Sojourning Experiences and Settlement Practices of Uzbekistani in Japan

A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Tsukuba
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences

Akhmedova Mukaddamkhon

2020

Acknowledgements

In this part of my dissertation, I extend my gratitude to everyone who contributed directly and indirectly to this research.

I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their guidance and support throughout the process. I am deeply indebted to my academic advisor Professor Timur Dadabaev for unparalleled support, insights, mentorship, and encouragement throughout this entire process.

I extend my deepest gratitude to Professor Leslie Tkach-Kawasaki for the initial idea, which gave a start to this work.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Akifumi Shioya and Professor Nathan Gilbert Quimpo for generous support throughout the process, timely feedback, and useful criticism.

Special thanks to all the Uzbekistani respondents, without whose consent and participation this dissertation would not exist.

I am sincerely thankful to my family of friends in Japan and beyond for their constant support and care.

Finally, I am thankful to my family for their understanding and belief in their daughter.

Abstract

Through my work, I attempt to explore Uzbekistani migrant presence and their subjectivities using the case of Japan as a host country. The literature on Uzbekistani migrants is oftentimes focused on the economic and political sides of mass migration cases, such as the migration of Uzbekistani to Russia. Individuals and their experiences are left behind the layer of economic and political processes triggering and accompanying migration. This work is aimed at 'putting a face' on the participants of the migration processes through demonstrating practices of mobility through individual narratives.

I observe how experiences starting from individuals' lives in Uzbekistan affect their experiences as migrants in Japan. Individual experiences encompass experiences of migrating within and outside Uzbekistan, professional skills, and education level in mediating their experiences in Japan. Narratives of initial plans, motivations, the reality of living in Japan, adaptation make up one part of migrant experiences. Another part is explained by making sense of one's stay through the lens of ethnicity, attitude to the home country, religious background, gender, and community of choice throughout the migration process.

Personal experiences not only show the migrant narratives and perceptions on the processes unfolding with living in Japan, but they also help explain the individuals' sense-making towards navigating their migration process. Therefore, I tackle migrant experiences using Mizukami's work on Japanese sojourners in Australia as a point of departure for this research. This way, analysis of migrant experiences is fulfilled keeping in mind a variety of types of sojourning and types of settling.

Keywords: migration, Uzbekistani mobility, Central Asians in Japan, small-scale migration, o'zbekchilik, Islam and migration, gender and migration

Abbreviations

CA	Central Asia
JAIST	Japan Advanced Institute of Science and Technology
JDS	Japanese Grant Aid for Human Resource Development Scholarship
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
SNB	Russian acronym for National Security Service
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UYAJ	Uzbekistan Youth Association in Japan
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration

List of figures

List of tables

Table of contents

INTRODUCTION

Human mobilization and changes of settlement, by all means, have been topical themes of discussion in academia within sociology, anthropology, international relations, psychology, and other fields, and out of academic sphere being often a hot topic of newspapers and media.

Globalization, acceleration, differentiation, and feminization (Castles, Haas, & Miller, 2014, pp. 16-17) have affected international relocations and countries' policies concerning mobility and migration in past decades. The collapse of the Soviet Union has triggered sustained mobilization towards neighboring and farther countries for Central Asian countries. New post-Soviet republics, including Central Asian republics, have joined the international flow of migration. Apart from Central Asian Russians' repatriation to Russia, Central Asian local ethnicities started to relocate to other countries for permanent or temporary residence. Although migration and mobility first took intra-Central Asian direction until 1995 (Islamov, 1998), cross post-Soviet countries borders' migration also has come to existence in various shapes — labor, education, immigration, and others, little is known about international mobilities of Central Asians in academia.

Japan has become one of the outstanding destinations for Uzbekistani migration in recent years. Availability of the university exchange programs, developed scholarship systems, inclusive job opportunities, variety of joint government-partnered programs in Japan, and others serve as appealing points of emigration for Uzbekistani (See Chapter I). In addition to the programs mentioned above, Japanese language schools have recently become another option to live, explore, work, and reside in Japan. However, those who come to Japan to study Japanese at Japanese language schools recently sparked public discourse in Japan's Uzbekistani community and challenged Uzbekistani and Japanese immigration procedures. I provide a

study based on interviews with a range of Uzbekistani residents in Japan and the new group of Japanese school students (Chapter IV-IV).

The non-immigration policy was long maintained in Japan, making Japan a non-typical case among developed industrial countries by not relying on foreign labor despite an aging population and 'side doors' of labor migration open in the country. Japan had to change the sustained image of a homogenous country, letting the flow of foreign labor in the country followed by the policies *kokusaika, kokusai kōryū* and introducing the *tabunkakyōsei* model (Kibe, 2014, pp. 71-91). However, scholars' opinions in this respect vary from considering Japan as a country struggling with a relatively new migration phenomenon (Liu-Farrer, 2017) Japanese as being privileged compared to migrants (Yamanaka, 2008), or being a relatively new country in terms of immigration. Until now, migration studies in the context of Japan as a host country have dealt mainly with expatriates', nikkeijin's and international students' adaptation and experiences (mainly of Chinese, Korean ethnicities), Western nationalities' experiences in Japan, and Japanese nationals' experiences abroad and only a few studies investigate sojourner experiences in Japan (Wen, 2017).

This study explores the meaning and rationalization behind Uzbekistani movements and residency in Japan, shedding light on smaller ethnic groups' mobility in a global migration context.

Analysis of unique qualitative data on Uzbekistani migrants residing in Japan concludes the study of settlement practices and, in so doing, challenges the typology of orientations suggested by previous researchers. Such investigation demonstrates critical aspects of the sojourning experiences and settlement practices through the case study of Uzbekistani migrants. Further possibilities for sociological inquiry of this phenomenon are indicated as a part of the conclusion.

Definitions

As mentioned above, the study tackles the typology of orientations towards Japan among Uzbekistani. While 'sojourner' is not a contested concept and scholars of various disciplines agree on the sojourner being the temporary resident of the host country, migration scholars either give it a different definition depending on the study's character. There is no consensus among scholars of disciplines exploiting the term concerning who is a sojourner, what makes one a sojourner, and the conditions under which one is considered a sojourner. The binary hierarchical opposite of the sojourner employed in this research is the settler, who decides to permanently settle in the host country. This concept by itself is not problematic as it reflects permanent residence in the host country. However, as dualisms structure human experience, the concept of settler is central to the constitution of its binary opposite — the sojourner[1]. So, in the pair with the unclear concept of the 'sojourner' — the concept of 'settler' becomes problematic. When does settling begin — when one decides to permanently stay in the host country, when one obtains a permanent visa or when one passes the sojourning stage? I will explore orientations towards residence departing from mutually constitutive sojourning and settling pairing — how and why it takes place among Uzbekistani, how one becomes a sojourner or a settler. This study also challenges the grey area between home and host country binary relations within the typology of orientations towards the place of residence, concluding the analysis of empirical data for this research.

While it is generally accepted that sojourning is about the temporality of residence and settling is about the permanent residence, this study aims to elaborate on types of residence starting with conceptualizations by Siu (1952), Bonacichh (1973), Uriely (1994), and Mizukami (2007).

---

[1] see Derrida's deconstruction

Literature review and research gap

Many studies related to sojourners are in the psychology field and focus on measuring psychological and socio-cultural adjustment or acculturation of sojourners in a host country (Church, 1982; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Pedersen, Neighbors, Larimer, & Lee, 2011; Wilson, Ward, Fetvadjiev, & Bethel, 2017); and identity shifts throughout sojourning experience (Sussman, 2002; Jackson, 2018). Furthermore, recent studies related to adjustment tend to use the terms' sojourners' and 'expatriates' interchangeably, making both categories more ambiguous (Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010; Firdaus, 2013; Heath, 2017) as McNulty and Brewster (2017) pointed out.

Literature review reveals that a small number of discussions attempted to clarify the concept of the 'sojourner' and the 'settler', their types, and how they come into existence (Siu, 1952; Bonacichh, 1973; Uriely, 1994; Mizukami, 2007). Siu (1952) started the discussion of the sojourner using the study of Chinese laundryman in the US. This study sets the initial concept of the sojourner in developing to the developed country mobility. Siu gives the first definition of the sojourner, patterns of the sojourner-job relation in the host country, the sojourner's social life limited to their ethnic group, and the wanderer nature of the sojourner. Siu's work presents us with the essential basics of who the sojourner generally is what their features are. Siu's sojourner includes all types of sojourners – short term, long term, and others; however, at that point of new developments in sojourner studies, sojourners were not categorized by types. Siu's sojourner is characterized as a marginal man, a stranger, and these characters are the main interest of Siu's working towards sojourners. Nevertheless, Siu's work provides us with a significant basis for further sojourner studies.

Bonacich (1973) approaches sojourners from being a minority group in the host society. Through her research, Bonacich gives a picture of sojourners as minorities in the host point of view and why they end up being strangers. Bonacich provides a clear framework

elaborating on sojourners' plans towards their places of residence and their reasoning behind it. Bonacich's framework introduces the new variables such as the desire to return to the homeland and the desire to remain in the host country to the early studies of orientation towards the place of residence.

Uriely (1994) expands the boundaries of a sojourner by including various groups of immigrants in the US in the discourse. Through his research, Uriely points out the sojourner does not necessarily deal with marginality and being a stranger as earlier discourse went. Uriely's work approaches sojourners from the perspective of their ethnicity. Up to Uriely's study, there were two categories – sojourners and settlers, and Uriely revealed a new category of permanent sojourners through the case study of Israeli immigrants in Chicago. This study also suggests researching intentions towards residence plans via general intentions to return to the homeland and concrete plans to return to the homeland.

Finally, Mizukami adds to Uriely's typology and studies Japanese nationals residing in Australia via their residence outcomes. Mizukami categorizes outcomes as sojourners, settlers, consequent sojourners, and consequent settlers. These categories are divided into permanent residence and non-permanent residence, taking into consideration Uriely's studies regarding permanence and temporality of sojourning (See Figure 1).

Apart from conceptual and explorative studies of sojourners and other orientations towards the place of residence, it is observed that what we call 'sojourner' is not clear. Regardless of a massive body of literature dealing with sojourners in the psychological field, sojourners' concept remains insufficiently discussed, and the term is often confused with other migration categories (McNulty & Brewster, 2017). Sojourning is accepted as a temporary residence in the host country. Conditions for sojourning orientation are contested, for example, in accepting tourists as sojourners (Heath, 2017) or not providing any background for sojourning as a phenomenon as it often occurs in the psychological field.

As for research in the Japanese context, there is little research regarding sojourners/settlers carried out. It mainly can be noticed that there is not much research relating to non-Western nationalities' residential experiences in Japan except for Chinese residents. Major topics discussed in the literature with regards to Japanese context are on experiences of sojourning and settling in Japan as acculturation and adaptation to Japanese realities; Chinese and Korean sojourning and settling (Tajima, 2000; Tajima, 2003; Yoon, Rha, Kim, & Jung-Mee, 2013; Wen, 2017); Nikkeijin and their settling patterns (Tsuda, 1999; Tsuda, 1999; Yamanaka, 1996; Yamanaka, 1997) and so on. It is remarkable that literature on foreigners' experiences in Japan concentrates on and around labor migration (Mahmud, 2013; Rahman & Fee, 2011) and Japan's immigration policies regarding skilled (D'Costa, 2013; Oishi, 2012; Hollbrow & Nagayoshi, 2018) and unskilled (Oishi, 2020; Belanger, Ueno, Hong, & Ochiai, 2011) labor migration; international students (Tanaka, Takai, Kohyama, & Fujihara, 1994; Liu-Farrer, 2011; Umino & Benson, 2017), and adaptation (Heath, 2017; Milstein, 2005).

As for literature on migration in Central Asian and Uzbekistani context, earlier trends in migration research was on capturing mobility processes after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Sulaimanova, 2004; Korobkov, 2007; Laruelle, 2013; Bartolomeo, Makaryan, & Weinar, 2014). As it is commonly observed, one of the first dimensions of migration processes to be tackled in Central Asian studies (Marat, 2009; Petesch & Demarchi, 2015; Kim, 2017; Virkkunen, 2017) and Uzbekistani research (Isakulov, 2010; Juraev, 2012; Kakharov, 2012; Bedrina and Tukhtarova, 2016; Seitz, 2019) was economic mobility and labor migration. More themes for discussion regarding migration studies of Central Asian countries were brought up after the wave of arguments on economic mobility. From the 2010s onward, Central Asian migration literature is more diverse, and the discussion became more concentrated on the individual level. While discussion on governmental policy level continues, there are drawing works directly related to Central Asian migrant experiences – on the notion of home and

transnationality for Central Asian migrants (Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2008; Abashin, 2015; Schröder & Stephan-Emmrich, 2016; Urinboyev, 2018); on motivations and decision-making process of migration (Radnitz, 2006; Massot, 2013; Sodatsayrova, 2018; Syed Zwick, 2019); on networks, migrants utilize for their experiences abroad (Turaeva, 2013; Turaeva, 2014; Kim, 2014; Hiwatari, 2016) and others. However, there is no discussion on Central Asia, namely Uzbekistani residency patterns abroad and residential orientation processes.

Having demonstrated a brief literature review, I locate this research's goal within the body of migration research. This research aims to address orientations towards Uzbekistani residency using the case study of Uzbekistani in Japan. Using a qualitative research method, I will explore the relation and sense-making of Uzbekistani, who reside in Japan, and their process of transitioning from one settlement form to another. The following sub-chapter will provide a brief conceptualization of this study.

Conceptual framework

The current study adapts Mizukami's (2007) conceptualization of sojourners as its theoretical foundation, which the author considers the most detailed study on the concept and characteristics of sojourners fulfilled up to date.
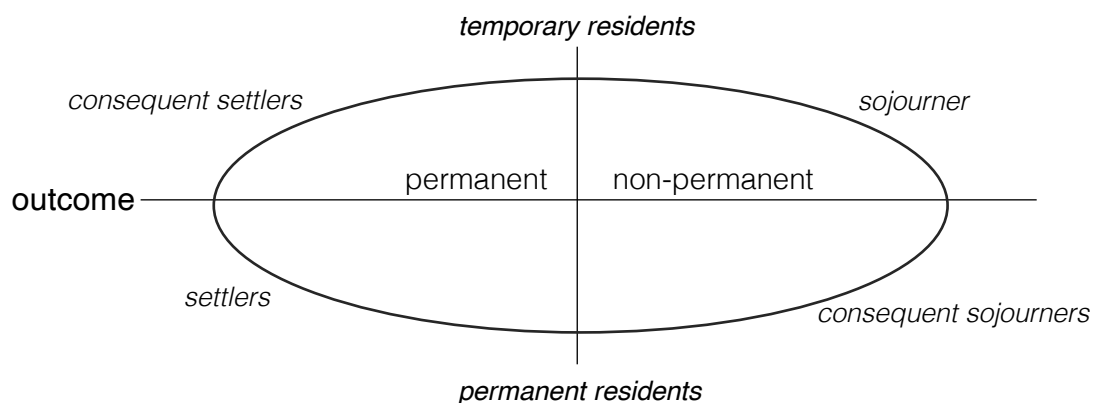
Figure 1. Basic patterns of residency by Mizukami (2007)

Mizukami's attempt to conceptualize the phenomenon of sojourners is built on Uriely (1994) and Siu's (1952) researches on sojourners, which were one of few works that endeavored distinguishing sojourning patterns, essential elements, and characteristics dealing with the temporality of residence of such category of migrants such as 'permanent sojourner' (Uriely, 1994) and 'temporary residency' (Uriely, 1994; Siu, 1952). Mizukami (ibid.) argues that sojourners' residency spectrum is more comprehensive than being long-term temporary residents of a host country and comes up with his four fundamental patterns of residency concerning the outcome of individual's settlement: sojourners, consequent settlers, consequent sojourners, and settlers (See Figure 1). To learn more, refer to the chapter on the conceptual framework.

Research questions

Research questions this study aims to try to find the answers to are framed within the conceptual framework briefly described in the previous sub-chapter and are as follows:

1. How do Uzbekistani migrants mediate their experience in Japan?

2. How do Uzbekistani migrants in Japan internalize their professional and personal experiences?

3. How do Uzbekistani migrants navigate their stay in Japan?

With these research questions, I attempt to explore Uzbekistani migrant presence and their subjectivities using Japan's case as a host country. The literature on Uzbekistani migrants is frequently focused on the economic and political sides of mass migration cases, such as

Uzbekistani migration to Russia. Individuals and their experiences are left behind the layer of economic and political processes triggering and accompanying migration. This work aims to put a face on the participants of the migration processes by demonstrating mobility practices through the individual level and individual narratives.

Through this set of questions, we will see how experiences starting from individuals' lives in Uzbekistan affect (Research question 2) their experiences as migrants in Japan (Research question 1). Individual experiences encompass migrating within and outside Uzbekistan, professional skills, and education level in mediating their experiences in Japan. Narratives of initial plans, motivations, the reality of living in Japan, adaptation make up one part of migrant experiences. Another part is explained by making sense of one's stay through the lens of own ethnicity, attitude to the home country, religious background, gender, and community of choice throughout the migration process (Research question 3).

Personal experiences show the migrant narratives and perceptions of the processes unfolding with living in Japan, but they also help explain the individuals' sense-making towards navigating their migration process. Therefore, we will tackle migrant experiences using Mizukami's work on Japanese sojourners in Australia as a departure point for this research. This way, analysis of migrant experiences will be fulfilled, keeping in mind various types of sojourning and types of settling.

