a reference group, this model investigates the level of Chinese nationals who stay in Japan as regular immigrants with human, economic and social capital.

3.4. Qualitative Study on Newcomer Chinese Immigrants

Quantitative research has presented the acceptance attitudes of Japanese people, and the level of SWB as well as the determinants of life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. However, few puzzles still left unsolved using quantitative study. First, quantitative study could present the significance of age, gender, marital status and income on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants, but why do these factors matter? Quantitative data statistically measured the life satisfaction of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, but how do these immigrants evaluate their own lives? With what kind of life are they “satisfied”? When encountering problematic situations in schools, families and workplaces, in what way do newcomer Chinese immigrants deal with and overcome them? All these questions cannot be answered using solely statistical data. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct qualitative study to fully understand newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB and adaptation experience in Japan.

Since September 2012 to March 2015, I conducted interviews with 52 newcomer Chinese immigrants, and participant observation by following five groups including 75 Chinese who are living in Japan as employees, students, dependents and business men. To better understand the statistical analysis of the determinants of SWB, I likewise conducted 14 interviews in Shizuoka. Meanwhile, to get multiple samples for exploring the situation of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, I also interviewed 38 newcomer Chinese immigrants in Tokyo, which has the largest number of Chinese immigrants. My informants’ age range from 20 to 59, 22 males and 30 females who came to Japan for the first time since 1996 to 2012. Most of them hold either a student visa or an employment visa. Only a few of them came with families.

Considering the gap between generation and period outcomes, my informants mostly constituted the first generation of newcomer Chinese immigrants. I chose to focus on students and employees who are living in Japan, including both contemporary and long-term students,
employees and self-businesses. In considering the particularity of Chinese workers in Japan, I excluded unskilled workers. Depending on the informants’ willingness, interviews were conducted using Chinese or Japanese. I assigned pseudonyms in presenting their detailed responses.

3.4.1. Interviews with Newcomer Chinese Immigrants

Because this study focuses on newcomer Chinese immigrants who hold regular visa status in Japan, I limited my informants to Chinese residents who moved to Japan as students, employees, and dependents. Some of them turned to permanent residents or Japanese citizens after several years. I obtained my informants through several ways. Firstly, based on my identity as a student, I tried to know other Chinese students in different schools. My friends and acquaintances introduced some of them. When I was an MA student. Secondly, Using the Internet, I published my research plan and asked for informants online. Some friends reposted the information. , and that really helped me find many Chinese immigrants who are living in Japan with various type of visa status. Thirdly, through my membership to “China and Japan Volunteer Organization”, an NGO based in Tokyo, I was able to contact other members and participants in organization activities who became my informants. I also got in touch with other Chinese members who attended the organization activities. Fourth, many Chinese students and employees in Japan use the Internet to organize different kinds of activities in which participants rarely know each other. I also participated in these activities to try to know them and potentially become my informants.

I recorded the interviews using a voice recorder with the informants’ permission. All informants’ personal details such as real name, school or company’s name did not appear in this thesis and my presentations. My personal interaction with the research participants was a crucial part of data gathering, keeping in mind the research focus and being clear about my role as a researcher. I also recorded my informants’ email address or other contact information should need to verify information or to make follow-up interviews arise later.
3.4.2. Participant Observation

Till March 2015, I joined five groups with a total of 75 newcomer Chinese immigrants, to attend activities both online and offline. I was able to observe their lives in Japan, and understood how they communicated with Japanese people and the strategies involved in their migration to Japan. These five groups consisted of volunteer organization, unofficial student groups, movie buffs group, and new mothers communication group.

Volunteer Organization

Introduced by Professor Liu-Farrer of Waseda University, I became a member of an NGO called “China and Japan Volunteer Organization” in Tokyo since 2012. This organization mainly helps Chinese residents in Japan with various problems through hotline, giving them advice to solve problems with their apartment owners, bosses, and dependents. If necessary, this NGO can also help some Chinese immigrants get legal assistance. Most of the members in this organization are business owners, teachers and students. Besides service on hotline, they also have regular activities every month. These activities are mainly in Ikebukuro and Shinokubo, two certain districts in Tokyo with a large number of Chinese and Korean immigrants. The content of this NGO’s activities is to hand out leaflets in restaurants, electrical shops and book shops that Chinese immigrants own. Sometimes they are also hand out leaflets on the street close to Ikebukuro and Shinokubo stations, disseminating the hotline information and telling both Japanese people and immigrants what this NGO does. By attending these activities and observing these members’ actions, I was able to look into how these newcomer Chinese immigrants engaged into social activities and helping other Chinese immigrants. Hence, understanding their perceptions on living in Japan and communicating with Japanese people.

Unofficial Student Group in Shizuoka

In order to get a better understanding of quantitative research (Multicultural Survey in Shizuoka 2009) in this study, I joined QQ group (a popular chat software in China) organized by Chinese students in Shizuoka, Japan. Most of the members in this group are students in Shizuoka
University. Some of them are studying in the University of Shizuoka. Usually, members in this group post information about part-time job, apartment and admissions information from different universities. Sometimes, they are just chatting, for instance, about which department in Shizuoka University is stricter, or when something happens at their part-time job as well as in their research room. These members also hold parties sometimes. I attended their activities to know more about their lives. Most of these students are doing one or two part-time jobs and rarely hang out together.

**TIEC Student Group in Tokyo**

On March 2014, I moved into Tokyo International Exchange Center (TIEC), where a large number of foreign students and researchers, including Chinese, reside. After knowing a few students there, I joined the TIEC Chinese students’ QQ group. The members in this group are not only students living in TIEC, but also including many students who are already moved out or friends or classmates of TIEC residents but never lived there. Therefore, it has become a group of Chinese students studying in different universities not only in Tokyo but also in other prefectures and cities such as Nagoya, Osaka and Kyoto. Members who are living in Tokyo often hold activities, some of these activities are associated with TIEC. For instance, they opened the public kitchen in TIEC to make dumplings and watching Chinese TV program together; some of the activities are outdoors such as traveling and skiing. By joining these activities, I was able to know more students and researchers from different universities. I was also able to listen to their lives in schools and part-time workplaces.

**Movie Buffs Group**

After moving to Tokyo, I joined a movie buffs activity that two Chinese who are working in Japanese enterprises, organized. It was spring 2013, I followed the information posted on Weibo, went to a karaoke in Ikebukuro together with 18 Chinese immigrants who are employees and students in Tokyo. Using an electronic screen, these Chinese showed movie clips they liked and shared it with other participants. When talking about the movie they loved, most of them related the stories in a movie to their own lives in Japan. It seems that movies are the symbols and
memories of the different periods of time of their lives in Japan. I listened to their introduction of favorite movies and their own lives, and joined their party (Nomikai) after the activities. After that time, these Chinese movie fanatics continued being active on the Internet, and also organized different kinds of activities for several times. Prior to meeting them, I rarely know Chinese immigrants who are working in Japanese enterprises. By attending these activities offline, I came to know more of their lives of Chinese immigrants as employees in Japan.

New Mothers Communication Group

When I was living in TIEC, I saw a Chinese poster in the lobby which publicized information of activities for new mothers. Out of curiosity, I went to the activity room on the scheduled time and met 12 Chinese women who are mothers or are “ready to be a mother” (have no children, not pregnant yet plans to have a baby soon). Most of these Chinese mothers moved to Japan on a family visa status; only two of them are students. They all very young, aged 24 to 35. Most of their children aged between only a few months to five years old. Their husbands are mainly researchers, skilled professionals or students in Tokyo’s universities. Since that time, I joined this new mothers’ communication group on Weixin and have kept attending their regular activities every month, to get more information on how they raise or would like to raise children in Japan, and how they communicate with their husbands and Japanese people.
CHAPTER 4  JAPANESE ACCEPTANCE

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

In order to investigate newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan, as an important requirement, the social context of Japanese society needs to be explored. Previous research has already found that Japanese generally hold negative impression and attitudes toward immigrants (Nagayoshi, 2009; Tanabe, 2011). However, whether Japanese hold negative attitudes specifically toward Chinese immigrants rather than toward other immigrant groups is still unclear. Therefore, by investigating Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, this study will get a clear picture of what kind of social environment Chinese immigrants are living in, so as to understand their perceptions in specific host country.

4.1. Specific Xenophobia? Japanese Attitudes toward Foreign Groups

Xenophobia, defined as “an attitudinal orientation of hostility against non-natives in a given population” (Boehnke, 2001), has been frequently mentioned and linked to Japanese society in recent studies (Diène, 2006; Ishiwata, 2011). Although migration into Japan has gone for many decades, research still suggests that Japan is not prepared to become an immigrant country (Pak, 1998). It is common for foreign students to be told by housing managers that no foreigners would be allowed to rent apartment, and some of those students believed that it could be construed as racial discrimination by a foreign customer (Scott, 2013). However, there are some indications that the government might be willing to countenance increased immigration. There is strong pressure on Japan to become a global society, while adaptation difficulties of immigrants will obstruct the way. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the reason Japanese citizens hold negative attitudes toward immigrants.

Although it has been more than two decades since the local government initiated the implementation of multiculturalism as a mode of incorporating migrants, “Japanese multiculturalism” remains controversial. Previous studies in Japan argue that while...
multiculturalism is generally favored by the public, many “who demand cultural homogeneity within a nation approve of multiculturalism but are unwilling to grant equal rights” (Nagayoshi, 2011; Burgess, 2004; Tai, 2007). At the same time, anti-minority sentiment still exists in Japan. In an analysis by Semynov et. al., they argued that negative attitudes toward out-group populations are shaped by the relative population size of the out-group, and the changes in economic conditions (Semynov, Raijman and Gorodzisky, 2006). Also, some comparative studies that have examined cross-national variation in anti-minority attitudes relied mostly on the population size of a minority group and their economic conditions (Kunovich, 2004; Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002) in a receiving society.

In the case of Japan, previous studies have found that foreign resident populations tend to be in competition with the host residents (Nagayoshi, 2009), and the former’s widening presence tends to create varied social impact, depending on the nationality of the migrant (Nukaga, 2006). Providing explanations as to why xenophobia exists in Japan, some researchers believe that this is because Japanese people are afraid of foreign cultures, which may lead them to lose “Japanese identity” (Befu, 2001; Ishiwata, 2011). Other scholars argue that economic threat is an important reason because Japanese people fear losing jobs to foreigners in the labor market (Fetzer, 2000; Nukaga, 2006). Compared to simply asking Japanese people whether they would like to accept the increasing number of foreigners in Japan, the current study approaches the issues surrounding immigrants’ incorporation by raising more specific questions that reflect Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. For instance, co-presence in a household, neighborhood and workplace may involve intimate contact between them. Some scholars suggest that close personal interaction with foreigners such as building family ties as well as friendship in the neighborhood and workplace promote positive attitudes toward foreigners (Nukaga, 2006). The willingness of Japanese locals to accept Chinese newcomers as colleagues or families presumably indicate their thoughts of multiculturalism. Building on Kunovich (2004), aside from migrant population size and economic situation, demographic characteristics such as age, gender and education may also have equally significant potential indicators of immigrant perception and awareness. Yet, some points still need to be clear: first, anti-immigrant attitudes are present in Japan, but who holds them and toward whom do they hold them? Second, do Chinese immigrants face stronger xenophobia than other minority groups in Japan, and what are the determinants of Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants?
This study examined Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants by using quantitative method. Data analysis of Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS 2008) is committed to answering the research questions, and this study aims to draw attention to the attitudes of Japanese people towards Chinese immigrants in comparison with other immigrant groups including South Koreans, Southeast Asians, Europeans and North Americans. To gain insight into Japanese attitudes, the key questions asked whether they would like to accept Chinese immigrants as colleagues, neighbors and dependents. The results first show that Japanese people would like to accept the increasing number of immigrants from North America, Europe, Southeast Asia and Korea rather than immigrants from China. Thus, Japanese females tend to have more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than males, while older Japanese express strong anti-immigrant attitudes toward the Chinese. Moreover, positive correlation between education and acceptance attitudes are found, whereas neither the population size of immigrant minority nor the household income bears significant effects on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese migrants. As the analytical strategy illustrated in Chapter 3, three hypotheses will be examined in this study:

**H4.1: Compare to other immigrant groups, Chinese immigrants are the most unwelcomed group in Japan.**

**H4.2: Human capital associate with upward acceptance attitudes among Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants.**

**H4.3: Economic capital associate with upward acceptance attitudes among Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants.**

This study makes a significant contribution in three ways. First, it explores the study of immigration in Japan by investigating the indicators of Japanese attitudes toward different immigrant groups especially toward Chinese, which provide specific insight to the multiculturalism of Japan and adaptation barriers that Chinese immigrants are confronting during migration process. Second, it identifies the predictors of Japanese attitudes in accepting immigrants, especially the Chinese, which can provide information for organizations to develop effective programs to assist immigrants with adaptation to Japan as a host society. Third, such information can foster improved communication between immigrants and host society, and understanding Japanese attitudes toward immigrants can help improve existing services and
mechanisms for social adaptation, reduce barriers to social integration and cultivate positive acceptance of immigrants from China and other countries.

4.2. Findings: “Unwelcomed” Chinese Immigrants in Japan

In order to explain the extent to which Japanese society accepts foreign minorities, this study first delves into Japanese general attitudes toward the increasing population of foreigners, as presented as shown in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1. Japanese attitudes toward the growing number of foreigners (N=4,220)**

![Pie chart showing percentages of approval, disapproval, and no answer.]

Based on the question: “Do you approve or disapprove of the increasing number of foreigners in your community?”, only 37.7 percent of 4,220 respondents answered “approve”, 56.3 percent answered “Disapprove”, and 6 percent gave no answer. More than half of respondents presented negative attitudes toward foreigners. The next question is: Do Japanese citizens hold negative attitudes toward all foreign residents in Japan?

Figure 4.2 presents the acceptance attitudes among Japanese toward immigrants from China, South Korea, Southeast Asia, Europe and North America. Results showed that, as compared to other immigrants groups, Chinese immigrants are the most unwelcome immigrants, even though
the gap between different groups are not distinct. Employing chi-square statistics, the results confirmed that there are significant differences in Japanese attitude toward immigrants by latter’s country of origin. First, on the question: “How would you feel about having neighbors who are from the following countries or regions? Can you accept the people who are from each of the following countries or regions?”, results showed that 36.54 percent of respondents showed a welcoming attitude towards immigrants from North America, over 33.46 percent of them would like to accept South Korean immigrants as neighbors, while 32.42 percent of respondents would like to accept immigrants from Southeast Asia. However, only 30.88 percent of respondents said they can accept Chinese immigrants in the neighborhood.

Secondly, in response to the questions: “How would you feel about having close relatives who are from the following countries or regions? Can you accept the people who are from each of the following countries or regions?”, the results are close to Japanese attitudes toward foreign neighbors. Japanese people are likely to accept immigrants from Europe and North America as families, whereas they tend to have more negative attitudes towards Asian immigrants, especially Chinese immigrants.

Similar results were found in the third set of questions: “How would you feel about working together with people who are from the following countries or regions? Can you accept them?” Fewer respondents would like to accept the Chinese as colleagues compared to other immigrant groups. On the question regarding accepting them as family, although 31.78 percent of respondents would like to accept Chinese immigrants as dependents, the acceptance level is still lower than other immigrant groups. Since the differences of Japanese attitudes toward immigrant groups are not distinct, it is necessary to analyze the predictors of Japanese attitudes toward immigrants, to gain the insight to Japanese perceptions of integration among immigrants in Japan. To examine the determinants of acceptance attitudes among Japanese respondents toward Chinese immigrants, logistic regression model was used in this study (see Table 4.1). In order to examine the significance of human capital and socioeconomic capital on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, logistic regression can be used to model dichotomous
outcome variables. In the logit model, the log odds of the outcome is modeled as a linear combination of the predictor variables\textsuperscript{18}.

Figure 4.2. Japanese acceptance attitudes toward immigrants (JGSS-2008, \(N=4,220\))

Models 1 and 2 show that these determinants have shaped Japanese views of the Chinese as neighbors. In model 1, gender, age and education are employed as independent variables. All these three indicators present significant effects. Gender has a negative influence on acceptance attitude, indicating that Japanese men are more likely to accept Chinese residents as neighbors. Age also presents a strong impact on Japanese attitudes, as respondents who are older tend to have higher negative attitudes toward Chinese residents. Thus, significant association between education and acceptance attitudes are showed in model 1, in which respondents with higher education have positive attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. The results estimated in model 1 indicate that demographic status significantly shapes Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

\textsuperscript{18} Stata Data Analysis Examples: Logistic Regression: http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/dae/logit.htm. (July 5, 2015)
Table 4.1. Determinants of attitudes among Japanese toward Chinese Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Accept as neighbor</th>
<th>Accept as close relative</th>
<th>Accept as colleague</th>
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<td>Coef.</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
<td>Coef.</td>
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<td>Model 1</td>
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<td>Gender (ref=male)</td>
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<td>Model 2</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>Model 3</td>
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<td>Education (ref=junior high school)</td>
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<td>Model 4</td>
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<td>Model 5</td>
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<td>Model 6</td>
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<td>Occupational status (ref=professional manager)</td>
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<td>Household income</td>
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<td>Size of minority</td>
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<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Note: N=2139, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.
In model 2, economic indicators and population size of a minority group were taken into account. The significant effect of demographic status and education on attitudes disappeared after controlling for other indicators. Neither household income nor the minority population size has significantly impact on acceptance attitudes while the occupational status has. Unskilled workers demonstrated strong anti-immigrant attitudes toward accepting Chinese immigrants as neighbors.

Models 3 and 4 tested the effects of demographic status and economic factors of Japanese respondents on their acceptance attitudes toward Chinese relatives. When economic factors and minority population size were not controlled for, Model 3 showed that demographic characteristics and educational level of Japanese respondents have significant impact on their acceptance attitudes. As the results show, both Japanese women and older citizens presented negative attitudes toward accepting Chinese as close relatives. In terms of education, those respondents who graduated from universities were more likely to accept Chinese relatives. In contrast, demographic status and acceptance attitudes had insignificant correlation when economic factors and minority population size were accounted for. Whether Japanese citizens are in higher economic status or not does not bear any relevant influence on acceptance attitudes

In models 5 and 6, I examined the determinants of acceptance attitudes among Japanese citizens toward Chinese colleagues. In model 5, three indicators that measured the acceptance attitudes were age, gender and education. Japanese female were more reluctant to accept Chinese residents as colleagues compared to their male counterparts. Older citizens, meanwhile, possessed strong anti-immigrants attitudes toward Chinese colleagues. Moreover, a positive link between education and acceptance attitudes was revealed in model 5, which implies that Japanese people who acquired higher education are more willing to work with Chinese immigrants.

Conversely, when I checked the correlation between economic factors and size of minority population, no significant association was found in model 6, whereas age presents negative impact on Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese colleagues. Thus, even though unskilled workers presented negative acceptance attitudes toward Chinese neighbors, the coefficient disappeared when acceptance attitudes toward Chinese colleagues was analyzed.
4.3. Discussion

This paper has explored the level of Japanese attitudes toward immigrants, and discussed the indicators of their attitudes. By employing quantitative data from a survey of Japanese citizens to measure various predictors, the following results are underscored. First, Japanese attitudes toward immigrants vary depending on nationality. Even though Japanese natives generally showed negative attitudes toward all immigrants, compare to those from Asia, they are still more easily to accept the numerical growth of immigrants from Europe and North America, and they are easier to accept foreigners from Southeast Asia and Korea than those from China, which denotes that Japanese generally have a negative image of Chinese immigrants. This finding supported the first hypothesis: “H4.1: Compare to other immigrant groups, Chinese immigrants are the most unwelcomed group in Japan.” During recent years, not just the number of Chinese visitors ranked first in Japan than visitors from other countries, but also the number of Chinese students, skilled professionals and dependents are ranked first in Japan than other immigrant groups. Based on the interviews I did with 52 Chinese residents in Japan since 2012 to 2015, over 30 informants have experienced being discriminated against by Japanese people. When talking about the reasons, some informants believe the high crime rate done by Chinese residents during recent years caused negative impressions among Japanese citizens. Also, Chinese residents perceived discrimination by Japanese citizens due to they are lacking understanding of Japanese culture, even though some of impressions were left by Chinese travelers. With a large number of Chinese travelers coming to Japan, their behaviors also been marked with “Chinese way of doing things”. It is easy to see Chinese travelers don’t stand in the line when they shop, speak loudly in public places, and throw garbage everywhere. As “outsiders”, these behaviors left negative impressions among Japanese citizens, and increase their negative impression of Chinese immigrants.

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Secondly, for Chinese immigrants, Japanese citizens are more likely to accept them as colleagues or neighbors rather than as close relatives (see Figure 4.2). This result implies that working or living with the Chinese in the same neighborhood can still allow Japanese people to maintain social distance, so that they can individually decide whether to establish personal networks with Chinese immigrants, yet accepting Chinese immigrants as dependents is extremely different. Based on the statistics from Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare\textsuperscript{20}, by 2003, the number of Chinese wives in Japan was 6,253, ranked first in international marriage; the number of Chinese husbands was 718, ranked third followed Pilipino and Korean. Yet, the divorce rate of Chinese-Japanese families climbed to over 45 percent (Qu, 2009), which implies high risk of international marriage among Chinese residents in Japan. Even though there might be some economic benefits, the lack of understanding of each other’s culture, and the difficulty of language may eventually lead to a failed marriage.

Third, the result shows that human capital is significant on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, while economic capital represented insignificance. Thus, “\textit{H4.2: Human capital associate with upward acceptance attitudes among Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants}” supported by present study while “\textit{H4.3: Economic capital associate with upward acceptance attitudes among Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants}” was not able to be supported. Regardless of being neighbors, relatives or colleagues, Japanese females and older Japanese people tend to have more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than males and younger people, and their negative attitudes are especially toward Chinese colleagues. To estimate the effects of the same set of these factors on Japanese attitude toward other immigrant groups, present study compare the results of Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants with those of other immigrants. The findings shows that elder respondents represented strong negative attitudes toward all immigrant groups, and education is significant on Japanese attitudes toward immigrants from Taiwan, Europe and North America. In addition, gender only shows significant impact on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, and income is significant on the acceptance attitudes of Japanese natives toward immigrants from Europe and North America.

These findings imply that age is a general indicator to Japanese attitudes toward all immigrants, whereas gender and education represented strong impact on the acceptance attitudes of Japanese natives toward Chinese immigrants.

During recent years, divorce rate of international marriage in Japan keep rising, especially the divorce rate of Japanese wives-Chinese husbands always higher than the rate of Japanese husbands-Chinese wives. While there is a certain allure to the thought of having a foreign spouse, such marriages also comes with their own hardships, and it is said that as many as 40% of international marriages end in divorce. As for divorced Japanese wives who had international marriage experiences with Chinese husband, their negative impression to Chinese immigrant may be the result of a combination of several factors played the decisive role, such as culture differences and personal conflict, even domestic violence in some cases.

