

**Cross-Border Identity and Multiculturalism in East Asia—
An Empirical Study on the Taiwanese Diaspora in Contemporary Japan**

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Abstract

This working paper examines the cultural identity of a particular transmigrant group, the “newcomer” Taiwanese, in contemporary Japan. This group of Taiwanese came to Japan after the conclusion of WWII. They have experienced several transitional changes of recognition of legal status and of self-identification in accordance with international politics. The presence of the newcomer Taiwanese in contemporary Japan can be regarded not only as the legacy of international history, but also as the asset of a multicultural society in East Asia.

This study seeks to investigate the Taiwanese transmigrants’ cultural adaptation and socialization under the Japanese discourse through literature reviews and field study. This paper argues that the newcomer Taiwanese have constructed a hybridized identity, which serves to be one of the most significant characteristics of migrants in the multicultural era in the globe. The embedded hybrid of Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness in their identity is constructed through daily work, life practice and social networking.

This group of Taiwanese migrants in postwar Japan struggle with surveillance, assimilation and identity confusion under a complex background of international relations. To balance between a survival strategy overseas and a primordial attachment to the motherland, their identity of group boundaries may shift in various directions in accordance with the dynamic situations. Focusing on the patterns of migrants’ settlement and networks, this study suggests that the newcomer Taiwanese had developed a certain model that features cultural mixture in their intra- and inter-ethnic interactions.

Keywords: Cross-border Identity, Diaspora, Multiculturalism, Taiwanese/Chinese Overseas, Postcolonial Japan-Taiwan Relations, Homogeneity, Cross-strait Relations.

I. Purpose of Study

Nation States are confronted with a rising tide of human flows in the era of globalization. Migration of crossing-borders becomes a universal phenomenon after the 1970s, which leads to the “porous borders” of modern states (Hirano 2005). This trend resulted in expanding researches on migration from varied disciplines. Transnational or multicultural studies on crossing-border ethnicity in the Western academia are thereafter becoming preeminent in terms of quantity and quality. Meanwhile, when it comes to East Asia, Japan serves to be an interesting case for the latest studies.

Japan, widely considered to be a society of racial and cultural homogeneity, faces an increasing influx of transmigrants, in particular those from East Asia. Migration thus leads to a broad range of concerns in the contemporary Japanese society. While previous literatures of the Chinese and Korean Diaspora are widely researched, those on the Taiwanese Diaspora are far left behind in the associated scholarship. This working paper examines the cultural identity of a particular transmigrant group, the “newcomer Taiwanese”¹ in Japan, through documentary reviews and field research. Sociologists and anthropologists have claimed that “immigrant networks and the associated social capital are no longer confined to activities located primarily in the host society” (Portes and Guarnizo 1991, Barbara 2000). Taiwanese cross-borderers, as valuable social capital, significantly contribute to the economic, social and political development in both home and host countries mutually. In addition, “through derived understandings

¹ This study focuses on the group of Taiwanese who came to Japan after the conclusion of WWII. Taiwanese Diaspora has a long history of settlement in Japan. According to Tai (1993), those Taiwanese who came to Japan before WWII are distinguished as “old comers” whereas those who came after WWII are categorized as “newcomers.”

of multiculturalism, migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link both societies of origin and settlement” (Basch 1994). Sharing cultural legacies with China and Japan, the presence of Taiwanese transmigrants in contemporary Japan serves as a transnational asset featuring a cultural mixture in the era of multiculturalism.

II. Research Question

This study examines the Taiwanese transmigrants’ cultural identity, through the investigation of their adaptation and socialization under the Japanese discourse of cultural commodity in East Asia. The main questions of this study are as follows:

1. What are the ethnic backgrounds of the newcomer Taiwanese? Are they indigenous people, Taiwanese islanders or Hakkaness (those who came to Taiwan before 1949) or Taiwanese mainlanders (those who came to Taiwan after 1949)? How is the factor of ethnic background correlated with the migrant’s self-identification?
2. For what purpose did the newcomer Taiwanese come to Japan during 1949—1996²? What are the push and pull factors and the patterns composed by the factors? (See Table (A) and Table (B)).
3. Is there correlation between cultural identity of the newcomer Taiwanese and the effects of Japanese colonization? Can a correlation be drawn from their political preferences or ideology in favor of Taiwanese independence or unification with China?
4. Does settlement in Japan deconstruct or reconstruct cultural identity of the newcomer Taiwanese? If so, what factors contribute to the reconstruction?

² According to Pon (1997) “Many scholars argue that Taiwan was a authoritarian regime under the Kuomintang (the KMT) administration during 1949—1996.” 1949 is the year that the KMT retreated from the Mainland to the Formosa island; 1996 is the year that Li Tang-Hui (李登輝) took over power.

Wu (2004) conducted a study on Japanese orphans left behind in China after WWII and concluded the pull and push factors as follows. She divides those main factors into internal and external drivers as Table (A1) shows. Furthermore, she analyzes the factors and categorizes the patterns of Japanese orphans in China as proactive and passive types in Table (A2).

Table (A1). Analysis of the Japanese orphans in China after the WWII.

	I . Pull Factors to China	II. Push Factors from Japan
Internal factor	a. Under the patronage in China	x. Being discriminated against as a Chinese (in Japan)
External factor	b. Establishment of high social status in China	y. Being unemployed in Japan
	c. For returning gratitude for Chinese people's kindness	z. Being opposed to return to homeland by Japanese relatives

Table (A2) Types of Japanese in China

Proactive type	(I—a) + (I—b) + (I—c)
Passive type	(II—x) + (II—y) + (II—z)

(Translated from Wu 2004)

Based on the framework of Wu's study, author investigates pull and push factors of Taiwanese migrants in Japan. Author also divides those main factors into internal and external motivation drivers of migrants' mobility in Table (B1). Furthermore, author categorizes the patterns of Taiwanese migrants in Japan as proactive and passive types in the Table (B2) as follows.