Research objectives

Current exploratory research aims to situate Uzbekistani migrants in Japan in a conceptual map of mobility orientation towards Japan. By refining the concept of sojourners using Uzbekistani's case in Japan, theoretical contribution to mobility studies — predominantly, developmental studies and contribution to the research of Central Asian region in the example of Uzbekistan — population of which is the most represented in Japan — is planned. Although

in the scale of discussion of the mass migration, the number of Uzbekistani in Japan is relatively small. However, the author believes that the 'analysis of specific social phenomena requires awareness of the connectedness and embeddedness of small-scale phenomena in the broader totality' (O'Neill, 2010). The number of Uzbekistani is less than the number of other foreign citizenship holders in Japan, yet it is the most significant representation of Central Asians in Japan by the number of residing populations.
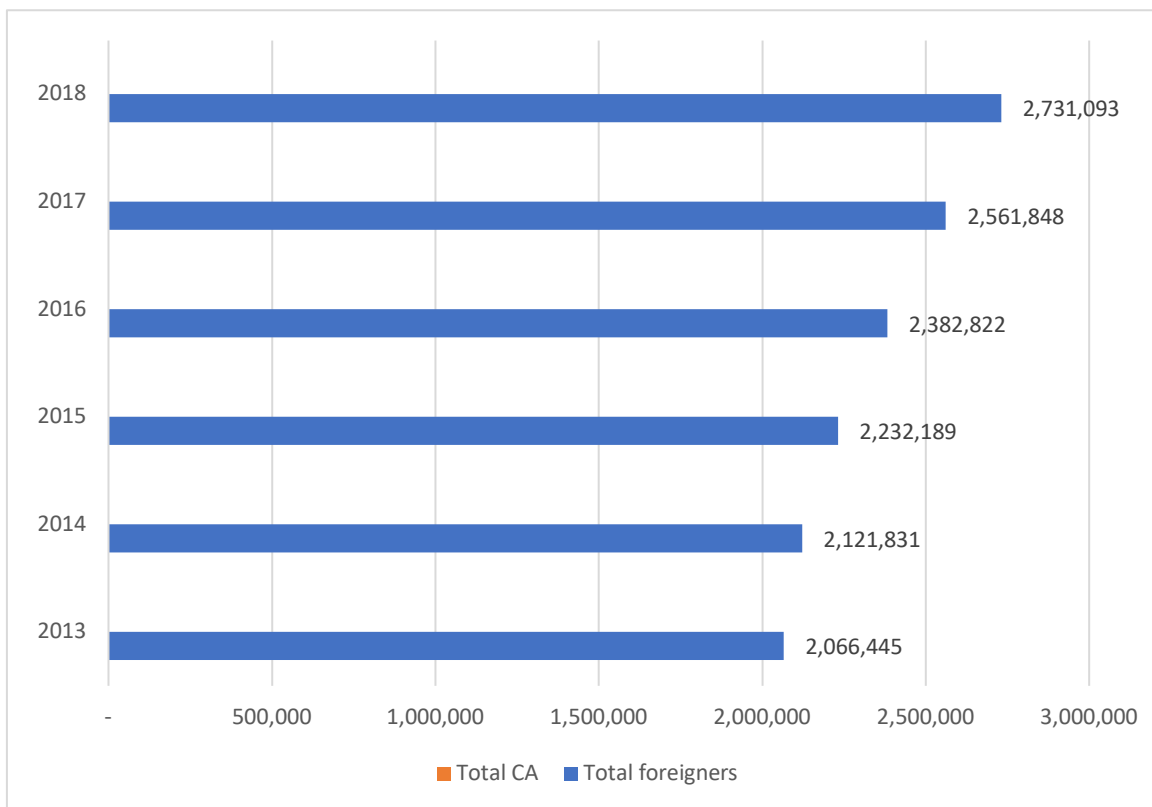
Figure 2. Total number of foreigners and Central Asians in Japan. Source: MOJ, 2019

Furthermore, based on the review of existing literature on mobility and migration, including sojourning, settling; social studies, and international relations, the current study aims to contribute to the body of literature of Central Asian studies by situating it within the map of migration as the phenomenon of the so-called 'last Asia' entering Japan. According to existing literature, the phenomena of migration from neighboring and closer Asian countries is well-depicted in literature. However, the phenomenon of migration experiences of Central Asian

countries, namely from Uzbekistan with the most significant number of residents in Japan among Central Asian countries to Japan, remains very limited (Sodatsayrova, 2018).

Methodology

This research builds on a qualitative method to comprehend Uzbekistani's orientation towards Japan and what shapes and influences them.

Considering that sojourning experiences of Uzbekistani have not been researched before, the qualitative method was chosen to be a part of the method in order to explore the phenomenon itself (Mack, Woodsong, McQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005, p. 3), to gain an insider view and social meaning of the experience (Henn, Weinstein, & Foard, 2006, p. 150).

The qualitative method helps create a theory or contribute to the existing theory, while the quantitative approach is useful in testing theories (ibid.:150). As one of the aims of this research is to contribute to the theory of understanding the sojourner in the global scale of migration studies, the importance of looking into Uzbekistani sojourners in Japan through qualitative dimension arouse. In order to explore the 'human' side of the experience of residing (settling or sojourning) — the story, initial conditions for sojourning, settling and transitioning, challenges and influences of various factors to sojourning orientation from the view of the sojourners or settlers, a qualitative method was thought to be appropriate and logical to be one of the approaches to conducting this research.

Semi-structured interviews with 30 individuals (Baker & Edwards, 2018, p. 5) — including students, working individuals, spouses of working individuals, retired individuals, individuals residing currently, and other types of residents in Japan, were conducted. The interview conducts were discontinued once data collection reached its point of saturation.

Considering the unstable and sometimes misleading definition of the sojourner (McNulty and Brewster, 2016), the most challenging part was determining the appropriate

length of stay of the potential interviewee that would compromise the field of unset time limits for sojourners. Mizukami (2007) relies on MOFA Japan's definition of Japanese long-term residents that stay overseas for three months or more. Inspired by his logic, the author adopted the logic of limiting the length of minimum stay in Japan by non-tourist visas, issued for six months as a minimum. As a rule, in the Uzbek case, this length is characteristic for Japanese language school students and a minimum length of stay of five respondents-students of language schools in Japan at the time of the interview was four months; however, all of them held visas for six months and wished to extend them following semesters. As sojourners or settlers may be of different background and occupation, the researcher included all Uzbekistani acquaintanceship into the potential respondents' list.

Then the most active online group[2] of Uzbekistani in Japan on Facebook with the most significant number of active users[3] was identified, which is Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati | Uzbek Society in Japan[4], where the author contacted random users one by one via direct messaging with a brief introduction to the study, attached consent form (Appendix A), personal card (Appendix C) and interview questions (Appendix D) in Uzbek or Russian. Documents in English were sent by request. 68 individuals were contacted, and 30 of them were interviewed. 4 potential respondents declined the participation. One interview with the head of the Uzbekistan Youth Association in Japan[5] is conducted related to forming institutional support for the Uzbek community in Japan.

---

[2] No statistical data of the amount of daily posts available. Group administrator, moderators and active users voluntarily organize trips, holiday celebrations, etc. for group members.

[3] 2717 users on August 29, 2018

[4] It is a closed group on Facebook. Accessible at
https://www.facebook.com/groups/1381781302093337/?ref=bookmarks

[5] the NGO, mission of which is "to unite, engage and empower Uzbek youth living in the Japan, and to foster educational and cultural understanding between Japanese and Uzbek youth".

Participants were 17 men and 13 women aged 19 to 39 residing in Japan (Appendix B). 11 interviews were conducted face-to-face, and 14 interviews were conducted using Skype, Facebook messenger calls, Line calls, and imo[6] calls. The length of the interviews ranged from 20 minutes to 90 minutes. Although some respondents expressed openness about using their names and personal stories, to equally secure participants' data confidentiality and anonymity, all participants' names and hometowns were coded — given pseudonyms and letters for towns. It is more challenging to anonymize identity and personal information of the small sample of respondents (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007, p. 86) and to anonymize respondents from the relatively small community of Uzbekistani in Japan and namely online community of Uzbekistani (Saunders, Kitzinger, & Kitzinger, 2014). Therefore, snowball sampling was not attempted actively[7] to decrease 'internal' confidentiality among this community members (Tolich, 2004) and respondents were not aware of the researcher's contacts with other respondents.

Eleven individuals – 6 women and 5 men – out of the total number of respondents were born and grew up in Tashkent and Tashkent region. 1 female and 7 male respondents are from the Namangan region. 3 female and 2 male respondents were born in the Andijan region. 2 respondents – male and female are from the Syrdarya region. 1 female and 1male interviewee is from Samarkand city. 1 woman is from the Ferghana region.

---

[6] Chinese messenger, which gained popularity in 2014 and stably used to call abroad since then replacing universally popular online call applications in this matter due to blockage of Skype, WhatsApp, etc. in Uzbekistan in 2014. More details on https://sputniknews.com/society/20141020194342588-Uzbekistans-Uztelecom-Cracks-Down-on-Skype-and-WhatsApp/

[7] One respondent was contacted by recommendation of another respondent
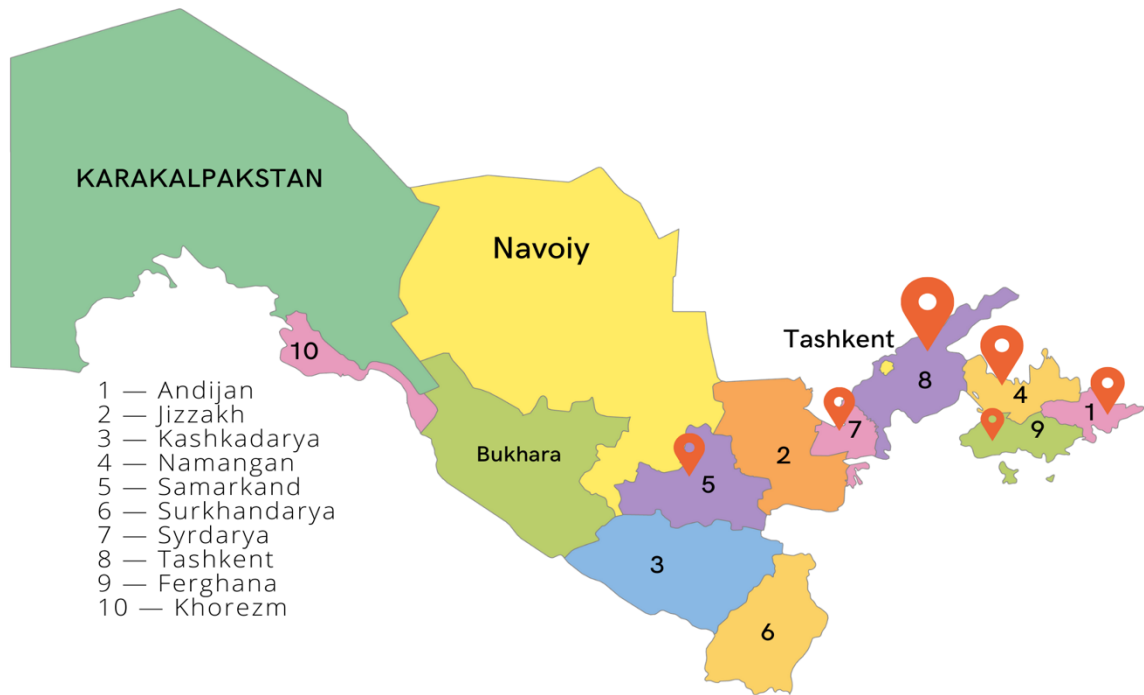
Figure 3. Participants' regions of origin in Uzbekistan.
Map source: vemaps.com. Configured and edited for research purposes.

© Vemaps.com

10 respondents were born in the capital Tashkent, 14 respondents grew up in cities, and 5 respondents are from towns and villages. Names of towns and cities are not disclosed to secure the confidentiality of respondents throughout this research project. As seen on the map, respondents are from the eastern part of Uzbekistan.

Interviewees resided in Ibaraki (15 persons), Tokyo (10 persons), Fukuoka (2 persons), Aichi (1 person), Gifu (1 person), and Osaka (1 person) prefectures at the time of the interview (see Figure 4). 7 persons out of 10 residing in Tokyo reported to have lived in different parts

of Japan before moving to Tokyo for better opportunities currently and in future (Anvar, Diyora, Nafisa, Tahmina, Naima, Rustam, Doston).

Figure 4. Interviewees by areas of residence in Japan at the time of interview.
Map source: Wikimedia commons. Edited and configured for research purposes.

To inform the potential respondents about the research and its aims, ensure confidentiality and ethical considerations, and rights of respondents before, during, and after the interview, a consent form to participate in the interview (Appendix A) was distributed to all individuals contacted. Soft copies of consent forms were sent in Uzbek, Russian, or English by respondents' preference. Hard copies of the consent form were distributed and asked to be signed. However, later, respondents out of the researcher's acquaintanceship group tend to treat signing consent forms or any other documents with suspicion. After that, the researcher started recording verbal consent at the beginning of each interview while sending soft copies of the consent form beforehand.

Before the start of each interview, an introduction to the study was made, conditions of the interview were clearly stated, and respondents' confidentiality was orally ensured. Having ensured the participant's readiness, the author turned on the recorder, and the participant's oral consent was obtained.

However, recordings were a point of doubt in potential participants' decision-making whether to participate in the interview. Some respondents were cautious of the character of the research and affiliation of the researcher as not being affiliated with the university. One potential participant that declined stressed the feeling of being spied by SNB[8] and few other participants expressed their trust in the researcher while remembering SNB, although by the time of contact – July 2018 – the influence of this apparatus has been minimized, and the system was reformed (Marszewski, 2018).

Another concern of many respondents was recorded data created by respondents. By this time, four potential respondents agreed and, after getting to know about the condition of recording or note-taking, declined to participate in the interview. Many participants suggested submitting written answers to questions of the semi-structured interview.

Overall, the challenge was to ensure respondents about the academic purposes of the research project's data collection and impartiality.

To be flexible with responses and further questions to address respondents' experiences, conducting semi-structured interviews was chosen as a tool of qualitative data collection.

---

[8] also, secret police, the security apparatus, which is notorious for its inherited Soviet mechanism of SNB (Russian acronym for National Security Service); associated with Karimov era Uzbekistan. Constant sense of caution towards being followed by informants of SNB was characteristic to Karimov era: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/01/world/asia/uzbekistan-reform.html

As it is characteristic for semi-structured interviews, a standard set of questions was created[9] (Appendix D), the order of questions might vary depending on each participant's story-telling content, and it allowed the participant to give open-ended answers and introduce their topic related to the issue (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 221; Denscombe, 2014, p. 186), which allows exploring the sojourning orientation and experiences among Uzbekistani further.

Current research utilized face-to-face interviews and online interviews embracing Internet communication, including Skype, Facebook Messenger, Line, and imo calls, to gather qualitative data.

Interview questions are based on Sample questions of the interview are included in Appendix A.

Informants are 30 individuals from Uzbekistan residing in Japan at the time of interviews. Uzbek, Tajik, Russian and Uyghur ethnicities (as reported), who grew up and lived in Uzbekistan at least until graduation from high school before living abroad experiences agreed to participate. At the time of interviews, all individuals resided in Japan for six months at least and have had a maximum of 16 years of residing experience in Japan. Individuals residing in Japan with visas for six months were selected as respondents for the interviews based on the recommendation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan for the citizen of Uzbekistan to register at the embassies of the Republic of Uzbekistan at respective countries of residency when living abroad for more than six months. Semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face and via online calls.

---

[9] distributed to all participants beforehand

Chapter outline

This dissertation consists of four chapters constituting an introduction to this research, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology, and discussion of research results.

The introduction part provides background information on this topic, a brief overview of the state of initial research, theory adapted to explain the phenomenon of Uzbek sojourning experiences, orientations, and transitions, aim of the research, and methodology.

Chapter I is the starting point for the study. The situation in the country individuals grow up and come from and the countries accepting migrating individuals serve as a primer for the experiences migrants create and live through and the immigration-related decisions they make. This chapter presents a contextual review of Japan's profile as a hosting side and the Uzbekistan migration profile. The former part briefly reviews Japan's historical conditions and context, which shaped Japan's current immigration policies and how Japan approaches migrants, immigrants, and refugees. The latter reviews Uzbekistan's recent history as a migrating country that affected Uzbekistan's immigration model within and beyond the country throughout the USSR membership and post-Independence. General information about the presence of Uzbekistani in Japan is also evaluated and summarized in the latter part.

Chapter II provides insights from literature and research conducted up to date on sojourning and settling, studies of migration and residency in the Japanese context, and Central Asian and Uzbek literature in terms of migration. The first part of this chapter shows the trends in the migration literature using the sociological, political, and psychological lens, which comprises theoretical and empirical studies including cases of Chinese, Israeli, Japanese, *nikkeijin*, and others. The second part provides a review of streams and trends in scholarship in terms of migration processes, migrants, and immigration policies in the Japanese context. The third part presents an assessment of migration literature in the Central Asian and Uzbek context, including case studies of Uzbeks in Russia, Egypt, Dubai, and others

Chapter III elaborates on the conceptual framework adopted for this research, explains why the model of orientations towards the place of residence suggested by Mizukami was chosen as the theoretical framework for this study, and how this study with the case of Uzbek migration contributes to the refinement of the definition of sojourners in a global migration context. In order to explain why the sociological approach was chosen for the analysis of settlement practices, this chapter reviews the disciplinary situation of the research and the practical approaches to explain migration processes.

Chapter IV is the first of the three discussion chapters on Uzbekistani settlement practices in Japan. This chapter is presented with a deep insight into Uzbekistani migrant experiences before arriving in Japan and vis-à-vis residing in Japan, initial plans, motivations, adaptation, and further plans. Through this glance into migrants' lives, the author analyzes the temporality and fluidity of Uzbekistani mobility towards Japan.