Hierarchy is extremely important in Japanese society, especially at the workplace. Japanese are very conscious of age and status, the oldest person in a group is always revered and honored (Ariga et al., 1992). Yet during recent years, foreign employees are always challenging Japanese hierarchy, and they advocated that personal ability should be the criteria of promotion (Liu-Farrer, 2011). Besides, compare to young natives, elder Japanese are more likely to represent political sensitivity. Their concern about historical issues and political environment in Japan may easily lead to negative impression to China and Chinese immigrants. Moreover, in recent years Japan also needs to face the climbing rate of crime committed by foreigners. The National Police Agency reported that the number of foreigners arrested on suspicion of committing crimes totaled 9,884 in 2013, an increase of 8% over 2012, and the first increase in nine years; criminal charges were filed against foreigners in 15,419 cases, and Chinese accounted for the most with 4,047, followed by Vietnamese (1,118) and South Koreans (936). Thus, among Japanese natives, older generations are more likely to confronting committed crime by

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foreigners rather than younger generations, which may significantly influence their acceptance attitudes toward immigrants, especially toward those from China.

Additionally, there is a positive association between education and acceptance attitudes. Japanese people with higher education are more likely to accept Chinese immigrants as neighbors, colleagues, even as close relatives. Previous studies of Japanese attitudes toward foreigners argued that greater years of schooling significantly reduce xenophobia among Japanese citizens in the labor force (Nukaga, 2006). A similar result has been found in this study as positive acceptance attitudes are held by Japanese citizens who have higher education. Although human capital showed strong impact on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, most of the items of human capital lost significance when economic factors and size of minority were included into model 2, 4 and 6. This finding hard to be explained by previous research or empirical evidence, yet the opposite impact of age and economic capital on acceptance attitudes might help to better comprehend this result. Previous studies argued that economic capital is positively affect Japanese attitudes toward immigrants (Nagayoshi, 2011), whereas higher economic status are more likely gained by elder people due to the employment system and revenue structure in Japan. Thus, when human capital and economic capital are combined, their significance on Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants tend to disappeared because these two capitals offset each other.

Still, occupational status represented weak influence on acceptance attitudes. Unskilled workers tend to possess a strong negative disposition toward Chinese people as neighbors, the significance of these factors disappeared when examining Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants as colleagues. This result partly confirms the findings from previous studies, which found that employers show weaker anti-immigrant attitudes than unskilled employees do (Nagayoshi, 2009, Iyotani, 1992). Yet, neither the minority population size nor the household income brings significant effects on Japanese attitudes toward accepting Chinese immigrants. Previous studies on group threat theory have argued that the working class is more threatened by a larger share of manual workers among the immigrant population (Hjerm and Nagayoshi, 2011), yet the survey used in this study only asked the occupational status among Japanese respondents. Even though those Japanese respondents who are unskilled workers present negative attitudes toward Chinese neighbors, it could not examine whether they are working with Chinese manual
workers, thus we were unable to verify whether those Japanese respondents were actually threatened on job opportunities. Moreover, previous study suggested that attitudes toward immigrants in Japan depend significantly on the size of foreign population (Nagayoshi, 2011), however, this argument was not able to be supported in present study. Due to the active engagement in Japanese labor market, Chinese immigrants are spread all over Japan in recent decades. And not only that, the size of minority was classified by prefectures in this study, but could not distinguish size of minorities between urban and rural areas, which may also cause the insignificance of Japanese acceptance attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

The explanation as to why Japanese have negative attitudes toward China has been discussed by many scholars and in the media, which is also related to the reason why Japanese citizens are holding negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. First, a fluctuating political relationship between China and Japan has continued over decades. The socio-historical issues, especially the dispute over islands in the East China Sea, has inflamed Sino-Japanese relations over the past few years, and the dangers of accident and conflict are real, and if an accident occurred, reconciliation between China and Japan could be delayed for decades or even longer (Vogel, 2013). Therefore, Sino-Japanese relations may also affect Japanese attitudes toward China and Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Meanwhile, as previous studies on multiculturalism in Japan point out, Japanese people support the idea of multiculturalism while drawing strict borders between the Japanese nation and “others”, and homogenizing the Japanese nation (Nagayoshi, 2011; Burgess, 2004; Tai, 2007). If immigrant minorities have to assimilate into the ethnic Japanese culture in order to gain equal rights (Nagayoshi, 2011), then the question for future study is how Chinese immigrants should do this? At the same time, despite the fact that the number of immigrants in Japan continues to increase, how to accept immigrants as citizens and give them full rights remains a challenge for Japan. By discussing the predictors of Japanese attitudes currently held toward immigrants, this study has affirmed the need to deeply understand the dynamics of contemporary Japanese society, which entails knowledge and information sharing between Japanese and immigrants out-groups’ culture and identities.

According to analysis of Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, this study provided a clear picture that Chinese immigrants actually not so “welcome” to Japanese society, although
there is a large number of Chinese residents actively engaging into Japanese labor market and international activities, the attitudes among Japanese toward them may still significantly impact on their perceptions in Japan. In next chapter, I will continue to use quantitative method to investigate newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan, by analyze multicultural survey data in Shizuoka 2009, this study will examine the level and predictors of life satisfaction and willingness of stay in Japan among Chinese immigrants, to gain insight into their adaptation process in Japanese society.
Chapter 5  Subjective Well-Being of Newcomer Chinese Immigrants in Japan

To investigate the social context of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, the last chapter examined the Japanese attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in Japan. It is found that, even though Japanese natives generally showed negative attitudes toward all immigrants, compare to those from Asia, they are still more easily to accept the numerical growth of immigrants from Europe and North America, and they are easier to accept foreigners from Southeast Asia and Korea than those from China. In addition, as for Chinese immigrants, Japanese citizens are more likely to accept them as colleagues or neighbors rather than as close relatives. Moreover, the result shows that demographic characteristics and education are important determinants when economic status and size of minority were not controlled for. Regardless of being neighbors, relatives or colleagues, Japanese female tend to have negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants than male citizens, while elder Japanese tend to express strong anti-immigrant sentiments toward Chinese immigrants.

5.1. Facing “Negative Attitudes” from Japanese Society

For newcomer Chinese immigrants, they are encountering “negative attitudes” by Japanese, then how do they evaluate their lives in Japan, and what factors shape their perceptions as immigrants? This study aims to examine the levels of subjective well-being (SWB) and the process of adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, and discuss the predictors of SWB and adaptation. The central question addressed in this study is what affects newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of well-being and adaptation in Japan. Employing data analysis of the multicultural survey in Shizuoka Prefecture (2009), this study uses quantitative methods to determine whether newcomer Chinese immigrants have higher life satisfaction than other immigrant groups. It also identifies determinants of their SWB and adaptation in Japan. Results show that newcomer Chinese immigrants have lower life satisfaction than immigrants from Brazil,
Korea, Peru, the Philippines and Vietnam. Moreover, several curious differences were found within the Chinese immigrant population. Most significantly, married Chinese tend to feel more dissatisfied with their life than singles, although they have stronger intentions to stay in Japan. Further, educational attainment negatively affects Chinese immigrants’ life satisfaction, while language proficiency shows significance on both life satisfaction and willingness to stay in Japan.

Considering the dearth of literature on Chinese immigrants’ social adaptation and well-being, the following question is put forth in the current study: How do newcomer Chinese immigrants evaluate their life in Japan and what factors affect their sense of SWB? This study aims to examine the level of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants, and understand the processes of adaptation they have gone through in Japanese society. So far, very few surveys in Japan have focused on the psychological status of immigrants. In 2009, a survey investigating immigrants’ perceptions was conducted in Shizuoka prefecture, investigating how immigrants evaluate their life in Japan, and the communication between them and Japanese citizens. Employing this data, I use quantitative method to analyze the level and determinants of SWB and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in comparison with other countries’ immigrant groups (including Brazil, Korea, Philippines, Peru, Indonesia and Vietnam) in Shizuoka prefecture, Japan. As the analytical strategy illustrated in Chapter 3, three hypotheses will be examined in present study:

1. **H5.1: Human capital associate with upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.**
2. **H5.2: Economic capital indicates upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.**
3. **H5.3: Social capital indicates upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan.**

This study makes a significant contribution in the following ways. First, more recent research on adaptation and SWB of immigrants tend to focus on East Asian immigrants’ movement to English-speaking and European countries (Bartram, 2010). Further, while some studies on immigration in Japan pay attention to education and gender issues, these are generally conducted within an ethnographic framework that does not focus specifically on the psychological component of integration (Tajima, 2004; Chen, 2008). This study provides a unique case study of
migration within East Asia and highlights the predictors of SWB and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. Such an approach can provide useful information for organizations developing effective programs to assist immigrants with adaptation to Japanese society.

5.2. **Findings: Low Life Satisfaction, Strong Willingness to Stay**

By analyzing the multicultural survey conducted in Shizuoka prefecture (2009), this study examines the predictors of adaptation and SWB of Chinese immigrants by comparing with other countries’ immigrants in Japan. As I introduced in Chapter 1, because of the particular migratory trajectories and life environment among Chinese immigrants who stay in Japan with visa status such as Japanese spouse, trainee, specific activities and performance, their sense of well-being may represent significant differences to other Chinese immigrants. In order to investigate SWB among Chinese immigrants who regularly communicate with Japanese and actively adapt to Japanese society, this study chooses to focus on Chinese immigrants stay in Japan with regular visa status, including students, dependents (family stays), engineers, specialists in humanities/international services, permanent residents and long-term residents.

The main objective of the analysis is to investigate the SWB level among Chinese immigrants in Shizuoka prefecture in comparison with other immigrant groups, to find out what factors shape life satisfaction, perceived discrimination, psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. Since Chinese residents staying in Japan as spouses of Japanese, entertainer or trainees are mostly isolated from the main Japanese society, their perceptions somehow determined by particular life environment and socio-economic status, thus their life experiences and perceptions are significantly different from other Chinese immigrants. To validate the function of human capital and socioeconomic capital in Chinese immigrants’ perceptions, trainee will be test as a group of reference. Present study will give the insight to the determinants of SWB by comparing the analysis with and without trainee as reference group, other visa categories like specific activities and performance will not be included in the research subjects in this study.
5.2.1. Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction is often considered a desirable goal and stems from the Aristotelian ethical model of eudaimonism (from eudaimonia, the Greek word for happiness), in which correct actions lead to individual well-being, with happiness representing the supreme well (Diener, Oishi and Lucas, 2002). Because this study focuses on the level of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, firstly I analyzed the level of general life satisfaction of immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture (Figure 5.1). The result showed that Brazilian immigrants present polarized trend on general life satisfaction. In other words, a significant number of Brazilian immigrants are dissatisfied with their lives than other immigrant groups (96, 12.28 percent), whereas there is also a large proportion of Brazilian residents who are satisfied with their lives in Japan than immigrants from other countries (543, 69.44 percent). Thus, Chinese immigrants are less likely to be satisfied with their lives in Japan (123, 46.94 percent) than other immigrant groups except Korean (29, 39.19 percent), but the respondents from China also showed lower proportion of dissatisfaction of their lives in Japan (5.35 percent).

![Figure 5.1. Life Satisfaction of Immigrants in Shizuoka Prefecture 2009](image-url)
Besides general life satisfaction, existing literature argued that there are various life domains constituting general life satisfaction. The way people evaluate their life in general is somehow different from their evaluation of general life. Thus, research on domains of life satisfaction can contribute to better understanding life satisfaction of immigrants in general (Verkuyten, 2008; Wu and Yao, 2007). Moreover, the former argues that general life satisfaction can be understood as the result of satisfaction in the domains of life (Argyle, 1987; Cummins, 1996). Therefore this study secondly examined domains of life satisfaction among Chinese residents in Shizuoka prefecture. As Figure 5.2 showed, over 60 percent of Chinese respondents are satisfied with consumer durable assets in Japan, and over 50 percent of Chinese respondents present satisfaction with housing in Japan even though many informants in my qualitative study talked about their experiences of being discriminated against by Japanese house owners.

Thus, it is easy to understand that over 30 percent of Chinese respondents are satisfied with their life insurance in Japan because Japan has better insurance system than China. To every Chinese immigrant who moved to Japan as regular visa status, they all have to join the “National Health Insurance System” that guarantees 30 percent individual payment, which is beneficial to
Chinese immigrants, especially to those low-income residents such as students and dependents. In addition, the results of income, assets and savings presented lower level of satisfaction among Chinese respondents, but the reference group that Chinese immigrants compare to is unclear in this survey. The reason why Chinese reported that they were less likely to be satisfied with income may be related to how they compare themselves to Japanese citizens, former colleagues and friends in China, or even to other Chinese immigrants in Japan. Therefore, a level of satisfaction with income needs to be employed as a predictor to examine the determinants of SWB among Chinese immigrants in Japan. Moreover, qualitative study will be used to figure out whom do Chinese immigrants compare themselves to.

**Table 5.1. Life satisfaction of immigrants via visa status in Japan, 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visa Status</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special permanent resident</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent resident</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term resident</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist in humanities / international service</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: $N$=number of respondents, Percentage=percentage of respondents. Resource: the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009).*
Among newcomer Chinese immigrants, their migration strategies and life stories are clearly verified through visa status. Therefore, they may present different levels of life satisfaction, depending on different residency groups. Table 5.1 compared the life satisfaction of Chinese immigrants through visa status. The results showed that Chinese respondents are generally less likely to be satisfied with their life in Japan than other minority groups, especially among student migrants in Japan, and that Chinese respondents reported much lower life satisfaction than average level. However, for those Chinese immigrants who are stay in Japan as “specialist in humanities/international services”, better language proficiency and education can help them to be more active in Japanese labor market (Liu-Farrer, 2011). In other words, their successful achievement in commercial activities may help them to gain better socioeconomic status in Japan, hence improving their general life satisfaction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special permanent resident</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent resident</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term resident</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist in humanities/international service</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N=number of respondents, Percentage=percentage of respondents. Resource: the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009).*
Furthermore, because Japan needs a large number of immigrants to fill labor shortages because of its low fertility replacement levels and a rapidly aging population, the willingness of stay in Japan among immigrants is crucial. Table 5.2 showed whether immigrants in Shizuoka prefecture would like to stay as long as possible. In contrast to the comparison of life satisfaction, most of Chinese respondents present stronger orientation to stay in Japan permanently than other immigrant groups, except for students and engineers.

Based on my fieldwork, many students in Japan aim to get better education, and some of them also plan to work in Japan after graduation. Meanwhile, due to the rapid development of Chinese economy, many Chinese students also plan to find a job in China by using the advantage of education they get from Japan. In contrast, some engineers moved to Japan because they were sent by companies in China. Some of them only plan to stay in Japan for couple years because they have families back in China, and some of them also think the market in China would be more attractive and suit for their personal development.

No matter what kind of residency do newcomer Chinese immigrants belong to, and in which domains of life, life satisfaction is always influenced by emotions (Berry, 2001), and the sources of worry in immigrants’ daily lives will decrease their life satisfaction. Table 5.3 shows which aspects of life are sources of worry for Chinese immigrants in Japan. More than 50 percent of the respondents reported anxiety with regard to their children’s education; this result was expected, as the second generation in immigrant families has always been the nucleus of the family. Likewise, nearly 40 percent of the immigrants worry about their relationships with their children. The spousal relationship is also an important part of the lives of immigrants. 39.7 percent of the respondents reported anxiety with regard to their relationship with their spouses. Thus, aging was a source of anxiety for 45.7 percent of immigrants; this result is understandable because most immigrants are not Japanese nationals, and whether they will be able to remain in Japan will strongly influence their future. Moreover, employment security is also a source of concern for many Chinese immigrants (26.5 percent), who need this security to enable their life in Japan to continue.
Table 5.3. Anxiety reported by Newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very relief</th>
<th>Relief</th>
<th>In between</th>
<th>Anxiety</th>
<th>Very anxiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children’s education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with children</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with spouse</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing security</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working security</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life in old age</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2. Communication with Japanese

Chinese immigrant perceptions of discrimination by Japanese society depend on the people with whom they communicate. People tend to live within their own small worlds and have daily contact with only a few people. There are vast differences in social contacts among those with different lifestyles, such as those who are obtaining an education, working in a company, working...
in a low-paid factory, staying home as a homemaker, attending local community activities, and marrying a Japanese citizen.

Table 5.4 shows how Chinese immigrants communicate with Japanese individuals in their daily lives. A great majority (78.4 percent) of these immigrants work with Japanese people at same places, and 36.6 percent have classes with Japanese students. Over half of Chinese immigrants have become friends with Japanese; thus, it clearly indicates that many immigrants are interested in communicating with the Japanese, while only 18.7 percent of the immigrants communicate with the Japanese through marriage, and although I do not have specific data pertaining to gender distribution, previous data lead us to expect that these immigrants are primarily Chinese women married to Japanese men. Some immigrants attend local community activities and socialize with Japanese, but there are still 11 Chinese respondents have no communication with Japanese individuals despite living in Japan for many years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communication with Japanese</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work with Japanese</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study with Japanese</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make friend with Japanese</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married to Japanese</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend local community activities</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes socialize with Japanese</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>335</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Does more frequent communication between Chinese immigrants and Japanese individuals lead to more troublesome interactions? Table 5.5 reports the percentages of Chinese immigrants who have experienced or heard about problems with the Japanese in 2009. It indicates that 26.9 percent of Chinese respondents have experienced trouble with the Japanese themselves, whereas 25.4 percent of them have heard about such experiences from their families and friends. Not only that, 37.3 percent of respondents have seen news stories related to such experiences, and there are 28.4 percent of respondents have never heard of any trouble between Chinese immigrants and Japanese people. These results imply that there is a significant number of Chinese immigrants have experienced problems with Japanese in their daily lives or have heard about such experiences (directly or through family and friends). Next, Table 5.6 reports how Chinese immigrants have handled such problems.

**Table 5.5. The adverse experiences of Chinese with Japanese people, 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have trouble with Japanese</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had such an experience themselves</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard about such an experience from families and friends</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned about such an experience from the news media</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never heard about such an experience</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N=number of respondents, Percentage=percentage of respondents. Resource: the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009).*

According to the results, more than 60 percent of immigrants who experienced problems chose to discuss the matter with family and friends when the problems occurred, while only 7 Chinese respondents chose to open up to other Japanese people. This preference for discussion with family and friends exists because it is unlikely for a Japanese individual to agree with an
immigrant’s perspective when he or she has trouble with another Japanese individual and because of the language gap and cultural difference between Chinese immigrants and Japanese people. Nevertheless, many immigrants chose to contact the police to solve their problems. This choice could be the most efficient solution, depending on the nature of the problem.

Table 5.6. Chinese Immigrants’ reaction to troubles with Japanese natives, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discuss with family/friends</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss with other Japanese individuals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss with the local government</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact the police</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N=number of respondents, Percentage=percentage of respondents. Resource: the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009).*

When questioned about the reason for their trouble with Japanese people (Table 5.7), there is not a significant difference showed up among number of respondents under various answers. There are 31 Chinese immigrants believe that the troubles happened because Japanese people cannot understand foreign life customs and culture, even 38 Chinese respondents believe that the problem is all fault on Japanese. In contrast, 33 respondents claimed opposite opinion, they argued that foreigners should get better understanding Japanese culture so as to reduce the possibility of making trouble with Japanese. Thus, there are 38 Chinese immigrants think the lack of language proficiency caused troubles, which is similar to the answer as “lack of communication”, obviously a significant number of newcomer Chinese immigrants believe that better language proficiency and closer communication can reduce misunderstanding between Japanese natives and immigrants. Moreover, 24 respondents claimed that both immigrants and
Japanese natives presented no interest in understanding the culture of the other, which became the reason of trouble between majority and minority groups.

Table 5.7. Reasons reported by Chinese immigrants for problems with Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trouble with the Japanese</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese people cannot understand foreign life customs and culture</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners cannot understand Japanese culture</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The problem is the fault of the Japanese</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty in understanding language</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of communication</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both sides have no interest in understanding the culture of the other</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N=number of respondents, Percentage=percentage of respondents. Resource: the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009).*

Furthermore, since housing also constitutes main domain of life satisfaction in research on SWB (Wu and Yao, 2006), it should be considered that the experiences of rent apartment or buy house in Japan among newcomer Chinese immigrants may also impact on their evaluation of SWB. Table 5.8 represented the difficulties Chinese respondents experienced when they were trying to look for living places in Japan. Only 3 Chinese respondents claimed money problem when they looking for apartment or house, while 30 respondents were refused because of foreign nationality, and 42 respondents also been refused by agency due to the difficulty to find guarantees. Thus, there are 25 newcomer Chinese immigrants felt hard to find living places because of language problem, while there are still 47 respondents represented that they never been refused by housing agency when they looking for apartment or house in Japan. However, based on my fieldwork in Shizuoka and Tokyo, there is a number of Chinese immigrants have
experienced negative treatment by house owners and agencies, many of them been refused to rent apartment without clearly explanation, and some Chinese interviewees said the house owners and agencies told them the apartments are not available for foreigners.

Table 5.8. Main difficulties newcomer Chinese immigrants faced with house renting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difficulty</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be refused because of foreign nationality</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't have guarantee</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad at Japanese language</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money problem</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>163</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N=number of respondents, Percentage=percentage of respondents. Resource: the multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture (2009).*

As a domain of life in Japan, housing problem can become a negative factor of Chinese immigrants’ perceptions in Japan, and when Chinese immigrants been discriminated against by Japanese, it can be considered to have negative influences for the way minority members evaluate their life in host country (Verkuyten, 2008). In general perspective of discrimination, previous research in different countries examined that perceived ethnic discrimination represented negative impact on evaluation of life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2008), therefore, this study then examined the perception of been discriminated against by Japanese among Chinese immigrants. Table 5.9 showed whether newcomer Chinese immigrants perceived discrimination in Shizuoka prefecture with different visa status. It found that Chinese permanent residents and dependents are “frequently” or “sometimes” perceived stronger discrimination than other respondents, while over
half of those who stay in Japan as students and specialist in humanities/international services think they are “occasionally” been discriminated by Japanese.

Table 5.9. Immigrant perceptions of discrimination in Japan, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Frequently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent resident</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term resident</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist in humanities/international service</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These results enable us to examine whether there is a relationship between experiencing problems with the Japanese and perceived discrimination, the results implied that such a relationship does exist. Although Chinese immigrants who have never heard about trouble with Japanese people did perceive discrimination, those who have directly experienced problems with the Japanese or have heard about such problems from families, friends or the media are more likely to perceive discrimination. Despite the dissatisfaction of Chinese immigrants with life appears to persist despite positive personal life conditions in the host country and communication with the Japanese, this section highlights the hypotheses regarding whether integration increases or decreases the likelihood of perceived discrimination among Chinese immigrants in Japan.