Table (B1). Analysis of the newcomer Taiwanese in Japan

	I . Pull factor to Japan	II. Push factor from Taiwan
Internal factor	a. Cultural /Educational Attraction	i. Social/Political Dissatisfaction
External factor	b. Ideal Employment	ii. Displeasing employment
	c. Good social networks or/and family relationship	iii. Poor social networks or/and family relationship

Table (B2). Types of Newcomer Taiwanese in Japan

Proactive type	(I—a) + (I—b) + (I—c)
Passive type	(II—i) + (II—ii)+ (II—iii)

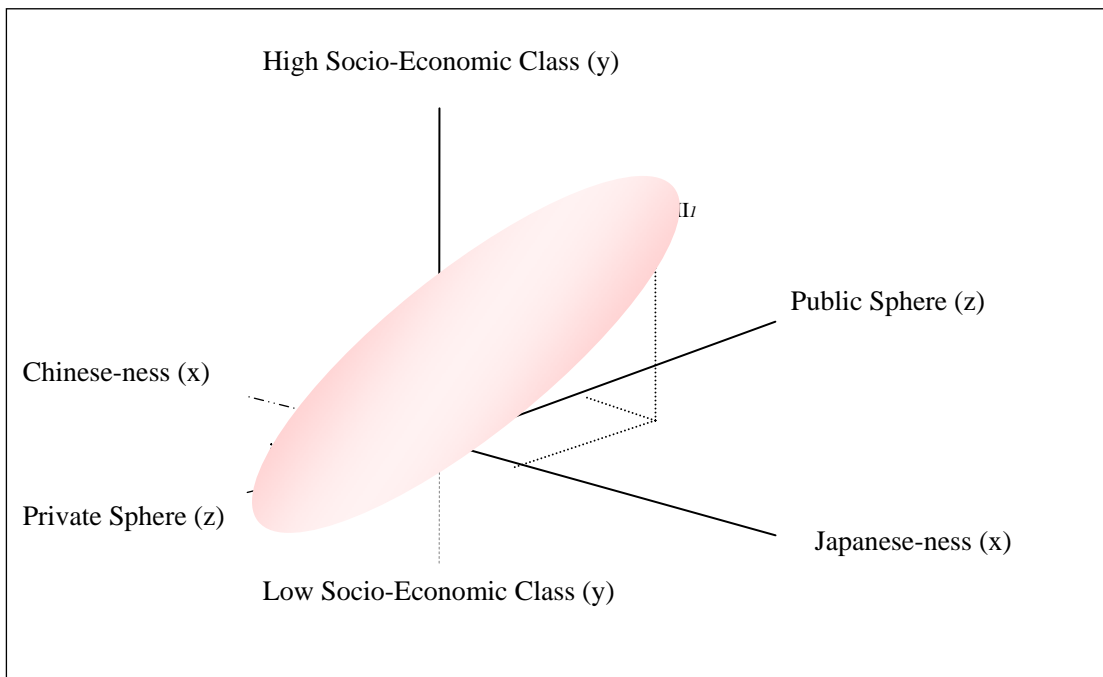
(Author 2006)

III. Hypotheses

This research argues that cross-border identity might not be bounded coherently, but are subject to modification in accordance with the cultural practices and social contexts, which is based on the three main hypotheses as follows:

1. Part of the cultural identity of the newcomer Taiwanese represents the legacy of Japanese colonization. To maintain Japanese-ness remarks not only a strategy for advantageous survival in Japanese society, but also as nostalgia for colonial period.
2. Chinese-ness is embedded into the cultural identity, employment or live practices of the newcomer Taiwanese. It appears to be particularly significant among the first generation and those who attained less education in Japan.
3. The newcomer Taiwanese have constructed their hybridized identity (HI), varied in the degree of composed Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness combination. The location and distribution of HI_i is highly correlated with one's social-economic status (high/low class) in Japan as well as the life settings (public/private sphere) in which one practices activity. The following fig.1 of a three dimensional analysis illustrates the idea of Taiwan's migrants hybridized identity in Japan.

Fig1. A Three Dimensional Analysis: Taiwanese Migrants' Hybridized Identity in Japan



IV. Methodology:

This research will be conducted through three approaches: history methodology, field study and theory examination. Based on literature review, this study looks into the history of the social and political background with regards to Taiwanese transmigrants in Japan. It further explicates how social processes enter into the construction of cross-borderers' hybridized cultural identity through interactions and interviews with the focus group. In addition, it employs theories of culture studies and sociolinguistic analysis to perceive the focus group's language and networking practice as a core of cultural adaptation and socialization. Through the methodologies stated above, this dissertation examines the ways that the newcomer Taiwanese preserve, deconstruct and/or reconstruct their cultural identity through interfacing with people of varied backgrounds in Japan.

V. Focus Group

This study focuses on the group of Taiwanese transmigrants, the first generation, who came to Japan during the years between 1949 and 1996, and speak Taiwanese and/or the Hakkaness dialect, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and/or English. Besides the focus group, this study may compare Taiwanese migrants in Japan with those in the US, and Chinese mainlanders in Japan, to signify the unique characteristics of Taiwanese newcomer's identity in Japan and the factors that attribute the hybridized identity.

VI. Literature Review

Previous literatures in which studies related to, or theories that partly explains hybridized identity are as follows. The researches mainly focus on the pattern of migrants' settlement and networks. The concepts can be categorized into three groups: 1) Intra-ethnic Interaction : Ethnic Niche, Ethnic Enclave Bamboo Network, and Gift /Guanxi Economy; 2) Inter-ethnic Interaction : Intermediate Identity, Situational/Transitional Ethnicity, Identity Crisis, Assimilation Theory, Segmented Assimilation and Theory of Middleman Minorities. 3) Others: Intersection of ethnicity & Mobility: Yo-yo Migration & Class; ethnicity & class: Ethclass; ethnicity & Spectrum: The Third Place.

1) Intra-ethnic Interaction :

- "Ethnic Niche" (Bonacich & Modell 1980): Based on the a study of first-generation Japanese in the U.S., Bonaich and Modell argues that social solidarity serves as an ethnic niche to help the marginalized ethnic group or minority establish business

success.

- “Ethnic Enclave” (Porte 1985): By studying the case of Cuban migrants in Miami, the U.S., Alejandro Porte found that an immigrant could spend his or her entire life within the confines of the ethnic enclave. The Cuban American community shares many of the structural features commonly associated with other types of immigrant enclaves, including those of the economy, politics or military.
- Bamboo Network” (Weidenbaum and Huges 1996), “Gift Economy” (Yang 1994) / “Guanxi Economy”(Smart 1993, 1998)” : The rapid growth and apparent economic success of ethnic Chinese businesses in the Asia-Pacific rim has aroused scholarly and journalistic interest which analyses the specificity of the ethnic Chinese business network –also known as the so-called “bamboo network”³, “gift economy”⁴ or “Guanxi economy”⁵ that stretches across the globe to form an “invisible empire”(Seagrave 1995) or “Under-grounded empire” (Ong and Nonini 1997.) According to these analyses, ethnic Chinese are linked by their shared language, heritage, and culture, which also facilitate their close economic connections that contribute to the expanding economic empire in Asia and to a lesser extent around

³ A spate of books and studies about the “bamboo network” emphasized the role of cultural artifacts such as Confucianism and its hierarchy of relationships in the family and polity, combined with descriptions of the close ties between Chinese family Businesses, typified by practices such as mutual cross-holdings.