Chapter V is the second part of the discussion chapters. The previous discussion chapter analyzes migrants' experiences and how they affect settlement practices of various types of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan. This chapter reveals the cultural sensitivity of settlement practices in the Uzbek context. Therefore, ethnic, religious, cultural aspects are among the factors affecting Uzbekistani experiences in Japan.

Chapter V is the last part of the discussion. This chapter looks into the Uzbekistani gendered migration and the role of communities among the Uzbekistani in Japan. Gender-sensitivity of sojourning and settling practices and online and offline communities of Uzbekistani in Japan are the emphasis of discussion.

The last part of the research – Conclusions summarize the dissertation's finding and suggest future research and development of settlement studies and concept.

CHAPTER I. Country profile

The chapter on country profile provides background information on each side of the sojourning process in this study - Japan's background as a host country and Uzbekistan's profile as a country with relatively new migrating experience. Having a macro-sociological perspective on each country's position provides a contextual understanding of key moments and patterns in each party's mobility processes. This part is divided into sub-chapters that look into Japan's background as a host-country, migration processes in Uzbekistan post-independence from the Soviet Union, and the presence of migrants from Uzbekistan within the context of the presence of foreigners in Japan.

1.1. Japan as a host country

This part of Chapter I describes Japan's recent history as a host country in migration and mobility processes, including Japan's policies such as *tabunkakyōsei, kokusaika,* and others, which encourage foreigner skilled and unskilled workforce in the country since the 1980s. As Uzbekistani's migration to Japan is relevant to Japan's most recent immigration policies, this chapter will not provide an in-depth historical overview of Japanese immigration policies. This sub-chapter aims to contextualize Japan as a host country by presenting a brief historical context and an extensive analysis of Japan's immigration policies from 1980 onwards.

In Japan, the chronological development of immigration flows can be divided into six periods:

In the literature, it is often mentioned that Japan is a newcomer to immigration processes, and most of the literature starts the history of Japanese immigration from the 1980s. However, although Japan is a latecomer to accepting foreigners due to its unique historical context, compared to fellow Western countries, its history starts centuries earlier than the XX

century. The author followed Kondo's (2002) chronology of immigration flows in this chapter. The chronology consists of six following eras (by Kondo) and the present state (the last – seventh point) of immigration in the Japanese context:

1. 1639 – 1853: Isolation period and no immigration

"The deepest influence on the modern Japanese mentality was Japan's isolation from the rest of the world… (Gillespie, 2001: 57) this long seclusion also gave the Japanese a complex sense of their own uniqueness. They believed that they were a homogeneous island tribe different from all other peoples. This belief still persists in Japan today. It is often given as a reason for the Japanese inability to communicate globally." (ibid: 59-60)

2. 1853 – 1945: Opening doors in the Meiji period, comparatively large emigration and pre-war colonial immigration

Tokugawa government is forced to reconsider its isolationist policies that lasted more than 230 years and finally opened Japan's doors for trade. This is the period the country started to become the modern industrially advanced Japan that we know of. Consequently, this is when Japan came into contact with cultures outside the country for the first time after long isolation (Gillespie, 2001: 65-69). Westernization process started during this era with changes in traditional Japanese lifestyle through the introduction of new ways of communication such as telegraph, railways, postal service; through an introduction to new food; through new fashion and hairstyles and so on, and of course, it all came with new foreigners and their cultures. While embracing all things foreign in terms of lifestyle, culture, education, technology, and communication, at the same time, Japan felt threatened by foreign influence in the country and perceived foreign superiority. Meiji Japan started building up nationalist sentiments as opposed to foreign influence through controlled education. Overall, this period of Japanese history is described as a cautious or even negative view of foreigners in terms of immigrants in Japan (Henshall, 2012: pp. 79-102).

As a part of this period, after the annexation of Korea in 1910, Japan saw a rise in colonial workers' number. Japan lacked the workforce for labor-intensive and unskilled jobs (at that time) such as construction, mining, textile industry. Followed by the war with China in 1937, about 2 million Korean immigrants became the source of merciless labor serving the Japanese in harsh conditions and the environment in Japan and at war fronts (Yamanaka, 2008). However, at war fronts, another type of forced migration took place with women known as 'comfort women'. Women and girls were forced into sexual slavery in the war zones of Imperial Japan, such as Korea, China, the Philippines, and others. Estimates of comfort women vary from less – 20,000 according to one of the Japanese sources to more – 410,000 according to one of the Chinese sources based on the source (Asian Women's Fund, n.d.).

As such, it was not a case of peaceful and comfortable migration in that era. It can be characterized by labor migrants and exceptional permanent residency seekers (Tsuchida, 1998).

3. 1945 – 1951: Post-World War II controlled immigration and emigration
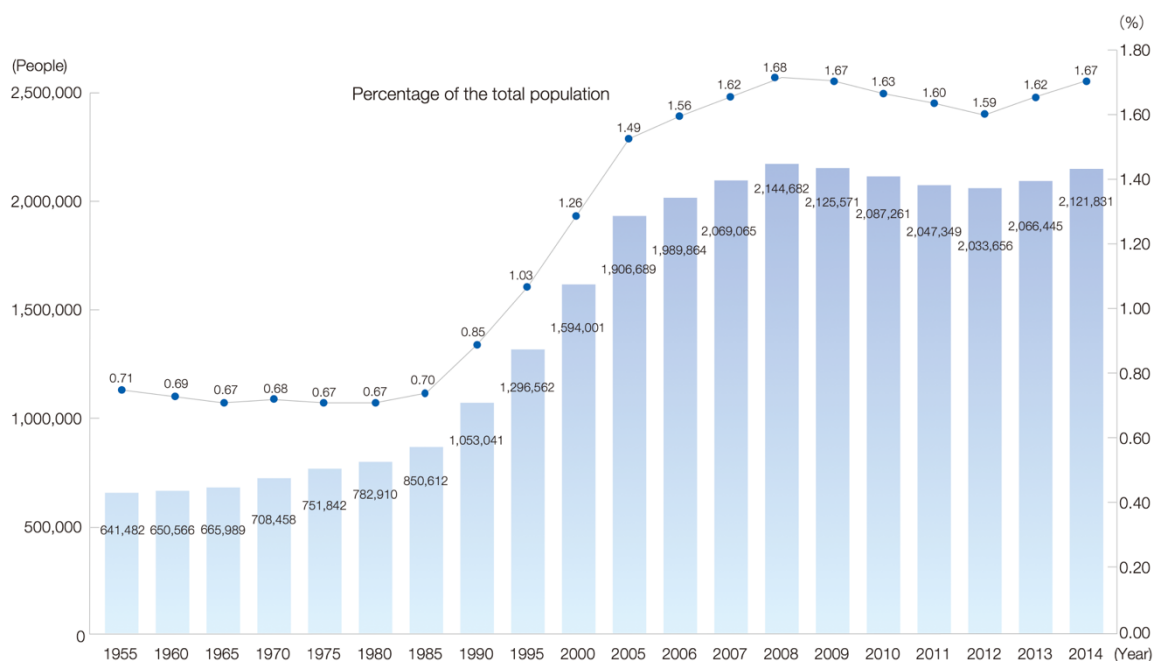
Figure 5. Changes in the number of foreign residents and the percentages to the total population of Japan. Source: MOJ, 2015.

Control of entry and exit of migrants took a start at this period of chronology. Japan started registering entries and exits of foreigners in 1950. About 18,000 foreigners were registered to enter and to re-enter Japan in the first year.

4. 1951 – 1981: Economic growth and the introduction of labor migrants

In the 1960-the 70s, while massive labor migration processes were taking place in the Western world, Japan did not choose to catch up with the similar trends of welcoming foreign laborers in. The West, mainly Europe, suffered post-war oil crisis and changes in the world system due to tight interconnectedness and labor exchange. Respectively, Japan did not face struggles vis-à-vis the oil crisis in the 1970s as the country did not involve complex migration yet, and it survived the crisis with its limited labor force. Post-war Japan would rather have its distinctive approach to the labor shortage to avoid inviting foreign workforce in (Tsuchida, 1998). Most foreigners residing in Japan in the 1970s were *zainichi* Koreans[10], who were already in Japan before World War II. Although they were long-term residents in the country, they were considered foreign workers by the Japanese government and discriminated against having lower status jobs with comparatively lower wages (Bartram, 2000, pp. 9-10). The country developed its lines of migration policies that favored reception of its return migrants such as nikkeijin[11] and other overseas Japanese, which left the country after World War II. Japan preferred to advance technology and automation, aiming to reduce human labor rather than receiving a foreign workforce (Tsuchida, 1998). The 1950s-1980s is when Japan developed its excessive working hours culture and developed part-time labor utilization, including students, older adults, and homemakers (Kondo, 2002: 416). The country could stimulate local labor force participation and avoid commitment to a foreign workforce.

---

[10] Long-term Korean residents of Japan, roots of whom are traced back to Korea under Japanese rule.
[11] In a broad sense – nikkeijin is an ethnic concept, referring to Japanese immigrant society members.

5. 1981 – 1990: Strictly controlled immigration with improved migration laws and acceptance of refugees

A decade later, in the 1980s, Japan faced a labor shortage and turned to a foreign workforce. As it happened in 1970s Europe, labor migrants in accepted Japan were from less developed countries. Those were skilled workers mainly from Bangladesh, Pakistan, China, the Philippines, and Thailand, who would be willing to do so-called '3D' jobs that are disproportionate to their qualification – dirty (kitanai), dangerous (kiken), and demanding (kitsui). 3D workers were the ones to become unauthorized workers in Japan (Tsuchida, 1998: p. 108).

One of the reasons for such developments regarding the rise of illegal migrants in Japan was the German model immigration policy adopted by Japan. The German model is created in conformity with German development and its context of formation as a nation-state, which was relatively late and triggered mechanisms of keeping the nation unified. This structure consequently affected the German model of immigration policies, which kept its migrants from citizenship, political participation, and specific welfare schemes available to citizens, yet having the migrants involved in the labor market (Yamanaka, 2008: p. 189). This immigration model explains Japanese development in terms of immigration in the 1980s with the rise of unskilled, low-skilled workers, who could not provide themselves with grounds for long-term or legal stay.

6. 1990 – 2014: Rise of immigration with stricter rules

Immigration Control Law was revised in 1989, and the revision took effect in 1990. This revision opened the doors wide to nikkeijin based on ethnic repatriation while closing them to unskilled foreigners as the revision did not allow hiring unskilled workers. Such development allowed the nikkeijin to use the front door of migration and strengthened unauthorized back doors for other foreigners.

Fast-forward to the 1990s, and Japan was home to an unauthorized workforce from 90 states – majority Asian and African countries followed by South and North American and European countries. During this period, for the first time in post-War Japan, foreign workers' image was regarded as controversial. After overstaying tourist visas and involvement in activities not specified by the visa type was observed, visa exemption agreements for Iranians, Bangladeshi and Pakistani were suspended. Foreigners became problematic in the public opinion and were likened to the Black ship of the Commodore Perry by the newspapers, which forced Japan to open in the Meiji era, which caused migration into it as well, and triggered anti-Western, consequently anti-foreigner views (Kuwahara, 2005, pp. 31-32).

Remarkable is the fact that while most of the migrants were from the Eastern part of the world, the East was divided by gender – women migrants mainly came from South East Asia (mostly Philippines) for unauthorized sex work and adult entertainment, and men came from South Asia for 3D jobs. Japan's deliberate attitude to its newly shaping multicultural society affected types of migrants disproportionately.

Followed by this event, Japan's primary objectives of this migration era were tighter control of labor migrants and the creation of landing specifications. According to the Ninth Basic Plan of Employment Measures (1999), there were three main principles, which characterize the immigration policy of this period:

- Promotion of immigration of skilled foreign workforce to vitalize the Japanese economy and society. Promotion of internationalization is also expected this way;
- Careful monitoring of immigration of unskilled foreign laborers. The unskilled workforce is not wanted, and a negative impact on the economy and society is assumed by the rise of unskilled immigrants;

- Creation of a society, where mobilization of elderly and women workforce is possible.

Unquestionably, the number of legal migrants of various categories rose respectively to Japan's emerging policies of attracting foreigners for work, study – later aimed at work after graduation, including bilateral governmental agreements. While this period is generally known as Japan's attempts in various promotion policies to attract a foreign workforce (due to Japan's aging population and declining Japanese workforce as an effect), the 2000s onwards are known for its simultaneous multicultural awareness policies. Opening up to immigration required preparations for both Japanese and foreigners. Therefore, Japan started integrating policies of *tabunkakyōsei* (multicultural coexistence), *tabunkashugi* (multiculturalism), and internationalization. Policies of multiculturalism were promoted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, backed by the Council for the Promotion of Regulatory Reform and the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy (Kibe, 2014). The main goal has been to help smoothen the experience of coexisting for Japanese and foreigners residing in Japan. Striving for acceptance in the local society, the official government featured *tabunkakyōsei*, local municipalities (especially the nikkeijin majority towns like Hamamatsu, Oizumi, and Toyota).

Starting at 1 million total population of registered migrants in 1990, by 2014, the number doubled and reached 2.1 million, led by Asian countries by citizenship (see Figure 3) (MOJ, 2015).

7. 2014 – present: Revision of skills and visas

The Immigration Control Act was amended in 2014, and it was a start for an expanded revision of visas and skills. The statuses of residence were reorganized – this includes the creation of new categories of visas for highly skilled residents, which allows fast-track application for permanent residency (after 1 or 3 years followed by obtaining a highly-skilled professional visa); consolidation of working visa types in order to provide companies flexibility

regarding skills of the foreign worker; expansion of the student visa to including junior high and elementary school students. This modification brought possibilities of a more flexible long-term stay for highly skilled professionals – before this amendment, the minimum period for permanent residence application was 10 years.

Up to 2014, most foreign professionals in nursing care were from the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia based on bilateral agreements within the Economic Partnership Agreement framework. Japan Revitalization Strategy revised in 2014 opened the way to students who graduated from the Japanese higher educational institute and who have obtained the care worker qualification. These changes allowed international students to work as care workers at Japanese nursing care facilities (ISAJ, 2016).

Another major revision – a notable shift in skills is a step for enabling all-inclusive immigration to Japan. This is quite remarkable as, until this period, Japan's minimum requirements for acceptance of migrants were professional skills – bachelor's degree or equivalent years of work proving skills. Furthermore, the permanence of residence, even for skilled migrants, was not easily attainable. Finally, in 2018, Cabinet Office announces opening the labor market to foreigners with a specific set of skills to work in 14 fields, not specified before (Cabinet Office, 2018). This category of foreigners was accepted to Japan under the new Specified skilled worker I and Specified skilled worker II type visas. Specified skilled worker visas include working in elderly care, food service, construction, building cleaning, food manufacturing, hospitality, fisheries, electric industry, and many more.

1.2. Uzbekistan as a migrating country

The current sub-chapter sheds light on the recent history of the Soviet and post-Soviet Uzbekistan's migration patterns, main destinations Uzbekistani choose to migrate to, and attempts to explain needs for mobility for Uzbekistani.

Uzbekistan's history in terms of international migration starts during the Soviet era — with the formation of the Uzbek SSR in 1924 (Rahmonova-Schwarz, 2010). Uzbek SSR, along with other countries in Central Asia, is characterized as a host country in international migration processes of the period, being a destination of massive deportation and repression under Stalin. Uzbek SSR served as a new home to forcibly relocated ethnic Germans, Greeks, Crimean Tatars, Turks, and Koreans before and during World War II (Burghart & Sabonis-Helf, 2005). These movements to Central Asia and Uzbekistan, in particular, carried a political and labor-related character.

Uzbekistan's history of being under occupation by the Russian Empire and later being a part of the Soviet Union shaped migration strategies and conditions in the country as they are currently. Uzbekistan largely inherited the Soviet-style centralized system, meaning heavy attention on one main city in the country – Tashkent. Tashkent is actively invested in, and as a result, disproportionately, it is more developed, having better infrastructure, better employment opportunities (headquarters of corporations and branches of international firms are in Tashkent), better higher education opportunities, better medical infrastructure, and so on. Regions outside Tashkent in poor condition as a result of less investment into their overall development by the central government. This leads to outward migration from the regions to Tashkent in search of better life opportunities. However, this movement is complicated by the residence permit system in Tashkent, which limits the free movement of Uzbekistani citizens within Uzbekistan.

Russian tsarist regulations practiced in the Central Asian region resulted in the inheritance of similar policies towards the mobility within Uzbekistan and movements within most post-Soviet countries for decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union. One of the remains of the tsarist and the Soviet regimes in Uzbek policies toward movements inside and outside the country is the *propiska* – the temporary residency registration permits. In tsarist

Russia, *propiska* served as a tracker for peasants' movements. Individuals from the noble background or higher ranks owned passports, which granted free movement. *Propiska* remained throughout the Soviet Union, slightly having changed its function and serving as an entry in the labor books of every Soviet citizen, tracking employment information (Rakhmonova-Schwarz, 2010). The Soviet version of *propiska* is the closest to the mobility regulation policies the present Uzbekistan practices. *Propiska* is required for both the local population and foreigners when traveling within Uzbekistan – between regions and cities, between kishlaks and towns; and outside Uzbekistan – within most post-Soviet countries. The original form of *propiska* remained in Tashkent – the capital of Uzbekistan until the present day. This form of registration complicates the right to migrate, work, study, and live in the location of choice freely within Uzbekistan. Various events, such as a terrorist attack in 1999, made the process of obtaining a residence permit in Tashkent even more difficult compared to the initial nuisances. The history of the post-Soviet residence permit system contributed to the mental gap among Uzbek citizens having a permanent *propiska* in Tashkent and Uzbek citizens residing outside Tashkent. Therefore, for regional based Uzbeks and Uzbekistani moving or traveling to the capital might mentally seem equal to going abroad as a result of *propiska*, or registration as it is renamed into; as a result of economic disproportion and gap in monthly revenues of capital and regional population; differences in religious and ethnic perceptions – Tashkent being more 'Russified', or 'Europeanized' due to the capital's wider exposure to changing norms from the perspective of the regional population. It is pointed out by a group of Uzbek respondents residing in Japan as well (see Chapter IV).