5.2.3. Determinants of Subjective Well-Being

To examine the effects of factors on newcomers Chinese immigrants’ subjective well-being in Japan, three models have been established to examine the life satisfaction (LF) and willingness to stay in Japan (WS) (see Table 5.10). As I introduced in Chapter 3, demographic status, human capital, economic capital and social capital are employed to examine the determinants of SWB among Chinese immigrants in Japan. All items of demographic characteristics and human capital are generalized into model 1, including age, gender, marital status and education; model 2 are socioeconomic factors, including length of stay in Japan, language proficiency and income; model 3 are straight perceptions, including perceived discrimination and anxiety of different aspects of life.

With various factors under control, three models showed different results. In model 1, for life satisfaction, gender, age, marital status and children displayed insignificant effects among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Education represented a significant impact on life satisfaction, well-educated respondents are less likely to be satisfied with their migrant lives, and language proficiency positively impact on Chinese respondents’ life satisfaction. Respondents who can speak Japanese well are more likely to gain better life satisfaction than those who can hardly communicate with Japanese natives.
Moreover, to stay longer in Japan does not help Chinese immigrants to gain better SWB. Respondents who stay in Japan for 2 to 4 years are apparently unsatisfied with their lives than those who stay in Japan for less than 2 years. Conversely, demographic status and human capital represented different effects on willingness of stay among Chinese immigrants in Japan. Only gender and duration showed significant influences on willingness to stay in Japan, whereas age, duration of stay, and marital status showed dissimilar influences on willingness to stay.

### Table 5.10. Determinants of SWB among Chinese Immigrants in Japan (2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LS</td>
<td>WS</td>
<td>LS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographic characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (ref: male)</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>-.067*</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.296</td>
<td>.222</td>
<td>.290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status (ref: single)</td>
<td>-.455</td>
<td>.476</td>
<td>.214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have children</td>
<td>-.319</td>
<td>.441</td>
<td>.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human capital</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (ref: high school)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Professional school</td>
<td>-1.161**</td>
<td>.469</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- University</td>
<td>-1.147***</td>
<td>.351</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language proficiency</td>
<td>.477*</td>
<td>.181</td>
<td>.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration (ref: less than 2 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2~4 years</td>
<td>-.769*</td>
<td>.304</td>
<td>.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 5~9 years</td>
<td>-.503</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>2.075***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- More than 10 years</td>
<td>-.324</td>
<td>.659</td>
<td>1.007**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic capital</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status (ref: unemployment)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Regular employment</td>
<td>-.352</td>
<td>.308</td>
<td>.563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Unregular employment</td>
<td>-1.446**</td>
<td>.407</td>
<td>.392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social capital</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with Japanese colleagues</td>
<td>-.478</td>
<td>.617</td>
<td>1.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study with Japanese classmates</td>
<td>.310</td>
<td>.506</td>
<td>-.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making friends with Japanese</td>
<td>.093</td>
<td>.452</td>
<td>.262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married with Japanese</td>
<td>.556</td>
<td>.616</td>
<td>-.1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived discrimination</td>
<td>-1.285***</td>
<td>.209</td>
<td>.209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in trouble with Japanese</td>
<td>-.1278*</td>
<td>.573</td>
<td>.115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be rejected to rent house</td>
<td>-.180</td>
<td>.624</td>
<td>.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>-.777**</td>
<td>.676</td>
<td>-.172**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo R²</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>.263</td>
<td>.131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N=204, LS=life satisfaction, WS=willingness of stay, + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, ns = non-significance.
marital status, children, education and language proficiency all lost their influence on willingness of stay. For gender, Chinese men are more likely to stay in Japan as long as possible, and the longer Chinese nationals stay in Japan, they are more willing to settle down in Japan.

In model 2, economic capital was also controlled as independent variables. Similar results showed up as in model 1, education, language ability, duration and employment status are apparently impact life satisfaction, respondents who get higher education are unsatisfied with lives in Japan rather than those who are graduated from high schools. Language ability still keep its positive effect, and stay in Japan for long time cannot improve respondents’ life satisfaction. In addition, employment status represented significant impact on life satisfaction. Respondents who were working in Japan as non-regular employees have lower satisfaction than the unemployed. Moreover, economic capital showed completely insignificance on willingness of stay in model 2, while the effects of gender and duration remain significant.

In model 3, factors related to human capital and economic capital did not show significant influences after social capitals were controlled for. As to life satisfaction, language proficiency helps respondents to gain better evaluation with migration lives. Conversely, social capitals represented stronger effects on SWB. Unsurprisingly, perceived discrimination and having troubles with Japanese natives obviously decrease Chinese immigrants’ life satisfaction. Meanwhile, only duration is significantly associated with unwillingness of stay in Japan. Those who stay in Japan for 5-9 years are more likely to plan to settle in Japan permanently.

To investigate SWB of newcomer Chinese immigrants with different visa status in Japan, model 4-9 were established to examine the determinants of life satisfaction and willingness of stay when residency status was controlled for. With human capital, economic capital and social capital controlled for three levels of predictors, model 4-6 included visa status with trainee as reference group, while model 7-9 test residency status with only regular visas such as permanent resident, student, dependent and skilled professional. As table 5.11 shows, when compare to trainees, Chinese respondents who gained permanent residency in Japan are less likely to be satisfied with their lives, whereas dependents, students and skilled professionals all showed insignificance. Among human capital, only education is significant on SWB, respondents who graduated from high schools are more likely to satisfy with migratory lives than those graduated from professional schools.
Table 5.11. Determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants (with visa status include trainee), 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent resident</td>
<td>-1.220</td>
<td>1.081</td>
<td>-0.196</td>
<td>0.705</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>0.935</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.245</td>
<td>-0.758</td>
<td>0.636</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>1.419</td>
<td>0.819</td>
<td>0.413</td>
<td>0.720</td>
<td>1.963</td>
<td>0.581</td>
<td>1.135</td>
<td>0.277</td>
<td>2.157</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>1.235</td>
<td>2.214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled professional</td>
<td>1.049</td>
<td>0.529</td>
<td>-0.182</td>
<td>0.647</td>
<td>3.784</td>
<td>0.163</td>
<td>1.356</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>1.534</td>
<td>0.734</td>
<td>1.185</td>
<td>0.734</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demographic characteristics

| Gender (ref: male)          | 0.440 | 0.376 | 0.494 | 0.619 | 0.445 | 0.337 | 0.591 | 0.337 | 0.706 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Age                        | 0.289 | 0.352 | 0.330 | 0.412 | 0.483 | 0.107 | 0.621 | 0.010 | 0.619 | -0.133 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Marital status (ref: single)| -0.593 | 0.649 | -0.413 | 0.705 | 0.812 | 0.841 | 1.030 | 0.900 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Have children              | 0.161 | 0.616 | -0.328 | 0.775 | 0.038 | 0.604 | 0.516 | 0.914 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

Human capital

| Education (ref: high school) | -1.227 | 0.587 | -0.918 | 0.461 | -1.709 | 0.406 | -1.879 | 0.561 | -1.382 | 0.820 | -2.773 | 0.124 |
| University                  | -0.834 | 0.525 | -0.382 | 0.457 | -0.947 | 0.673 | -0.567 | 0.823 | -1.148 | 0.376 | -0.047 | 0.960 |
| Language proficiency        | -2.229 | 0.419 | -0.296 | 0.262 | 0.497 | 0.324 | 0.893 | 0.578 | 0.526 | 0.367 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

Economic capital

| Employment status (ref: unemployment) | -1.273 | 0.720 | 2.941 | 1.099 | -1.081 | 0.518 | 2.838 | 1.274 |
| Regular employment            | -1.586 | 0.511 | 1.226 | 0.470 | -0.892 | 0.709 | 0.491 | 0.878 |

Social capital

| Work with Japanese colleagues | -1.071 | 1.086 | 2.908 | 1.391 |
| Study with Japanese classmates | -1.397 | 0.809 | -0.990 | 1.283 |
| Making friends with Japanese  | -0.422 | 0.436 | 0.822 | 0.671 |
| Married with Japanese         | 1.524 | 0.912 | -2.405 | 1.387 |
| Perceived discrimination      | -1.582 | 0.555 | 0.563 | 0.291 |
| Involved in trouble with Japanese | -1.410 | 0.760 | 0.865 | 0.737 |
| Be rejected to rent house      | -1.310 | 0.890 | 0.586 | 1.003 |

Notes: N=147, LS=life satisfaction, WS=willingness of stay, + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, ns = non-significance.
In addition, duration seems disadvantageous to immigrants’ life satisfaction. Respondents who stay in Japan for 2-4 years showed lower level of life satisfaction than those who stay for less than 2 years. In contrast, when examining the effect of visa status on willingness of stay, permanent residents showed stronger intention to live permanently in Japan than trainees, whereas dependents, students, and skilled professionals did not differ significantly from trainees in terms of intentions to live permanently in Japan. Besides, gender and duration significantly affect willingness of stay. Men and those who live in Japan for 5-9 years are more likely to intend to stay permanently in Japan than women and those who live in Japan for less than 2 years.

In model 5, economic capital such as employment status and household income was taken into account. The effects of education and duration remained significant after controlling for economic status. As for visa status, both permanent residency and student visa indicate lower level of life satisfaction, while non significance were found from dependent and skilled professionals. Additionally, neither gender nor age showed significant impacts on life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Furthermore, respondents who were regular employees indicate higher level of life satisfaction than those who are unemployed. Opposite results were found in visa status when examining the willingness of stay with economic capital controlled for. Permanent residents and students showed stronger intention to stay in Japan than trainees. In demographic status and human capital, similar results showed up as in model 4, Chinese women are less likely to stay in Japan than men, and well-educated respondents represented weaker intention to stay permanently in Japan than those who graduated from high schools. In addition, long term residency encourages people to decide to live permanently in Japan. It is indicated that respondents who are living in Japan for 5-9 years showed stronger intention to live permanently in Japan than those who lived in Japan for less than 2 years. In economic capital, non-significant effect can be found from household income, while regular employees represented higher life satisfaction rather than those who are unemployed.

In Models 6, all three types of variables such as human, economic and social capitals were included into the model while residency status was controlled for. The results represented that permanent residents and students showed stronger intention to stay in Japan, whereas visa status had no effects on life satisfaction. For the first time, age had a significant influence on life satisfaction. Results showed that older respondents are more likely to be satisfied with their
migratory lives than younger respondents. Moreover, language ability is advantageous to life satisfaction, and stay in Japan for 2~4 years would be detrimental to respondents’ life satisfaction, yet up to 9 years residency is beneficial to willingness of stay among Chinese immigrants. For willingness of stay in Japan, women are less likely to stay permanently than men, and undereducated respondents represented stronger intention to stay in Japan. In addition, regular employees are more likely to stay in Japan than respondents who were unemployed. Furthermore, social capital significantly affects Chinese immigrants’ SWB. Perceived discrimination and having trouble with Japanese natives would be harmful to respondents’ life satisfaction, whereas social contact such as being married with Japanese had a positive impact on life satisfaction among immigrants. Besides, working with Japanese colleagues is advantageous to willingness of stay, whereas studying with Japanese classmates and being married with Japanese natives are disadvantageous to willingness of stay among Chinese immigrants.

In order to examine the importance of visa status on immigrants’ SWB, model 7-9 were established while trainees/interns are not included (see Table 5.12). The result showed that, permanent residency indicated strong intention to stay in Japan in all three models. In addition, demographic status and human capital are significant on willingness of stay but lost impact on life satisfaction. Females are less likely to intend to stay permanently Japan than males, and immigrants’ SWB decline with education, whereas language ability positively impact on willingness of stay. Moreover, respondent who were living in Japan for 5~9 years indicate strong intention to stay in Japan as long as possible.

In model 8, only education had a negative impact on SWB among variables related to human capital, and when economic capital was controlled for, both permanent residents and students reported stronger intention to stay permanently in Japan. In economic capital, the status of non-regular employment represented lower level of life satisfaction than unemployment, but regular employment reflect stronger intention to stay in Japan than unemployment. Effects of visa status and employment status on willingness of stay was not changed after excluding trainees/interns out of samples.
Conversely, the significant effects of employment on SWB disappeared in Model 9. Additionally, gender is significant on willingness of stay. Results showed that men are more
likely to stay permanently in Japan than women, and having children weakened respondents’ willingness of stay when social capital was controlled for. Same as the results in model 7, education and duration significantly affect unwillingness of stay while language ability improves SWB. In social capital, making Japanese friends or being married with Japanese natives help to improve immigrants’ life satisfaction, while working with Japanese colleagues encourages immigrants to intend to stay permanently in Japan. It is also found that those who had troubles with Japanese natives and those who perceived discrimination were less likely to feel satisfied with lives in Japan.

5.3. Discussion

Employing data analysis of the multicultural survey in Shizuoka Prefecture (2009), this study has examined the determinants of SWB and adaptation among newcomer Chinese immigrants. By controlling three levels of predictors, this research has highlighted the following results: a) newcomer Chinese immigrants presented lower life satisfaction than immigrants from Brazil, Peru, the Philippines and Vietnam, while they are more likely to be satisfied with migratory lives than Korean immigrants; b) newcomer Chinese immigrants are mainly dissatisfied with their assets, savings and income; c) Chinese residents in Japan are mainly worried about their children’s education and their own life in old age; d) when having trouble with Japanese citizens, Chinese residents thought the main reasons are language and lack of communication; e) men are more likely to stay in Japan rather than women; f) education and duration presents a negative impact on life satisfaction; g) Chinese nationals who stay in Japan as permanent residents and students are less likely to be satisfied with their migratory lives than other Chinese immigrants, but are more likely to stay in Japan for a long term.

According to these findings, the first hypothesis “H5.1: Human capital associate with upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan” was unsupported. Even though small but significant correlations between education and SWB have often been found in previous studies (Campbell et al., 1976; Diener et al., 1993), as for Chinese immigrants in Japan, their education gained from home country are hard to be transferred and recognized by Japanese labor market. Moreover, many Chinese immigrants involved into unqualified language school and
professional school after they moved to Japan, most of them confronted the difficulties to enter official universities or gain stabilized employment. Under this situation, the higher these newcomer Chinese immigrants gained from home country, they are less likely to be satisfied with migrant lives in Japan.

Additionally, the second hypothesis “H5.2: Economic capital indicates upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan” was partly supported by the findings in present study. Although household income represented insignificance, regular employees still showed higher level of life satisfaction rather than those respondents who are unemployed. This finding also support previous studies which suggested that economic capital has a small, positive impact on SWB (Bartram, 2010), and immigrants who are unemployed are less likely to be satisfied with their life in the host country (Pohl, 2007). Furthermore, the third hypothesis “H5.3: Social capital indicates upward SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan” was supported by the findings. As previous research suggested, in order to understand immigrants’ life satisfaction, it is important to consider the perceived orientations of the majority group, so as to investigate immigrants’ social connection with their own ethnic community and mainstream society (Verkuyten, 2008; Berry, 2001). Scholars found that immigrants who claim to be discriminated against by natives or feel unwelcome by host society are less likely to be satisfied with their life in mainstream country while they tend to present stronger identification with their own ethnic community (Verkuyten, 2008), others found that perceived discrimination was negatively related to psychological assimilation, including general life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2008). These arguments also been examined in this study.

In order to gain insight into newcomer Chinese immigrants’ mental well-being and explain the results showed in this quantitative study, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with Chinese immigrants. Through these interviews some different aspects of life satisfaction as it relates to occupational status have been elicited. Through interviews conducted with over 50 Chinese residents in Japan (2012-2015), it was found over half of them are doing part-time job for living. When compared with friends and families in China, some informants thought they are at a higher level in terms of economic status. However, many of them are dissatisfied with their status compared to Japanese citizens. For those Chinese interviewees who are employees in Japanese enterprises, most of them are treated as temporary employees with one-year contract,
and get less salary than other Japanese colleagues who join the company at same time, some Chinese skilled professionals believed that their experiences in Japan implied some job inequality existing in Japanese society.

The analysis on determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants has shown that, higher level of socioeconomic status implies lower levels of life satisfaction. For those Chinese residents who have a better education, they may have more experiences and abilities they can utilize when dealing with Japanese citizens, at the same time, they are involve into unequal treatments and discrimination. Some informants in qualitative study mentioned their experiences about been discriminated by Japanese colleagues and classmates, no matter they are researchers with PhD degree or owner of restaurants. These experiences may lead to lead to negative attitudes of newcomer Chinese immigrants toward communication with Japanese citizens, however, language proficiency can still help them to better understand Japanese culture, and gain better social status in Japanese society, even though this is yet to translate into social equality.

Still, there are some limitations existing in this study. Firstly, this survey was limited in Shizuoka prefecture, the Chinese nationals’ perceptions in this prefecture may not be able to fully reflect the overall situation. Secondly, just considering either their own situation before and after migration or comparing them with the natives is not enough to describe the full extent of change of SWB. Thirdly, although newcomer Chinese immigrants such as students and skilled professionals have gained socioeconomic benefits from transnational activities, they actually perceive themselves to be experiencing social isolation and discrimination in Japan, so it is necessary to understand their ambivalence and marginalization, and how they attempt to gain social recognition from host society.

In next chapter, I will explain how different factors influence on Chinese immigrants’ psychological outcomes, and why they can affect newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of SWB by employing qualitative research. 52 interviews and participant observations were conducted with newcomer Chinese immigrants to record their life stories in Japan. Interviews mainly focused on their perceptions of communication with the Japanese, life satisfaction and their adaptation process in Japan.
Chapter 6  Narratives of Newcomer Chinese Immigrants in Japan

As described in the previous chapters, the quantitative study investigated the level and determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Several points and puzzles were revealed from the data analysis which revolved mainly around gender, education, language ability and employment status. First, there is no significant difference on level of life satisfaction between Chinese men and women in Japan, while women are less likely to settle down in Japan than men. As for Chinese female immigrants, they are confronting much more complicated gender barriers and social inequality rather than Chinese male immigrants in Japan (Liu-Farrer, 2011), therefore, it is necessary to understand how Japanese gender role norm affect Chinese female immigrants’ perceptions. Second, higher education and stable employment status are expected to help immigrants gain better life satisfaction in the host country (cf. Campbell et al., 1976; Diener et al., 1993), but the opposite result was found in the present study. Those newcomer Chinese immigrants who gained better education are likely to be unsatisfied with migrant lives, and also unwilling to stay in Japan for the long term. If their education were gained in home country and showed useless in Japan, it should be explained why their education is not transferrable.

Third, language proficiency is significant on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants, yet this indicator always associate with well-education and long term residency. If education could not help newcomer Chinese immigrants to improve their SWB, then it is necessary to illustrate how language help Chinese nationals to gain better life satisfaction and encourage them to settle down in Japan. Fourth, better employment status is disadvantageous to life satisfaction and job stability does not bring higher level of SWB to Chinese nationals in Japan. If economic capital cannot bring satisfaction to newcomer Chinese immigrants, why they decide to stay in Japan? The findings of quantitative study showed a new construction of Chinese immigrants’ sense of mental well-being in Japan, but without in-depth analyses and specific cases, some of these results are hard to understand. In this chapter, using the narratives from the 52 interviews
I conducted between 2012 and 2015, I am to provide some insights to these findings from the quantitative studies.

Among these 52 informants, most of them have been living in Japan for at least 3 years. They came to Japan between 1996 and 2012, entering with student or skilled professional visa status, and a few as dependents. At the time of the interview, 5 of them were already permanent residents and one has been naturalized. For these Chinese nationals, words such as “subjective well-being” and “life satisfaction” are rarely mentioned, some informants even said they barely thought about satisfaction in Japan before this interview. Thus, when I asked about their evaluation of lives in Japan, some informants considered for a long time and did not know how to answer. Some only said: “Well, I think the life here is fine, just so-so.” Then, I tried another way to ask their evaluation of migrant lives. From 1 to 10, these informants were asked to score their lives in Japan. This time I got significant answers: 12 informants gave 3-4 scores, 28 scored 5-6, and 10 evaluated their lives as 7-8, while only 2 gave the score as 9. Overall, nearly half of the informants scored satisfaction in their migrant lives (see Figure 6.1).

![Figure 6.1. Level of life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants (N=52)](image-url)
The life evaluation of these Chinese informants is related to their life experiences, social resources and social environments. To gain insight on the sense of well-being among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, this study aims to solve the puzzles by analyzing 4 points in their narratives: gender, education, language ability and employment status. As previous studies on SWB have found, men represented higher level of SWB than women (Haring, Stock and Okun, 1984). In the case of Japan, gender issues have been frequently mentioned in politics, workplace as well as household. For newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, they are also facing gender issues in company, school or even at home. With different cultural background and understanding of gender equality, how do newcomer Chinese immigrants face gender conflicts and overcome these obstacles through transnational activities? While speaking Japanese well can help newcomer Chinese immigrants gain better life satisfaction in Japan, better education presented the opposite effect. Why did education lose its positive function on SWB? Among newcomer Chinese immigrants, will different levels of life satisfaction show up between those who gained education in their home country and those who accepted education in the mainstream country? Moreover, despite unemployment being considered a reasonably common event that causes long-term depression (Clark et al., 2008; Lucas et al., 2003), better employment status indicates lower life satisfaction in the present study. Why is this situation true for Chinese immigrants in Japan, and why do these factors affect their sense of mental well-being?

6.1. The Reluctant Women Immigrants?

During recent decades, Chinese women among newcomers in Japan tend to pursue higher quality life and social status independently rather than old comers. Although there are a number of Chinese wives who moved to Japan through international marriage intermediary and need to rely on their own to sustain life, more and more newcomer Chinese women sought their own approach to migration through various visa status, such as student, dependent and skilled professional. Among Chinese nationals in Japan, the number of women is higher than men. Since 2006 to 2014, Chinese women in Japan jumped from 327,457 to 377,692, even though the number of Chinese men increased from 233,284 to 277,085, which is still less than the number of Chinese
women in Japan by about 100,000\textsuperscript{23}. As a significant immigrant group in Japan, Chinese women are also becoming important members of the labor force, their SWB affecting their migration process and willingness to stay in Japan, hence influencing the Japanese labor market. Yet, many Chinese female immigrants are still confronting difficulties to adapt to the host society. Among my informants, the process and situation of Chinese men in occupational niche are about the same as Japanese natives, while the cases of Chinese women are much more complicated than men.

Results of the quantitative study showed that there is no significant difference on life satisfaction between Chinese male and female immigrants, but women are less likely or willing to stay in Japan for the long term than men. When compared with other immigrant groups in Japan, Chinese female immigrants are less likely to be satisfied with their lives in Japan, even though many of them gained better human capital. Among these Chinese female respondents, single respondents show higher life satisfaction than married respondents, and well-educated respondents are less likely to be satisfied with their migrant lives. Similar findings showed up in my fieldwork with Chinese female immigrants in Tokyo and Shizuoka, those women who are entering Japan as dependents represented lower SWB rather than men. Therefore, most of them have to facing complicated difficulties such as language inability, social isolation and gender barriers since the beginning of migrant lives. Due to the particular social environment, these Chinese female immigrants find it hard to improve their psychological well-being in migration process.