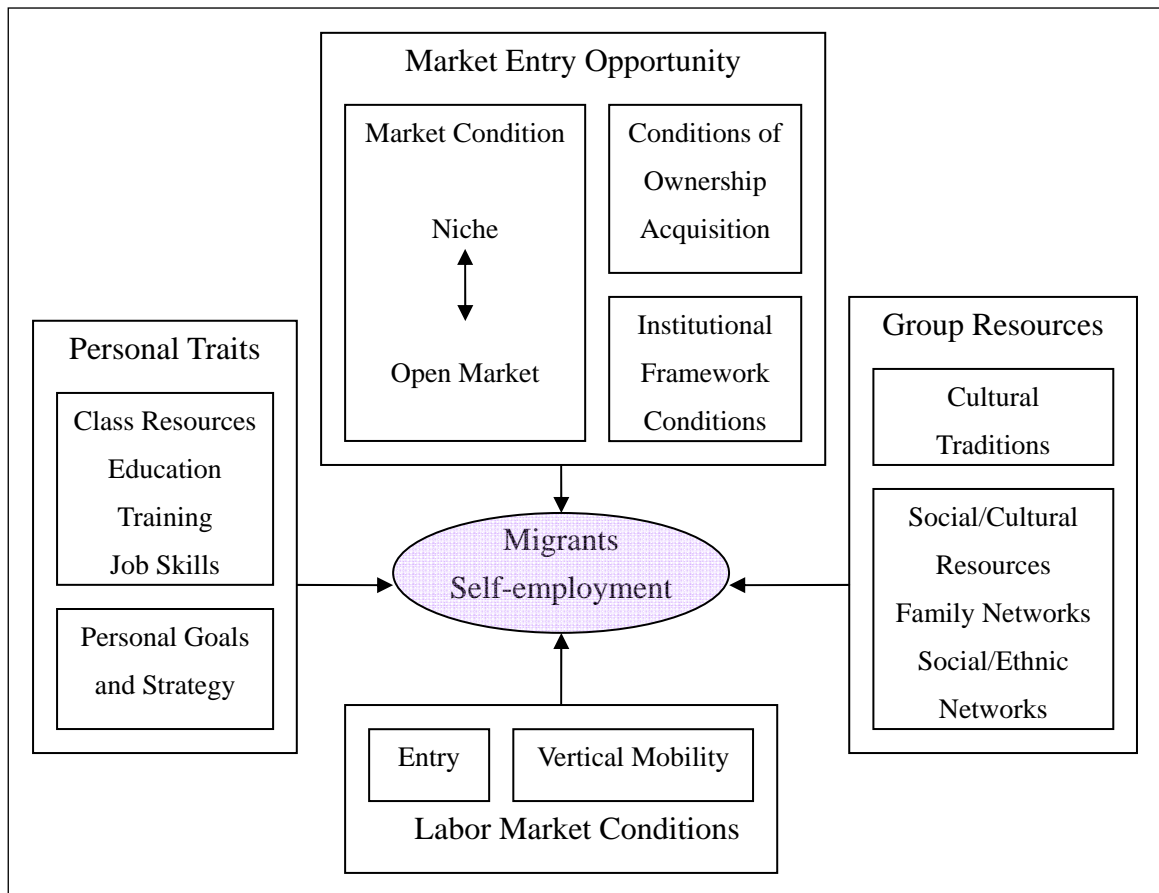
⁴ A “gift economy” is an economic system in which the prevalent mode of exchange is for goods and services to be given without explicit agreement upon a quid-pro-quo (the Latin term for the concept of “a favor for a favor”). Typically, this occurs in a cultural context where there is an expectation either of reciprocation—in the form of goods or services of comparable value, or of political support, general loyalty, honor to the giver, etc.—or of the gift being passed on in some other manner. This can be considered a form of reciprocal altruism. In other cases, gifting is done without implicit expectation of reciprocation.

⁵ In a Confucian society, merchants and entrepreneurs had to operate in a world for which there existed neither moral rules nor laws. They adjusted to this situation by creating the “guanxi-economy”—an economy based on personal connections. One did business, as far as possible, only with those one knew and could trust. The best example of a guanxi-economy is offered by the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. They organized their businesses as family firms, assigning all the key positions in the enterprise to family members. They concentrated their business relations on persons who belonged to the same clan or, at least, the same region of origin. The preference of doing business on the basis of personal connections also lies behind the drive for building conglomerates.

the globe.

In the German literature on migrant self-employment and entrepreneurship, Putz (2000) has developed an explanatory framework which echoes the essence of the mixed embedded-ness approach⁶ as fig.2 shows below.

Fig.2 Factors of Migrants Self-employment



Source: Arbeitssituation von Migrantinnen in der bezahlten Putz/Hausarbeit und Gründung von RESPECT in Deutschland, Dokumentation eines Seminars vom 18.-20.2.2000.

2) Inter-ethnic Interaction:

- “Intermediate Identity” (Gosling 1983): Gosling conducted a case study on Chinese

⁶ See Maggi Leung “The working of networking: ethnic network as social capital among Chinese migrant business in Germany” from the book Ernst Spaan, Felicitas Hillman and Ton van Naerssem et al., “Asian Migrants and European Labor Markets—Patterns and Process of Immigrant Labor Market Insertion in Europe.” Routledge 2005.

in Southeast Asia. He concludes that according to the demands of the moment and the types of audience available, which dictate whether they should act on their “back-stage” or “front-stage” that composes intermediate identity.

- “Situational/ Transitional Ethnicity” (Hall 1996): Situational ethnicity permits Punjabi women the option of selecting and discarding assorted cultural values and traditions. Equally, postmodern perspectives acknowledge that an individual’s identity is constantly altered and modified because of the continuous interaction between self and society. What eventually occurs is that individuals assume different identities according to the situation. Hall (1996) further explains, “As the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildered, fleeting, and multiplicity of possible identities, any one of which we could identify with, at least temporarily” (p.598). Ho (1995) contends that individuals raised in multiethnic environments may develop multicultural or hybrid identities. Phinney (1999) suggests, similar to situational ethnicity, hybridized cultures are created as a result of constant socialization and transfer of information from individuals of diverse cultures. Furthermore, Ghuman (1995) suggests this trend in Vancouver with teachers claiming that their students possess multiple-identities (p.232). Lessenger (1995) also observes that individuals develop what she calls a “transnational identity.”
- “Identity Crisis” (Jenkins 2003): Based on a case study of the Navajo (Native American) community in the U.S., Jenkins argues that the loss of indigenous languages and heritage culture because of colonization has led to the group to suffer from an inferiority complex when facing the dominant language (English) and culture (White American/Anglo-Saxon).