In the present and the past years, most South-Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe, and Central Asian countries' migrants have been moving within the geographical region. Uzbek migrants constitute 1.07 million migrants of 4.97 million in Central Asia in total, which is 1:~5. In 2017, for instance, out of slightly over 1 million migrants in the Russia-Uzbekistan and

Kazakhstan-Uzbekistan migration corridors, 80 percent of bilateral movements belong to Russia and 20 percent – Kazakhstan (IOM, 2018).

One of the factors for migration preferences above can serve shared culture and history (Bartolomeo, 2014); one might even say migration culture and history, as it is not the post-Soviet era when movements within the region started. The migration system has been in shape from the times of the Russian Empire and strengthened during the Soviet era with an increase in knowledge of the Russian language among Uzbeks and other non-Russian speaking population of Uzbekistan. Along with knowledge of the language, another element left after the Soviet Union is, of course, knowledge of Russian mentality – learned and observed throughout the Soviet era to watching Russian news, Russian television and through them constructing a certain Russian image and understanding culture. As a matter of fact, knowledge of the Russian language and culture particularly facilitates finding employment and making life more comfortable in Russia.

Similar institutional elements and a variety of transportation choices are other factors for an incline towards Russia. Familiar bureaucratic elements require less time to get used to by migrants and mediate orientation in the host country. There are also relatively low-rate direct and transfer flights from Uzbekistan to Russia, along with land transportation. Along with the Russian largest airlines – Aeroflot, Uzbekistan's national airlines – O'zbekiston Havo Yo'llari both offer flights to Uzbekistan.

While there is plenty of ground – culture, language, mentality, cheaper and more affordable transportation choice for migration to Russia, the same cannot be said about migration to Japan from Uzbekistan. This is discussed deeply with excerpts from the interviews in Chapters IV and V. The following part attempts to position Uzbekistani residency in the bigger picture of mobility processes in Japan using secondary data by MOJ Japan. This helps gain a general macro-sociological perspective on the presence of Uzbekistani residents in Japan.

The latest online Japanese register for foreigners' movements to and in Japan is officially documented from 2006 on the MOJ website. MOJ reports on the foreigner population in Japan twice a year – in June and December every year starting from 2013. So, this chapter utilizes statistics published once a year up to 2013, and half a year statistic of 2019, as it is the latest data available in this regard at the time research has been conducted.

While the study of Uzbekistani residence in Japan is the case of a minority population in the global migration scale, when compared to residents from other Central Asian countries
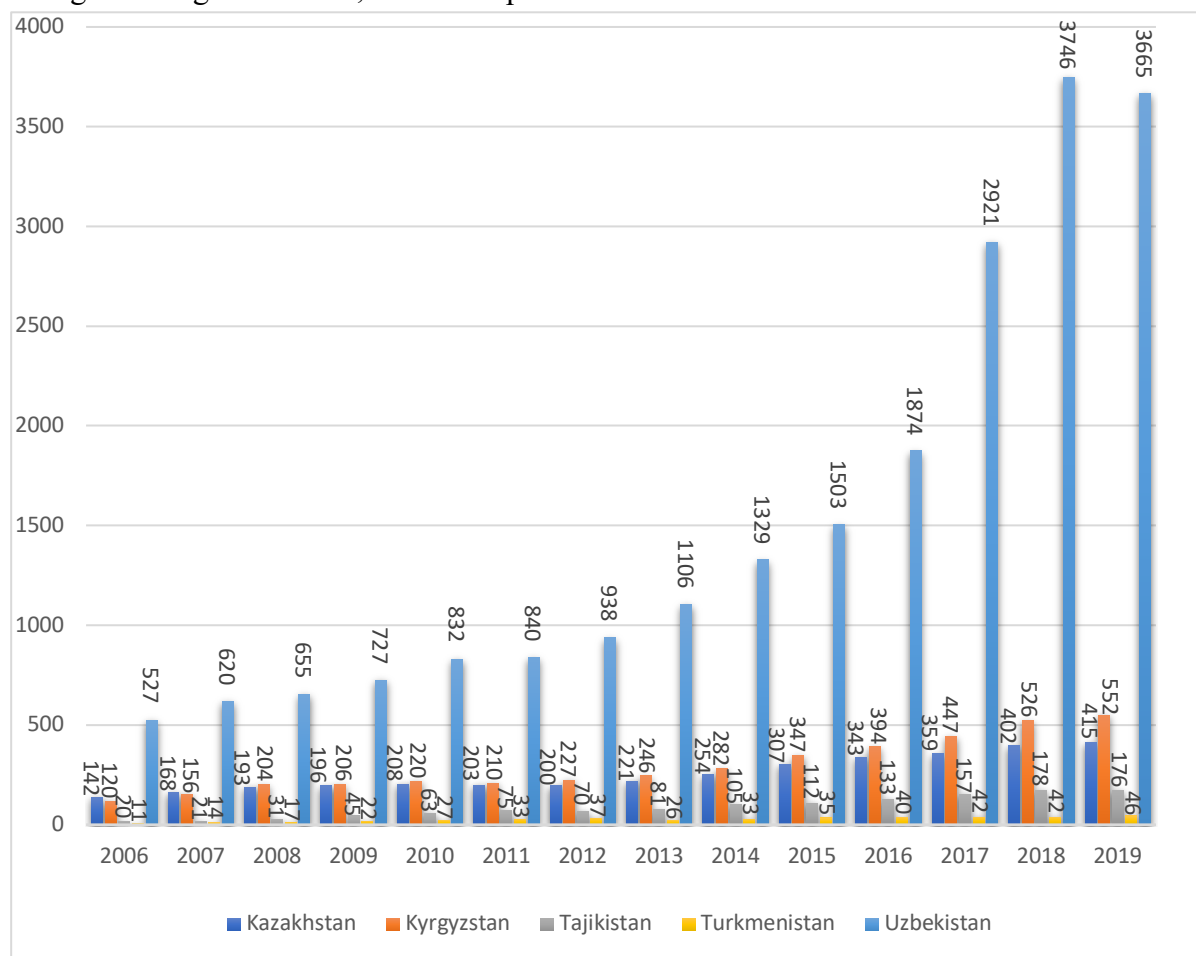
Figure 6. Number of Central Asian citizen in Japan. Source: MOJ, 2020.

in Japan, the study becomes a majority study. Foreign residents holding Uzbekistani citizenship make up the biggest group among other Central Asian countries' citizens in Japan (see Figure 6).

The number of Uzbekistani residents in Japan has grown as much as twenty-five times since 2006. This steady growth is logically explained by the initial bigger population in Uzbekistan in contrast to smaller populations in neighboring countries; and political agreements between Uzbekistan and Japan that promote and let Uzbekistani obtain a certain type of residence in Japan.
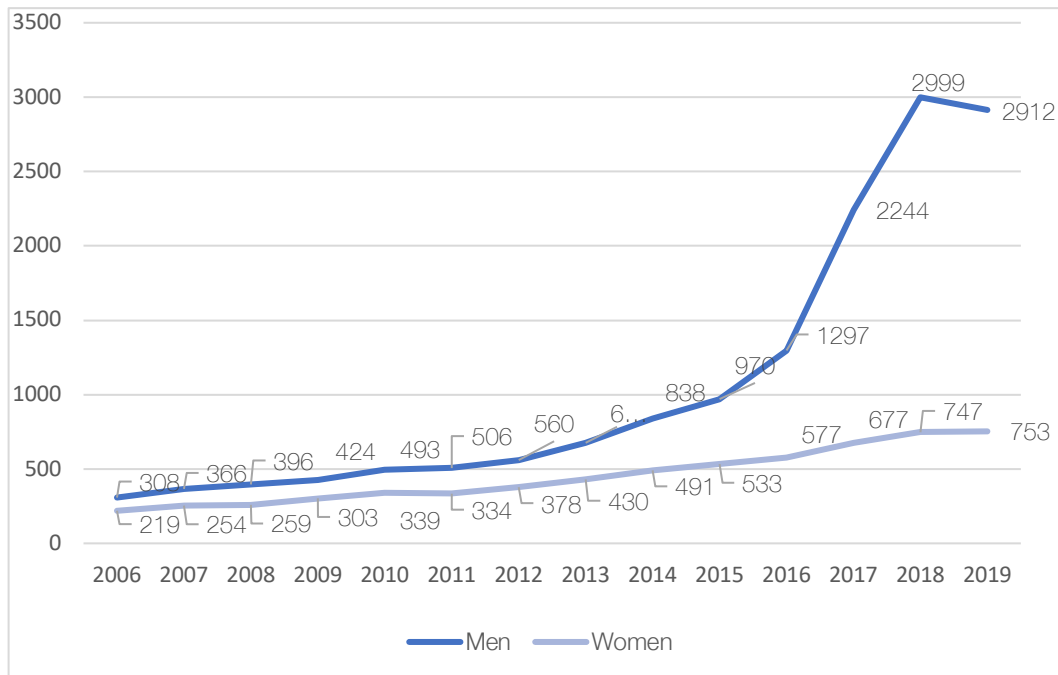
Figure 7. Number of Uzbekistani residents in Japan by sex. Source: MOJ, 2020.

Historically, Uzbekistan is a country with a patriarchally inclined society, which affects the sex ratio of Uzbekistani residents in Japan (see Figure 8). It means that the number of women in Japan was initially significantly lower than the number of men residing in Japan.

More women than men in Uzbekistan do not enjoy the freedom of choice and movement, so the number of residing women from Uzbekistan only increased to 3.4%, while the number of men residents saw a 9.4% growth over the period from 2006 to 2019.
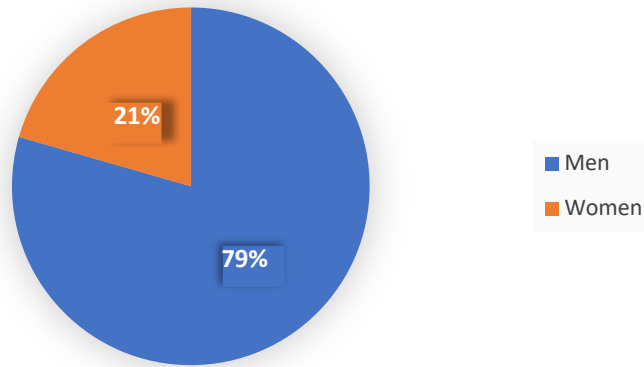
Figure 8. Uzbekistani residents' sex ratio in Japan by June 2019.
Source: MOJ, 2020.

As a result, in 2019, women constitute 21% of the total Uzbekistani residents in Japan.

Regarding the most popular residence permits Uzbekistani to obtain, Figure 9 demonstrates the dynamics of the 5 biggest groups of Uzbekistani by residence status in Japan.
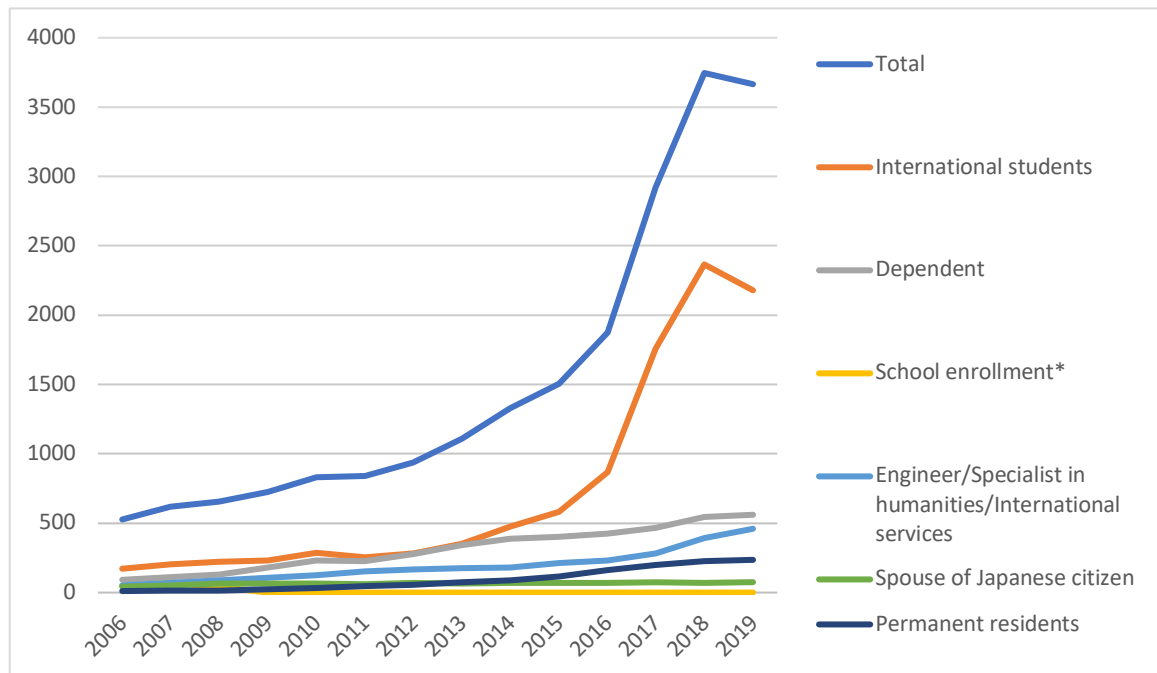
Figure 9. Uzbekistani population in Japan by residence status.
Source: MOJ, 2020.

The major groups of Uzbekistani residents in Japan are comprised of 留学 [ryūgaku] - 'International student', 家族滞在 [kazoku taizai] – 'Dependent'[12], 就学 [shūgaku] - 'School enrollment', (技術)・人文知識・国際業務 [gijutsu・jinbun chishiki・kokusai gyōmu]– 'Engineer/Specialist in humanities/International services', 日本人の配偶者等 [nihonjin no haigūsha nado] - 'Spouse or child of Japanese citizen' and 永住者 [eijūsha] - 'Permanent resident' permit holders. For convenience purposes, in this research, we will utilize English translations of these visa types provided by the MOJ website.

School enrollment' was the type of permit issued to international students up to 2008, and it was diminished afterward (MOJ, 2009). 'School enrollment' residency permit included students enrolled in vocational schools in Japan. Abolishing the 'school enrollment' residency status was Japan's first step towards promoting the '300,000 international student plan' when it launched in 2008. This plan was created by MEXT and MOFA Japan in order to attract foreign students to study in Japan. MOJA points out why the unification of 'international student' and 'school enrollment' is necessary and sensible, along with challenges to academic institutions in handling acceptance of international students to schools. MOJA explained that about 70% of Japanese school students continued their education in Japan by entering universities in Japan. So, taking into consideration American and European practices to international students' residency, two categories of 'international student' and 'school enrollment' permits are unified into one, and all the international students are given 'international student' permit now.

At present, 'international student' permit includes students enrolled in Japanese universities, colleges of technology, high schools, and junior high schools, and other activities with an intention to receive an education.

---

[12] Literal translation – 'family sojourn'.

'International student' permit holders make up the biggest group among Uzbekistani residents in Japan. This group has been growing stably from the starting point, slightly affected by the 2011 Tohoku earthquake. The number of international students until 2008 could actually be bigger if added to 'school enrollment' permit holders abolished in 2008. Respectively, this group creates trends in the dynamics of Uzbekistani residents in Japan as other groups are significantly smaller. It should also be noted that 'international student' permit holders are men as the trend of this group overlaps with the men residents' ratio (refer to Figure 10). The number of Uzbekistani citizens registered under this category grew from 172 in 2009 to 2180 in 2019, while the total number of Uzbekistani in Japan in 2019 is 3665. International students are admitted to Japan on the basis of admission to an educational program, training, educational exchange, and specific research activities. Seeking educational training at university, college, school, special school levels serve as a ground for this visa type. International students are issued visas followed by the length of the designated studies, and when the term on the visa is over, the visa requires renewal. The standard-length variations of this visa type are 4 years and 3 months; 4 years; 3 years and 3 months; 3 years; 2 years and 3 months; 2 years; 1 year; 6 months or 3 months. International students in Japan can apply for a work permit in Japan and are allowed to work as a part of non-designated activities legally. During school semesters, international students are permitted to work up to 28 hours a week, which does not exceed 7 hours per day. During holidays, students are allowed to work up to 40 hours per week, 8 hours per day. International students are allowed to bring their immediate families to Japan, which leads us to the next large group of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan.

The second biggest group of residents is dependents. This group includes dependents of landed Uzbekistani residents – spouses, minor children of the main activity visa holder. This group's growth trend corresponded to 'international student' group dynamics until 2016 when the number of 'international student' permit holders spiked sharply. This group started at 92

permit holders in 2006, and by the latest data of 2019, it comprises 571 people. Dependents are not automatically allowed in Japan with the landed migrant, and the relationship needs verified proof along with substantial financial funds from the landed individual in order to support the dependent with comfortable living in Japan. The issued standard length of stay for dependents varies between 5 years; 4 years and 3 months; 4 years; 3 years and 3 months; 3 years; 2 years and 3 months; 2 years; 1 year and 3 months; 1 year; 6 months or 3 months. Dependents, similarly to international students, are permitted 28 hours of work per week with no specific restrictions on the type of work if obtained work permit.

The third biggest group of Uzbekistani residents in Japan is 'Engineer/Specialist in humanities/International Services' permit holders. This group saw a stable, steady growth, and it was not affected by any external factors in its growth. Starting at 52 people in this category, it reached 460 over the period. Foreign nationals holding this visa type are permitted to Japan for the purpose of engaging in strictly economic activities or labor, which bring compensation in Japan. More specifically, these activities include services in the fields of engineering, design, interpretation, language instruction, marketing, and others, which require knowledge of natural sciences or human sciences. This type of visa is issued for the length of 5 years; 3 years; 1 year, or 3 months.