\textit{Confronting Gender Barriers in Migrant Lives}

Before moving to Japan, some of these Chinese women have graduated from universities in China with Bachelor or Master degrees, and have even worked as white collar workers for several years. With different levels of human capital and socioeconomic capital, after their arrival in Japan, these Chinese women opened up their migration process with different goals and planning. Some for them aimed to take care of children and support their spouses, some still want to go to

\textsuperscript{23} Foreign student statistics, from Japanese Ministry of Justice. 
school or start their own business. Therefore, based on different backgrounds and motivations, their sense of well-being and adaptation process in Japan also represented diverse tendencies. Yuan Fang, age 52 at the time of interview, has been working in an IT corporation for over 15 years, her Chinese husband and two children are living together with her in Tokyo. Till I met her, she was still working as a temporary employee.

There are other Japanese natives who joined this company at the same time. We all started as one-year contract informal employees. After these years, most of them have already switched to other departments and have been promoted to formal employment, while I am still working as a temporary employee, and need to renew my contract every year. Maybe I will never have the chance to become a formal employee before I retire.

With linguistic advantages of Chinese and Japanese, Yuan Fang always does some document translation and business contact, whereas most of her Japanese female colleagues in the comprehensive service department are working on copies and document arrangement. Like normal Japanese employees, Yuan Fang could not escape from unpaid overtime work, so she barely enjoys dinner with her husband and children together, even at the weekend because Yuan Fang often gets calls from her boss asking her to get back to work.

I don’t mind working like other Japanese employees, it is their workplace culture, I understand that. It is just that when I am doing the same work and staying in this company for the same number of years as formal employees, it is hard for me to understand my temporary employment status.

The difference between formal and informal employment is not just the salary, but also welfare treatment including insurance, holidays and bonus. For instance, most of Yuan Fang’s former Japanese colleagues can get a bonus every year equivalent to twice their salary, but she never gets any because of her employment status. During these years, some Chinese corporate
women like Yuan Fang keep working in Japanese company as informal employees (or called Haken Shyain). Their economic status and promotion opportunities were limited due to the employment. These cases support the findings of Liu-Farrer (2011), who claimed that compared to men, corporate Chinese women have to face further complicated structural and cultural constraints in Japan, and their employment benefits are discounted and mobility prospects are constrained because of their gender (Liu-Farrer, 2011).

Yet, Yuan Fang is “lucky” because she entered the company after getting married and giving birth. For many young Chinese female employees aged between 20 and 35 in Japan, get married is a “risk” of unemployment, and giving birth could be the fuse of this risk. Li Xiumei, age 35, works in a manufacturing firm in Shizuoka. She gave birth right after getting married in 2013, and since that time, her position has become awkward:

> When I told my boss I was pregnant, he looked a little shocked at first, but soon after he said I can take child care leave (CCL) for a year and a half according to the policy. However, I really like my job and I don’t want to lose it, so I took only 14 weeks leave. I asked my mother to help with child care that year, so that it is easier for me to go back to work, but on the first day back to the company, I found that they have recruited a new girl, and she took all of my work during my CCL. My desk was there, all of my stuff was still at the same place, but my work never came back.

At first, Li Xiumei understood that her work needs to be taken over by someone else during her CCL, so she was really grateful to that fresh employee. But after a couple of weeks, she realized that her boss did not intend to distribute work back to her. Li Xiumei felt depressed for a long time because she has spent several years studying the Japanese language and gaining a master degree to get a stable job in Japan, but now all of the efforts seem in vain. She considered resigning but she could not give up the chance to work in Japan, so after discussing with her husband, Li Xiumei tried to submit an application to switch to other departments.

In addition to skilled professionals, even for Chinese female students in Japan, the gender barriers still exist. To pay for tuition and living expenses, many Chinese students work part-
time jobs (*Arubaito*) in Japan. Unlike full-time employment in corporations, part-time jobs do not provide benefits such as insurance or bonus, and it is easier to get fired or quit, so there should be much less institutional unfair treatment to Chinese students, especially Chinese female students. Yet, Wang Xiuying (27) quit her part-time job (*Arubaito*) from a restaurant at the first month of her pregnancy:

> I found this job in my first undergraduate year. I don’t want to be looked down by Japanese so I worked very hard, never late or asked for leave. But the day I found out about my pregnancy, I told my boss and said I could work for two more months, so that he can recruit a new guy and take the time to be familiar with the work. And then, you know what he said? He wanted me to work until nine months of my pregnancy...... His tone of voice was not kind like he was asking me to stay because this place needed me, but it completely sounded like an order, without any emotion, like I was a soldier who should serve this place. I felt humiliated and quit immediately...... Because my job was in the kitchen, can you imagine a nine-month pregnant woman standing in the kitchen and washing dishes for five hours without rest?

Wang Xiuying’s Chinese husband is a MA student who also needed to pay tuition himself. After she quit her job, her husband had no choice but to find a new job in the early morning. Even though he was already working in two part-time jobs, he needed more money to cover tuition for his wife and get ready for the coming baby. As for Chinese women in Japan, they are likely to confronting gender barriers and struggling with occupational constraints at workplaces. There are two main reasons that lead to this phenomenon: on the one hand, the homogeneity in Japan causes difficulties for Chinese immigrants to becoming to “insiders” from “outsiders”, even though they can gain occupational status as foreign labor force, it is still hard to be accepted by Japanese natives (which has already been proven by quantitative data in previous chapters). On the other hand, Chinese female immigrants generally encounter the risk of unemployment, this phenomenon being mainly due to the gender barriers in Japan. The “male breadwinner model” in Japan is oppressive for both men and women, keeping women from achieving lasting economic
stability and forcing men to sacrifice family time to the corporation. Moreover, since Japanese mothers are expected to be primary caretakers of the household, many women quit their regular jobs at marriage or upon childbirth and mostly return to work as irregular workers when their children are of school-age (cited in Roberts, 2011, P.573).

In recent years, some ideas to address this issue have also been criticized. Despite Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s hopes to have some Japanese companies expand CCL to three years in 2013, this call is upsetting some personnel departments because it runs counter to current programs that support working mothers and fathers.24 Meanwhile, Abe’s call has also met with complaints from working mothers who argue that they need greater support in returning to the office, such as priority in solving the problem of insufficient day care center and some also complain that it would be difficult for employees to return to work after leaving for several years because the loss of skills would be enormous and cannot be recovered easily. Thus, gender barriers, employment instability and pressure of child-raising strictly constrain the mental well-being of corporate Japanese women, as well as the foreign labor force in Japan.

**Being Housewives Overcome Marginalization**

In addition to students and skilled professionals, there is also a large number of Chinese women who entered Japan by dependent visa. According to Japanese foreign statistics 2014 from the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications25, there were 62,599 Chinese who came to Japan with dependent visas, making up 9.56 percent of the total Chinese nationals in Japan. Considering that generally married women represent low life satisfaction as the consequences of their particular migration trajectories and life experiences in Japan, newcomer Chinese immigrants who entered Japan with “spouse of Japanese” visa status will not be included in this study. Because of the strictly limited number of Chinese dependents among respondents, data analysis on the multicultural survey in Shizuoka 2009 was not able to reflect the level of

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SWB among Chinese dependents in Japan. Among the informants of my fieldwork, those who enter Japan with “dependent” visa status are mainly divided into two types based on their original human capital in China. The first type graduated from universities in China with Bachelor or Master degree and have even worked in white collar jobs for several years before coming to Japan; in contrast, the other type came to Japan with family visas and have never been to any big city before, lived in the countryside with poor economic status since they were born and some have not even graduated from high school. Meanwhile, women rather than men, is the overwhelming proportion in Chinese dependent immigrants. Among my informants, out of 14 who entered Japan with dependent visa, only 2 of them are men. Therefore, Chinese dependent immigrants’ evaluation of migrant lives and social adaptation are significantly represented by the level of well-being among Chinese women in Japan.

Disjuncture from Previous Life

In order to support partners’ education or business, many Chinese nationals, especially women decide to move abroad to live together with their family. Since the day these Chinese dependents enter Japan, their lives have been totally changed into a different scene. Yang Hua (32), graduated from university in 2009 with a Master Degree in Xiamen, China. She was able to find a good job in her hometown, but her husband planned to get a Ph.D. degree in a Japanese university, so Yang Hua gave up her former life in Xiamen and moved to Japan with her husband in 2010. For a couple of years, Yang Hua only stayed at home and went shopping by herself.

My husband stayed at the research room every day, he attended parties with classmates and professors sometimes, but I never joined him...... It would be embarrassing if I go there too, they all speak Japanese that I could not understand...... To me, life in Japan is a little boring, and I always feel Japan is too oppressive, the Japanese people, I never see them with any facial expression on the street, they moved like robots......
Before moving to Japan, Yang Hua thought she might be able to find a job by the education she gained in China, but soon she realized this idea was almost impossible. Once these dependents land in Japan, all their previous personal achievements have been left behind in China. Bao Rong (38) was a college teacher in Inner Mongolia and her husband went to Japan in 2000 to study medical science. One year later, Bao Rong quit her job and followed her husband to Japan with their 5-year-old son. Although her husband got a scholarship, it was still difficult to maintain the lives of three people. Therefore, Bao Rong began to work in a noodle restaurant:

I’ve never learned Japanese before, I was majoring in biology, all I could do in the restaurant was wash dishes and help make noodles. In the first two years, I was almost like dumb when I was working. The best thing I could do before was talking, teaching my students in the college, but now my personal life has suddenly changed into a totally different world. It is hard to get used to this life, nobody cares about my education and social status before, I am only a normal Chinese in the eyes of Japanese people, just a housewife, washing dishes every day.

Compared with life before, Bao Rong felt a little disappointed in her current life in Japan:

All my life is cooking at home, cleaning the house, then go to the restaurant to wash dishes. To be honest, nobody will like this life, but I have to do these things for my family, once my husband graduate and find a job, maybe it will be easier, I can stay at home and take care of our son.

For Chinese dependent immigrants, there are many obstacles in the path to participate in the Japanese labor market. Putting aside gender barriers and competition in the Japanese labor market, even if it is only for a part-time job, Japanese language ability is crucial. Many Chinese nationals could not even find a job to wash dishes because they were not able to make a telephone call in Japanese. Additionally, the regular job market in Japan is constrained by inaugural events, which mainly target graduates who usually start job searching one or two years before graduation.
Even if a Japanese native student takes a one-year break after graduation, it would be much more difficult for he/her to find a regular job compared to fresh graduates. As for Chinese full-time employees, only those who graduated from prestigious universities or those who have been working for Japanese-funded enterprises in China could obtain job opportunities in Japan through cooperation projects so they enter Japan with guaranteed employment contracts, otherwise, their educational background in China is hardly recognized by Japanese enterprises. Therefore, even though many Chinese female dependents have qualified education and work experiences before their arrival in Japan, their abilities are almost useless in the Japanese labor market, thereby leading to depression.

Additionally, the huge gap in social environment before and after migration also leads to negative perceptions among Chinese dependent immigrants in Japan. Among my informants, some of them were living in the Chinese countryside, have never been to big city before, and have already got used to a slow-paced life. After they migrated to Japan, especially to urban cities like Tokyo, the new environment quickly pulled them into a fast-paced life. Facing the huge change of social environment, some Chinese dependents quickly fell into social exclusion. According to my interviews with 14 dependents, most of them said they felt “oppressive” (Yayi) in Japan. Like Wu Minhua (28), she felt her marriage has turned into a rhythm just like Japanese drama shows:

*Every night my husband come back around 11pm, he always work overtime. I don’t have to prepare dinner for him, he can eat at the cafeteria, so sometimes I’m already asleep before he comes back. And then he goes out around 7am, from Monday to Friday so we barely talk over 10 words. Weekend is the only time we can stay together, but he always has to work on Saturday. On Sunday, he sleeps till the afternoon without eating anything because he said he is just so tired after work. So, you see, this is my marriage, pretty like Japanese couples, right?*

Due to the uselessness of former human capital, many female Chinese dependents have no choice but stay at home as housewives. This kind of isolated life leads them to be excluded from Japanese society not just physically, but also psychologically. Through the internet, most of my
informants frequently chat with their families and friends in China, which is helpful to them to express oppressive emotions, but this deteriorates to their estrangement of mainstream society. Thus, unlike students or full-time employees, the social contact of Chinese dependents in Japan are cut off as a result of their particular lifestyles, the shortage of language proficiency causing their inability to establish communication with Japanese natives. At the same time, it is hard to break through the obstacle of language due to the lack of social network within Japanese society. Since these two situations cross-impact each other, Chinese dependent immigrants quickly fall into social marginalization in Japan.

**Raising Children as the Most Important Objective**

Influenced by isolated migrant lifestyle and the model of household division of labor in Japan, for many Chinese dependents with children in Japan, child-raising becomes the most important “career” for them. As antecessors of the one-child policy since 1980s, many Chinese who were born in 1980s and 1990s have experienced attentive care by parents during their childhood. In recent decades, material conditions in China have significantly improved. As a new generation of parents, these Chinese nationals are committed to show much more meticulous care to their children. The same phenomenon is also seen among newcomer Chinese immigrants. In particular, when Japan’s baby products and education gained high reputation in recent years, more and more Chinese immigrants began to take Japan as the ideal country for raising children. As the quantitative study showed previously, married Chinese nationals in Japan are less likely to be satisfied with their migrant life, but they are more likely to stay in Japan for the long term. This could be explained by these newcomer Chinese parents’ plan for their children’s education.

In 2014, I joined a “New Mothers Communication Group” in Tokyo International Exchange Center. In this group, there are 12 Chinese female members aged from 24 to 32, most of their children are aged between only a couple of months to 5 years old and their husbands are mainly skilled professionals, researchers or graduate students in Tokyo. Yang Hua (32) was the organizer of this group, she was in charge of managing a communication chat group on Weixin, and organized offline activities at least once a month. Yang Hua has a one-year-old son and her life revolves basically around him:
I am so glad to have him, before he was born, my only relative in Japan is my husband, and he is always busy with his research. Now I have this baby, he made my life totally changed. With him, I feel much happier than before, every day I am around him changing diapers, feeding milk, taking him out for walks. I also organized this mother group because of him, so that he can know more friends here, and I can also exchange parenting experiences with other mothers.

Even though having a baby can significantly improve happiness among newcomer Chinese mothers, when compared to other parents in China at the same age, this migrant mothers still represented pressure of childcare, like Yang Hua said:

In China today, almost all young parents like me let their parents help with raising children, or let them live together so that the grandparents can help with parenting. My mother-in-law also came to help me a couple of months before, but Immigration Bureau only issued visa for three months and you can extend the three-month period of stay for only once, then your parents need to go back to China and cannot apply for visa again within six months. So now I need to take care of my son by myself, it is much more exhausting than part time job, especially when your baby is still small, you may not be able to sleep over 3 hours every day.

During my fieldwork, some newcomer Chinese mothers believed that having children can let them get more opportunities to communicate with Japanese such as sending baby to day-care or letting children go to school, or even just taking baby out for a walk, they believed it is a good opportunity to adapt to Japanese society for both children and themselves. For those Chinese mothers who can speak Japanese well, they are more likely to communicate with Japanese, but for some Chinese mothers who can barely speak Japanese, they felt more stressful to talk with Japanese than other immigrants, like Wang Fang (30) said:
I have never learned Japanese before I came here, so I always avoid talking to Japanese when I go out. This year my husband wants to send our baby to nursery school, but he is so busy at work, so I need to take our daughter there every day. The teachers need to tell parents about the baby’s situation, and there are so many activities needing parents to attend in nursery school. I always feel embarrassed because I cannot understand what they saying and what I need to do, and when we attend the activities, other Japanese mothers always talk about parenting experiences together, but I cannot join them, I always feel like a fool standing aside.

Due to the lack of language proficiency, some newcomer Chinese mothers find it difficult to adapt to Japanese society, however, almost all of these mother immigrants want to stay in Japan for the long term. “Everything is for the children”, this answer came up frequently from my informants. For these newcomer Chinese mothers, they all want their children to live in better environment with flawless public facilities and high education quality. Personal perceptions and life satisfaction are not more important than their children, even though some married Chinese immigrants represented low level of life satisfaction in my fieldwork, they still would like to stay in Japan for their children’s education.

**From Self-Isolator to Business Owner in International Market**

Among Chinese dependents in Japan, many of them have experienced disjuncture from previous life, some others also felt hard to adapt to Japanese society due to the visa status and huge gap between their lives before and after migration. Those Chinese dependents fell into low level of socioeconomic status and life satisfaction, however the situation showed some differences in recent years. In my quantitative study, there is no evidence to show that better economic status associate with upward SWB among Chinese female immigrants in Japan. Yet my interview with Chinese women still reflect that they strive hard to improve economic status through different ways, which is also beneficial to their psychological well-being as immigrants in Japan.

According to my fieldwork with newcomer Chinese mothers, 9 out of 14 of them are doing procurement service of Japanese products, which is becoming a popular business model in China.
called “Daigou”. These Chinese immigrants use Taobao website or Weixin as platform to display Japanese products to sell to customers in China. As I have mentioned before, Japanese products such as electronic products, cosmetic and baby products have gained a high reputation in the Chinese market and many Chinese prefer to spend more money on “Made in Japan”. Therefore, some Chinese immigrants started up their business in the international market through procurement service. Especially for those Chinese dependents in Japan, they have more free time than other immigrants such as skilled professionals and students, so they can easily establish their own business and manage it. Moreover, there is no language proficiency requirement in procurement service so many Chinese dependents can earn money in the Chinese market instead of washing dishes and cleaning toilets in Japan. Then it can greatly improve their life satisfaction as immigrants.

When I met Li Jing (32) in Tokyo, she has been involved in procurement service of Japanese products for over a year, since 2013. She was working as a bank employee in Chongqing, since 2006, to support her husband’s career. Li Jing moved to Japan with dependent visa.

My husband said his salary is enough for our living, so I don’t have to go out to work. But without friends and other dependents here, the life in Japan is really boring…… I remember it was 2013, one of my friends in China asked if I could buy some cosmetic products from Japan and mail to her. After I did that favor for her, more and more friends and acquaintances in China asked me to buy Japanese products, so I thought maybe I could establish my own business. I can use Weixin to display those products so there is no operating cost basically. Now I sell lots of Japanese products to China including clothes, cosmetic and baby product. My life has become busier than before, sometimes even busier than my husband.

By opening up new business in the Chinese market, Li Jing felt she is much more “happier” (Kaixin) than before:

The most important thing for me is I can talk to Chinese customers on the internet
every day. I was depressed over my poor Japanese language ability before, but now I
don’t have to speak Japanese, and I can earn money, it is really great.

Besides overcoming the language problem, the procurement service also has significant
effect to reduce stress for some Chinese mothers in both economic and emotional aspects. For
instance, although Wang Fang’s husband has a stable job in a Japanese enterprise, her mother-in-
law still felt unsatisfied with her dependent residency in Japan:

She always asked me if I would like to find a job when we use QQ to video chat. I
know she doesn’t like to see me rely on her son, she thought I should also earn money
for this family, so I tried to do part time job before in a fast food restaurant, but it was
too dirty and tiring, and the wage was only 800 yen per hour. I barely earned 70,000
yen a month at that time, and this money could not even pay our house rent.

Since 2014, Wang Fang started her business on Weixin. She found a partner in China to help
her with display and customer service so she soon opened up the market in China. By the time I
interviewed her, she has already earned over 180,000 yen per month.

I was just trying to prove myself to my mother-in-law, now she never say such things
anymore, I feel much more relaxed because I don’t have to listen to her complaint, and
it is also good for me, with the income from this business, I don’t have to ask my
husband for allowance, I can go shopping and buy clothes and bags, and I only have
to work three days every week, I feel satisfied with my life now.

For those newcomer Chinese dependents in Japan, the business of procurement service
helped them to gain better economic status even without language proficiency. Although they
may still be isolated from Japanese society due to lack of communication with Japanese, their
zero-cost business still make them feel more satisfied with their migrant life than before. In
addition, by exploring business in China, these Chinese dependents who suffered disjunctive in Japan before, were finally able to gain back their socioeconomic status. Also they are more likely to engage in the international market through procurement service of Japanese products, thereby their life satisfaction can be improved than before, which also enhance their willingness to stay in Japan.

6.2. Good Education, Poor Competitiveness

With the upward trend in studying abroad during recent decades, many Chinese residents believe that gaining better education in other countries can make them become more “valuable” in both the Chinese and foreign labor markets. As a convenient country with close proximity and looser immigration restrictions than North America and Europe, Japan became an ideal country for many Chinese immigrants. As at 2014, there were 105,557 Chinese residents staying in Japan as students.26 According to my quantitative study in Shizuoka prefecture, compared to other visa status, the largest proportion of well-educated (graduated from professional school or university) among Chinese respondents comes from students (92.59 percent), whereas the lowest level of life satisfaction also comes from students (29.63 percent).

There are several potential reasons for this phenomenon. First, like the cases of Chinese dependent immigrants in Japan, many Chinese students have already obtained an education before entering Japan. However, their previous academic abilities are hardly recognized by Japanese schools and labor market due to the disadvantages of language proficiency and bad reputation of some universities in China. Second, because of the significant gap of price level between Japan and China, many Chinese students need to engage in part-time jobs even though they have financial support from families. Previous research on Chinese immigrants in Japan has shown that many Chinese who entered Japan with student visa actually went to Japanese language schools. Due to the expensive tuition and limited qualification of these schools, a large number of Chinese students had to do long-hours part-time jobs every day so they were too exhausted to

study, and most of them finally overstayed or went to professional schools to continue their education. For these Chinese students, they were more like unskilled workers in Japan (Liu-Farrer 2011). From this perspective, it is easy to interpret their social environment and understand their expression of poor life satisfaction.

Third, for many Chinese students, gaining an education in Japan is just the first step as most of them aim to obtain regular employment in the Japanese labor market right after graduation. Yet, as a result of the rapid increase in the number of Chinese students in Japan, the competition in the labor market has become fiercer than before. Chinese students have to compete with not only Japanese natives, but also compatriots. Further, job-seeking for graduates generally last for a year. In order to obtain an offer, job seekers have to follow the normal procedure at the company information session, resume submission, twice written examinations, three times interviews, and all of these steps are only for one firm. Normally graduates try for over five companies at the same time, which is a dual strain physically and mentally to job seekers, especially foreign students, due to the economic burden and strict visa validity.

In my fieldwork with 52 newcomer Chinese immigrants, 38 of them entered Japan with student visa. Many of these students already have a Bachelor degree or 3-year college degree, and they were pursuing Master or Ph.D. degrees in Japanese universities. Among the 38 informants, 16 have obtained Bachelor degrees in Japan, 19 studied as Master students and 3 were studying for Ph.D. At the time of the interviews, 19 of them were still staying in Japan as students, 13 have already got jobs in Japan right after graduation, 2 were married and changed into dependent visa status, 5 became permanent residents, and one informant obtained Japanese nationality. Based on their interview contents, I will try to analyze their narratives and see what affect their perceptions in Japan.