- “Assimilation Theory” (Park 1950): Robert E. Park was influential in developing the theory of assimilation as it pertained to immigrants in the United States. He argued that there were four steps to the Race Relations Cycle (Contact, Competition, Accommodation, and Assimilation) in the story of the immigrant. The first step was contact then followed by competition. In the third step, each group would accommodate each other. Finally, when this failed, the immigrant group would learn to assimilate. Through assimilation, immigrants and their descendants merge into the dominant ethnic culture.
- “Segmented Assimilation” (Portes, Zhou and Rumbaut 1993, 1994, 2001): This theory asserts that the United States is a stratified and unequal society. Therefore, different “segments” of society are available to which immigrants may assimilate. Portes, Zhou and Rumbaut delineate three possible paths of assimilation that immigrants may take. The first is essentially what is predicted by classical assimilation theory, i.e., increasing acculturation and integration into the American middle class. The second is acculturation and assimilation into the urban underclass, leading to poverty and downward mobility. The third, “selective acculturation” is the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s culture and values, accompanied by economic integration. The theory emphasizes that there is more than one way of “becoming American,” and that Americanization is not necessarily beneficial.

Juith Goode (1990) reframes the relations between newcomers and established residents in a community in Philadelphia as host-guest relations and argues that hosts welcome newcomers “if they try to learn the rules”. In this community, some of the immigrants are more educated and wield more economic power than the

established residents, a difference that generates tension.

- “Middleman minority theory” (Blalock and Bonacich 1967:79-84): This theory focuses on immigrant adaptation strategies within a larger (potentially hostile) society. Encompassing such groups as the Chinese in Southeast Asia, Jews in Europe, and Indians in East Africa. A key variable is the orientation of immigrants towards their place of residence, with sojourning at first, and later a "stranger" orientation affecting the solidarity and economic activity of the ethnic group. These in turn arouse the hostility of the host society, which perpetuates a reluctance to assimilate completely, or “stranger” status. Key characteristics of middleman minorities include: (1) a concentration in small retail businesses that serve communities of diverse other minorities; (2) strong ethnic cohesion; and (3) conflict with other ethnic groups.

3) Others:

- “Yo-yo migration” (Margolis 1995:32): From a transnational perspective, migrants are no longer “uprooted,” but rather move freely back and forth across international borders and between different cultures and social systems. For example, the case of Brazilian immigrants in New York City, to highlight the concept of “yo-yo” migration. Margolis contrasts this type of migration with cultural commuters or shuttle migrants “who regularly migrate back and forth between home and host country with no particular intention of staying in with place for good.”
- “Ethclass” (Milton M. Gordon 1966): “ethclass” is defined as “the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class”.) For Gordon, an ethclass is a source of group identification, and network of

institutions and social grouping within which the individual may establish primary relationships. Furthermore, Chia (1987) explicitly applies the conceptual scheme of domestic/public to an analysis of Korean immigrant women in Hawaii. Middle-class and well-educated Korean women have been relegated to the domestic sphere in their home society. But as immigrants, they take waged work outside the home, and this wage earning may lead to a more flexible division of labor, decision making and parental responsibility, as well as to less sex segregation in social and public places.

- “The Third Place” (Bhabha 1990): The articulation of a “third place” disrupts any easy understandings of Hindu Punjabi’s identity. Instead, it emphasizes on the play between construction of being British and becoming south Asian. In other words, the differences between British and HPs might not be greater than that among HPs.

VII. Background of the Taiwanese Newcomer

A. Employment and Social Network

Ethnic Chinese migrants overseas, including Taiwanese newcomers, brought with them well-developed mechanisms of social and economic organization, which influenced both patterns of settlement and the maintenance of a distinct identity. None the less, provincial kinship or business associations continued to play an important role in Chinese/Taiwanese social life in Japan. Chinese and Taiwanese were disenfranchised, obliged to register, and were excluded from a wide range of social and welfare benefits as well as employment or promotion in the public sector. These and other exclusions reinforced traditional reliance on Chinese/Taiwanese ethnic associations in areas of employment and social life.

Early Chinese/Taiwanese migrants generally remained in Chinatown enclaves as self-employed shopkeepers or restaurants. Employees and business contacts continued to be drawn from among either relatives or acquaintances from the same province of origin, while Chinese/Taiwanese enterprise continued to raise capital using provincial ties. Those provincial associations maintained their traditional functions as social clubs and benevolent societies, providing hospitals, chambers of commerce and schools. When Chinese or Taiwanese found it difficult to obtain loans from Japanese banks before 1980s, the business associations sponsored the foundation of ethnic Chinese financial aid institutions and systems to provide similar service as a bank.

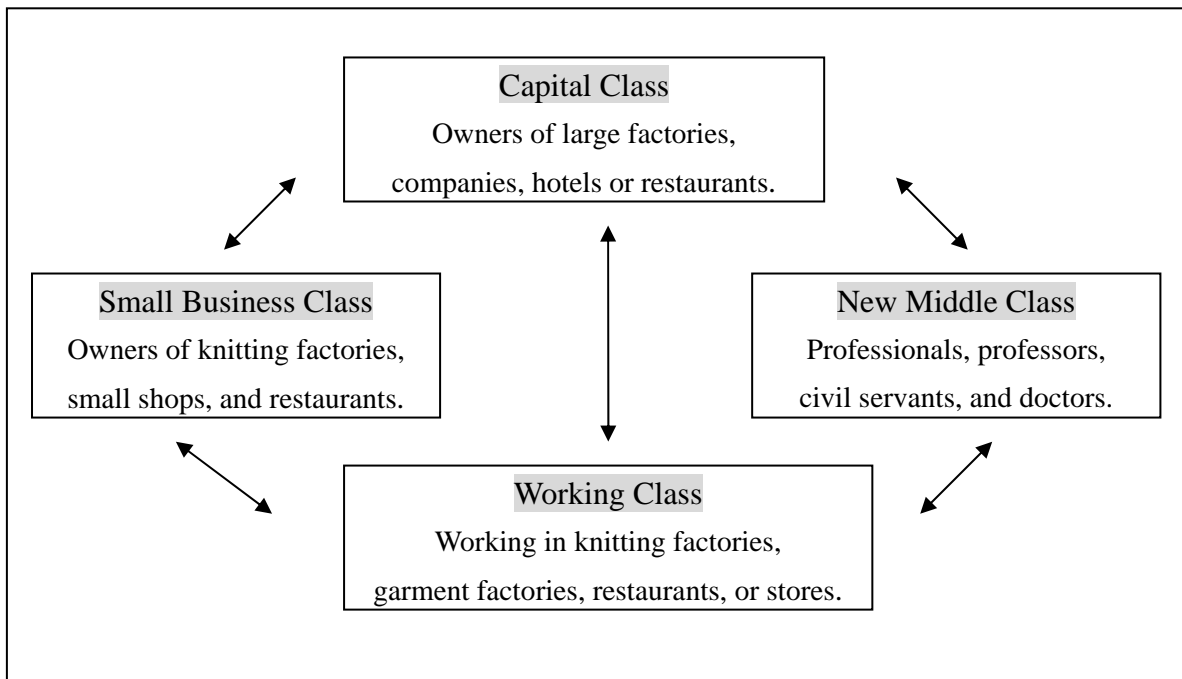
However, despite some apparent similarities, clear distinctions can be drawn between Taiwanese and mainland Chinese's patterns of settlement and employment. For example, in terms of schooling, in an effort to avoid being drawn into some political disputes between China (the PRC) and Taiwan (the ROC), many parents began to send their children to Japanese schools, through which facilitates both children and parents' segmented assimilation to Japanese-ness.