'Spouse of Japanese citizen' was the fourth biggest group by the number of residents registered in 2006. However, unlike other groups, this group has not seen significant growth and maintained the trend roughly at the same level. The number of spouses of Japanese nationals among Uzbekistani residing in Japan was 43 in 2006, and in 2019, it reached only 75, creating a flat line of growth in the chart. The standard length of stay for this visa category is 5 years; 3 years; 1 year, or 6 months. Spouses and children of Japanese nationals have no restrictions on the type of work and limits on working hours.

In contrast with the group of spouses of Japanese citizens, the number of 'Permanent
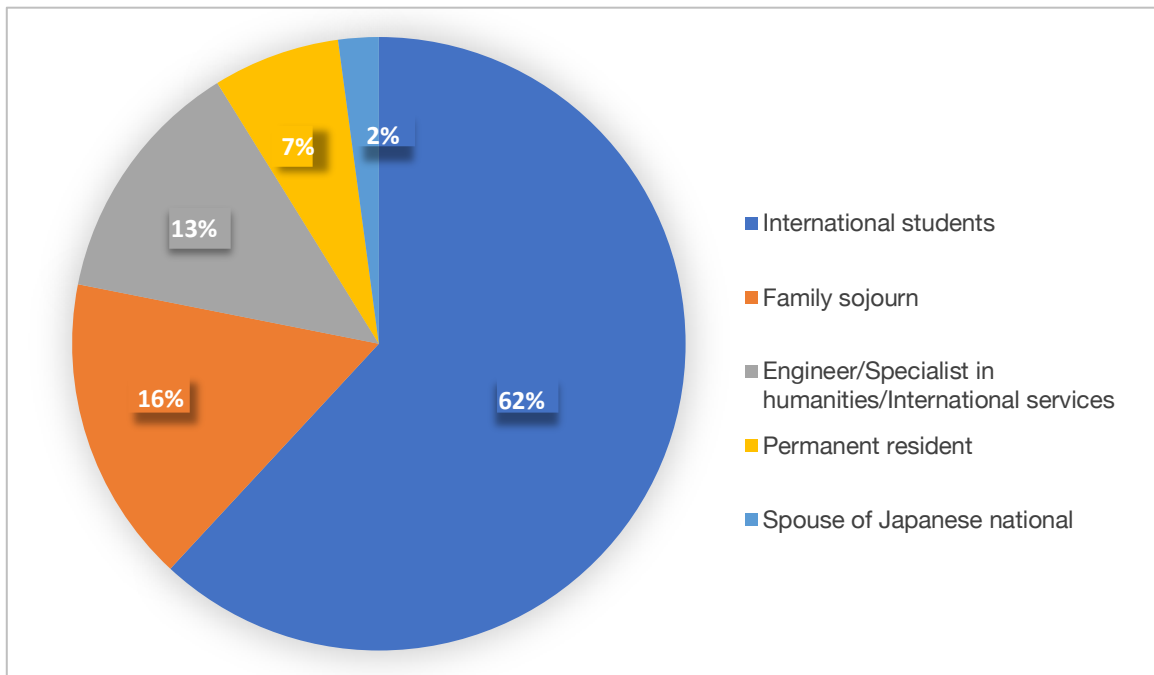
Figure 10. Five biggest groups of Uzbekistani residents in Japan by type of permit in 2019. Source: MOJ, 2020.

resident' group members increased noticeably. This group entered the top I have created starting at 2009 after 'school enrollment' permit's cancellation with 22 registered Uzbekistani citizens. This group eventually surpassed the 'spouse of Japanese national' group in 2013, and in 2019, it reached 236 people. Permanent residency does not limit the holder in types of activities and in the length of stay in Japan.

If we look at the latest data on these five groups of residents mentioned above (see Figure 8), it is clear that the vast majority of Uzbekistani residing in Japan are registered as international students (62%), family members of main visa holders (16%) and specialist visa holders (13%) are next groups which are almost equally big. The smallest groups among the most popular residency types Uzbekistani are 'permanent resident' (7%) and 'spouse of Japanese national' (2%), according to MOJ, 2019.

As for the areas Uzbekistani nationals choose to reside in Japan (see Figure 11), it is clear from the data that Uzbekistani are clustered around metropolitan Tokyo the most. The most attractive area is greater Tokyo along with surrounding Kanagawa, Chiba,
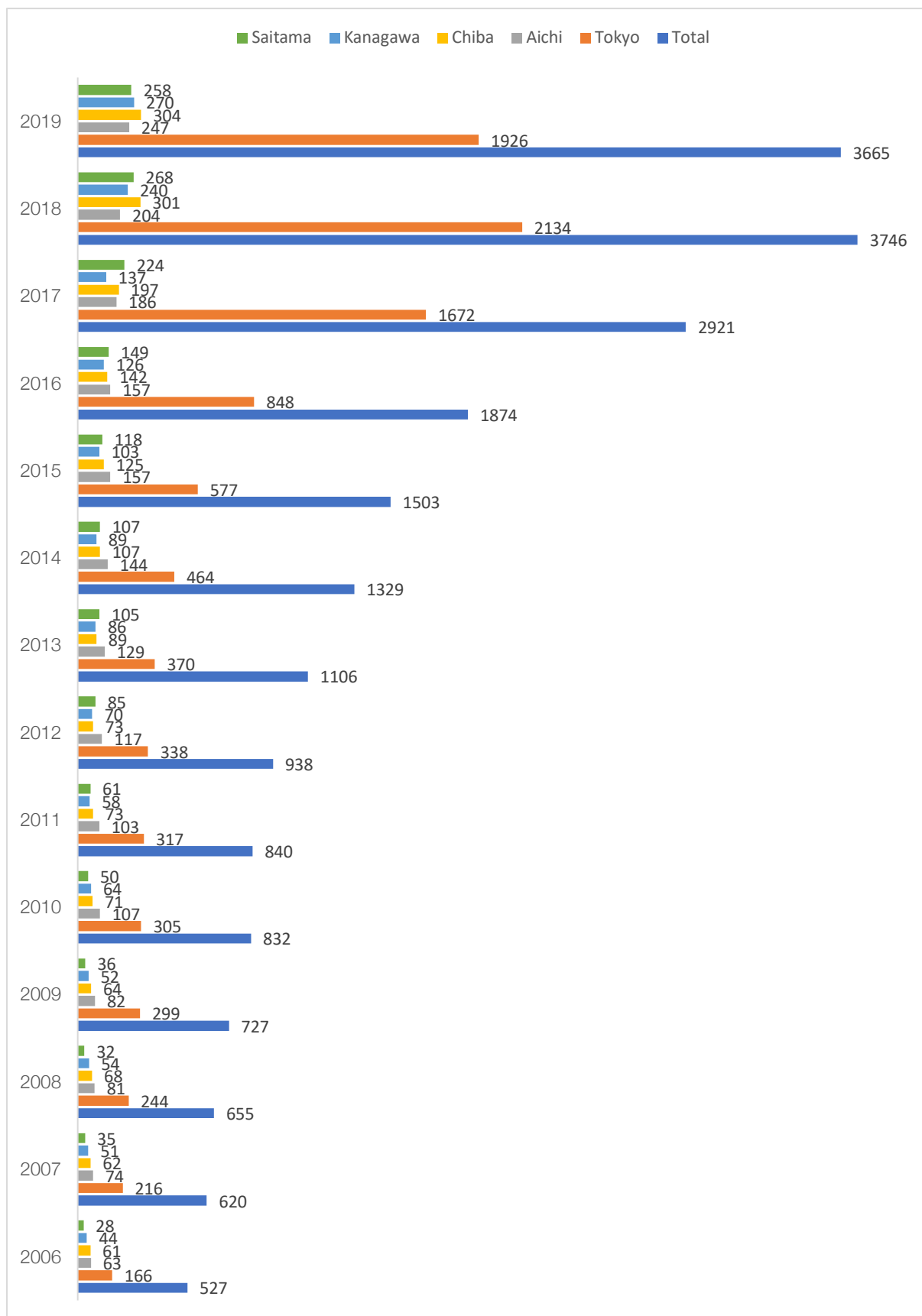
Figure 11. Distribution of Uzbekistani residents in Japan by prefectures.
Source: MOJ, 2020.

Saitama prefectures over the years as it has been common for other groups of foreigners, too, due to access to a bigger job market for foreigners, international schools and facilities, and so on.

Aichi is another preferential destination for Uzbekistani residing in Japan. While Aichi is a major area hosting foreign residents after Tokyo prefecture, Uzbekistani are gradually losing their interest in staying in the area over time. Once popular, Aichi prefecture is slowly giving way to the Kanto area for Uzbekistani in terms of residence.

To summarize the presence of Uzbekistani in Japan, compared to neighboring Central Asian countries, it is the most represented Central Asian state in Japan. Almost 73% of Central Asian residents in Japan are Uzbekistani as of 2019. Almost 80% of Uzbekistani residing in Japan are men. The majority of these Uzbekistani residing in Japan are 'international student' permit holders, and this group has been the biggest overtime. Other bigger groups of residency are family sojourners, specialist visa holders, permanent residents, and spouses of Japanese nationals. The preferable areas for Uzbekistani in Japan are the greater Tokyo area with neighboring Kanagawa, Chiba and Saitama, and Aichi prefecture.

CHAPTER II. Literature review: The study and conceptualization of sojourning and settlement practices

Chapter II presents an overview of existing literature on sojourner studies and attempts to group this body of literature into consistent themes that help to situate Uzbek case of sojourning within the literature of sojourner studies and, consequently, the larger body of migration and mobility studies. Thus, this chapter will look at studies on the concept of the 'sojourner' and 'settler', discussion of the use of the term, literature related to sojourners and settlers in the Japanese context, and literature related to Uzbekistani's experiences in migration and mobility.

2.1. Situating residency orientation in literature

Orientations towards residency are relatively new to sociology. The studies using the concept 'sojourner' we know of nowadays started to take shape in the 1950s, with Siu's study (1952) on Chinese sojourners in the US. Siu lays a foundation for further analysis of the phenomenon through the research of the sojourner from developing country sojourning in a more industrialized country. Siu defines the sojourner in a more intricate manner than preceding studies (Wolf, 1950; Park, 1928) – from their place in the society, cultural backgrounds, and self-identification. This study has high importance as this is when discussion of the sojourner starts, this is when the sojourner becomes more versatile and not necessarily the stranger defined by Simmel (Wolff, 1950) and Park (1928).

Decades after, Bonacich (1973) also uses the sojourner hypothesis in her studies of Chinese in the US. What makes her study different from Siu's (1952) approach is that she tackles sojourning from the point of conditions in the host country and the sojourner's home country. Conditions she approaches include economic and social consequences, communal

solidarity, host hostility, and homeland conditions – these conditions are factors forming sojourner's orientation toward the place of residence, according to Bonacich.

Studies of Chinese sojourners continue with Glick's work (1980), which explored sojourner and settler orientations of the Chinese migrants in the US, namely Hawai'i. Glick's study comprises the late XIX-early XX centuries Chinese migrant organizations in Hawai'i, to study which he addresses economic conditions, communal belonging and group identity, and societal status of the Chinese sojourners and settlers. This is one of the rare studies in which we can see outcomes of settlement as the study is built on almost a century-long data collection. It is obvious that Siu set an important discussion with his case study on the Chinese that followed several works into the sojourning and settling discourse of the Chinese in the US.

A more specific approach is taken by Woon (1983) by analyzing Chinese voluntary sojourning. They come up with the reasons for the Chinese sojourning, which relate to a range of factors and conditions in the homeland. Later, on the one hand, Yang (2000) argues that the number of studies of the Chinese migrants shapes the controversial image of Chinese and Asian immigrants in the US. Yang points out the studies fulfilled earlier (the studies mentioned above) to be outdated and applicable to the state of affairs at that period of time and questions validity of the sojourner hypothesis vis-à-vis exceptionality of Chinese immigrants in the US to this phenomenon. Yang also points at the problematic analysis of sojourning being the result of host hostility, resulting in racism and isolationism, not only the outcome of sojourner's voluntary ethnocentrism. On the other hand, Merz-Benz (2010) argues on the topicality of the sojourner in today's sociology of migration. Merz-Benz's study points out the paradox of the Chinese sojourner's feature of marginality with the omnipresence of Chinese culture nowadays – Chinatowns, built on homogenous migration networks. This study sums up that Siu's sojourner is topical in being relevant to today's discussion of transnational migration, transculturality, and transdifference.

Chinese migrants in Tasmania remained questionable by type of their migration, which is traditionally believed to be sojourners. Petty (2009) deconstructs the Chinese and Western sojourner discourse in order to analyze Chinese migrants in Tasmania. This research argues that the host country's attitude towards migrants is a factor why a sojourner becomes a sojourner – specifically in the case of Chinese in Tasmania. Sojourner is viewed as a colonial concept here, which made immigration of Chinese to Tasmania difficult due to the Western colonial rules of the 19th century. After demonstrating two biographical (individual and family) and three thematic (on difficulties of re-entry; on homes and families between Tasmania and China; on Chinese and the law in Tasmania) cases, the author suggests 'flexible citizens' or 'transnational migrants' as more suitable concepts to utilize towards Chinese in Tasmania to avoid colonial connotation.

While the Chinese case presents the largest body of work on sojourning, although not as deeply per se, other country cases are similarly researched with respect to sojourning and temporary migration. Cases of sojourners, which shaped the initial and the main body of literature, are limited to the Chinese in the US. How and where literature and theorizing of sojourners came to existence is vital to the state of studies in the present. What we know from the massive body of literature on sojourning and settling studies is that the US context has shaped the very foundation of this stream of theorizing temporary and permanent migration. Conditions in the host country – institutional, economic, societal, cultural, and others, directed not only towards the migrants but also the scholars affected by such constructs – construct knowledge and conceptualization of one stream of migration studies. The foundation of such conceptualization can be and should be challenged. We will analyze the examples from Malaysia and Indonesia (Tan, 2001), Brazil (Knight, 2002), China (Lin & Tse, 2005), Australia (Mizukami, 2007), England (Brown & Holloway, 2008), and the US (Mathias, 2011).

We can see that major research development in terms of sojourning and settling orientation was made in the context of the US, employing the case of the Chinese. Uriely (1994) approached the study of sojourners using the case of Israeli immigrants in Chicago. Uriely approaches permanent sojourners from the point of ethnicity, being connected to the country of ethnicity in the symbolical level, which results in the permanence of sojourning and unacceptance of the 'settler' type of orientation.

Lin and Tse (2005) looked at sojourning practices through the study of cross-border movements at the Hong Kong-China border. The research aimed to identify the people who were crossing the borders back and forth and the motivations of their movement. Cross-border migrants were recognized as cross-border shoppers; workers; home buyers; elderly people who retire in mainland China – all were tied to economic reasons behind their movements across the borders. Cross-border sojourn in the context of this research is a daily life situation – shoppers travel across borders for better deals; workers – as a result of uneven economic development and distribution, and so on. This study is an example of a short everyday life sojourning, which is slightly different from other investigations reviewed in this chapter that are centered around relatively long sojourns.

Knight (2002) carefully analyzes types of migrants, including distinguishing diasporas in a traditional sense and what we mean by diasporas nowadays, in order to provide a better understanding of where Brazilian nikkeijin and Peruvian Nikkei community stand. In this study, we see that Brazilian nikkeijin, who escaped Japan due to economic difficulties in the early XX century, had a classic sojourner mentality – to earn sufficient financial stability in order to live in the country of origin comfortably. However, at the end of the XX century, we observe Brazilian nikkeijin's return to Japan with the same sojourner mentality earlier generations had towards Brazil. Brazilian nikkeijin's case is fascinating because it demonstrates the case where economic approaches such as new economics of migration to this

type of sojourning are not applicable. We realize that Brazilian nikkeijin left for Japan, not because of economic hardships they were living through in the 1980s, but because they intended to improve their living and socio-economic status in Brazil to a more luxurious one. This type of new orientation of sojourning was promoted by older generations of Brazilian nikkeijin to younger, that in such way, Brazilian nikkeijin formed a transnational sojourning flow between Japan and Brazil.

Similar to Brazilian nikkeijin, Peruvian Nikkei migrated from Japan with an intention to return to Japan once financial stability is achieved. However, unlike the Brazilian case, Peruvian Nikkei's economic future in Peru was not promising (Shintani, 2007), and that led Peruvian Nikkei out to Japan. For some, the movement continued from Japan to the US and beyond, creating and strengthening the Nikkei identity transnationally (Knight, 2002, pp. 20-22).

There is an example of non-Nikkei Japanese sojourners and settlers in literature by Mizukami (2007). Mizukami dissects the Japanese community in Australia by expanding major conceptual views on settlement orientations of the XX century. His categories of sojourners and settlers, expanded using the previous scholarship on sojourners as a starting point, consist of sojourners (including reluctant returnees), consequent sojourners, settlers (including reluctant sojourners), and consequent settlers. What makes research different from previous research is that it points out the importance of physical and mental circumstances that make a sojourner a sojourner. While previous research on sojourners (Siu, Uriely, etc.) focused on cultural aspects of sojourning (marginality, social background, self-identification), Mizukami brought up the migration control and laws of the host country, which, undoubtedly, affect the duration of stay depending on the visa types, creating various types of settling practices.