Among my informants, Chinese students in Japan can be divided into two groups. One group includes a small number of undergraduate and MA students. They are representative of Chinese students in Japan. Most of them have to work two low-paying jobs to fund their course fees and thus have no time for social activities; they often work long hours in addition to studying, and some students save money for further courses (Liu-Farrer 2011). These students usually work in catering and cleaning and suffer racial discrimination by Japanese. For undergraduate students among Chinese immigrants in Japan, they have to face the double situation of both
student and unskilled workers living under lower socioeconomic status. Yet, these undergraduate and MA students only taking a small proportion in my student interviewees.

Another group which includes other undergraduate students, MA and PhD students live in Japan under different circumstances. During recent decades, the trend towards younger Chinese students going abroad continued with strong growth indicators for university even secondary school enrolment abroad, this phenomenon is being driven both by the ongoing strength of the Chinese economy – and the corresponding expansion of the country’s middle class – and by demand among Chinese families for an alternative to the rigorous rote-based learning of the domestic system.27 With China now having overtaken Japan as the world’s second-largest economy, the new generation of Chinese students coming to Japan are more affluent and aspirational, many are entering Japan with scholarships from universities or supported financially by their parents and do not require part-time jobs to get by.28 Among those informants in my fieldwork, even though some of them still need to do part-time jobs for living expenses, it did not take too much time in their daily life. Their lives in Japan are much easier than the former student immigrants. Sun Jian (31), came to Japan in 2005 and now works in an IT company in Tokyo. He moved to Japan as a student and learned Japanese in a language school for two years, after which he was admitted to Keio University and obtained a MA degree majoring in Scientific Management. When he talked about the reason why he chose to come to Japan at first, he told me as follows:

*I studied IT when I was a undergraduate student and at that time, there were lots of Japanese outsourcing companies that came to our school and said they could teach us Japanese and offer us jobs. But I thought it would be better to work in Japan rather than use Japanese and work in China, because the Japanese electronics industry is relatively advanced. I told my parents about this idea, they didn’t oppose me too*

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much, so I got some money from them and came here (Tokyo).

The tuition of a language school in Japan is more expensive than Chinese universities averaging around 360,000 yen per term. Many Chinese students, especially those who came to Japan before 2000s, need to pay for it by doing part-time jobs, some of them even worked around 18 hours per day (Liu-Farrer 2011). However, Sun Jian only did one part-time job in a supermarket for only 3-5 hours per day during his time in the language school since his parents paid almost all the tuition and living expenses for him. He did the part-time job because he wanted some pocket money. It was the same situation in the case of Wang Xin (26) who moved to Japan in 2012 with over 600,000 yen given by his parents. The tuition of a research student in Japanese university is around 180,000 yen per term, so he had money left to live in Japan for almost 6 months.

My parents don’t want me to do any part-time job before I go to graduate school, they are afraid that the work may distract me. Every time we chat on QQ video, they keep asking me about my studies, whether I am studying hard, every time I answer with totally the same words like, I am trying and I am studying hard.

However, Wang Xin’s life as a research student was not going well. In 2013, Wang Xin could not be admitted to graduate school, so he changed to another supervisor to stay in a Japanese university as a research student for one more year, and asked for money from family again. Before the entrance examination of graduate school, he almost played video games every night. When he showed me his dormitory in university for the first time, his computer was displaying Guo Degang’s crosstalk (a famous comic artist in China).

I wasn’t admitted to graduate school the first time. But I think it is because my supervisor had complaints about me, he told me directly that he could not accept me as his graduate student. He even doesn’t let me chew gum in the research room, you know, one day when he came to talk to me, I was chewing gum, when we finished...
conversation, he said to me before he left: “Wang san, don’t chew gum in front of me next time.” Why?

In the first year when Wang Xin joined his supervisor’s research as a research student, his professor gave him a desk to study so he stayed there with other graduate students. Wang Xin was the only foreign student in that research room at first, he like to listen music so he was wearing earphones all day long. He never turned his iPhone into silent model because he said “nobody would do that in China”. Six months later, his supervisor accepted another Chinese research student, in the end, his professor only let that Chinese student passed the entrance examination. By the time I finished interview with Wang Xin in 2014, he has changed another supervisor in the same university and ready for the entrance exam one more time, with financial support from his parents. He still never did any part-time job in Japan. He believed that his former supervisor did not like him only because he could not speak Japanese well. Actually, Wang Xin is not a unique case among Chinese students in Japan, several Chinese informants who were born in late 1980s and 1990s and moved to Japan as students in recent years are more likely to complain about unfair treatment in Japan rather than informants of other ages. Bai Yang (26), a woman who moved to Japan in 2009, talked about this phenomenon among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan:

Now the time is different, young Chinese residents are living in a totally different situation here, their mentality has also changed. In the 1980s, Chinese who came to Japan never pick jobs, they were fine to do anything, they even felt satisfied to wash dishes in a restaurant, because they needed money, only jobs can give them living guarantee. But you see those young Chinese who came to Japan in recent years, if you let them wash dishes or do cleaning jobs, they will complain that it is dirty or they are tired, or think these kinds of job make them lose face.

The cases of Wang Xin, as well as Sun Jian, reflect several differences between newcomer and oldcomer Chinese student immigrants. First, the motivation of newcomer students is
becoming fuzzier than before, many of them did not carry the responsibility to feed all family members or make the “dream” of studying abroad come true. Actually many young Chinese students enter Japan because their parents hope they will get better education in Japan with Master degree or even Ph.D. They believe higher education is the guarantee of stable job and generous salary; some of my informants chose to migrate to Japan just because they love Japanese comics, some of them are even fans of Japanese idol groups, the “great goal” to them in Japan is to meet a superstar or participate into cosplay. Second, as a result of being sent out by their parents, young Chinese students generally get financial support from their families from the first day of their arrival to Japan. Although many of my informants still have to do part-time jobs to pay for living expenses and tuition because their parents’ salaries cannot support Japan’s high prices, they are still living much more easier than former immigrants who may need to bear living expenses not just for themselves but also for their families back in China. A large number of Chinese young residents like Wang Xin grew up under the only-child policy in China, they are the first generation of only children who were treated as small emperor and princess, living in a domestic small circle of people. Some public opinion claimed that it causes fragile personality in this generation, young Chinese hardly get used to social life and find it difficult to handle complex relations with other people; however, some public opinion also believed that these consequences came from the problematic education.29

Third, compared with earlier Chinese nationals in Japan, newcomer Chinese could gather more information before migration. Many oldcomers who came to Japan before 1980s chose the way of smuggling or usurious loans because they did not know other channels like how to apply for visa and scholarship or contact with Japanese apartment and schools. For newcomer Chinese immigrants, gathering this information became much easier as they can visit websites such as “Xiaochun” and “Liuyuan”. There is a large number of Chinese immigrants (also including some oldcomers) in Japan who like to share their experiences with newcomers. If these newcomer Chinese have detailed questions, they can even ask antecessors straight through chat software such as QQ, Weibo and Webchat, which were never used by oldcomers before 1980s.

Yet, the convenience of the internet can be a double-edged sword. With the internet, newcomer Chinese immigrants can collect information more easily to help them live in Japan, but their dependence on internet and frequency of contact with relatives and friends in China easily make them fall into social exclusion. They rely on the internet to chat with friends and families, the outcome of which is less opportunities to communicate with Japanese people. Even though financial support by families may help them avoid discrimination in low-wage jobs, it also results in social exclusion among these young Chinese immigrants. Based on my qualitative study, financial support and information resources failed to show significant impact on Chinese students’ life satisfaction in Japan. However, with limited social capital, many newcomer Chinese students feel it is difficult to establish their own social network in Japan. They were used to being taken care of by their parents in everything so when they suddenly come to a different country and have to be independent, some of them found it difficult to adapt to the host country.

The life experiences and social environment of Chinese student immigrants have reflected the difficulties to adapt to Japanese society. However, these are interpretations of how social capital affects immigrants’ perceptions, while the reason of why education itself had a negative impact on SWB among Chinese student immigrants remains unknown. In order to solve this puzzle, two points should be noted: as the cases of dependent immigrants showed, previous education in China are hardly recognized in the Japanese labor market, thereby the location to get educated is significantly important to Chinese student immigrants’ sense of mental well-being in Japan.

In addition, job markets in both Japan and China are becoming harsher to Chinese student immigrants than before. As a major resource of skilled professionals, many Chinese students are following specific job searching paths to enter the Japanese labor market. Even though dual linguistic proficiency may help them to gain advantages in international business positions, so far full-time employment opportunities for foreign students in Japan are still much less than for Japanese natives. Also, well-educated graduates do not always take superiority over others. Instead of MA or Ph.D. graduates, many Japanese enterprises are more likely to recruit undergraduates. This is because the levels of payroll standard are different between undergraduates and graduates, but for most full-time employment positions in Japan, their hiring standards emphases more on personality, teamwork ability, and loyalty to company than
education level. After getting hired, all fresh employees will be trained before being allocated to different departments, so if a job can be done by undergraduates, then there is no need for a Japanese firm to spend more money to hire a MA or Ph.D. graduate. Moreover, the job searching process is exhausting. Generally university students started to find job at least one year before graduation, and it is much more tormenting for foreign students because of economic and time pressure.

Li Yang (23) showed up in a café in the afternoon with a formal suit and black bag. Before the day I met him, we spent two weeks to schedule the interview as he was busy joining numerous company information sessions. It was his fourth year of undergraduate program so he needed to find a job before graduation or else he would have to go back to China. When we finally met in a café, he just came out from a company information session, and he had not eaten anything for almost the whole day.

Even though I get up around 6am, I can still only catch one or two job fairs a day, it’s been 4 months but I still haven’t pass the written examination of any company. It may be easy for foreign students to find a job in Japan a couple of years ago, but now there are too many Chinese here, the competition is much more intense than before...... I also thought about going back to find a job in China, but my major is biology, the pharmaceutical companies in Japan would be more suitable for me, I don’t want to waste my four years knowledge accumulation.

To many undergraduate students in Japan like Li Yang, they have spent almost six years (most of the undergraduate students went into language school before university) and lots of money for tuition and living expenses (at least 1,000,000 yen every year) to get the education, after all, it is the only capital they get from this country, they hope to find a stable job in Japan and extend their migration strategies. By contrast, most Chinese immigrants who are research students and graduate students stay in Japan for only two or three years, especially those who have work experiences before moving to Japan and are more likely to use their network resources in China. Yet, one important reason for them to give up the opportunity to work in Japan, is the
miscellaneous process of job searching in Japan. Wang Jun (30) tried to find job in Japan before getting a Master degree from graduate school, but he quickly gave up in two months.

Did you ever experience the job fairs in Japan? Before you attend any job fairs, you need to fill the resume on different companies’ website, and you have to answer hundreds of questions besides personal resumes. They will question you about your purpose, outlook and plan, they even have some specific questions for you like a kind of psychological test. I have been driven crazy just by these endless questions, even you are so lucky to survive in resume selection, there are still a number of information sessions, written examinations and interviews waiting for you.

After more than 8 times resume submission without any positive responses, Wang Jun gave up in two months and decided to go back to China, “I don’t know if I can find a better job in China, but at least it would be much easier to get a job back there, you just need to take one or two interviews and you can start work within a month”. Being tired of job hunting in Japan, some Chinese students decide to go back. Yet, it is not easy to these Chinese students to find jobs back in home country. Xu Huijuan (27), who was studying for a Master degree in Tokyo, said this:

It might be easy for earlier Chinese immigrants to find better jobs when they go back with foreign education, but now there are too many Chinese going to study abroad, we are not “sea turtle” (Haigui) anymore, we are “Kelp” (Haidai)\(^{30}\), the enterprises in China would compare us with other Chinese who get education from the U.S. or European countries, and in Japan, the enterprises are willing to hire undergraduate students rather than MA or PhD students. Higher education is no more valuable than before.

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Xu Huijuan felt depressed when I interviewed her. She would soon graduate with a MA degree, but she was struggling to make a choice between staying in Japan and going back to China. She tried to submit her resume to nearly 10 enterprises in Tokyo, but none of them let her pass the first stage examination. She also considered going back to China, but the competition in the Chinese labor market is as fierce as in Japan. Some other student informants in my fieldwork also highlighted similar concerns.

As to why it is so difficult for oversea students to obtain a job back in China, one factor is the massive craze of overseas studies in China. After being “gold-plating” (Dujin) outside, many Chinese graduates go back home and gain job opportunities because of their overseas education. Due to the qualification of schools and English proficiency, Chinese students back from the U.S. and European countries are more popular to many enterprises than those who studied in Japan. Additionally, frequent occurrence of academic fraud in recent years also reduced the credibility of Chinese oversea students. Many Chinese enterprises are being more cautious in hiring oversea students. For newcomer Chinese students in Japan, even with a good education, they are likely to encounter job searching difficulties than former immigrants. Economic capital and personal career planning are more important in influencing their decision making. This finding also supported the results of the quantitative research in the last chapter: newcomer Chinese students in Japan represent lower life satisfaction than other Chinese residents, and education was not able to have a positive impact on life satisfaction in Japan.

6.3. Gain Better Socioeconomic Status through Language Proficiency

Language proficiency is a barrier which separates immigrants from natives in terms of both economic and social outcomes (Guven and Islam, 2013). Strong language skills increase the range and quality of jobs that immigrants are considered for. The language barrier may also limit the


jobs which are available to immigrants, either because employers are unwilling to hire the immigrants or by restricting the immigrants’ access to applications for higher earning roles. In addition, language skills are necessary for immigrants to be able to adjust to cultural differences (Guven and Islam, 2013).

Explore Development Path through Language Skill

Previous studies have attempted to measure the differences in socioeconomic outcomes in immigrants as a result of language skills. Many of these studies attempted to determine the relationship between language skills and earnings, but failed to address the endogeneity in this relationship (Tainer, 1988; Chiswick and Miller, 2001). An improvement in an immigrant’s ability to speak the host country language enables them to communicate with their fellow colleagues and customers, thus increasing their productivity, as well as opening up new opportunities as their fluency improves (Borjas, 1990).

This argument has also been examined in the quantitative study on multicultural survey in Shizuoka prefecture. When demographic characteristics and socioeconomic factors were controlled for, language proficiency still showed a strong positive impact on life satisfaction and willingness to stay in Japan among newcomer Chinese immigrants. For Chinese skilled professionals, language proficiency is the first qualification for them to gain a job in Japanese enterprises. In addition, for Chinese student migrants, language is not only the basic qualification to enable them to gain better education, but also an important requirement for them to engage in the Japanese labor market and social network. Like Zheng Yan (25) said:

If you want to find a good university in Japan, you need to pass the language test first. If you need to do a part-time job to pay for tuition and living expenses, then language is still the most important qualification. Without it, you can only wash dishes or clean the floors and toilets, but if you can speak Japanese well, you may even be able to find a part-time job in the office just like a regular employee.
In 2006, Zheng Yan was admitted to a three-year college in Shandong. She was majoring in Japanese language, and the college had a counterpart project with a private university in Tokyo. Once the students got the Level 2 qualification in the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT), they could go to Japan to become undergraduate students. Zheng Yan took this opportunity and moved to Japan in 2009. With 400,000 yen primary financial support from her mother, Zheng Yan started her student migrant life. However, her mother ran a small shop in their hometown in Hubei of which the profits could not pay for Zheng Yan’s expensive tuition and living expenses. So after a couple of months since moving to Japan, with Japanese proficiency, Zheng Yan was able to find a part-time job in a ramen restaurant. “It is nice because if I continuous working for 6 hours, I can have a free lunch. I always eat Oumori (extra size)”, she laughed.

Like Zheng Yan, many Chinese student migrants already realized the importance of language proficiency since the first day they entered Japan. Wang Chao (36) came to Japan as a language school student in 2007. After studying Japanese language for one year, he went to a national university and got a master degree. Then he was “smoothly” hired by a Japanese company, but after three years, he felt a little bored and tried to do something else:

*Since the first year I did part time job in Japan, I realized it is important to speak Japanese well, without it, I cannot understand what people are talking about, it will be difficult to live here.*

Therefore, Wang Chao studied Japanese hard and after two years, he could already speak Japanese fluently.

*I know how important it is to accumulate social resources, so I tried to make friends everywhere, no matter Japanese or Chinese, it did help me a lot. I got lots of useful information, some friends who own restaurant or bar even asked me to join as partner.*
With wide social contacts and financial savings from working, Wang Chao easily assimilated into Japanese society. He kept contact with Japanese friends, always bringing them Chinese local products, and joining the “nomikai” with Japanese colleagues frequently. Through drinking after work, he also knew some Japanese doing business, therefore he could get a lot of information. One of his Japanese friends owned a restaurant and will move to Nagoya soon, so he asked Wang Chao whether he would like to take it over. Wang Chao thought it was a good opportunity. So he quit his job in 2013, and took over the friend’s restaurant. Right now he has become a businessman in Japan. Through these years, Wang Chao successfully accumulated human resources. Language proficiency not only helped him cross the cultural barrier, but also helped him to gain more social and economic opportunities. This result indicates that language proficiency play an important role in the process of social assimilation. Newcomer Chinese immigrants who have Japanese proficiency increase their satisfaction with life.

Grab Opportunities for Integrating into the Host Society

Language skills can help newcomer Chinese immigrants gain better education and economic status in Japan. Also, I found that Japanese proficiency represented significant impact on Chinese residents’ perceptions of Japanese society during my interviews. As an undergraduate student, Zheng Yan has many classmates who are Japanese natives, however her memory about life in Japan and communication with Japanese people are almost from the ramen restaurant.

My boss let me work as a waitress since the first day because I speak Japanese better than other Chinese staff, so I can meet various Japanese people in the restaurant. Some of them are nice, but there are also some weird people…… Just a couple of days ago, three Japanese old men came in. Our restaurant is the kind that you need to buy the ticket at the entrance before sitting down. When they were choosing the menu, they saw my boss’s name card with a Chinese surname, so they said they wanted to eat “Japanese ramen”, not “Chinese ramen”. My boss felt weird, but he just replied that this is a Japanese ramen restaurant. Don’t you think they were finding fault with us saying something like they don’t want to eat Chinese noodles?
However, Zheng Yan also said not all Japanese are likely to “find fault” (Zhaocha), she can also meet some really nice Japanese who are polite and quiet:

*There are many Japanese customers who look really nice, like there is a granny who always come in the afternoon when the weather is not so good. His hair is combed meticulously and he uses crutches. He doesn’t know how to buy a ticket, but he never calls us, just wait there quietly, I always help him to get the ticket and he thanks me every time. He eats ramen really slowly, but when he left, his table is always clean. A very traditional Japanese man, I really like him. I will quit here soon because I am going to graduate, sometimes I am afraid he would be treated badly by the new waitress.*

Unlike Zheng Yan, Chinese immigrants who lack Japanese language proficiency tend to have a negative impression of Japanese society. For instance, Wang Hua (35) followed his student wife to Japan in 2010. Due to language difficulties, Wang Hua only talked to his wife, he barely went out for shopping or communicated with any Japanese people. Six months later, in order to support his wife’s study, he was introduced to a job in a Japanese restaurant by his wife, but he only worked for two months before quitting suddenly because he got into conflict with Japanese:

*I couldn’t speak Japanese, so I never talked in the restaurant. Sometimes other Japanese working in the kitchen came by and talked to me. All I could show was a confused face because I really didn’t know what they were talking about. Then they laughed, that made me embarrassed, something like this happened several times, then one day I was upset and got into a fight with one guy, so I quit my job that day.*
Even though Wang Hua realized learning Japanese would be helpful, he refused to go to language school: “the tuition is so expensive, my wife is still a student, so it is impossible for both of us to go to school. I tried to borrow language books, but I found out I have no interest to learn Japanese. I also don’t like to communicate with Japanese, they are always looking down on me, I don’t care if I could only talk to my wife at home.” Perceptions of racial discrimination and negative impression of Japanese are consequences of lack of language skills among newcomer Chinese immigrants, especially for dependents. They are more likely to claim discrimination by Japanese and dissatisfaction with their migrant life.

Despite some Chinese immigrants like Wang Hua who complained about Japanese attitudes toward Chinese nationals in Japan due to their limited language proficiency, there are more Chinese immigrants like Zheng Yan who represented more complicated attitudes toward Japanese people with both positive and negative impressions. According to my fieldwork with newcomer Chinese immigrants, especially students in Japan, most of their experiences of communicating with Japanese people are in their part-time jobs. I found that for those Chinese immigrants who can speak Japanese well, no matter skilled professionals or students, they represent better impression of Japanese people than other immigrants.

6.4. Standard of Life Satisfaction: Compare to Who?

As an important domain of life, economic capital was considered to significantly affect SWB among immigrants, even though the significance may disappear during the long term migration process (Kahneman et al., 2006; Nowok et al., 2011). Meanwhile, Social Comparison Theory is widely used to investigate effects on SWB in previous research. In foundational theories, immigrants evaluating their job and social positions refer to the occupational status and social organization of their home country (Piore, 1979; Stark, 1991). However, recent studies on immigrant transnationalism argues that immigrants do not only compare their situation with one single group, during the migration process, those immigrants may compare themselves to both relatives in their homeland and natives in the destination countries (Basch, Glick and Blanc, 1994). By examining these two different theories, Gelatt examined the interaction between social standing and SWB. She found that the relationship between various measures of subjective social
standing and SWB suggests that immigrants maintain simultaneous reference groups in both the United States and the country of origin, supporting transnational theories, and refuting earlier theories (Gelatt, 2013).

Employing quantitative data, the present study found that economic capital represented a negative impact on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants and regular employment could not improve respondents’ level of life satisfaction. Yet, according to Social Comparison Theory, which reference group do Chinese immigrants compare to was not revealed in the quantitative study. Therefore, my interviews with newcomer Chinese immigrants aim to find out why a negative effect showed up on economic capital, and whether they compare themselves to Chinese natives in their home country or Japanese natives, thus influencing their sense of well-being.

Although Chinese nationals are engaged in various occupations in Japan, their employment status is still mainly determined by visa status. For instance, due to the limitation of labor time and strict boundaries of entering full-time employment in Japan, most of the Chinese students and dependent immigrants are undertaking unskilled or low skilled work, while skilled professionals generally get regular employment. In previous sections, it has been shown that dependent immigrants, especially female dependents find it hard to gain better SWB because of the linguistic disadvantages, gender inequality and uselessness of education obtained in home country; also students generally confronted with competition with Japanese native graduates and poor credibility of their own education in both host and home labor market. Despite the stable employment status, newcomer Chinese immigrants who are staying in Japan with full-time employment still generally represent low level of life satisfaction. One important reason, according to the description by my informants, is specific workplace culture and limited promotion path in Japan.

Zhang Yi (33), a regular employee in an IT corporation in Tokyo started his migrant life in Japan since undergraduate days. After graduating from a university in Tokyo with a MA degree, he got his present job through conventional job searching path in Japan. With over ten years living in Japan, Zhang Yi has assimilated into Japanese society, yet he still feels difficulties in adapting to Japanese workplace culture, especially overtime working:
I submitted my resume to this corporation at first because they propagated a company culture that provide employees a free and humane welfare system. Before I signed the contract, I also confirmed with HR that there is no need to work overtime every day, however, this is not true. Till now, I have been working in this company for nearly five years, but almost never get home before 9 pm.