In terms of employment, like the mainland Chinese, a number of Taiwanese owned restaurants or sold groceries or general merchandise, while others were merchants, barbers, or chefs (Uchida 1949). In addition to the traditional way of Chinese employment, newcomer Taiwanese held occupations ranging from construction work to medicine, dentistry, teaching and journalism. They also went into such areas as real estate, pearl cultivation, or management of hotel business.

Newcomer Taiwanese are particularly active in trading. They made a lot of profits by importing bananas and other kind of fruits from Taiwan since the 1950s (Nagata and Tanaka 1962b:38.) Joint ventures in business between newcomer Taiwanese and local Japanese increased as the latter came to realize the business talents of the former. Such cooperation was often based on inter-ethnic marriage (Nagata and Tanaka 1962b:55).

Newcomer Taiwanese's employment and class distribution can be categorized as fig3. shows below:

Fig3. Employment Class of Taiwanese migrants in Japan



(by author)

B. History of the Transitional Legal Status

As a result of war and the colonial experience, Taiwanese migrants in Japan

present a unique aspect in the discussion of their ambiguous legal status, which is barely covered by the previous studies on their other counterparts flowing to the US or Southeast Asia. In the aftermath of WWII, the Taiwanese in Japan encountered ambiguity over their sense of belonging, both legally and ethnically. Their legal status was not clarified until the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Sino-Japan Treaty was concluded in 1952.

During the years between 1945 and 1952, those Taiwanese could not be categorized either as Chinese or as Japanese. Taiwanese were regarded as “non-Japanese” yet were still considered to be “Japanese citizens.” There was a legal distinction between the Chinese and the Taiwanese. The former was from a country on the winner’s side, whereas the latter was categorized as the people of the “third nation”, which was neither a winner nor a loser of the war.

The ambiguity was ended up by the ROC government which recovered migrants’ Chinese citizenship in October 1946. Following this decision, the US government issued a memorandum which admitted the change of the legal status of Taiwanese in 1947. There were about 15,000 Taiwanese who were accepted by this legal procedure to become citizens of the ROC (Tanaka 1983: 28-30).

According to the Alien Registration Law issued by the Japanese government in May 1947, the Taiwanese in Japan started to be categorized as “foreigners” instead of “non-Japanese,” even though they were still considered to have Japanese citizenship. The Taiwanese in Japan finally lost their Japanese citizenship and

officially became citizens of the ROC on April 28, 1952, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect. Some scholars argue that not until August 5th 1952 of the Sino-Japan Treaty, when Taiwanese citizenship ambiguity was concluded (Tanaka 1983:39) because the San Francisco Peace Treaty mentioned to legalize citizenship for the people residing in Japanese colonies (Taiwan and Korea) rather than for those on Japan. However, contradictory treatment applied to the Taiwanese who were captured as war criminals—they were not allowed to desert their Japanese citizenship and hence were charged for their crimes.

The other problem appeared in the “koseki” (family registration) system via inter-ethnic marriage. Those Japanese women who married to Taiwanese men by 1960 were obligated to become Chinese citizens based on the old Nationality Law of Japan.

The ambiguities and vicissitudes of their legal status also forged complex identities in-between being Japanese and Chinese. Although the legal labeling and self definition of Taiwanese in Japan changed, the distinction between them and the rest of the Chinese in Japan kept to a large extent in interpersonal relationships. Some Taiwanese, particularly the recipients of Japanese education, were proud of being “Japanese” and despised Chinese from the mainland by calling the latter “shinajin” (支那人), which has derogatory connotations. The political upheaval and ethnic conflict inside the Taiwan Island also forged the self-segregation of ethnic Chinese migrants. While some realized their wish to return to be Chinese, some of them keep question marks in their self-identification.

In the eyes of the Taiwanese who had gone through industrialization and other social development under Japanese colonial practices, ill conduct by the new Chinese ruler appeared not only morally inappropriate but primitive. Due to the KMT government, they rather held nostalgia toward the colonial period with favor of Japan. There was a saying “dogs left, and pigs came.” to describe the ruling authority in Taiwan. Dogs referred to Japanese, who exercised severe controls over Taiwan, whereas the KMT Chinese were as dirty and stupid as pigs. Therefore, during 1950s, a great number of Taiwanese students flowed into Japan and sought to continue their careers or to establish a life in Japan. Many of them were also involved in numbers of overseas Taiwan independent activity after then.