Although the larger part of works on student sojourners that do not focus on the profile of sojourning, yet there are few works (Cox, 1988; Hamann, 2001; Sarroub, 2001) that revolve

around theorizing and conceptualizing student sojourners in the psychological and anthropological field. Cox's work (1988) attempts to distinguish the international student in Great Britain by analyzing the different experiences expatriates, settlers, and sojourners face. By utilizing the 'Cultural Distance Scale', Cox attempted to show differences in the mental well-being of sojourners and expatriates. At the same time, differences with regard to the mental health of the groups considered in the study are clear; the problem of grouping international employees into a different category of expatriates, when this group might as well be categorized as sojourners, remain. Hamann (2001) approaches the Mexican student sojourners synthesizing transnational and educational theories using anthropological perspective. An international student is considered to be 'binationally tied'. It is, of course, a case for certain international students – do we have enough data to generalize? – however, not necessarily for all – my take on fluidity and temporality of Uzbekistani sojourners and sojourner students is discussed in Chapter IV. Hamann provides an extensive analysis of the sojourner student's profile coming from the economically vulnerable transnational family – factors of family background (economically vulnerable; sojourner parents; etc.); negotiating old and new places of residence; buffering circumstances of sojourner parents and fitting into them; systemic interconnectedness of host country and home country's institutional peculiarities and so on contribute to experiences of the student in the host country.

Schmidt (2000) conceptualizes the notion of sojourning through the study of college student volunteering practices, using a sojourn as a framework or metaphor to describe the temporality of volunteering experiences. Interestingly, Schmidt's work adds stages to the phenomenon of sojourning, which are not commonly mentioned in the literature describing sojourning. 'Going to a foreign setting, experiencing shock and trying to fit' (Schmidt, 2000: p.58) are referred to as stages of the sojourning experience. The stages of anticipation (assumptions, expectations), shock (contrasts), settling in (adjustment and acceptance), and

outcomes (understanding the Others, matured identity) are not specific to a sojourner experience exclusively and can be applied to many other types of migrants.

A massive stream of research regarding sojourners focuses on international student sojourner experiences, which are usually approached within psychological studies. Psychological aspects of student sojourning are well researched, covering topics of adjustment and acculturation in the host country (Rohrlich, 1991; Pedersen et al., 2011); culture shock in the initial stages of the student sojourning (Schartner & Young, 2015) as well as culture shock occurring post-sojourn in the sojourner student's home country (Christofi & Thompson, 2007); the coverage of whole student sojourning process (Daly, 2007); the identity-related matters sojourners undisputable face (Brown & Brown, 2013; Ladegaard, 2016). While there are numerous works on psychological journeys of sojourners, these facets of sojourning discuss the phenomenon on a deeply personal level, and sojourning is a context against which the psychological features of individuals are studied.

In the analysis of the concept of sojourning, we observe recurring mentions of transnational and binational discourse (Siu, 1952; Bonacich, 1973; Hamann, 2001; Knight, 2002; Uriely, 1994; Mizukami, 2007). While these studies are fundamental pieces in the study of orientation patterns, they focus on specific parts and types of sojourning and settling. They also address mass migration phenomena in the culturally and ethnically diverse context. However, we may notice that the case of Uzbekistani does not fit in the context of the previous study having homogenous and economically declining Japan as a context and Uzbekistani being the recent newcomers with various backgrounds. Compared to the cases of the Chinese in the US, Uzbekistani in Japan can be categorized as skilled migrants as they mostly have Uzbekistani higher education completed prior to arrival in Japan. Thus, this study aims to unite various groups of Uzbekistani migrants in order to provide a wider range in the analysis of

sojourning and settling orientation within the context of developing Japan in the state of economic decline.

2.2. Migration and residency orientation in the Japanese context

Migration processes are accepted as a new phenomenon regarding Japan, and a range of works focus on immigration policies towards foreigners in Japan from the 1980s onwards. A significant part of the research on immigration policies focuses on labor immigration (Oishi, 2020; Holbrow & Nagayoshi, 2018; Komine, 2014; D'Costa, 2013; Oishi, 2012; Yamanaka, 2008).

Another stream of research of migration in the Japanese context is on international students' experiences in Japan. These studies include adjustment patterns of international students (Tanaka, Takai, Kohyama, & Fujihara, 1994); transitional processes international students go through (Belanger, Ueno, Hong, & Ochiai, 2011; Wen, 2017), and others aspects (Umino & Benson, 2017; Yoon, Rha, Kim, & Jung-Mee, 2013).

Diaspora and community studies in terms of migration in Japan are dominated by return migration of the Brazilian Japanese (Yamanaka, 1996; Yamanaka, 1997; Tsuda, 1999; Yamanaka, 2000; Knight, 2002); Chinese immigrants in Tokyo (Tajima, 2000; Tajima, 2003), and entrepreneurship (Rahman & Fee, 2011; Mahmud, 2013, Mahmud, 2014). Some works focus on English speakers' experiences in Japan. Heath (2017) and Milstein (2005) look into the sojourning experiences of English-speakers in Japan. Both authors use sojourning as a background of their research while focusing on acculturation (Heath, 2017) and a psychological result of sojourning (Milstein, 2017) – an enhancement of self-efficacy after a

sojourning period in Japan as a part of the JET program[13]. These studies do not focus on the sojourning experience itself as a phenomenon.

Japan's opening up to accepting foreigners as a working force in the 1980s due to the critical need for low-skilled laborers was followed by the strings of research aimed at Japan's labor migration policies and laws. Since relative the start of relative mass migration to Japan, both researchers and activists in Japan raise issues of controlling unskilled, low skilled, and highly skilled migration and immigration, reviewing and reconsidering migration policies. A massive part of migration literature in the Japanese context analyzes the labor part of foreign mobility toward Japan explicitly. The author will review the most recent studies about Japan and its labor migration policies in this part.

Keiko Yamanaka (2008) reviews Japanese policies regarding the immigrant workers who entered Japan in the 1980-2000s. She criticizes the recurring 'Japan is not an immigration country' stereotype by looking into recent – from the end of the 19th century to the World War II – history of migration and immigration to Japan, thereby demonstrating that often colonial migrants are not considered in the stereotypical discourse. Yamanaka's work provides Japan's developments vis-à-vis Japan's approach to the inflow of low skilled migrants and locals' actions in support of migrants' rights through the example of Hamamatsu. Japan's *tabunkakyōsei* and *tabunkashugi* – governmental campaigns to spark locals' tolerance in living in a new multicultural setting are problematized due to inconsistencies and deficiencies in the definition. Literature questions effectiveness of *tabunkakyōsei* due to not having a space for labor migrants' and foreigners' naturalization (Kibe, 2014, pp. 71-91) embedded and general confusion of the policy with policies of internationalization (Kashiwazaki, 2016, pp. 9, 13).

---

[13] Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, which is established by Japanese government in order to recruit native English-speaking graduates with native English-speaking background to help

Alternatively, there is a scholarship on approaches the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations, and Japan Business Federation take regarding labor migration (Vogt, 2006). Central questions, which map the bodies' approaches, as mentioned earlier, are whether labor migration to Japan excludes unskilled migration and whether labor migrants pose a threat to Japanese public security. Vogt (2013) analyzes labor migration from the policy level (policy outputs and policy outcomes). In contrast to Yamanaka, by distinguishing outputs and outcomes, Vogt demonstrates the 'Japan is not an immigration country' phenomenon at the official immigration policy level towards international labor migration to Japan. Nevertheless, on the policy outcome level, Japan ends up offering long-term permits to migrants (Vogt, 2013).

Discussions of Japanese immigration policies are tightly connected to migrants' skills. Oishi (2020) calls attention to the fluidity of migrants' skills and distinguishing skilled and unskilled migration. Highly skilled migrants and low-/unskilled migrants were perceived differently by Japan – low-skilled laborers unwanted by the country; thus, with low migrant management policies since the 1980s (Komine, 2014). Oishi (2020) argues that what was considered as 'unskilled' for a long time, for example, caregivers and housekeepers, require a specific set of skills, which she explains, was a direction that led to an adoption of the 'Specific skills workers' visa in 2018.

All authors above discuss the place for potential citizenship for labor migrants in Japanese immigration policies. While highly skilled migrants were desirable and strategically pulled to Japan through labor policies for the highly skilled workforce or study programs, immigration policies hoped for a return of migrants someday as they did not focus much on naturalization (Komine, 2014; Oishi, 2012; Vogt, 2013).

Remaining on integration and naturalization, Hollbrow and Nagayoshi's work (2018) explores integration from the economic standpoint. By analyzing a dataset of skilled foreign

employees at large corporations, it is revealed that skilled male migrants have a positive experience along with growth opportunities over time, while skilled female workers face gender inequality ingrained into the Japanese work culture. D'Costa (2013) points out that when it comes to attracting skilled professionals, mainly from the technical sphere, Japan is selective (based on data analysis of foreign professionals' visa categories). Along with the discussion of immigration policies for migrants, we observe that all works above mentioned novelty of topic immigration for Japan in 1990-the 2000s. Another interesting observation from the scholarship is that while immigration policies are slowly changing with the redefinition of skills, establishing new types of visas, and so on, what remains unchanged is Japan's image being 'an emerging migration state'. However, recent literature is expectant and hopeful of policy innovation and social transformation towards migration (Hollifield & Sharpe, 2017).

We can see from the literature above that Japanese immigration policies are described as being sojourner oriented. Scholarship critiques lack of directions to integration and naturalization of foreign professionals and migrants. Governmental policies such as *tabunkakyōsei* and *tabunkashugi*, promoting the multicultural way of living with foreigners, which are closely tied to immigration policies, are problematized for their lack of clarity and vagueness practically speaking.

Another stream of research is on international students' experiences in Japan. The presence of international students in Japan is associated with the shortage of local workforce and aging population. International students are attracted to study and, ideally, further stay in Japan for work as a part of immigration policies on attracting skilled professionals to Japan. The following part discusses case studies on adjustment, student to worker transition, brain circulation, and residential transition of international students in Japan.

Works in the psychology field discuss adjustment and adaptation patterns of international students (Tanaka et al., 1994; Maruyama, 1998) and psychological barriers and

anxieties (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2002; Breaden, 2014; Uosaki et al., 2015) international students face in Japan. Research related to adaptation and adjustment was done in the context of the policy for attracting 100,000 international students by 2000. Japan saw an inflow of international students in the 1990s, and it triggered several works on how international students perceive their studying, living, and job-hunting in Japan. Tanaka et al. (1998) and Maruyama (1998) attempted to explain these experiences through cross-cultural analysis. Both works indicate difficulties of interacting and communicating with the host society, although each research tackles different parts of daily interactions. Although this research does not focus on adaptation, almost every respondent brought up a topic of communication or the absence of communication with Japanese people (Chapter IV).

Related to the works above, Murphy-Shigematsu (2002) assesses international students' mental state by analyzing observations through counseling sessions at Japanese universities. This work describes international students' expectations of living in Japan and studying at Japanese universities clashing into a mismatched reality. This mismatch of brighter expectations and discriminatory, less accommodating reality resulted in inner conflict, depression, and stress, which was brought up by Uzbekistani respondents (see Chapter IV). Uosaki et al. (2015) address international students' further anxieties and worries, such as not knowing the job-hunting system, doubting the adequacy of Japanese proficiency, looking for jobs, and so on, associated with job-hunting in Japan.

Carrying on with international students in Japan's employment system, *shūkatsu* system – Japan's pre-graduate job-hunting system is discussed by Breaden (2014), explicitly channeling local literacy (for international students) and socio-cultural literacy (for universities and institutions) for *shūkatsu*. The author problematizes default expectations for international students to be open to adapt to local attributes, including knowledge of Japanese, particularities of Japanese job-hunting, and so on throughout *shūkatsu* and practical global hire discussion in

Japan. As for knowledge of Japanese, immersion into 'communities of practice' – practices and activities with locals and native speakers are required in order to be able to interact in Japanese since textbook Japanese is different from the practical one (Umino & Benson, 2017).

Studies of communities and foreigners residing in Japan shed ample light on foreigners' variety of experiences in Japan. These studies cover the range from newcomers to settlers. In this part of the literature review, we will look into cases of Nepalese, Bangladeshi, Vietnamese, nikkeijin, Chinese, western residents in Japan in a variety of their experiences and issues.

Keiko Yamanaka has been producing works on nikkeijin's movements to Japan since the 1990s. Her works make up a massive part of existent literature on the discussion of nikkeijin's return migration. Yamanaka's research on Brazilian nikkeijin's sojourn in Japan is founded on migration systems theory. Followed by the history and context of nikkeijin migration from Japan to Brazil, she describes circumstances that led nikkeijin to return migration to Japan for a labor sojourn (Yamanaka, 1996). Three factors are given for nikkeijin's (un)willingness to end their sojourn and settle in Japan: unstable Brazilian economy; expected reduction of unskilled jobs; aging working age of nikkeijin. These factors shape 'circular diaspora formation', where nikkeijin are thought to have two equal diasporas both in Japan and Brazil. As for nikkeijin women, Yamanaka (1997) tackles three groups of women-sojourners (junior, senior and Brazilian wives of nikkeijin) who returned to Brazil. While fully satisfied with the sojourning experience, nikkeijin women rethought their identity, belonging, and economic strategies.

Based on motivations, nikkeijin are depicted as labor migrants with a sojourner mentality. Nikkeijin, who returned to Japan in the 1990s, had a clear plan to earn in Japan with significantly higher wages than in unpredictable Brazil and to invest those earnings and savings in Brazil to improve their living conditions at home. Tsuda describes the same observation and

adds another dimension – 'strong awareness… of their transnational ethnic ties' (Tsuda, 1999b: p. 10). While Yamanaka (1996; 1997; 1999) views nikkeijin to be a part of a circular movement between Japan and Brazil, some authors describe nikkeijin as 'permanent temporary migrants' (Tsuda, 1999b) and a new ethnic minority in Japan (Hollifield & Scharpe, 2017).

More recent works on nikkeijin discuss nikkeijin's potential in the Japanese context, integration patterns, and social inequalities they face in Japan. Morita (2017) presents that nikkeijin's profile has changed from the image set in the scholarship of 1990s-2000s – she analyzes Brazilian nikkeijin from the point of employment, education and personal perspectives. Through this work, we see that young nikkeijin feel very limited to the fixated role of nikkeijin in factories and leave Japan after all with no satisfaction with what Japanese reality has to offer them. Discrimination faced by nikkeijin is also pointed out in Chiavacci's (2016) work. The issue of lack of social security for nikkeijin laborers in Japan is raised, which is one of the reasons causing nikkeijin to return to Brazil, as otherwise this group is destined for poverty in the unemployment period and retirement age (Chiavacci, 2016; pp. 15-18).

Nikkeijin's identity from the policy level, specifically, through the scrutiny of teijū-sha visa mostly obtained by nikkeijin is presented by Toyoizumi (2018). The study reveals that this type of visa, which helps nikkeijin settle in Japan based on acknowledging cultural and ethnic ties of nikkeijin with Japan, is not exclusive to nikkeijin and is granted to other migrant categories regardless of ethnicity. This type of visa resulted from revised immigration law in the 1990s, which attempted to regulate the low-skilled migrant force's flows in Japan. Nepalese, one of the groups of migrants of the first wave, were affected by this revision.

The inflow of Nepalese unskilled workers in the 1990s is discussed (Yamanaka, 2000) through the lens of the migration systems approach, which viewed migration as a phenomenon based on the networks between the receiving country and the sending country – that is, the system of migration created by migrants. The case of Nepalese in the 1990s was built mainly

on the transnational networks of the Nepalese Gurkha, to whom emigration is of cultural value. While the Nepalese case in the literature of the 2000s was on the unskilled trends and illegal laborers, the literature of the 2010s brings up a different development trend in the migration of Nepalese in Japan. In 2016, the Nepalese migration is still characterized by strong networks, yet does not carry the illegal or unskilled character (Kharel, 2016).

Literature in the 1990-2000s discussed discrepancies in Japan's treatment of foreign laborers and Japan's unwillingness to open the doors to accepting migrants. With the expansion of the immigration policy, the recent literature shifted attention to the discussion of immigration through the lens of race and exclusionism in terms of highly skilled migration (Morita, 2017), living together in *kyōsei* (Morita, 2016), Japan's neo-nationalist turn and ethnic minorities (Iwata & Nemoto, 2017; Park, 2017), and invisible immigrants (Roberts, 2017).

The literature on migration and residency in the Japanese context can be characterized as dynamic and highly dependent on the decade. Discussion of immigration, migration, and treatment of foreigners in literature changes with revision of Japanese Immigration policies.

2.3. Situating Central Asian and Uzbek experience in migration and mobility in literature

Uzbekistani experience in terms of migration and mobility focuses on labor migration in many studies, which, depending on the context, can theoretically be viewed as a part of sojourning and/or transnational practices. Uzbekistan has rarely been given attention as a separate case study in majority studies until recently due to political situation in the country during the Karimov era and general restrictions and cautions with regards to data collection and data transparency. Some cases from Central Asia provide the example of biased or sponsored research, such as the article by Isakulov (2010). It gives an undefined picture of the

state of labor in Uzbekistan through unsupported examples. Author's abstract and idealistic suggestions on migration and solutions to labor management system in the country by providing general knowledge look biased being published via Uzbekistan Presidential Academy, which enjoys a notoriety of producing regime-biased throughout the Karimov era. Author provides general knowledge as solution to labor migration management in the country.

Thus, migration and mobility research are usually conducted on Central Asian area as a whole with small country-specific case studies, especially in the 2000s. In this chapter I tried to gather and review literature focusing on Uzbekistan as much as possible.