There are only two foreign employees in Zhang Yi’s department. Even though the company never clearly asks them to work overtime, the Japanese employees never get off work on time. “Zangyou”, meaning overtime work in Japanese, seems like an unspoken rule in the regular labor market nowadays. If Zhang Yi tried to get off work on time, it made him look lazier than others and so fall into an awkward position in his department.

The worst thing is, they (Japanese employees) never seen this as “Zangyou”. Generally the schedule of our shifts is from 9:00-18:00, but there are always meetings starting from 18:00, and nobody ever expressed surprise or discontent. Before I got married, it was fine, but now my wife and daughter are waiting for me at home every night. I want to go back and have dinner with them, but I am never able to realize it except on Sundays.

Working overtime is not the only aspect that makes Chinese regular employees feel difficulties in adapting, the oppressive social environment also impact their perceptions. Wei Min’s migration process in Japan is exactly representative of the Chinese labor migration pace: graduate from three-year college in China, two-year language school in Japan, four-year university and finally a job in an IT company. He did several part-time jobs during his student life. The first one was working in a fridge factory 4 days a week from 7pm to 5am; he also worked in a corner store 4 days a week from 10pm to 6am, and then go to class from 8am to 6pm. He has been rejected to rent an apartment by the housing agency, he has also been kicked out from his apartment because the house owner thought he and other Chinese students were too noisy; he passed the level 1 JLPT test at the third time. After graduating from university, he got into an IT company after going through SPI test, personality test, HR interview, and Manager interview.
Now Wei Min still works in that IT company which has 20 Chinese employees, but he is the only foreign employee in his department.

My life in Japan? ...... I think it is fine, not so good but not so bad. At first I was so excited to be able to find a job in Japan, but then I realized the work is actually boring and exhausting. I have been working in this company for 8 years but the contents of my job are still the same as 8 years before. The only difference is hierarchy in Japanese enterprises is so obvious, I still remember when I started work, I needed to do lots of jobs in my department, and I should be the first one to arrive in the morning and the last one to leave at night.

During my interviews with Chinese employees in Japan, most of them described their lives as “fine” (Haihao) or “so so” (Yibanban), many informants explained that job contents were repetitive. Moreover, Zhang Yi mentioned the word “helpless” (Wunai) when talking about interpersonal relationships in Japan:

You can barely make Japanese friends here, I mean really close friend, you know, kind of like you can call him at 2am for a drink because you are depressed, or you can play video game at his home overnight, but Japanese won’t do that, they can only drink with you at Nomikai (party after work), then work as usual and act like nothing happened...... Not just Japanese, it is even difficult to make Chinese friends here, they can hang out with you and make jokes but they are never honest with you, you would not be able to know which word they said is true and which one is fake...... I have met numerous Chinese since I came here, but now I only have a few Chinese friends, and we meet couple of times a year because the places we live are so far from each other and everyone is so busy.

Zhang Yi was not the only one who complained about difficulties in making friends in Japan. Actually some of my informants has never hung out with Japanese people such as attending
Nomikai, especially those Chinese immigrants who moved to Japan with family visa. “Oppressive” (Yayi), “lonely” (Gudu), these two words showed up frequently during my interview with newcomer Chinese immigrants, not only dependents, but students, employees, and permanent residents. Most of the Chinese nationals with various visa statuses mentioned these words. They emerged when these Chinese immigrants describe details of their lives, when they see Japanese around, and when they communicate with Japanese people, they feel differences between Japanese and Chinese.

The first year was hard for me to adapt, when I walked on the street and saw people rarely talking to each other, when I took the railway and saw people keeping silent and never taking phone calls, when I saw Japanese always concerned about other people’s eyes and thoughts, I felt cautious and uncomfortable, Japanese are too oppressive, at the end of the first year I thought that I might have melancholia.

Unlike Zhang Yi, Qin Na represented different perception to different reference group. After eight years living in Japan, now she feels more “disappointed” with the expressions of Chinese nationals rather than Japanese natives in Japan:

Japanese people look unconcerned, but it is not true. If you ask strangers on the street for direction, they are always really nice to show it to you, Japanese people are pretty shy, but still kind and polite. However, we don’t have the feeling of “community” in Japan, unlike other foreign groups, Chinese nationals in Japan are dispersed. It is hard to make friends with Chinese here. Japanese may act cold, but they won’t lie to you, while many Chinese just show friendliness on the surface, they don’t really trust you. I’ve been told by my relatives don’t trust Chinese nationals too much in Japan, and I myself also experienced being cheated by Chinese housing agency, and being mistrusted when I ask Chinese nearby for some help. It sounds ridiculous right? We have so many ‘compatriots’ here, but we feel much lonelier and helpless than other minority members.
The case of Qin Na, as well as Zhang Yi, reflected a reality that regular employment is often accompanied by specific Japanese workplace culture and social environment, which make it hard for newcomer Chinese immigrants to adapt. Moreover, lack of sense of “community” easily lead to loneliness among Chinese immigrants in Japan rather than other immigrant groups. In addition, the inequality of treatment and limited promotion path also restrict the level of life satisfaction among Chinese regular employees in Japan. As Yuan Fang’s case showed in the section on gender inequality, she was not able to get the same promotion and treatment as other Japanese colleagues who entered the company the same time as her. As for these newcomer Chinese skilled professionals, they have high education (most of my informants who are working in Japan have Master degrees), speak Japanese well, hold professional skills, but their treatment in Japanese companies are different from Japanese colleagues. Zhang Jun (30) thought it partly implies the discrimination existing in Japanese companies:

	*Chinese employees are different from Japanese. We learn things fast, work harder, and much more efficiently, but we get lower pay than Japanese. Why? Because we are foreigners, they see us as ‘gaijin’ forever, no matter how hard we are working for this company, we are not part of them.*

Chinese employees in Japanese enterprises not only perceive treatment differences from Japanese colleagues, most of them also feel a boundary line between Chinese and Japanese colleagues. In the last three years, the company Zhang Jun is working for has hired over 10 Chinese employees. They all speak Japanese well, but Chinese employees always stay in their own group, have lunch or go drinking after work. Zhang Jun said it feels easier to talk with Chinese:

	*Of course we communicate with Japanese at work, but when we take breaks, have a coffee or cigarette, Chinese always stay with Chinese, Japanese stay with Japanese. Just like two teams, we may have the similar topics, recent news, soccer games, but
the way we talk, the way we think are obviously different from Japanese.

Besides social environment, the treatment gap at the workplace also implies lower level of life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Even though they get higher social status and economic outcomes than many other Chinese in Japan, their evaluation of life are still lower than they expected. In existing literature, economic status has been found to be relevant to job satisfaction (Melzer and Muels, 2012). In the case of newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, although economic development in China has been growing fast during recent years, a price gap still exists between China and Japan. Therefore, we may think economic status is an important predictor of SWB among Chinese immigrants in Japan, but according to the quantitative study in Shizuoka prefecture, income showed a weak negative impact on life satisfaction. So one additional factor should be considered: which groups are newcomer Chinese immigrants referencing? Are they comparing themselves with Chinese in origin country, Japanese or other Chinese in Japan? Related to this factor, we may find some answers on the role that income plays on life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan. When I asked about salary, Wei Min asked me back:

Who do you compare to? If you mean to compare with Chinese in Japan, then I am definitely satisfied with my salary and treatment. But if you mean to compare to Japanese colleagues, I feel a little unfair because I have been working in this company for 8 years, but never got the chance of promotion, although my salary and bonus have increased since a couple of years ago. I still want a chance to get promotion like other Japanese colleagues.

Wei Min didn’t remember if there obvious discrimination existed in his department, but he thought the attitudes of work are still different between Japanese and Chinese.

Japanese really pay attention to details (komakaii), and they rarely show emotions at the workplace, but Chinese are really straightforward, they express their opinion out
loud, and they may commit careless mistakes, which makes Japanese colleagues think Chinese don’t treat their job seriously.

Despite encountering the difficulties of adaptation, many newcomer Chinese immigrants still applied for permanent residency in Japan. According to statistics from the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in 2014, an estimated 215,555 Chinese who are family visa holders live in Japan, making up 32.92 percent of the total Chinese resident population (654,777). Previous studies on Chinese immigrants in Japan argued that many Chinese immigrants entertain the concept of flexible transnational living, some aspire to divide their time between Japan and China. To prepare for that, most choose permanent residency instead of Japanese citizenship because a permanent residency in Japan gives them the comfort of knowing that they can leave if opportunities arise, and that they can return if they desire, thus, many believe that it allows them the freedom not to choose between two societies but to enjoy the benefits of both (Liu-Farrer, 2011).

This argument has also been examined in this study. These informants showed low level of satisfaction of their lives and jobs in Japan, however, their motivation of turning into permanent residency exactly reflect their desire for flexibility in migrant lives. Fan Yi (42) just successfully got permanent residency right before I interviewed him. He has been working in Japan for 7 years, and he chose to stay in Japan as permanent resident because it is convenient for him and his family:

Our parents are still living in China, we go back to visit them once or twice a year. If I keep skilled professional visa status, my wife, my children and I all need to renew our visa again and again, but if I choose to get Japanese citizenship, we may need to apply for visa when we go back to China. So permanent residency is the best way, we can feel free to go back and forth between Japan and China, if someday we want to stay in China again, then I can quit my job and leave Japan with my family anytime.

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Among informants in my fieldwork, older and married newcomer Chinese immigrants represented a stronger will to stay in Japan for the long term than young single Chinese nationals. They make the decision not only for their own development, but more in consideration of their children’s education and families’ residency. For instance, married Chinese women are more likely to stay in Japan because they believe that even though they have to face language difficulties and cultural differences, the living environment in Japan is still better than in China. They want children to gain education in the host country, therefore these newcomer Chinese parents’ perceptions and life satisfaction in Japan are relegated to second place when compared to their children’s future.

According to the quantitative study described in the previous chapter, a number of newcomer Chinese immigrants reported low level of life satisfaction as a consequence of limited socioeconomic status in Japan. Better education and higher socioeconomic status helped them get more information and gain more opportunity to communicate with Japanese through academic or work place. In the meantime, they are also becoming more sensitive about how Japanese look at them through news, political issues and other information, which create more potential pressure to them.

Thus, Chinese immigrants’ activities and perceptions may change due to economic development and new political and social environment in both China and Japan during recent decades. For instance, in recent years, the economy in Japan is still unstable, such as the 2008 crisis, and the severe blow to Japanese economy in 2012 when many travel agencies in China canceled trips to Japan due to the Diaoyu Islands dispute; while on the other hand, the Chinese economy and labor market are growing fast and provide lots of job and business opportunities. Besides, many Chinese are concerned about their safety in Japan, especially when the 3.11 earthquake happened in 2011 followed by the nuclear leak in Fukushima, some Chinese nationals believed that Japan is no longer suitable for living. It is hard to see the direct impact of economic development, environment issues and political issues on newcomer Chinese immigrants’ migration strategies or their psychological outcomes, however some relationships may be found through interviews with Chinese nationals who are living in Japan.
Qing Yuan (32) came to Japan in 2003, got a Bachelor degree and a Master degree from a university in Tokyo, and then got hired by a Japanese company. It is a traditional manufacturing enterprise and most of the employees are Japanese. Since the first day working there, Qing Yuan tried to work harder than other colleagues: “I want to get their trust, I go to the company earlier and get off work later and tried working harder and harder. It did work, I always got high evaluation from my manager and other colleagues, and they are all nice to me.” However, Qing Yuan is still always bothered by news and political issues focused on China:

*I can always see news about Chinese criminal being arrested in Japan or some problem in Chinese enterprises from newspaper and television. It must be the important reason why Japanese always have negative impression of Chinese. Besides, political issues between China and Japan never stopped. Like the disturbance of ‘Diaoyu Dao’ (Senkaku Islands), when there were lots of demonstrations in China last August (2013). Japanese media kept reporting the videos that Chinese crashed Japanese restaurants and cars, I really felt embarrassed. Some colleagues also talked about the news in the company, I don’t know how to talk with them when those things happened, I can also see Japanese demonstrations in Ikebukuro against Chinese, I even felt distressed because I felt my personal life being threatened.*

Yet, Qing Yuan could be a unique case in my fieldwork. Actually when other informants described their lives and perceptions in Japan, they never took the initiative to talk about politics. Only one informant mentioned his experience of witnessing a Japanese demonstration. In the summer of 2013, Hu Wei (26) came across a Japanese demonstration near the north exit of Ikebukuro station.

*There were around a hundred Japanese people walking on the street with big banners, I knew they were claiming something anti-Chinese, but I could not hear them clearly. So I followed them closely and walked with them for more than 10 minutes. They shouted the slogan "Chinese get out! Chinese get out!"*
Chinese skilled professionals in Japan reported lower life satisfaction due to their difficult promotion process and treatment compared to Japanese colleagues. When talking about the willingness to stay in Japan, I found that marital status emerged as an important factor in Chinese skilled professionals’ decision making. The single informants presented strong intentions to change job, or go back to China, or switch job to other countries, while informants who got married are more likely to stay in Japan because they want to stay with their families and raise their children in Japan due to better environment and public health. For instance, Wei Min got married five years ago and had a son aged 3 now. In order to stay in Japan for the long term, Wei Min is applying for permanent residency now and planning to buy a house for the family.

*My wife and my son like Japan because they think the air is clean in Japan, food are safe and medical condition is better than in China. So we decided to stay here, I want to have a house of our own, it means “family” to me.*

By contrast, Sun Jian represented a totally different plan about future life:

*I will quit my job and go back to China or go to other countries. It is just that work in Japan is too boring for me all these years, I want to change a place, see something different, it doesn’t matter where I am going, I just want to have a new life rather than stay here.*

Actually, almost none of the informants who are working in Japan now mentioned discrimination or depression when they talk about willingness to stay. Marriage and family is the most important thing that push them to make a decision. However, compared to engineers, Chinese immigrants staying as specialist in humanities/international services presented a strong intention to stay for the long term. Their willingness to stay reflected the flexibility of their work compared to skilled workers in Japan. Qi Zhi (34) found a job in a pharmaceutical company
after graduating from university in Japan. He majored in biology when he was an undergraduate student, now he is working in sales and translation in that company and frequently fly between Shanghai and Tokyo.

I bought an apartment with my wife in Tokyo, I need to fly to Shanghai at least once a month, sometimes my business trip lasts over 15 days a month, but my wife and I are used to it, we can still have time together, and we already have a home in Tokyo, this is the most important thing to us, my wife just gave a birth last year, so we plan to stay in Japan as permanent residents.

During interviews, some of the informants already obtained permanent residency after working in Japan for several years, and some have just submitted their application for permanent residency. They established their families in Japan, bringing their partners and children to live with them. As for themselves, the migration process in Japan reflected their paths of getting higher education and gaining better socio-economic status in host country. Based on these cases of Chinese regular employees in Japan, several points are highlighted. First, as a dominant resource of skilled professionals among Chinese immigrants in Japan, graduate students still encounter specific workplace culture in Japanese labor market, which cause them to feel hard to adapt into host society. Second, social capital significantly affects SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Although social contact can help Chinese nationals to communicate with Japanese natives, it is still double-edged. Making friends with Japanese natives positively affect their sense of mental well-being, while being discriminated by Japanese natives can easily lead to downward SWB, and treatment inequality in Japanese corporations also limited Chinese immigrants’ life satisfaction. Third, in addition to social environment, the gap of treatment also impact on Chinese regular employees’ sense of mental well-being. Rather than former peers in home country, these employees are more likely to compare themselves to Japanese native colleagues, thereby treatment gap and limited promotion path constrained their life satisfaction. This finding supports the argument of previous studies that immigrants not only compare their situation with one single group but are more likely to compare themselves to the natives in destination countries (Basch, Glick and Blanc, 1994).
6.5. Discussion

In order to explain the findings of the quantitative study, and to gain insight to newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of well-being in Japan, a qualitative study was conducted with 52 Chinese nationals in Tokyo and Shizuoka. The analysis of their narratives is based on four aspects: gender, education, language proficiency and economic capital. Through independent interviews, this study found that gender inequality generally exists in Japanese society, which permeated Chinese nationals’ migration process. Encountering disjuncture from lives before migration, uselessness of education gained in China and obstacles of child care during full-time employment, Chinese female immigrants generally find it harder to gain better SWB than male immigrants.

While Chinese student immigrants represented social alienation and adaptation difficulties during their lives in language schools and professional schools (Liu-Farrer, 2011), Chinese students in Japanese universities and graduate schools do not report better life satisfaction than language students. Although newcomers gained better financial support from families and wider information resources when they moved to Japan than former migrants, they still encounter cruel competition in Japanese labor market. As the cases of dependent immigrants showed, previous education in China are hardly recognized in the Japanese labor market, thereby the location to get educated is significantly important to Chinese student immigrants’ sense of mental well-being in Japan. In addition, job markets in both Japan and China are becoming difficult to Chinese student immigrants than before. Even though dual linguistic proficiency may help them gain advantages in international business positions, well-educated graduates do not always take superiority over others. Instead of MA or Ph.D. graduates, many Japanese enterprises are more likely to recruit undergraduates, and the job searching process for Chinese student immigrants is exhausting. It is normal for Japanese native graduates to spend one or two years in job searching, but it is much more difficult for foreign students because of economic and time pressure. Additionally, the massive craze of overseas studies in China also constrained Chinese oversea students’ job searching. Frequent occurrence of academic fraud in recent years also reduced the credibility of Chinese oversea students. Also economic capital and personal career planning are more important in influencing on their decision making. This finding also supported the results
of the quantitative research in the last chapter, newcomer Chinese students in Japan represent lower life satisfaction than other Chinese residents, and education was not able to present a positive impact on life satisfaction in Japan.

By passing through the educational institutions in Japan, many Chinese immigrants can join the Japanese labor market with language skills and cultural knowledge, and they are mainly employed in Japanese enterprises as skilled professionals. They are gaining better socio-economic status through work experience but due to their comparison to Japanese colleagues, many of these Chinese skilled migrants did not represent higher life satisfaction. In addition, even though many Chinese skilled migrants reported that they did not have so much experiences of been discriminated by Japanese people, their slow promotion, different treatment compared to Japanese colleagues, and gender problems all reflect that they are actually encountering adaptation difficulties in the Japanese labor market.
Chapter 7 Conclusion

While previous studies have examined the migration process and living situation of Chinese immigrants in Japan, based on a representative sample of Chinese nationals, the present study raises important questions about how newcomer Chinese immigrants evaluate their lives, and what affect newcomer Chinese immigrants’ sense of well-being and adaptation process in Japan. Compared to other immigrant groups, Chinese immigrants are most unwelcomed by Japanese natives, and they also represented low level of SWB during the migration process. Newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan strive to gain better education and economic status during the migration process and try to gain a firm foothold in Japan. However they find that it is still difficult to communicate with the Japanese even when they have a better education. They keep comparing themselves with both relatives in China and new peers in Japan. Both education and economic status could not significantly help improve newcomer Chinese immigrants' life satisfaction. By contrast, the migration process put them into a low level of SWB, and their activities of comparing themselves to relatives and new peers exactly support the Social Comparison Theory, which argued that immigrants evaluate job and social positions in reference to the occupational and social organization of both home country and host country (Basch, Glick and Blanc, 1994). Thus, when immigrants evaluate their achievement and life satisfaction, besides relatives in their home country and Japanese colleagues in the host country, they also compare themselves with other immigrants who came from the same country.

Based on my fieldwork with newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, some of them decided to move to Japan in the beginning because they saw other Chinese friends or relatives migrate to Japan and gain better education and economic status. By looking at these success cases, these Chinese immigrants believe they can achieve goals like their antecessors or even better. Therefore, just like the movie “The Sardines” described, as long as newcomer Chinese immigrants live in Japan, they compare themselves not only to Japanese people, but also to other Chinese immigrants in Japan. They do not want to be sardines, but their migration process always fall into the same pattern by going through the “study—job searching—permanent residency” trajectory.
Low level of life satisfaction is not just the outcome of the migration process, but also the driving force to prompt them to change their social positions. Due to the complicated job searching process in Japan, and plenty of job opportunities in China and other countries, many Chinese immigrants also prefer to go home or migrate to other countries to pursue better socio-economic status and hence improve their general life satisfaction.

Furthermore, Set-point Theory argued that migration can be seen as a means of potential lasting improvement in SWB because people migrate for various reasons but most expect to improve their lot in one way or other as they want to take advantage of available opportunities elsewhere (Nowok et al., 2011). Yet, this study found that migration may benefit newcomer Chinese immigrants economically, but constrain their social positions and psychological outcomes. Particularly, the specific experience that can only happen during migration—being discriminated by Japanese people—showed significant effect on newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB in Japan. My fieldwork on newcomer Chinese immigrants implies that Chinese residents who have experiences of being discriminated by Japanese people do not turn toward their own minority group but in contrast, they choose to hide their minority group identity in Japanese society, thereby reducing the probability of being discriminated by Japanese, and these experiences also reduce their level of life satisfaction in Japan.

7.1. Pursuing Better Lives as the Most Unwelcome Immigrants

One central question addressed in this study is, whether the migration process can improve immigrants’ SWB. As for newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan, they are generally entering Japan with the dream of “chasing better lives” just like other immigrants. The better lives mean not only better socioeconomic status, but also improved personal life satisfaction, which require immigrants to highly adapt into host society. Since the immigrants’ means of adapting to a host society depends significantly on the resources that they bring from their countries of origin and the social environment in the destination country (Portes et al., 2005; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; cited in Takenoshita, 2015, P. 49), the social environment in Japan represented significant effects on immigrants’ SWB.
Based on quantitative data analysis, the present study found that Japanese people are more likely to accept the numerical growth of immigrants from Europe and North America rather than those from other Asian countries. Moreover, they find it easier to accept foreigners from Southeast Asia and Korea rather than those from China, which denotes that Japanese generally have a negative image of Chinese immigrants. As to why Japanese have negative attitudes toward China, the considerable reasons are as follows: socio-historical issues, especially the dispute over islands in the East China Sea, have inflamed Sino-Japanese relations over the past few years, and the dangers of accident and conflict are real, and if an accident occurred, reconciliation between China and Japan could be delayed for decades or even longer (Vogel, 2013); therefore, Sino-Japanese relations may also affect Japanese attitudes toward China and Chinese immigrants in Japan. Meanwhile, as previous studies on multiculturalism in Japan point out, Japanese people support the idea of multiculturalism while drawing strict borders between the Japanese nation and “others”, and homogenizing the Japanese nation (Nagayoshi, 2011; Burgess, 2004; Tai, 2007).