C. Context of Homogenous Society

In the context of Japanese as a homogenous society, Taiwanese migrants in Japan encounter barriers to integrate themselves to the cultures. The social setting of Japanese homogeneity can be illustrated from three approaches:

- i. Sociolinguistic approach: Foreigners reaffirm the *uchi/soto* dialectics that are on foundation of Japanese identity because they embody *soto*. The Japanese word, most commonly translated as “foreigner”, is “gaijin”, which literally means “outside” person, a *soto* other. The Otherness of foreigners, however, has multiple loci. Definitions of these *soto*⁷ (others) or outside others are often differentiated along sociological categories of race, conforming to the white, yellow, black continuum. Manabe (1989) reveals that Japanese tend to use the word *gaijin* only for whites, who are conceptualized as pure *gaijin* or true *gaijin*,

⁷ In contrast to *Soto*, *Uchi* defines the boundary of an inside group or space; that is, a primary locus of membership and belongings.

while the term “gaikokujin” is used for blacks and non-Japanese Asians. Blacks are often called kokujin whereas Asians are called “Ajjajin”

- ii. Law perspective: Under the constraint of strict immigration law, Japan is the only exceptional case of an advanced industrial country that has not experienced massive influxes of immigrants as seen in western countries. Labor migration to Japan in the 1980s has some similarities with the case of Western European countries in the 1960s, because of demographic change and labor shortages, foreign migrant workers came to fill jobs at the lower strata in the labor market. Japanese law also follows *jus sanguinis*⁸ just as Western European countries do. Researchers have related this role of *jus sanguinis* with the exclusion of immigrant and the “ethnocultural conception of nationhood.” (Brubaker1992) To solve the labor shortage in the economic market as well as to ensure homogeneous ethnicity, the government chose an *ad hoc* policy that combined the two options in 1989: 1. Permission of Nikkei-jin (Japanese descent) up to the third generation, particularly those who are from Brazil or Peru, to enter Japan legally, without restriction on their economic activities. 2. “Trainee” system, most for those who are from China and Thailand, through severe “pre-entry screening standards procedures. However, with the same law, Japan closed the door to other unskilled workers, most of whom were Asians without Japanese ancestry, including newcomer Taiwanese.

⁸ In cross-national comparisons of nationality law, it is customary to first study the principle of nationality transmission, namely varied combinations of *jus soli* (**by birthplace**) and *jus sanguinis* (**by parentage**) for attributing nationality at one’s birth.

- iii. Policy Approach: Though Japan attempts to change its image as a homogenous society by internationalization policy, Kokusaika Policy (国際化) in the 1980s was realized in the way again to emphasize Japanese national uniqueness. In addition, former Prime Minister Nakasone's argument in 1986 portrayed the essence of policymaking in Japan— Mr. Nakasone pronounces on Japan's ethnic purity and homogeneity has attributes Japan's economic success (in contrast to American's failure because of multiracialism) to its identity as a single-ethnic nation (tanitsuminzoku kokka, 単一民族国家) in 1986. Scholars interpreted the kokusaika policy as merely a defensive reaction to foreign pressure and to protect its cultural barriers:

“*Kokusaika* is a conservative policy that reflects the other side of a renewed sense of Japanese national pride, which is different from nationalism.....instead of opening up Japan to the struggle of different nationalities and ethnicities, the policy of internationalization implies the opposite: the thorough domestication of the foreign and the dissemination of Japanese culture throughout the world” (Ivy 1995: 3)

“*Kokusaika* is about adding Japanese culture, values, and history and helping people see the world through Japanese eyes.” (Suzuki 1995:162-4)

“Only by understanding the relationship between *Nihonjinron*(日本人論) and *Kokusaika* policy is it possible to understand how Nakasone could be an “internationalist” and a “cultural nationalist” at the same time.” (Befu 1993)

D. Surveillance and Assimilation

The Taiwanese/Chinese migrants residing in Japan, who have retained their original nationality, are regarded as foreign residents and are under the control of the Alien Registration Law. Their everyday lives are under surveillance of the local

administrative office and local police. The Alien Registration Law was promulgated and came into force on April 28th, 1952. It has been criticized for the strict ways in which it controls foreign residents in Japan. The most controversial point was the requirement of a finger printing system, which was regarded as a device for controlling foreigners as if they were criminals. The moment of refusal to finger printing, especially among Korean migrants, took place starting in 1980 and brought about a decreasing frequency of finger printing, and finally a cancellation of this requirement in 1993 for permanent residents. Instead of finger printing, the permanent residents are required to provide signature and family data. However, other restricting laws have remained. The law requires foreigners to carry their alien registration cards all the time, and to be ready to present it to the police. Failure to do so will result in legal punishment. Political activists argue that these requirements are only ways to set foreigners under strict governmental control.

Foreign residents are deprived of full participation in Japanese society. The so-called *kokuseki jookoo* (国籍条項, requirement of Japanese citizenship) limits the entitlement of foreign residents in Japan. In actual daily situations, the *koseki* (family register) is proof of possession of Japanese citizenship. The basic unit of the *koseki* (戸籍) system is the household, and the Japanese individual is registered as a member or the head of a household. *Koseki* are filed at respective local municipal offices. Birth, marriage, death and other kinds of change in family membership are recorded in this register. A copy of *koseki* is requested for the access to various kinds of privileges such as employment, occupational, certificates,

public loans, scholarship, licenses and passport application. Foreign residents who do not have *koseki* are usually deprived of those rights, and are subject to other kind of discrimination. However, *kokuseki-jookoo* in certain areas has been removed as a result of anti-discrimination movements, which started in the 1970s. The participants of the movements are mainly Korean residents in Japan.

One possible way for foreign residents to get way from the legal restriction and to have their human rights guaranteed by law is to naturalize to Japanese citizenship. However, naturalization according to the Japanese legal system is far from an easy process, and discrimination in different forms persists even after the process of naturalization.

The naturalization of Chinese/Taiwanese residents to Japanese citizenship started in 1950, and then gradually increased until around 1972. The number of cases of naturalization radically increased in 1972 because Japan resumed an official relation with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Considerable numbers of Chinese/Taiwanese (Republic of China, Taiwan) decided to become naturalized citizens of Japan because they were afraid that the PRC might ban citizens of the ROC from becoming naturalized citizens of Japan (Chen 1990:58). Both the Japanese government and the ROC government were supportive in the naturalization of Chinese/Taiwanese nationals at the time. In order to facilitate the naturalization process of its nationals in Japan, the Taiwanese ROC government mitigated the restriction in age, and gave men exemption from military services (Kim 1990:24).

Assimilation is symbolized in the practical coercion of the use of Japanese names on naturalized people. The use of Japanese names is not formally required, but is highly recommended by the administrators. It is difficult for applicants to ignore a strong recommendation from administrators since they have to deal with them personally in the process of application, very different from those in the U.S. Administrators justify the recommendation by saying the foreign names induce discrimination. However, the requirement is a very difficult one for many foreign residents. As Isaac (1975a, 1975b) points out, the name plays an important role in the formation of ethnic identity. The change of name is a humiliation for many people who decided to naturalize but want to maintain their ethnic identity.