Central Asian mobility in literature started taking shape mid 2000s, being mainly descriptive of the outflow of non-titular nations and economic mobility trends. Labor mobility and migration of Central Asians and Uzbekistani are central academic inquiries in terms of Central Asian migration. Since Central Asian migration has been directed to Russian Federation in the first place (IOM, 2018), an immense part of scholarship inspects economic trends of the labor migration (Korobkov, 2007; Kakharov, 2012; Kadyrova, 2015; Petesch and Demarchi, 2015; Bedrina and Tukhtarova, 2016; Kim, 2017; Virkkunen, 2017), specifics of migration decisions and motivations (Radnitz, 2006; Turaeva, 2013; Turaeva, 2014; Hiwatari, 2016; Turaeva, 2018; Syed Zwick, 2019), and impacts of migration on migrants (Juraev, 2012; Ismayilova et al., 2014; Seitz, 2019).

In the literature of the 2000s, Central Asian patterns of mobility as a whole appear in the works of scholars as a context to study (Korobkov, 2007; Sulaimanova, 2004) and as a collective area in analyzing migration flows within Eurasian region. A part of the study conducted by Sulaimanova (2004) provides background to Central Asian movements in Soviet period and briefly in post-Soviet period. Sulaimanova categorizes movements from and to Central Asia in chronological order and by historical background. The author classifies migration trends during and after Soviet era into internal, external, transit and labor migration.

Permanent ethnic flows out of Central Asian countries with Russian, Tatar and other non-titular groups is explained with brief context of motivations of outflowing groups. The author problematizes internal migration with respect to economic and political difficulties, and environmental disasters in Central Asian region.

Korobkov (2007) partly discusses migration trends among Central Asian countries along with wider Eurasian region, as a factor affecting political and socioeconomic conflicts in the region. This work views Russian repatriation from post-Soviet countries and new growing flows of non-Russian migration from Eurasian countries to Russia. The author examines waves migration from Central Asia and other Eurasian countries towards the end of and after the dissolution of the Soviet rule, and stages of Russian migration policies vis-à-vis labor migration. Author backs up analysis of labor migration with labor migration being the most prevalent type of migration to Russia from Central Asia and Caucasus region.

Similarly, to Korobkov's analysis of non-titular nations' outflow, Radnitz (2006) approaches migration from Uzbekistan to Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey and the United States using push and pull factors. This study focuses on economic and political motivations behind migration of non-titular minorities in the post-Soviet Uzbekistan. This work differs from Bedrina and Tukhtarova's research (2016) with its primary data analysis based on quantitative (structured survey) and qualitative approach (interviews) with minorities, as in the 1990s and the 2000s, the major outflow from the Central Asian region accounted for non-titular nations immigration/repatriation. Minorities' perceptions of economic well-being and political factors pushing them from Uzbekistan are points of comparison between pre- and post-independent Uzbekistan. Radnitz draws a conclusion from the analysis of mixed data that primary factors for migration of non-titular minorities of Uzbekistan were economic, and the secondary – political.

A decade later, Bedrina and Tukhtarova (2016) analyze push and pull factors of migration from Uzbekistan to Russia as the pattern in outflows has changed by 2010s and minorities are no longer the majority part of immigration account. Authors investigate push-pull factors based on secondary data after 2000 as this research is focused on economic migration. Push factors of Uzbekistani move to Russia include ethnic (immigration of non-titular nations to Russia, South Korea, Kazakhstan and so on after the fall of the Soviet Union), demographic (economic mobility followed by continuous growth of population and respective disbalance between supply and demand in the local labor market), economic, ecologic and administrative (growth of work force; especially in rural areas; shortage of workplaces in rural environment due to unfavorable ecological situation; practice of *propiska*[14] and so on) factors. Pull factors consist of administrative (absence of visa regime between Russia and Uzbekistan), economic (higher income in Russia; reduction in labor in Russia and vice versa in Uzbekistan), and smaller factors of shared historical ties and familiarity with Russian language; existing Uzbekistani migrant networks in Russia; and obtaining a new social status throughout migration (experiencing a new country, gaining greater freedom in case of women). Econometric analysis by the authors concludes that the main factors in migration from Uzbekistan to Russia are economic, demographic, ecologic and existing migrant networks. Econometric analysis provides the general picture, yet it does not provide in-depth situation regarding the topic.

Literature on Central Asian and Uzbek migration written by authors associated with institutions in the CIS area tends to dismiss conceptualization of phenomena and is written in the descriptive or report style. For example, Kadirova (2015) provides an insightful review of Uzbekistan's labor migration based on secondary data from immigration services of respective

---

[14] administrative measures aimed at regulating urbanization processes and restricting the internal migration of the rural population.

countries and intra-governmental agreements between Uzbekistan and Russia, and Uzbekistan and South Korea. Such style of research is also characteristic to the 2000s and by 2010s scholarship started seeing more variety in terms of inquiry to Central Asian and Uzbek migration studies.

Petesch and Demarchi (2015) show the picture of economic mobility in Central Asia and Europe through exploring the participants' perceptions of factors and processes that form their mobility. It is an extensive qualitative approach to middle class mobility process in Macedonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyz Republic, Serbia, Tajikistan and Turkey with a focus on gender and country context. Economic mobility process in these countries is explained from the perspective and perceptions of men and women, their separate experiences, how their gender roles in society shape and contribute to their (un)employment and mobility. The study is concluded with suggestions on creating measures that would take into account gender context in the economic participation of both men and women in the regions analyzed.

Kim (2017) analyzes Uzbekistani and Kazakhstani labor migration to Russia from economic perspective. Kim describes state of migration from Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, grouping and naming these two cases as Central Asian migration and makes suggestions on achieving bilateral agreements in terms of exporting and accepting migrants.

Turaeva (2013) scrutinizes order within the trust networks of Central Asian migrants (mostly Uzbek migrants) in Russia through the lens of *tirikchilik*[15]. This research explains that norms and orders of trust network built on *tirikchilik* transcend legal and illegal, countries and territories. Central Asian trust networks under scrutiny are based on their inner micro-orders regulation and governance that do not fit into the transnational rules and legal regulations. This ethnographical study helps comprehend the kinship and trust-based nature of Central Asian

---

[15] From Uzbek - survival, economic activities aimed at maintaining economic security of the family.

mobile entrepreneurship in order to create and maintain certainty in the economically uncertain environment.

Hiwatari (2016) uses quantitative approach and closely examines interconnection between social networks and migration decisions among the households in Uzbekistan. Author investigates migration decisions based on network effects of migration, that is kinship, friendship, shared origins and other interpersonal ties that connect migrants and non-migrants at home and host country; and peer effects — actual behavior of the network member that can affect decision making of another member of the network. Quantitative analysis of interpersonal ties, as well as gap gatherings[16] among migrants and non-migrants of the village in Andijan region reveals that migration networks do not affect migration decisions and peer networks can.

Syed Zwick (2019) sorts out Central Asian student mobility, analyzing motivations, opportunities and abilities of student migrants in Kyrgyzstan. Author views decision-making mechanisms of intra-regional student migration, being one of the few studies that investigate non-labor type of migration in Central Asia involving Uzbekistani migrants. Uzbekistani respondents (as compared to other Central Asian groups of respondents) of this study are characterized as being intrinsically motivated in their decisions — meaning Uzbekistani decisions of studying abroad are made on the personally rewarding basis, with no outside influence on their mobility.

Juraev (2012) filters out positive and negative impacts of Uzbek labor migration to Russia for from the individual level – migrants and their families; regional level – migrants' localities, and state level – Uzbekistan. utilizing interview data with migrant and non-migrant households.

---

[16] Community informal gatherings traditionally practiced mostly among men in Uzbekistan.

Ismayilova and team (2014) investigate state of mental health of Central Asian labor migrants in Almaty, Kazakhstan. This study points out other works regarding physical health of labor migrants and it is apparent that labor migration dominates medical research as well. Research findings point at general poor mental and physical health of Central Asian market workers, and particularly at women migrants' more vulnerable health state with higher risks of depression and alcohol abuse.

Transnational enquiry (Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2011; Abashin, 2015; Urinboyev, 2018) and transitive approach (Stephan-Emmrich, 2018; Stephan-Emmrich & Schröder, 2018) to Uzbekistani and Central Asian mobility practices has recently gained momentum in scholarship, especially with regards to migrants in Russia.

Abashin (2015) scrutinizes Uzbekistani migrants' return home (from Russia). The researcher makes it clear that in this research home is not an abstract concept perceived by migrants, but the physical place in migrant's homeland. Abashin describes family ties and societal norms a typical Uzbek family and each member faces and shows migration scenarios for each member, for example, migration scenario for a son of the Uzbek family, father, mother, son acting as father, etc.

Throughout the their works, Abashin (2015), Ruget and Usmanalieva (2011) explain the notion of home for Uzbekistani migrants – how it is constructed, and how it changes its meaning depending on which migrant point (son, father, and so on) it is viewed from (Abashin, 2015) or with effect of migrants in the transnational journey (Urinboyev, 2018; Schröder and Stephan-Emmrich, 2016). For Abashin (2015), home is viewed as a social responsibility from the son point of view as it is a house for his brother; whereas from the father point home is also built for someone in the family – for sons in Uzbekistan, who will need to get married later; for parental side, building a home is directly a parental responsibility towards children. Thus, returning home for Uzbekistani migrants is not just emotional ties to family back home and

readiness to go back, but also a strict reality of fulfilling responsibilities. For Urinboyev (2016), home is a result of facilitation of transnational migration to the connection of local places.

As it is obvious from this review of literature focusing on Central Asian and Uzbekistani migration and mobility, 2000's literature is concentrated around immediate movements after the dissolution of Soviet Union; and the base of those movements are mainly labor and economically motivated. The literature of 2010's offers more diversity of topics and approaches in its inquiry of investigation of Central Asian migration.
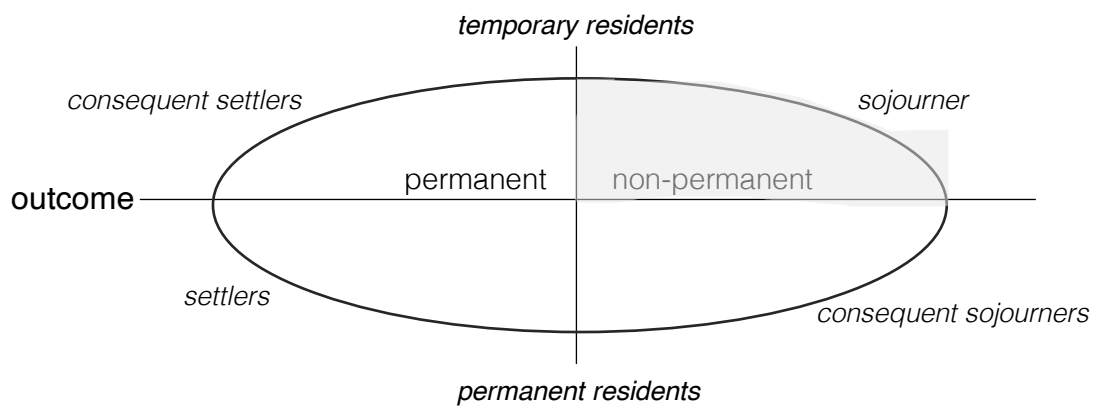
Figure 12. Patterns of residency in Central Asian literature (modified from Mizukami, 2007)

This sub-chapter reveals that within the existing framework of sojourner-settler, the body of literature on Uzbekistani abroad and patterns of Uzbekistani movements can be located in the non-permanent settlement section (Figure 12). Labor migration and transnational migration do not assume initial settling in the host country and these movements are followed by a return home or moving to the third country.

CHAPTER III. Conceptual framework

This chapter introduces the discipline in which the research situates itself, describes conceptual framework adapted from Mizukami's book on the case of Japanese sojourners in Australia (2007) chosen for this research, discusses the usage of the term 'sojourner' in other theories about sojourners and concludes why this approach is chosen and what contribution the researcher expects to make to theory utilizing the case of Uzbekistani in this research.

3.1. The disciplinary situation of the research

Migration, movement, and mobility are vast phenomena and consist of many processes to cover, so theories vary depending on each case undertaken. Depending on the discipline, questions towards migration processes, levels, or units of analysis, hypotheses, and, respectively, theories differ (Brettell, 2008, p. 4). While, for instance, history views migration from the point of narratives across various groups, communities, influences of social structure are not accounted for in the process of migration (Diner, 2008); anthropology gives importance to the ethnography and individual experience of being a migrant arising from context-dependency (Brettell, 2008); and geography studies migration processes from the perspective of time and space (Hardwick, 2008); sociology places its interest on why and how migration happens, what happens to migrants in the respective host countries and the consequences of their residence (Schmitter Heisler, 2008).

Informed by research questions attempting to find out sojourning orientation, which is how willingness to reside temporarily or settling down in the host country is shaped and how changes in residential preferences of Uzbekistani in Japan happen to lead to a transition from sojourning in Japan to settling in Japan, this research studies the process of Uzbekistani

sojourning in Japan from sociological perspective including idiographic theorizing — from the point of individual interviews with Uzbekistani in Japan and nomothetic in the attempt to generalize patterns of sojourning through quantitative part of comprehension of perceptions of desires, needs, and moral obligations the Uzbekistani feel residing in Japan.

The following sub-chapters will review the diversity of existing theoretical approaches widely used in the research of mobility, migration, and human movement processes and evaluate their relevancy to the research and case of Uzbekistani sojourners in Japan.

As theories let us view the same phenomenon from various angles depending on approaches, units of analysis, hypotheses, laws, and all theories may not agree on units involved in the process of theorizing, let us see preoccupations and approaches of significant theories applicable to the processes of migration, mobility, and movement.

3.2. Economic approaches to migration, application to sojourners

Economic theories have been widely used and influential to study international migration by social scientists, including geographers, demographers, sociologists, and others (O'Reilly, 2012). Economic approaches to migration are grouped into two categories of the theories of the initiating causes (such as differences in wages, decisions of households, economic processes) of migration; and the theories of the self-perpetuating causes of migration, which study how current migration tendencies can affect the future migration flows (Karpestam & Andersson, 2013, pp. 12-13).

The majority of international mobility studies tend to analyze and regard the phenomena of nations', diasporas', individuals' movements through the interplay of push and pull factors. The push and pull model is mostly considered when scrutinizing labor mobility,

and the most common cases of this model's application are developing to developed country movements.

One of the mainstream approaches that theorized on migration for many theories of the twentieth century based on that approach is Ravenstein's Laws of Migration. In the Laws of Migration, Ravenstein explains why people moved from areas to areas with different economic and demographic states using empirical data he collected in the 1800s. To comprehend these phenomena, he utilizes push and pull factors that affect individuals', people's, or populations' decisions to move, that is, favorable or unfavorable economic conditions that push or pull people in specific directions (Ravenstein, 1885). Scholarship in the twentieth century moves from explaining the process of people's movement as being triggered by economic reasons disclosing decision to migrate as a result of various factors such as political, social, cultural, economic, historical, legal, educational; intervening obstacles, personal factors and so on, offering a holistic picture of migration as a phenomenon (Lee, 1966; Dorigo & Tobler, 1983). Push factors are commonly present in migrants' countries, characteristics at a home country that push potential migrants to move to another country, nevertheless, voluntarily. Pull factors refer to factors present in the destination country, having attractive features distinguishable from the home country, making potential migrants want to leave their home and move to the receiving country.

Practically, push factors are commonly viewed as negative factors from the sending country. They characterize countries with a relatively low standard of living, higher unemployment rates, and others. Pull factors, on the other hand, are often the opposite of the push factor country. It means that pull factor countries offer a higher salary, higher standard of living and are often more economically developed than push factor countries of origin. Later development of the push-pull model considers socio-political elements in the countries of

origin and destination, and this model can be used for both macro and micro analyses of mobility.

While this model can be utilized to study factors that affect movements in the country of origin and destination, this model has specific weaknesses. Migration is a complex phenomenon, and considering starting, and finishing points of shifting the residency between two countries are limiting. Migration can be limited to two countries, but it can be more than that, and this model does not consider such variety. There are voluntary movements such as the decision to migrate and involuntary movements, such as deportation with no consent — movements, which this model is limited in scrutinizing. To sum it up, the issue of this approach is overdependence on structural accounts ignoring personal agencies.

As for the application of this theory to Uzbekistani sojourners' case in Japan, since this research aims to comprehend antecedents and the process of sojourning and transitional phase, the push and pull factors to sojourn does not give the full idea, but might be useful and helpful as a complementary approach in analyzing reasons for sojourning.

3.3. The new economics of labor migration

Another economic approach to research migration is the new economics of labor migration (NELM). NELM originated from observing the outflow of rural population to urban areas, which caused the acceleration of urban unemployment and many other side effects of rural-urban migration. It was understood that neoclassical theories such as Ravenstein's push-pull theory were able to explain that situation. NELM responds to gaps in neoclassical theory to explain the phenomenon and brings in households, not individuals, as the primary decision-makers and assumes the importance of family ties, which is overlooked in the neoclassical theory. Also, NELM clarifies that migration occurs when there is no difference in the regional

income and that migration can be temporary, not always permanent. Initially explaining rural to urban migration processes, later it became popular in explaining developing to developed countries' migration (Karpestam and Andersson, 2013). However, this approach cannot explain migration motivations, and agencies of highly skilled migrants for lower-skilled positions, or, for a practical example, 3D jobs highly skilled migrants from came for to Japan (Tsuchida, 1998).

From the perspective of researching Uzbekistani migrants in Japan, NELM would be useful in shedding light on the economic side of developing (Uzbekistan) to developed (Japan) sojourning, which is lacking in the approaches regarding sojourning and introduction of the temporality of migration would fit in the concept of sojourners. However, the current study will consider and does not disregard economic antecedents and factors in Uzbekistani's sojourning experience in Japan, and it does not aim to wholly focus on the economic side of Uzbekistani sojourning.

3.4. Psychological approaches to migration

This group of theoretical approaches deals with migrants' psychological acculturation, assimilation, multiculturalism, race, and racism, nationalism.