According to the qualitative research in this study, some Chinese immigrants believe the high crime rate attributed to Chinese residents during recent years caused negative impressions among Japanese citizens. Also, a lack of understanding of Japanese culture cause Chinese residents to perceive discrimination by Japanese citizens. Moreover, a large number of Japanese citizens consider immigrants a threat to labor market competition, and Japan is still far from multiculturalism because of its ethnic homogeneity (Nagayoshi, 2009). Even though Japan wishes to become a “multicultural country”, Japanese people still prefer to maintain social distance from immigrant groups, so that they can individually decide whether to establish personal networks with immigrants. It is also the reason why Japanese citizens are less likely to accept Chinese immigrants as dependents.

As the most unwelcomed immigrant group in Japan, newcomer Chinese immigrants are facing greater difficulties to adapt into host society than other immigrants. Negative image by the host country constitutes a powerful magnetic field around which contradictory self-images of assimilation and differentiation co-exist, creating an intricate mixture of assimilatory and differential aspirations (Fukuoka, 2000). Without supportive social environment, social resources they gained from both home and host countries are crucial to their sense of well-being.
An immigrant’s background factors present strong effects on his/her social resource, including human capital and socioeconomic capital which they gained before or after entering host country (Diener et al., 1993). Thus, Chinese immigrants’ human capital and socioeconomic capital such as their education, age, income and social networks should benefit their adaptation into Japan. However, when compared to other immigrant groups in Japan, the quantitative research in this study found that newcomer Chinese immigrants presented lower life satisfaction, and were mainly dissatisfied with their assets, savings and income. When considering the residency in Japan, some Chinese nationals worried about their children’s education and their own life in old age, while Chinese residents who have trouble with Japanese citizens thought the main reasons were language and lack of communication. The investigation of determinants on SWB showed that, men are more likely to stay in Japan than women and education and duration presents negative effects on life satisfaction. In addition, Chinese nationals who stay in Japan as permanent residents and students are less likely to be satisfied with their migrant lives than other immigrants, but are more likely to stay in Japan for the long term.

The analysis on determinants of SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants has shown that, higher level of socioeconomic status implies lower levels of life satisfaction. For those Chinese residents who have a better education, they may have more experiences and abilities that they can utilize when dealing with Japanese citizens, but they are also easily involved in unequal treatments and discrimination. These experiences may lead to negative attitudes of newcomer Chinese immigrants toward communication with Japanese citizens, hence affecting their sense of mental well-being.

7.2. Break Through Gender Barriers and Social Inequality

With different levels of human capital and socioeconomic capital, after their arrival in Japan, Chinese female immigrants opened up their migration process with different goals and planning. Some for them aim to take care of children and support their spouses, some still want to go to school or start their own business. Therefore, based on different backgrounds and motivations, their sense of well-being and adaptation process in Japan also represented diverse tendencies. For those who are engaged in the Japanese labor market, the difference between formal and
informal employment is not just salary, but also welfare treatment including insurance, holiday system and bonus. These Chinese women are well-educated, have linguistic advantages, hold professional skills, but their treatment in Japanese companies are different from Japanese colleagues. These findings support the argument of Liu-Farrer (2011), who claimed that compared to men, corporate Chinese women have to face further complicated structural and cultural constraints in Japan, and their employment benefits are discounted and mobility prospects are constrained because of their gender (Liu-Farrer, 2011).

In addition to struggling with occupational constraints like the men, Chinese women in Japan also confront gender barriers. There are two main reasons that lead to this phenomenon: on the one hand, the homogeneity existing in Japan causes difficulties for Chinese immigrants to adapt into Japanese society - even though they can gain occupational status as foreign labor, they still find it hard to be accepted by Japanese natives (which has already been proved by quantitative data in previous chapters). On the other hand, Chinese female immigrants generally encounter the risk of unemployment and exclusion from Japanese labor market, this phenomenon being mainly due to gender barriers in Japan. The “male breadwinner model” in Japan still permeates general households as well as immigrants’ households nowadays. To become a “modern woman”, women in Japan are expected to carry out the responsibility of breadwinner while at the same time, they also need to be primary caretakers in their families. Therefore, how they can reach an ideal work-life balance is a crucial issue.

Gender barriers, employment instability and pressure of child-raising strictly constrain the mental well-being of corporate Japanese women, as well as the female foreign labor force in Japan. As female skilled migrants alike, those Chinese women who enter Japan as dependents also need to face many obstacles in the path to participate in the Japanese labor market. Putting aside gender inequality and competition in the Japanese labor market, even only for a part-time job, Japanese language ability is crucial. Many Chinese nationals could not even find a job to wash dishes because they were not able to make the application phone call in Japanese. Additionally, the regular job market in Japan is constrained by inaugural events, which are mainly organized for graduates who generally start job searching one or two years before graduation. If a Japanese native student take a one-year break after graduation, it would be much more difficult for he/her to find a regular job compared to fresh graduates. As for Chinese full-time employees, only
those who graduated from prestigious universities or have been working for Japanese-funded enterprises in China may obtain job opportunities in Japan through cooperation projects and can enter Japan with guaranteed employment contracts. If not for this, educational background in China is hard to be approved by Japanese enterprises. Therefore, even though many Chinese female dependents have gained qualified education and work experiences before their arrival in Japan, their abilities are almost useless in the Japanese labor market, thereby leading to disjunctive feelings. Additionally, the huge gap in social environment before and after migration also leads to negative perceptions among Chinese dependent immigrants in Japan.

Due to the uselessness of former human capital, many female Chinese dependents have no choice but stay at home as housewives. This kind of isolated life leads them to be excluded from Japanese society not just physically, but also psychologically. Through the internet, most of my informants who are staying in Japan as dependents frequently chat with their families and friends in China, which is helpful to them to express oppressive emotions, but exacerbate their estrangement of mainstream society. Thus, unlike students or full-time employees, the social contact of Chinese dependents in Japan are cut off as a result of their particular lifestyle, the shortage of language proficiency causing their inability to establish communication with Japanese natives. At the same time, they find it hard to break through the obstacle of language due to the lack of social network with Japanese society. Since these two situations cross-impact each other, Chinese dependent immigrants quickly fall into social marginalization in Japan.

With the rapid growth in the number of immigrants, Chinese female immigrants are also becoming an important resource in the Japanese labor market. Confronting gender barriers, employment instability and social homogeneity, it is difficult for Chinese women to gain better life satisfaction and settle down in Japan for the long term. In order to maintain labor resources, a couple of may be needed to improve female immigrants’ quality of lives. First, the employment system in Japan should be fair to both men and women, natives and foreigners. Although a number of companies, especially international corporations in urban Japan, have implemented beneficial treatment and open employment policies, treatment inequality and gender barrier still exist generally in the Japanese labor market. Therefore, Japanese corporations need to ensure equality of employment status and promotion path for all regular employees, creating an open and flexible environment in the labor market.
Second, a more humane childcare system is necessary. Despite the Japanese labor market extending childcare leave from 14 weeks to a maximum of three years for female employees, achieving work-life balance is still difficult for corporate women, especially immigrants. The daycare centers in Japan, especially urban Japan, are in short supply. Many working mothers have no choice but give up their career to take care of children because they are not able to send their children to daycare during office hours. Unlike Japanese natives, this situation is crueler to corporate Chinese women, because many Japanese mothers can ask their parents to undertake childcare but it is not easy for Chinese mothers to bring their parents from China to Japan. Even though some of them have already done so, the validity period of a visiting visa is three months to a maximum of six months, which can barely help Chinese women to get back to regular work. Unless they can find daycare, there is no chance to ensure regular employment in the Japanese labor market.

Third, besides skilled professionals, the Japanese labor market should also open to other immigrants. To realize it, language learning programs and recognition of education qualifications before migration are essential. Many Chinese women quickly fall into downward SWB due to social marginalization after their migration. Without language ability, it is hard to gain social capital and adapt into host society, not to mention obtain job opportunity. Therefore efficacious language learning program can help these Chinese women to open their path of adaptation. Moreover, a number of Chinese women are well-educated and graduated from prestigious universities before moving to Japan but their education is not recognized by Japanese corporations. For both immigrants and the Japanese labor market, this is a waste of labor resources. With professional skills and previous education, Chinese female immigrants can contribute to the economic development of the host country. Therefore the recognition of education qualifications before migration is not only beneficial for immigrants, but more importantly, beneficial for the Japanese labor market.

7.3. Open up Career Paths in Host or Home Country

In previous studies, small but significant correlations between education and SWB have often been found (Campbell et al., 1976; Cantril, 1965; Diener et al., 1993). Yet, the quantitative...
research in the present study showed that higher education implies lower level of life satisfaction among Chinese immigrants in Japan. There are several potential reasons for this phenomenon: first, many Chinese nationals have already gained education before entering Japan, but their previous academic abilities are not recognized by Japanese schools and the labor market owing to lack of language proficiency and poor reputation of some universities in China. Thereby, after moving to Japan, these Chinese nationals have no choice but start over from zero. Second, for many Chinese immigrants, they are following a “student—regular employment—permanent residency” path of migration in Japan. They aim to obtain regular employment in the Japanese labor market right after graduation. Yet, as a result of the rapid increase in the number of Chinese residents in Japan, the competition in the labor market has become fierce than before. Chinese graduates have to compete with not only Japanese natives, but also compatriots. Moreover, job searching for graduates generally lasts for a year. In order to obtain an offer, job seekers have to follow the normal procedure of company information session, resume submission, twice written examinations, three times interviews, and all of these steps are only for one firm. Normally graduates will try over five companies at the same time, which is a dual consumption physically and mentally to job seekers, especially foreign students due to the economic burden and strict visa validity.

In addition, job markets in both Japan and China are becoming harsher to Chinese student immigrants than before. On the one hand, after graduation, many Chinese students enter the Japanese labor market by following specific job search paths. Besides the fierce competition with Japanese students, Chinese students also facing the time consumption and economic pressure. On the other hand, it is also difficult for Chinese oversea students to obtain a job back in home country. Even though many of Chinese students go back home from Japan and gain job opportunities through their overseas education, they still need to compete with other Chinese oversea students, and those who go back from U.S. and European countries are more popular to many enterprises than those who studied in Japan. Additionally, academic fraud frequently occurred in recent years also reduced the credibility of Chinese oversea students, now they are more likely to encounter job searching difficulties than former immigrants. This finding also supported the results of quantitative research in previous chapters: newcomer Chinese students in Japan represent lower life satisfaction than other Chinese residents, and education was not able to present a positive effect on life satisfaction in Japan.
Despite obtaining a good education in either home or host country, without beneficial human capital and economic capital, many newcomer Chinese immigrants fall into low level of social satisfaction quickly. This argument is also supported by quantitative research in Shizuoka prefecture (2009): education presented a negative effect on life satisfaction among newcomer Chinese immigrants. Despite achieving higher education that may help improve their academic satisfaction, the cultural gap and social alienation still induce newcomer Chinese immigrants to be self-isolated from Japanese society, which makes them further marginalized from host society. Being unable to improve the quality of lives, Chinese immigrants’ willingness to stay in Japan for the long term also decreases. However, their contribution to the Japanese labor market is closely related to the expansion of the economy. For this reason, it is indispensable for Japan to implement policies to help Chinese nationals to improve their SWB: first, higher education should not be disregarded by the labor market, more distinguished level of hiring system and welfare treatment are necessary for Japanese corporations to absorb well-educated graduates. Second, the routine of job searching in Japan should be revolutionized. One year long job searching is time consuming for graduates, especially immigrants who are strictly constrained by visa validity. A more flexible recruitment system can help these graduates to obtain job opportunities, improve their life satisfaction, which further help Japanese corporations to save costs.

7.4. Perplexed by Comparing Socioeconomic Status

Immigrants evaluate their life satisfaction based on the status they gain in the host country. The standard line of evaluation is not quite objective, actually, it often results from the comparison of immigrants and other groups. According to Social Comparison Theory, immigrants’ life satisfaction can be affected by the comparison group they choose, whether they compare themselves to former peers in their home country or new peers in the host country may influence their evaluation of SWB (Bartram, 2010; Easterlin, 2006). Employing quantitative data, the present study found that economic capital represented negative effect on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants and informal employment could not improve respondents’ level of life satisfaction.
Although Chinese nationals are engaged in various occupations in Japan, their employment status is still mainly determined by visa status. Despite a stable employment status, newcomer Chinese immigrants who are staying in Japan with full-time employment still generally represent low level of life satisfaction. This phenomenon is the result of specific workplace culture, differentiated treatment and the oppressive social environment in Japan.

Furthermore, previous studies on Chinese immigrants in Japan argued that, many Chinese immigrants entertain the concept of flexible transnational living, aspiring to divide their time between Japan and China. To prepare for that, most choose permanent residency instead of Japanese citizenship because a permanent residency in Japan gives them the comfort of knowing that they can leave if opportunities arise, and that they can return if they desire, thus, many believe that it allows them the freedom not to choose between two societies but to enjoy the benefits of both (Liu-Farrer, 2011). This argument is also supported in this study, based on the fieldwork with newcomer Chinese immigrants who mainly came to Japan since the 2000s. They showed a low level of satisfaction in their lives and jobs in Japan, however, their motivation to get permanent residency exactly reflect their desire for flexibility in migrant lives.

However, among Chinese permanent residents in Japan, most of them are less likely to be satisfied with their migrant lives than skilled workers. They choose to stay because they want a stable family in Japan with their spouse and children. Moreover, children’s education and development is also an important factor influencing these Chinese immigrants’ planning. Furthermore, to support partners’ career development and raising children together, many Chinese, especially female migrants move to Japan as dependents. They have to drop their former socio-economic status in China and adapt to new migrant lives with social exclusion. Despite some of these dependents trying to engage in the Japanese labor market through part-time jobs, the low-wage jobs only reduce their life satisfaction and socio-economic status. Yet, in order to stay with family and plan for children’s education, most of the Chinese dependents in Japan still present strong intentions to stay in Japan even though they are not satisfied with their migrant lives.
7.5. Limitations of Study

There are still limitations in this study. Firstly, this study employed mixed methods by following “quantitative--qualitative” trajectory. In the quantitative study, the resource of survey from Shizuoka limited the geographic range of data collection and the number of immigrants. As for Chinese immigrants, the number of respondents is too limited to analyze their SWB by classifying into different visa status. Therefore, the Chinese nationals’ perceptions in this prefecture may not fully reflect the overall situation. Secondly, just considering either their own situation before and after migration or comparing them with the natives is not enough to describe the full extent of perception changes.

Thirdly, although newcomer Chinese immigrants such as students and skilled workers have gained socioeconomic benefits from transnational activities, they actually perceive themselves to be experiencing social isolation and discrimination in Japan, so it is necessary to understand their ambivalence and marginalization, and how they attempt to gain social recognition from the host society. The qualitative study can partly resolve the puzzles left by the quantitative study, for instance, looking into the perceptions of newcomer Chinese immigrants under different visa status, and analyzing their narratives case by case to obtain insight of their psychological outcomes from the migration process. Yet, the analysis on individual cases may somehow prompt quantitative findings to be obfuscated, as individual narratives may be hard to reflect the complete situation of newcomer Chinese immigrants’ psychological outcomes in the migration process. In future studies, it is necessary to conduct a new quantitative survey based on the findings of the qualitative study and list more specific and related questions so as to investigate the SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants more concretely.

Fourthly, the evaluation of psychological outcomes’ period still need to be resolved. Whether newcomer Chinese immigrants’ general life satisfaction has changed during the migration process was omitted in this study. Previous research on adaptation argued that people are confined to a hedonic treadmill—they are doomed to experience stable levels of well-being because they adapt to even the most extreme positive and negative life circumstances over time (Brickman and Campbell, 1971). The hedonic treadmill theory has received considerable empirical support, which has led some scholars to conclude that adaptation is quick, complete, and inevitable and that most of the long-term stable variance in SWB can be accounted for by personality and genetic
predispositions rather than by life circumstances (Lykken and Tellegen, 1996). It seems that set-point theory and adaptation are mutually exclusive, because no matter what kind of life events people experienced, they all inevitably return to a genetically predetermined state (Lykken and Tellegen, 1996). Yet questions still remain as to whether the longer newcomer Chinese immigrants stay in Japan, would their level of SWB change? Thus, existing literature mainly argued the effects of life events by focusing on single life events such as marriage or unemployment, yet we cannot verify the significance of those life events separately, especially how they differ in the short-term and long-term? This puzzle is still left unsolved in this study.

Fifthly, the effect of political environment on SWB among newcomer Chinese immigrants in Japan still failed to be examined in this study. Despite the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations formally established since 1972, Sino-Japanese relations have still fallen into turbulent situations for over four decades. There is no previous study that examined whether the political environment could significantly affect oldcomer Chinese’ SWB in Japan. According to my interviews with newcomer Chinese immigrants, some of them have seen anti-Chinese demonstration at Ikebukuro and Shin-okubo organized by Japanese people. They felt nervous by seeing it rather than watching news on TV that reported negative events about China. Meanwhile, some informants keeping in touch with their parents through chat software like QQ or Skype said their parents always mentioned the Sino-Japanese political environment and worried about their safety in Japan. Although most of my informants kept telling their families that it was quite safe in Japan, their perceptions were partly influenced by their parents’ concern. In future studies, the influence of political environment should be examined in quantitative studies by investigating its effect on newcomer Chinese immigrants’ SWB. It will contribute to understanding of the mobility of Chinese immigrants in Japan and their migration strategies.

7.6. Chasing Accomplishment in Foreign Country

Although Chinese immigrants have made up the largest number of foreigners in Japan, according to my fieldwork, many newcomer Chinese immigrants still feel “lonely” when they describe their migrant lives in Japan. There are numerous Chinese immigrants associations in Japan. Also it is easy to meet Chinese nationals everywhere, yet most of my informants still found difficulties in
making Chinese friends in Japan. Unlike other minority groups such as Korean and Filipino, Chinese immigrants in Japan showed apparent dispersion. Due to more intense competition among Chinese nationals in educational institutions and the labor market in Japan in recent years, many Chinese immigrants tend to have strong self-protection awareness. They are afraid to share information of scholarships and part-time jobs sometimes because they do not want to have more competitors. Some of them even have experienced being cheated by Chinese housing agency and educational institutions agency. However, many Chinese nationals take interpersonal relationships as the most important or even the only reliable source of information so they would rather ask Chinese acquaintances when searching for jobs or schools instead of checking information by themselves. Chinese nationals always come together, join various Chinese activities, hold party together, yet they still lack cohesiveness.

Thus, by seeing some “successful” antecessors’ migration process, many Chinese immigrants believe the track of “student—skilled workers—permanent resident” is the model migration strategy for every single Chinese national in Japan. Their motivations to enter Japan and their strong intention to join Japanese education and the labor market still reflect their desire to improve their lives and find their own positions. In my fieldwork, whether they are following the model track of “Chinese migration process” or choosing to explore his/her personal development path, most of the newcomer Chinese immigrants are at least trying to gain better lives in Japan. Migration may not be a “satisfied” life event to many newcomer Chinese immigrants, but it will become a precious experience in their life time, and no matter these newcomer Chinese immigrants eventually choose to go back to their home country, gain permanent residency or naturalization, this part of the migration trajectory will leave a mark in their lives.


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**Appendix 1. Statistics of the Foreigners Registered in Japan (1972-2014)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
<th>Korea</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>US</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>48,089</td>
<td>629,809</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>1,255</td>
<td>21,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>46,642</td>
<td>636,346</td>
<td>2,424</td>
<td>1,279</td>
<td>21,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>47,677</td>
<td>643,096</td>
<td>2,758</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>21,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>48,728</td>
<td>647,156</td>
<td>3,035</td>
<td>1,418</td>
<td>21,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>47,174</td>
<td>651,348</td>
<td>3,083</td>
<td>1,319</td>
<td>21,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>47,862</td>
<td>656,233</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>1,279</td>
<td>21,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>48,528</td>
<td>659,025</td>
<td>4,281</td>
<td>1,279</td>
<td>21,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>50,353</td>
<td>662,561</td>
<td>4,757</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>21,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>52,896</td>
<td>664,536</td>
<td>5,547</td>
<td>1,492</td>
<td>22,401</td>
</tr>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>55,616</td>
<td>667,325</td>
<td>6,729</td>
<td>1,652</td>
<td>23,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>59,122</td>
<td>669,854</td>
<td>6,563</td>
<td>1,643</td>
<td>24,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
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<td>674,581</td>
<td>7,516</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>26,434</td>
</tr>
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<td>Total in Osaka</td>
<td>Total in Nagoya</td>
<td>Total in Kyoto</td>
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<tr>
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<td>----------------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 2. Questionnaire of Multicultural Survey in Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan (2009)

■ 1 ■ 最初にあなたご自身のことについておうかがいます。

問1 あなたの性別は （〇1つ）
1 男性  2 女性

問2 あなたの年齢は □□歳

問3 あなたの国籍を教えてください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | ブラジル | 4 | ペルー | 7 | ベトナム | 10 | その他 |
| 2 | 中国 | 5 | 韓国 | または | 8 | 日本 |
| 3 | フィリピン | 6 | インドネシア | 9 | 二重国籍 |

問4 日本国籍を持たない方にうかがいます。あなたの在留資格は何ですか。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | 特別永住者 | 6 | 留学 | 11 | 技術 |
| 2 | 永住者 | 7 | 就学 | 12 | 観光 |
| 3 | 日本人の配偶者等 | 8 | 研修 | 13 | その他 |
| 4 | 定住者 | 9 | 特定活動（技能実習） |
| 5 | 家族滞在 | 10 | 天文知識、国際業務 |

問5 あなたが生まれた国を教えてください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | ブラジル | 4 | ペルー | 7 | ベトナム |
| 2 | 中国 | 5 | 韓国または朝鮮 | 8 | 日本 |
| 3 | フィリピン | 6 | インドネシア | 9 | その他 |

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問6 日本以外の国で生まれた方にうかがいます。

日本での通算滞在年月は □□□年 □□□か月

問7 あなたを含めて、現在、あなたの世帯に住んでいる人は全部で何人ですか。

問8 現在、あなたと一緒に住んでいる人すべてに○をつけてください。（○はいくつでも）

1 あなたの配偶者
2 あなたの子ども
3 あなたの兄弟姉妹
4 あなたの父
5 あなたの母
6 あなたの配偶者の父
7 あなたの配偶者の母
8 あなたの祖父
9 あなたの祖母
10 あなたの配偶者の祖父
11 あなたの配偶者の祖母
12 あなたの孫
13 あなたの恋人
14 あなたの友人
15 その他

問9 現在のあなたの配偶状況についてうかがいます。（○は1つ）

1 配偶者あり（配偶者と同居）
2 配偶者あり（配偶者と別居）
3 独身
4 離別・死別

問10 お子さんはいらっしゃいますか。（お子さんが別居している場合も「いる」に含めます）（○は1つ）

1 いる
2 いない → 問12へ

問11 お子さんがいらっしゃる方にうかがいます。以下に具体的な数字をそれぞれご記入ください。

子供の人数（合計） □□□人
同居している子供の人数 □□□人
日本以外の国にいる子供の人数 □□□人
問1・2 あなたの現在のお住まいについてうかがいします。現在のお住まいは次のどれにあたりますか。 （○は1つ）

| 1 | 会社の社宅や会社契約のアパート          | 4 | 持ち家（マンションも含む）          |
| 2 | 自分で契約した民間のアパート            | 5 | 友人の家などに一時滞在            |
| 3 | 公営住宅                                | 6 | その他                          |