The general practice in Japan in regard to the Chinese name is to pronounce the Chinese characters of the name according to the sound system of the Japanese language. The practice seems to be accepted among Chinese people because they do the same among themselves when they speak different Chinese dialects. That is, their names are pronounced differently according to the dialects which are being spoken. However, in the naturalization process, a Chinese name pronounced in a Japanese way is not considered to be good enough. The Chinese name sounds foreign even when it is pronounced in a Japanese way, and the characters used for Chinese names are different from those used in Japanese names. A Chinese/Taiwanese applicant for naturalization is pressured to give up his or her original name and to acquire a commonly-used Japanese name.

However, most of the Chinese who became Japanese citizens managed to

integrate elements of their original Chinese names into their new Japanese names. For example, an acquaintance of mine, Mr. *Hung* (洪) changed his name to *Kouno* (洪野), which kept one of the Chinese characters, added other one and pronounced in Japanese way. The ways in which people change their names vary. Some keep the pronunciation unchanged and replaced the characters used widely while some practice methods in the way similar to Mr. Hung. Though a change of the Family Registration Law in 1985 accepted the use of foreign names in international marriage, administrators still attempt to persuade applicants for naturalization by the same old strategy of referring to possible discrimination.

Arguably, the imposition of the use of Japanese names on neutralization citizens is reminiscent of the assimilation policy taken by Imperial Japan in the past. *Kaiseimei* in Taiwan and *Sooshi-Kaimei* in Korea forced the use of Japanese names on those who were not ethnic Japanese. The assimilation policy of Imperial Japan in its colonies did not die out with the end of the WWII. It is found, in disguise, in the Nationality Law of postwar Japan.

As Kim (1990) argues, assimilation in contemporary Japan does not mean a vigorous Japanization practiced as *Koominka* (皇民化 making people servants of the Emperor) by Japanese colonial rule. Rather, the ethnic consciousness of minorities in postwar Japan has been withered and sunk into oblivion by the overwhelming Japanese-ness of the society. Ubukata (1977) compared the assimilation practices of Imperial Japan and those of postwar administrative use of fictive Japanese citizenship, and such enforcement was based on military power.

On the country, in postwar Japan, assimilation which is practically imposed on naturalized people is fundamentally a voluntary action. However, in actuality, naturalization is chosen in order to alleviate discrimination in employment, housing, education and corporate enterprise in Japanese homogenous society.

E. Identity and Primordial Attachment

The Taiwanese migrants in Japan come to manifest diversity in self-identification as they have taken different trajectories in their life experiences as the political situation of Taiwan, mainland China and Japan change over time. For many of them, the transitional change of politics or international relations serves as a redefinition process of revitalization of Taiwanese-ness or of reconstruction of Chinese-ness. Still for others, it was the timing for effacement of their past whereas going through a process of recreation or submergence into or Japanese-ness. The choice self-identification is highly related to the pattern of their socioeconomic status and interpersonal relationship.

Chinese/Taiwanese migrants make distinctions not only between themselves and Japanese people but also among themselves. Many of them have resorted to certain boundary markers although it is not arbitrary. One of the most important markers for them is political orientation. Taiwanese newcomers have chosen political affiliation as a boundary marker in the process of redefining themselves in postwar Japan, because their lives have been intricately interwoven into the political upheavals of the two Chinas and Japan. They have constructed a new sense of belonging in contemporary Japan by creating differences along the lines of political

divisions. The lives of those people usually revolve around politically orientated networks. Their central concern is the political meanings of “Taiwanese” and “Chinese” in relation to two Chinese governments and the movement of Taiwanese independence. The process of constructing self and creating a sense of belonging involves that of excluding others. For those whose identity is formed mainly by political ideology, the people they demarcate from themselves are other Taiwanese and Chinese. Interactions with Japanese seem to have less impact on their identity building for those people.

However, while political affiliation has been a critical boundary marker among many migrants, the avoidance of political talk is also characteristic of many other Taiwanese newcomers. For these kind of migrants, having gone through political upheavals of the two Chinas and Japan, they regard political talk to be nothing but a source of trouble. They are less willing to make any clear political identification. Instead, they may resort to cultural aspects of Chinese-ness or Taiwanese-ness in their identity. In such case, boundaries are drawn against Japanese people to some extent. They might attempt to construct Chinese-ness through the study of Chinese histories and philosophies, they study and use of Mandarin, or the appreciation of Chinese arts. Each individual consciously attempts to demonstrate ethnic identity in behavior (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). For example, one of my interviewees, LP Cheng refers to Chinese through the meaning of civilization and the extension of ethnic group, Chinese people. She prefers the word usage of “*Kan-minzoku*” (漢民族, Han ethnic group) over that of “*Chuugokujin*” (中国人, Chinese) to distinguish her reference group from the criteria in political orientation.

She identifies with an abstract group called “Kan-minzoku” without embedding much sense of belonging to contemporary Chinese from the People’s Republic of China.

The ethnic identity of the latter kind of Taiwanese migrants might be described more as “a primordial attachment⁹” (Geertz 1973:259) than politically asserted or intentionally constructed. That is to say, the Taiwanese under Japanese rule were still unconsciously socialized into Taiwanese and Chinese cultures, and developed an attachment to their own cultures despite the assimilation policy take by the Japanese. Such a sentiment has been maintained by many migrants overseas, and has been central to their ethnic identity. Many of them have continued to practice Taiwanese or Chinese habits and customs, and have maintained the values and behavioral patterns that they learned in Taiwanese ways. They integrate into their daily meals Taiwanese dishes such as *Biifun* (米粉 rice-noodles), *Chimaki* (粽 sticky-rice ball), and *Tonsoku* (豚足, pig’s feet). Some have kept performing Taiwanese/Chinese cultural ceremonies, such as *Wiroo* (圍爐 family union for hot-pot dinner in Chinese new year’s Eve), which is usually held at the end of a year in the lunar calendar to celebrate the coming of a new year with a family feast. Taiwanese migrants have preserved what are considered to be Taiwanese/Chinese values and traits.

⁹ According to Geertz (1963), Primordial attachment is one that stems from the “givens” of existence or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed givens of social existence; immediate contiguity and live connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These continuities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of them. One is bound to one’s kinsman, one’s neighbor, one’s fellow believer ipso facto as the result not merely of personal attraction, tactical necessity, and common interest or incurred moral obligation, but in least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself.