問13 あなたが最後に卒業した学校を教えてください。在学中の場合は、その学校をお答えください。中退も卒業と考えてお答えください。 （○は1つ）

| 1 | 小学校                                  | 5 | 短期大学・専門学校                |
| 2 | 中学校                                  | 6 | 大学・大学院                     |
| 3 | 高等学校（普通科）                      | 7 | その他                          |
| 4 | 高等学校（普通科以外）                  | 8 | 学歴なし                        |

問14 あなたは、その学校を卒業しましたか。 （○は1つ）

| 1 | 卒業                                  | 2 | 中退                              | 3 | 在学中                          |

問15 あなたが最後に卒業（中退・在学中も含む）した学校は、以下のどれにあたりますか。 （○は1つ）

| 1 | 日本の学校                              | 2 | 日本にある外国人学校            | 3 | 母国の学校                      | 4 | その他                          |

■2■ 次に、あなたの仕事についてうかがいます。

問16 あなたの現在のお仕事は、大きく分けてこの中どれにあたりますか。複数のお仕事をお持ちの場合は、主なお仕事についてうかがいます。 （○は1つ）

| 1 | 直接雇用（正社員）                     | → | 問20へ                           | 6 | 無職：仕事を探している           |
| 2 | 直接雇用（臨時雇用・パート・アルバイト） | → | 問18へ                           | 7 | 無職：仕事を探していない         |
間接雇用（派遣・請負）→ 問18へ
自営業主 → 問20へ
家族従業者 → 問20へ
家族従業者 → 問20へ
学生 → 問27へ
研修生 → 問20へ
実習生 → 問20へ
年金 → 配偶者・親以外の家族の収入
失業保険（雇用保険） → 母国からの送金
貯蓄 → 社会福祉（生活保護等）
配偶者の収入 → 不定期な仕事
親の収入 → その他

問17 問16で、「6（無職：仕事を探している）」または「7（無職：仕事を探し
ていない）」と答えた方だけにうかがいます。現在、あなたの生計をまかなう主な収入源
は何ですか（○はいくつでも）。

問18 問16で、「2（直接雇用：（臨時雇用・パート・アルバイト）」または「3（間接雇用：
（派遣・請負）」と答えた方だけにうかがいます。あなたは正規社員としての雇用を希望
しますか。（○は1つ）

問19 問18で「2 希望しない」と回答した方にうかがいます。その理由は何ですか。（○はいくつでも）

問20 あなたの具体的なお仕事の内容を教えてください。（○は1つ）
1 技能労働者（製造、修理、建築、運輸などの労働者）
2 一般作業員（採掘、建設、土木作業、清掃などの非熟練労働者）
3 販売売的職業（店主、店員、販売員、セールスマンなど）
4 サービス的職業（美容師、クリーニング、給仕、接客、介護など）
5 専門的職業（技術者、医師、看護師、教員、通訳、研究者など）
6 管理的職業（課長以上の管理職）
7 事務的職業（事務員、銀行員など）
8 農林漁業
9 その他

問21 あなたの勤務形態は、以下のどれにあたりますか。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | フルタイムで昼の勤務のみ |
| 2 | フルタイムで夜の勤務のみ |
| 3 | フルタイムで昼の勤務と夜の勤務の交代制 |
| 4 | パートタイムで昼の勤務と夜の勤務の交代制 |
| 5 | パートタイムで夜の勤務のみ |
| 6 | パートタイムで昼の勤務のみ |
| 7 | 不規則 |
| 8 | 仕事なし |

問22 従業員（働いている人）は、会社全体で何人くらいですか。派遣・請負の方は、派遣先の会社の従業員数についてお答えください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | 1人（あなた1人で行う自営業の場合） |
| 2 | 2〜9人 |
| 3 | 10〜29人 |
| 4 | 30〜99人 |
| 5 | 100〜299人 |
| 6 | 300〜999人 |
| 7 | 1000人以上 |
| 8 | 官公庁 |

問23 あなたは、現在の職場（請負・派遣の方は、現在の派遣先や働いている工場など）での勤続期間はどのくらいですか。
問24 あなたは、このお仕事1週間でおよそ何時間、週に何日していますか。残業の時間も含めてお答えください。

A 一週間で（ ）時間
B 一週間に（ ）日

問25 あなたは現在、仕事で困っていることはありますか。（○はいくつでも）

1 特に困ってはいない
2 雇用契約が安定的でない
3 給料が安い
4 失業しており、新しい仕事が見つからない
5 その他（ ）

問26 あなた自身の現在の1か月あたりの平均的な収入（税込み）についてうかがいます。ボーナス等が支給される場合は、それらもこの中に含めてください。（○は1つ）

1 なし
2 5万円未満
3 5～7万円未満
4 7～10万円未満
5 10～13万円未満
6 13～16万円未満
7 16～20万円未満
8 20～25万円未満
9 25～30万円未満
10 30～35万円未満
11 35～40万円未満
12 40万円以上

問27 過去1年間のお宅（生計を共にしている家族）の収入は、合計すると税込みで次のどれに近いですか。（○は1つ）

年 □□ □月 □□ □日
問28 あなたのお宅では、過去1年間に次の1〜5のそれぞれの支払いが滞った（支払い期間を通った）ことがありますか。うっかり忘れてしまった場合は除いてください。（〇はそれぞれ1つ）

<table>
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<td>2 子どもの学費・保育料</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 車のローン</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>4 住宅ローン</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 国民健康保険の保険料</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</table>

■3■ あなたの日常生活についてうかがいます。

問29 あなたは日本人と以下のような付き合いがありますか。あてはまるものすべてに〇をつけてください。（過去の経験を含む）

| 1 一緒に働いている（働いていた） |
| 2 学校で一緒に勉強している（していた） |
| 3 友人としてつき合っている（つき合っていた） |
| 4 自分または親せきが日本人と結婚して日本に住んでいる（住んでいた） |
国際交流のグループで一緒に活動している（していた）
子どもたちの学校でのPTA活動を通じて、一緒に活動している（していた）
宗教活動（教会など）を通じて、一緒に活動している（していた）
その他のグループや地域活動に一緒に参加している（していた）
日本人とあいさつ程度の付き合いはある（あった）
日本人の知り合いはいないし、つき合いを持ったこともない

問30 あなたは以下にあげる団体や活動に参加しましたか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 地域の行事（お祭りやスポーツなど）
2 町内会・自治会の会合
3 学校のPTA・保護者会
4 自治体やボランティアが行う日本語教室
5 母国人団体の会合
6 母国人同士で開催する行事（お祭りやスポーツなど）
7 在日外国人を支援するボランティア団体の会合
8 敬会などの宗教団体の礼拝や活動

問31 問30で「2 町内会・自治会の会合」に〇をつけなかった方にうかがいます。その理由は何ですか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 必要と思わない
2 興味がない
3 なんとなく
4 町内会・自治会のことがわからない
5 時間がない
6 その他

問32 あなたがよく利用するメディアや情報源は何ですか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 日本で発行されている母国語新聞
2 日本にいる友人・親戚からの情報
9 日本にいる友人・親戚からの情報
問33 あなたがよく利用する施設や公共サービスは何ですか。（○はいくつでも）

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>図書館</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>市町村等の外国人相談窓口 (国際交流協会を含む)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>市町村や県のスポーツ施設（プール、運動場等）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ハローワーク</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

問34 あなたは問題を抱えて落ち込んだり混乱して、援助や相談相手が欲しいとき、どのような人や機関を利用しますか。あてはまるものにいくつでも○をつけてください。

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>配偶者</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>自分の親</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>配偶者の親</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>兄弟姉妹</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>その他の親族</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>日本人の友人・知人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>同国人の友人・知人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>同国人や外国人支援の団体</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>専門家やサービス機関（行政・学校・金融機関など）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>誰もいない</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

問35 あなたの日本での日常生活の中で、以下の項目について、どの程度満足していますか。各項目のあてはまるもの1つに○をつけてください。

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問36 あなたの日本での日常生活の中で、以下の項目について、どの程度不安に感じていますか。各項目のあてはまるもの1つに○をつけてください。

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>所得・収入</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>資産・貯蓄</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>自動車、電気製品、家具などの耐久消費財</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>住生活</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>レジャー・余暇生活</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>仕事の状況</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>雇用保険制度</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>生活保護制度</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>日本での生活全般</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

問37 あなたは普段の生活の中で、日本人に差別されていると感じることはありますか。○は1つ

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>子どもの教育</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>親子関係</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>夫婦の仲</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>住居の確保</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>安定した仕事の確保</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>病気</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>老後の生活</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
よくある 5 まったくない
少しはある 3
少ない 1

問 38 あなたは住まい探しなど、住居に関して困ったことはありますか。 （〇はいくつもつでも）

1 外国人を理由に入居を断られた 4 住宅購入資金の融資を受けられない
2 保証人がいなかった 5 その他
3 手続きが日本語でよくわからなかった 6 特にならない

■ 4■ 日本語学習についてうかがいます。

問 39 あなたは、現在日本語がどの程度できますか。当てはまるものにそれぞれ〇をつけてください。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 日本語で会話する</th>
<th>2 ひらがな・カタカナを読む</th>
<th>3 漢字を読む</th>
<th>4 ひらがな・カタカナを書く</th>
<th>5 漢字を書く</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ほぼ完全にできる</td>
<td>わりとできる</td>
<td>あまりできない</td>
<td>まったくできない</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

問 40 日本語の必要性についてどのように考えますか。 （〇はいくつもつても）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 現在の仕事で必要</th>
<th>2 条件のいい仕事を見つけるために必要</th>
<th>3 日本人との関係をつくるために必要</th>
<th>4 日本での生活に必要</th>
<th>5 日本での永住に必要</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

母国語で十分に暮らせるので不必要 6
じきに帰国するので不必要 7

- 197 -
問41 あなたは現在日本語を学習していますか。（○は1つ）

1 現在学習中
2 ほぼできるので学習は不要
3 学びたいが時間や機会がない
4 日本語はできないが、学習は不要

問42 あなたは今後日本語を学習したいと思いますか。（○は1つ）

1 ぜひ学習したい
2 機会があれば学習したい
3 すでに習得しているので千分
4 時間の余裕や機会ないので学習は無理
5 日本語はできないが、学ぶ必要を感じない

問43 問42で「1 ぜひ学習したい」か「2 機会があれば学習したい」を選んだ方におうかがいします。あなたは今後どこで日本語を学習したいですか。（○はいくつでも）

1 近くの公民館や公的施設
2 近くの公立学校
3 ボランティアの個別指導
4 民間の日本語学校
5 勤務先
6 自分の家でのプライベートレッスン
7 その他の場所でのプライベートレッスン
8 独学

問44 あなたは現在、日本語学習に関して困っていることはありますか。（○はいくつでも）

1 特に困っていることはない
2 学習の時間が確保できない
3 学習する費用がない
4 日本語を学習しても能力を生かす職場がない
5 教室の時間と自分の時間があわない
6 その他

■5■ 医療、保険についてうかがいます。

問45 あなたは、病気やけがをした時、どうしますか。（○はいくつでも）
すぐに医者に行い
薬を買って飲む

日本語がわからないので医者に行かない
我慢がまんして様子をみる

友人に相談する

199

日本語にほんごがわからないので医者に行いかな

日本語をもつ家族・友人を通訳に連れて行

病気の経験がない

1 すぐに医者に行く
2 言葉のわかる医者を探して行く
3 日本語がわからないので医者に行かない
4 友人に相談する
5 薬を買って飲む
6 我慢して様子を見る
7 病気の経験がない
8 わからない

問４６ あなたは普段病院に行くとき、病院での言葉の問題についてどのように対応していますか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 医師の日本語が理解できる
2 日本語のできる家族・友人を通訳に連れて行く
3 通訳を雇って連れて行く

問４７ あなたは、病気になったときに何に一番困りましたか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 病院で言葉が通じない
2 出産のとき母国の習慣と違って困った
3 病院の費用が高かった
4 病気になっても仕事を休まない

問４８ 日本での健康保険への加入状況教えてください。（〇はいくつでも）

1 国民健康保険
2 会社の健康保険
3 旅行傷害保険
4 その他の保険

問４９ 問４８で「６ 入っていない」に〇をした方にお聞きします。健康保険に加入していないのはなぜですか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 日本の保険制度がわからない
2 事業所が社会保険に加入させてくれない
3 市の窓口に行ったが、国民健康保険に加入できなかった
4 国民健康保険・社会保険に加入すると、年金にも加入しなければならないから
国民健康保険に加入すると未加入の2年間にかのぼって保険料を払わなければならないから

近日帰国予定

金銭的負担が大きい

問50 年金への加入状況を教えてください。（□はいくつでも）

| □ | 1 | 国民年金 | 問52へ |
|   | 2 | 厚生年金 | 問52へ |
|   | 3 | 母国の公的年金保険 | 問52へ |
|   | 4 | 母国の民間の年金保険 | 問52へ |
|   | 5 | その他の年金保険 | 問52へ |
|   | 6 | わからない | 問52へ |
|   | 7 | 入っていない |

問51 問50で「7 入っていない」に□をした方にお聞きします。年金に加入していないのはなぜですか。（□はいくつでも）

| □ | 1 | 日本の公的年金制度がわからない |
|   | 2 | 事業所で加入させてくれない |
|   | 3 | 途中で脱退した場合の一時金が少なすぎる |
|   | 4 | 年金をもらえる資格が発生するまでの加入期間が長すぎる |
|   | 5 | 近日帰国予定 |
|   | 6 | 金銭的負担が大きい |

問52 現在、雇用保険（失業保険）に加入していますか（給与明細で雇用保険料控除があれば、加入）。 （□は1つ）

| □ | 1 | 加入している | 問54へ |
|   | 2 | 加入していない |

問53 問52で「2 加入していない」に□をした方にお聞きします。雇用保険（失業保険）に加入していないのはなぜですか。（□はいくつでも）

| □ | 1 | 日本の雇用保険制度がわからない |

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■ 6 ■ 防災についてうかがいます。

問54 あなたは地震などの緊急時の（防災）対策をしていますか。（○はいくつでも）

1 指定された避難場所を知っている 4 食料品・懐中電灯などを用意
2 家族や知人との連絡方法を決めてある 5 特に何も準備していない
3 防災訓練に参加したことがある

問55 あなたはどうすれば防灾訓練に参加できますか。（○はいくつでも）

1 自治会など地域で言われたら 4 訓練への参加が必要だと感じたら
2 従業している企業で言われたら 5 参加したくない
3 友だちに誘われたら 6 わからない

問56 あなたは大規模な東海地震が予測されていることを知っていますか。（○は1つ）

1 知っている 2 知らない

■ 7 ■ 日本人とのトラブルについてうかがいます。

問57 あなたは地域での生活において、日本人との間にトラブルを体験したことがありますか。又は自分以外の方のトラブルについて聞いたことがありますか。（○はいくつでも）

- 201 -
自分じぶんが体験したことがある
家族や友人の体験を聞いたことがある
マスコミ等を含ふくめ聞きいたことがある
家族や友人の体験を聞いたことがある
まったく知らない

トラブルの一番の原因はどこにあると思いますか。（〇は1つ）

1 日本人が外国人の生活習慣や文化に理解がない
2 外国人が日本の習慣や決まりを理解していない
3 生活習慣などで、自分の母国では問題にならないのに日本では問題になることがある
4 お互いに言葉が通じない
5 お互いにコミュニケーションをとらない、又はとろうとしない
6 相手の生活習慣や文化を理解しようとする気持ちがない

あなたやあなたの家族、友人がトラブルを経験したときに、どのように対応しましたか。（〇はいくつでも）

1 友人、知人に相談した
2 町内など近隣の日本人に相談した
3 県や市など行政に相談した
4 犯罪被害などで警察に通報又は相談した

■８■ 母国との関係についてうかがいます。

あなたは、今後の日本での滞在をどのようにお考えですか？（〇は1つ）

1 日本に住み続ける予定 → 問６２へ
2 3年以内に母国に帰国する予定
3 10年以内に母国に帰国する予定
4 できるだけ長く日本に滞在し、いずれは母国に帰国する予定
5 母国と日本以外の国に行く予定（国名： ）
6 わからない
問61 問60で「1 日本に住み続ける予定」以外に○をつけた方におうかがいます。あなたが帰国を決意するため、一番の条件は何ですか？（○は1つ）

1 母国で仕事が決まっていること
2 母国で自分の家（アパート）をすでに購入していること
3 母国で親せき（両親、兄弟など）の家でしばらく住めること
4 千分の貯金が確保できていること
5 子どもが帰りたいと言った場合
6 日本で再就職出来ない場合
7 日本で住むところがなくなった場合
8 日本政府の帰国支援を受けた場合
9 更新不可能な在留資格のため
10 その他（ ）

■9■ 市役所や県などの行政サービスについてうかがいます。

問62 市役所や県に対してどんなことを望みますか。又は、どんなことをしてもらいたいですか。（○はいくつでも）

1 行政サービス情報の多言語で教えて欲しい → 問64へ
2 緊急時に防災情報を多言語で放送してほしい → 問64へ
3 労働相談や生活相談をしやすいように多言語の通訳をつけてもらいたい → 問64へ
4 医療通訳を充実してほしい → 問64へ
5 無料の日本語教室を開いてもらいたい → 問64へ
6 日本人と外国人の交流の場を設けて欲しい → 問64へ
7 生活相談などに対して丁寧に対応する窓口を設けてほしい → 問64へ
8 公営住宅を充実させてほしい → 問64へ
9 企業に対して労働規約の遵守などを指導する → 問64へ
10 職業訓練を受けやすいようにカリキュラムを工夫する → 問64へ
11 外国人に対して差別がなくなるように外国文化などを理解する機会を設ける → 問64へ

-203-
問63  問62で「1」に〇をした方に伺います。具体的に、どのような行政サービス情報を多言語で教えてほしいですか。（〇はいくつでも）

| 1 | 教育制度や学校の情報 | 8 | 税金の仕組みや支払い方法などの情報 |
| 2 | 田舎や育児の情報 | 9 | 公共施設の利用方法などの情報 |
| 3 | 病院や医療の情報 | 10 | 地域の交流イベントやお祭りの情報 |
| 4 | 就職や雇用情報の情報 | 11 | 公共交通機関の情報 |
| 5 | 災害、事故、緊急時の情報 | 12 | 地域や自治会の情報 |
| 6 | 外国人登録や在留資格の情報 | 13 | 通訳や翻訳のボランティアの情報 |
| 7 | ごみの出し方など日本で生活するルールに関する情報 |

■10■ 配偶者（パートナー）との関係についてうかがいます。
配偶者とお子さんのいない方は、■12■に進んでください。
配偶者（パートナー）はいないが、お子さんはいらっしゃる方は、14ページの問71へ

問64 あなたの配偶者の 年齢は 填入

問65 あなたの配偶者（パートナー）の国籍を教えてください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | ブラジル | 4 | ペルー | 7 | ベトナム | 10 | その他 |
| 2 | 中国 | 5 | 韓国 | 8 | 日本 |
| 3 | フィリピン | 6 | インドネシア | 9 | 二重国籍 |

問66 配偶者（パートナー）の方が最後に卒業した学校を教えてください。在学中の場合は、その学校をお答えください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | 小学校・中学校 | 4 | 短期大学・専門学校 |
| 2 | 高等学校（普通科） | 5 | 大学・大学院 |
| 3 | 高等学校（普通科以外） | 6 | その他 |
問67 配偶者（パートナー）の現在のお仕事は、大きく分けて中のどれにあたりますか。複数のお仕事をお持ちの場合は、主なお仕事についておうかがいします。（○は1つ）

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>直接雇用（正社員）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>直接雇用（臨時雇用・パート・アルバイト）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>間接雇用（派遣・請負）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>自営業主</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>家族従業者</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>無職：仕事を探している</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>無職：仕事を探していない</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>学生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>研修生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>実習生</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

問68 配偶者（パートナー）の具体的なお仕事の内容を教えてください。（○は1つ）

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>技能労働者（製造、修理、建築、運輸などの労働者）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>一般作業員（採掘、建設、土木作業、清掃などの非熟練労働者）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>販売的職業（店主、店員、販売員、セールスマンなど）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>サービス的職業（美容師、クリーニング、給仕、接客、介護など）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>専門的職業（技術者、医師、看護師、教員、通訳、研究者など）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>管理的職業（課長以上の管理職）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>事務的職業（事務員、銀行員など）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>農林漁業</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>その他</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

問69 この1年間に、あなたの配偶者（パートナー）からあなたに対して、以下にあげることがありましたか。（○はそれぞれ1つずつ）

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>あなたを侮辱したり、ののしる</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>実家や友人とのつきあいを制限されたり、禁止される</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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</table>
問70 関69の「1」から「5」の項目でどれか一つでも「1～2回」または「3回以上」○をつけた方にお聞きします。そのことについて誰に相談しましたか。（○はいくつでも）

| 1 | 友人・知人 | 5 | 市町窓口 |
| 2 | 家族・親戚 | 6 | 国際交流協会 |
| 3 | 警察 | 7 | だれにも相談していない |
| 4 | 同国入団体 |

■11■ お子さんの教育についてうかがいます。
お子さんがいらっしゃらない方は、これで終了です。

* お子さんが2人以上いらっしゃる場合は、1番上のお子さんについてお答えください。

問71 子どもの性別 （〇は1つ）

1 | 男性
2 | 女性

問72 子どもの年齢

問73 お子さんが生まれた国を教えてください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | ブラジル |
| 2 | 中国 |
| 3 | フィリピン |

問74 お子さんの国籍を教えてください。（〇は1つ）

| 1 | ブラジル |
| 2 | 中国 |
| 3 | フィリピン |
| 4 | ベルギー |
| 5 | 韓国または朝鮮 |
| 6 | インドネシア |
| 7 | ベトナム |
| 8 | 日本 |
| 9 | その他 |
| 10 | その他 |
3 フィリピン   6 インドネシア   9 二重国籍

問７５ あなたのお子さんの就学状況について、当てはまるものに○をつけてください。（○は１つ）

1 就学年齢に達していない  4 卒業
2 就学中  5 学校には行っていない
3 中退

問７６ お子さんの就学している学校・保育園等について、当てはまるものに○をつけてください。卒業したお子さんについては、最後に在籍した学校に○をつけてください。（○は１つ）

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</tr>
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問７７ 親として、お子さんの教育に関する悩みは何ですか。（○はいくつでも）

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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>将来の進路</td>
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問７８ お子さんの将来の進路に関する希望についておうかがいします。当てはまるものに○をつけてください。（○は１つ）

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<td>4</td>
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- 207 -
日本で職業訓練を行うような学校に行かせたい
高等教育より、早く働いてほしい
# Appendix 3. Profile of Informants from Qualitative Study (2012-2015)

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</tbody>
</table>

(Note: All the names of informants in this profile are anonym)