If it is true that the migrants have a primordial attachment to their cultures and fellow people, then it could be said that they share a sense of belonging beyond their political divisions and beyond their self-ascribed labels. This seems to be the case at least to a limited degree; they distinguish themselves from Chinese of the PRC in mainland China. The fact that the latter speak Chinese variants other than the Taiwanese language perhaps plays a significant role in the division. There are also categorizations of Taiwanese/Chinese from Taiwan and Chinese from the mainland. The former are said to consist of intellectuals such as doctors and lawyers while the majority of the latter are believed to be restaurants owners and cooks, tailors and barbers. As described in the previous paragraph, many of the Taiwanese migrants' interpersonal networks resolve around certain fixed or specific Taiwanese ties.

VIII. Conclusion

In the previous discussions, this paper examines the previous researches related to the theme of migrant's identity. It finds the lack of a specific conceptualized theory to elucidate Taiwanese migrant's complex identity; that is to say, part of the cultural identity of the newcomer Taiwanese represents the legacy of Japanese colonization. To maintain one's Japanese-ness is not only a strategy for advantageous survival in Japanese society, but also serves as nostalgia for the colonial period. Meanwhile, Chinese-ness is embedded in cultural identity, employment or in the daily life practices of the newcomer Taiwanese. It appears to be particularly significant among the first generation and those who attained less education in Japan.

Driven by the factors of post-colonial relations to Japan, and the particular characteristics of Japanese homogenous society, Newcomer Taiwanese have constructed their unique identity as hybrids of Chinese-ness and Japanese-ness, varied in the degree. Presumably, Japanese-ness may be more likely to be assimilated in to a man's life pattern as a person of higher socioeconomic class and in the public sphere. In contrast, a man of lower socio-economic status or who primarily stays in private sphere, practices of Chinese-ness characteristics might be more than that of Japanese-ness.

To sum up, the labels Chinese, Taiwanese and overseas Chinese which are used for self identification by the Taiwanese newcomers have multiple meanings. Just as their interpersonal networks are indefinite and extensive in membership, those labels are vague in meanings, and can be used to include not only other Chinese in Japan, but also Taiwanese and Chinese outside of Japan. In this flux of meanings, there is no one definite label used by the newcomer Taiwanese to bind themselves to one ethnic group.

The identity of many migrants is articulated along the lines of political orientations or of certain perceivable cultural features. However, at the level of daily life practice, the articulated self identification might not be unproblematic; boundaries of self ascribed identification might have fissures. People usually describe themselves in static terms such as Chinese or Taiwanese. However, such terms are subject to negotiation and renegotiation in practice on the one hand, and people's everyday behaviors might be contradictory to their articulated identities on

the other. Their group boundaries may shift in various directions in accordance with situations.

To clearly comprehend the multifaceted transitions of Taiwanese newcomers' cultural identity, it is necessary to examine not only the background of international history as well as social setting, but also the migrants' behaviors unfolding in daily practice. This working paper, in the current stage, provides basic backgrounds and hypotheses of the migrants' identity. It is expected to increase quantity and quality of the interviews to derive further discussions and findings.

IX. Appendix: Data and Statistics

Fig4. Statistics of Overseas Chinese/ Taiwanese in Japan

單位：人；%

	外僑	華人	華人占外僑比例
1993年	1,320,748	210,138	15.91
1994年	1,354,011	218,585	16.14
1995年	1,362,371	222,991	16.37
1996年	1,415,136	234,264	16.55
1997年	1,482,707	252,164	17.01
1998年	1,512,116	272,230	18.00
1999年	1,556,113	294,201	18.91
2000年	1,686,444	335,575	19.90
2001年	1,778,462	381,225	21.44
2002年	1,851,758	424,282	22.91
2003年	1,915,030	462,396	24.15
2004年	1,973,747	487,570	24.70

Source: Immigration Bureau of Japan

Fig5. Comparison of Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese in Japan

單位：人；%

年別	合計	台灣華人		大陸華人	
		人數	比例	人數	比例
1974	46,944	24,080	51.30	22,864	48.70
1984	67,895	32,817	48.33	35,078	51.67
1988	129,269	43,001	33.26	86,268	66.74
1992	195,334	42,512	21.76	152,822	78.24
1994	218,585	41,110	18.81	177,475	81.19
1996	234,264	39,529	16.87	194,735	83.13
1998	272,230	38,524	14.15	233,706	85.85
1999	294,201	38,252	13.00	255,949	87.00
2000	335,575	39,050	11.64	296,525	88.36
2001	381,225	39,255	10.30	341,970	89.70
2002	424,282	...	...	...	...
2003	462,396	...	...	...	...
2004	487,570	...	...	...	...

Source : Immigration Bureau of Japan and 田島淳子 (Tajima 2001)

Fig6. Status of ethnic Chinese in Japan

	1986	1990	1995	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
合計	84,397	150,339	222,991	252,164	272,230	294,201	335,575	381,225	424,282	462,396	487,570	519,561
永久居留	22,757	24,277	28,253	32,899	35,940	42,212	52,960	62,838	74,523	86,727	99,953	106,269
定住者	--	15,263	30,653	36,941	38,927	38,982	37,337	36,580	35,020	33,292	32,130	33,113
留學生	9,845	29,354	34,617	31,707	32,370	35,879	45,321	59,079	73,795	87,091	90,746	89,374
就學	7,614	24,251	23,858	18,706	20,050	22,782	26,542	30,170	35,450	38,873	29,430	15,915
研修	2,211	4,831	9,610	14,372	15,646	16,101	22,163	25,640	26,945	30,763	40,136	40,539
日人配偶	13,085	23,051	37,310	43,714	45,913	48,698	50,525	53,554	53,126	52,016	51,854	54,569
其他	28,885	29,312	58,690	73,825	83,384	89,547	100,727	113,364	125,423	133,634	143,321	179,782
合計	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
永久居留	26.96	16.15	12.67	13.05	13.20	14.35	15.78	16.48	17.56	18.76	20.50	20.45
定住者	--	10.15	13.75	14.65	14.30	13.25	11.13	9.60	8.25	7.20	6.59	6.37
留學生	11.67	19.53	15.52	12.57	11.89	12.20	13.51	15.50	17.39	18.83	18.61	17.20
就學	9.02	16.13	10.70	7.42	7.37	7.74	7.91	7.91	8.36	8.41	6.04	3.06
研修	2.62	3.21	4.31	5.70	5.75	5.47	6.60	6.73	6.35	6.65	8.23	7.80
日人配偶	15.50	15.33	16.73	17.34	16.87	16.55	15.06	14.05	12.52	11.25	10.64	10.50
其他	34.23	19.50	26.32	29.28	30.63	30.44	30.02	29.74	29.56	28.90	29.39	34.60

Source: Immigration Bureau of Japan

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