One of the approaches widely used in the psychological field is the theory of psychological acculturation. This theory studies factors of age and developmental status, gender, personality, cognition, generation, motives and means, time, context and risks, and rewards of acculturation (Bornstein, 2013, pp. 38-51). Acculturation implies cultural immigration in an individual or group level in a host location, and it widened the horizons of the research on migration in the twentieth century by bringing in the psychological dimension, and it has been a contested issue (Ward, 2008) in terms of framing it in the field followed by

Berry's approach to acculturation (Berry, 1997; 2006). Sojourner adaptation is widely researched by scholars of psychology (Nash, 1991; Rohrlich and Martin, 1991; Pedersen et al., 2011; Heath, 2017). However, the sojourners' concept is not clear (McNulty and Brewster, 2016) or not discussed.

As the current study explores sojourner orientation and transitions from sojourners to settlers among Uzbekistani in Japan, acculturation and psychological approaches would overlook many other Uzbekistani aspects residing in Japan. They would not be relevant to questions this research poses within migration processes.

3.5. Sociological conceptualization of settlement practices

Scholars of migration studies have widely researched various types of mobilities and individuals and groups who voluntarily or involuntarily move to other countries. However, existing literature on sojourners and case studies on sojourners show that little attention is paid to the conceptualization of the sojourner's study in migration studies. The concept of temporality and permanence of sojourning is neglected.

Who are sojourners?

Siu (1952) was one of the first scholars to bring the sojourner to sociological attention. He defines a sojourner as a marginalized type, a type of a stranger. However, a difference between a marginal type and the sojourner is that the sojourner 'clings to the culture of his ethnic group as in contrast to the bicultural complex of the marginal man' (Siu, 1952: 34). He brings out the temporariness of the sojourner's stay without a need to assimilate in a host country. Settling permanently in the host country may cause marginalization of the sojourner (ibid.). Therefore, we understand that sojourning has a time limit to it.

	General intentions to return to the Homeland	Concrete plans to return to the Homeland
Sojourner	yes	yes
Permanent sojourner	yes	no
Settler	no	no
Reluctant returnee	no	yes

Table 1. Uriely's (1994) modified typology of orientations toward the place of residence by Mizukami (2007).

Later Uriely (1994: 435) defines sojourners more accurately by presenting the typology of orientations towards place of residence, examining the three types of the ethnic settlement obtained by two fundamental criteria of

a) the presence or absence of general intentions of returning to the country of origin;

b) the presence or absence of concrete plans of returning to the country of origin.

Referring to Bonacich's study (1973) on Israeli immigrants in Chicago, Uriely adds the category of permanent sojourners characterized by the presence of intentions to stay and the absence of concrete plans to return home. Thus, Uriely distinguishes temporary sojourners, permanent sojourners, and settlers, considering orientations of individuals, i.e., intentions and concrete plans to return to Homeland or stay at host country in the typology of orientations towards the place of residence.

However, Uriely's study does not reflect on the sojourners that return home involuntarily, and here Mizukami [2007: 23] adds a new type to Uriely's sojourner orientation by pointing out the existence of so-called 'reluctant returnees' — individuals, which have no intentions to return to Homeland. Nevertheless, they involuntarily do.

It is noticeable that Siu, Bonacich, and Uriely do not mention the length of residence in the host country by sojourners, and it can be understood that sojourners are distinguished from settlers by the outcome, that is, the return to the home country.

Mizukami (2007) bases his approach to understanding sojourners on Uriely's typology and comes up with his typology defined by the legal status of residency in the host country based on 'three basic criteria:

a) the legal status of permanent residency/non-permanent residency,

b) the intention to stay permanently/temporarily

c) the exact plan or lack thereof to move out.' (Mizukami, 2007: 28)

So, he categorizes the outcome of settlement patterns (Figure 1) by

1) settlers or settler-migrants — migrants who have permanent residency and remain in the host country with further concrete plans;

2) consequent-sojourners — permanent residents of the host country who consequently return to the Homeland or left the host country;

3) consequent-settlers — the residents who do not have permanent residence in the host country but consequently settles in the country after obtaining permanent residence;

4) sojourners — residents with a temporary length of stay in the host country and intention and plan to return to the Homeland (ibid).

The current study started with attempts to utilize Mizukami's approach to Japanese sojourners in Australia to reveal Uzbekistani sojourning orientations and processes of transitions from one category of residency to another in Japan. At the level of reviewing existing literature and conceptual approaches to sojourning and settling and my observations of Uzbekistani at the starting point of research, approaching Uzbekistani migrants as a variety of sojourners and settlers made sense. Mizukami (2007) suggested further research of settlement practices regarding transitionality and transnationality in his work. At the early stage of my interviews with Uzbekistani migrants in Japan, the shift towards transitionality of the sojourn fit this study. However, the more stories of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan about their

mobility experience I gathered, the more understandable that shift to transnationality for Uzbekistani migrants would not be completely accurate.

Transnational inquiry to Uzbekistani and Central Asian mobility practices has recently gained momentum in scholarship, as seen in the previous chapter (Stephan-Emmrich & Schröder, 2018; Stephan-Emmrich, 2018; Urinboyev, 2018; Abashin, 2015; Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2011). The behavior and livelihood of migrants who shuttle between Russia and Central Asia and between post-Soviet countries can be approached and explained using transnational conceptualization. Migrants from Central Asian countries, who mostly migrate to Russia (IOM, 2018), share common historical and cultural past constructed under the Soviet Union; knowledge of Russian to some extent; similar institutional organization migrants are familiar with at home countries, so on. Therefore, it is comparatively more realistic and more effortless for Central Asian migrants to organize transnational lives in Russia's case, as relatively less adaptation required than Japan. For Uzbekistani migrants migrating to Russia is a relatively trouble-free way to move, find housing, find a job, and communicate with locals, as there is a strong network of Uzbekistani and Central Asians formed in Russia over the years. Japan is a different story – Uzbekistani do not enjoy new opportunities through strong Central Asian or Uzbekistani networks. Japan is a relatively new destination for Uzbekistani and Central Asians; the Japanese bureaucratic system is not similar to Russia and other post-Soviet countries. Communication is in a completely different language, which is not possible to pick up naturally like Russian, to which Central Asians are exposed to a certain extent; finding a job and housing, again, requires English at best, and Japanese more commonly. As it will be discussed and analyzed later on in Chapter IV, conditions of the host country and the mobility practices by Uzbekistani in Japan differ and do not precisely fit into transnational conceptualization.

CHAPTER IV. Temporality and fluidity of settlement practices

In this chapter, we look at the background of interview participants concerning their places of origin, skills and occupations, and mobility experiences before they came to Japan. To provide a fuller context before proceeding to further sub-chapters on life in Japan, we will talk about informants' image of Japan before arriving in the country. Respondents' background will help set the preliminary context to analysis of Uzbekistani experience regarding residence in Japan.

Further in the chapter, we will turn to plans and motivations that brought Uzbekistani residents to Japan and their plans and intentions regarding their stay in Japan. We will elaborate on interviewees' plans when they have just arrived in Japan and what motivated them to come to Japan. The part about motivations is broken down into the personal reasons and decisions thematically extracted from the interviews – studies, work, family, and networks.

Interviewees of this research lived for more than three months at the time of the interview and had definite and indefinite plans of staying in Japan for at least six months. Many participants evaluated their residential and life experiences in Japan, comparing their lives in Uzbekistan, where they grew up and lived the longest. Of course, each informant's statement about their experiences in Japan came from their unique circumstances before and after they came to Japan, activities they were involved in in Japan, and the environment they were living in.

Acknowledging and analyzing Uzbekistani's initial plans regarding making sense of their residency in Japan they were yet to explore will provide a context to the inquiry of their evaluation of Japanese reality and consequent decisions to settle or to sojourn.

4.1. Interviewees by occupation

Students who came to Japan to study at the undergraduate level are from cities or administrative centers and did not possess any work experience in Uzbekistan. On the other hand, some of the student visa holders, who were registered at Japanese language schools, were from smaller towns and had prior work experience as an accountant's assistant, a trader, a barber, and others. One of the respondents pointed out everybody being a craftsman – *hunarmand* – in the group of Japanese language school students:

> Every boy has his virtue, you know. One is a craftsman, another person – a barber, the third person – myself – my own specialty [auto mechanic]. Everybody has their craft (Akmal, 2018).

The only older member of Japanese language students had a complete higher education degree and extensive work experience at a governmental institution.

Respondents with a Japanese study background or the Japanese language training during their undergraduate studies in Uzbekistan did not experience working in Uzbekistan. Most of them left Uzbekistan for master's studies right after obtaining an undergraduate degree. On the other hand, respondents who did undergraduate studies and obtained a master's degree in Uzbekistan were exposed to working in Uzbekistan.

As opposed to trends in students' group, everybody, who came to Japan to study at the Ph.D. level, work, or as a dependent, had a job experience directly related to their field of specialization at university and specialized colleges.

4.2. Transit points and options

Personal transition to a Japanese residence was not direct in some cases, and interviewees reported experiences of moving from regional cities and towns to the capital in Uzbekistan and the records of international mobility before coming to Japan. We also take a look into options of potential migration participants had in mind before deciding to reside in Japan.

A group of respondents holding student residency permits and respondents with higher education positions mentioned that they had experiences of living in the US, UK, Germany, and other countries. However, they did not consider further residence in these countries (Bekzod, Ilmiyaxon, Anvar, Ali, 2018).

In the group of students, individual respondents shared their brainstorming process regarding the countries they were considering going to study in. All of them thought of the US and the western countries, be it a positive or neutral option:

To be honest, when I was studying English in the beginning, America, Australia was always on my mind because we watched a lot of movies - American movies (Diyora, 2018).

I've looked at different countries. First of all, I chose the state to study in, not the university. I had a list — Canada, England, Australia, Japan, and more (Nafisa, 2018).

Driven by English language knowledge and studies at school and academic college, students attended before their undergraduate studies and more extensive exposure to western culture through media and movies.

There were also reflections on the option of residing in western countries as opposed to Japan or the eastern part of the world.

> Somehow, when we were studying at [the University of World Economy and] Diplomacy at the time, there was no good relationship with America, or other countries, especially towards America (Gulnora, 2018).

Gulnora stretches that her view of the western countries was influenced by her academic training and backs up her interest in the eastern world instead of Western countries. Osiyo, for instance, also creates a binary of the US and Japan opposites while narrating her childhood thoughts:

> When I was in high school, my aunt's son – the eldest, won a scholarship to America. I was in middle school at the time. He used to send many pictures and souvenirs. It was exciting for me. I saw pictures, and I knew there are other countries, too, so I had a big dream of going abroad. But I would never go to America – I just wanted to go to the opposite side (Osiyo, 2018).

Osiyo explains her strong sense of competition and inner fight against gender roles in her family, where immediate attention was given to males rather than females, so she felt competitive and tried to prove that she can do, too, through her choices, throughout her life. However, after her unsuccessful experience of living in Japan, she gave in to the idea of

exploring the opposite end of the world and occasionally went to the US. She lived there for almost a year in total before she returned to Japan again.

> Before coming to Japan, I applied simultaneously to 3 programs in the US. To tell you the truth, the amount of scholarship was bigger at the Japanese university. The US university was only 1000 dollars at that time. And I thought that probably coming to Japan may be a better option (Naima, 2018).

For Naima, in a similar manner to Tamara, choices lay between the US and Japan. While the US was her primary option due to her experience of graduating from the particular program with American lecturers at her university, Japan's scholarship amount was one of the crucial factors in favoring Japan for studies.

Tamara shares the general practice in the high school she studied in regarding studying abroad and on her approach during her school years:

> Most of the scholarships would go to the US. But I didn't like America. First of all, obviously, it's expensive, more expensive, I would say, than the other countries. So, if I don't get a scholarship, I wouldn't be able to get, like, a full grant to go to the US. Then, there was a second thing… The thing is that my second boyfriend was Korean, you know. And how it always goes, I was like, oh, I am going to go to Korea. But then we broke up. […] So, there was a period when we had to apply to the US, a specific one. And I missed it because I was like, no, I am [censored] applying to Korea. And my parents didn't say anything, too. So, I was like, OK, we're going to Korea. I was learning Korean for a year. Everything is fine. And

then we break up, and I have a 3rd of high school alone. And thinking

about my future, I was like, why [censored] would I go to Korea? […] And

I changed my mind (Tamara, 2018).

Tamara studied at an international school with reportedly 80% of students being foreigners (Tamara, 2018), and students are mainly trained for further education in the US. She had a concrete plan to go to South Korea as she was involved romantically with a Korean; however, her plans were occasionally canceled.

Diyora and Sardor share their attempts to study abroad before coming to Japan and the fact that it was not appropriate to their expectations. Sardor elaborates on his experience:

I first went to study in Dubai. In Dubai, however, there were

conditions for both work and study, but, firstly, tuition fees were costly,

and then the education was not as good as I thought it would be. Then in

our field - law or jurisprudence... I could not reach the goal I thought would,

so I both worked and studied in six months, but I did not want to study.

Well, I didn't want to study because tuition fees alone were $18,000 or so.

I paid only a six-month tuition fee because I didn't like it there, then I

canceled it and headed to Japan (Sardor, 2018).

Sardor grew up being on his own from childhood, and he is quick to make decisions and take action, so after initial months in Dubai, he decided to go to Japan using his network ties (see Chapter VI).

Bilol, the group leader of the Japanese language students' community in Ibaraki, mentions that he lived and worked as a *mardikor*[17] in Russia for a year. He did not elaborate on his experiences during his interview.

There is a group of respondents who were born in different parts of Uzbekistan and moved to Tashkent for their studies, work, and family relocation to the capital before they decided to move to Japan (Sardor, Gulnora, Diyora, Anvar, Oybek, Abdulla, Kamola, Doston, 2018).

To sum up, we observe the major trend of internal migration (consequent settling) before deciding to migrate (sojourning) to Japan or elsewhere. Another trend is the English knowledge and exposure to western media, culture, and the customary view of education abroad in English-speaking western countries.

4.3. Pre-arrival image of Japan

All respondents agreed on the image of Japan being an advanced country with an advanced economy and having its specific distinct culture, and they were using this image in their narratives in Japan and as their point of comparison further:

> Japan for people who have been or have lived in this country so often still has a specific cultural image – the image of a country with a high level of income, with a high culture, which by large is the way it is." – Anvar, 2018.

---

[17] *Mardikor*s are generally self-organized and self-directed group of workers, who have no legal employment status. Scope of *mardikor*'s work fluctuates around physical labor most of the time.

Some respondents shared Japan's image before they arrived in it being just like Tokyo, which is fair as media and news usually focus on showing central parts of Tokyo when reporting on Japan.

> What I call Japan was an image like Tokyo. After I was directed
> to Tsukuba, I opened the door of the dormitory, I look inside — I don't
> know what the situation there is now — in my time there was only one
> iron chair, one bed. I had a question: 'What is this place?' (Osiyo, 2018).

Osiyo talks about her frustration regarding what she imagined Japan to be like. She expected an advanced, modern, neon-light Tokyo for all of Japan that she mentions she "had first cultural shock" afterward (Osiyo, 2018).

Said also points out having a specific image of Japan and thinking that Japan is a generalized version of central Tokyo:

> Now, when we say Japan, one imagines all the tall buildings. […]
> We saw it on the Internet. We were shown central places on the Internet.
> Seeing tall buildings and thinking it must be good. We came here with that
> image (Said, 2018).

Both Osiyo and Said first arrived in Ibaraki prefecture and realized that the image of the country they had in their minds did not coincide with their reality.

Diyora also had imagined Japan to be advanced as well as in terms of technology.

As you know, there is a movie in Uzbekistan called Oshin[18].

Through those [series], I got to know Japan a little bit, its culture though a

bit, and what kind of a country it is. Then I also knew that technology was

so advanced (Diyora, 2018).

Oshin, as mentioned by Diyora, is a very famous drama among Uzbek speakers of

Uzbekistan – it is translated into Uzbek language and broadcasted on one of the leading national

TV channels. In informal conversations with non-participants, many named this drama series

to have formed their initial image of Japan and Japanese culture.

Karate is widespread, especially among boys in Uzbekistan, and it was referred to as a

source of knowledge about Japanese culture, too:

I have been involved in karate since I was young, I had some

understanding of Japanese culture (Javohir, 2018).

Differently, few members from the group of students enrolled in a Japanese vocational

school did not have an image of Japan and what kind of reality they were heading to when they

decided to go to Japan:

We did not know what fate and conditions were here (Akmal,

2018).

Akmal and most students enrolled in a Japanese vocational school had no experience

traveling and living abroad and had Japan as their only option. They shared they did not know

about the conditions they were coming to as their priority was to study and work.

---

[18] Oshin [jap. おしん] is a serialized Japanese television drama about the main character's life in the Meiji period
through the 1980s. Series were broadcasted in the 1990s-2000s via national television in Uzbekistan.

Respondents, who researched various options for migration before deciding on Japan, shaped the image of Japan through its soft power in Central Asia (Oshin TV series, sports), news broadcasts, and TV image of Japan, usually characterized by Central Tokyo, except for the group of Japanese vocational school students, who prioritized labor under Japanese conditions as depicted by the sending company.

4.4. Initial plans

The majority of students enrolled in bachelor's or master's programs at Japanese universities mentioned they had a concrete plan regarding their stay and what they intended to fulfill in Japan. Frequently, students' initial plans fell under the sojourner category (Diyora, Sardor, Gulnora, Nafisa, 2018):

> When I first arrived, my plans were very standard. Like everyone else, I want to graduate from the university... My freshman year's initial plan was to study hard, then go to Uzbekistan and work using my diploma (Diyora, 2018).

Diyora, the former undergraduate student, points out this sojourner approach to studying, obtaining a diploma, and leaving to work in the homeland as a standard for students.

Sardor also had an initial sojourner approach, but in his case, he imagined a long-term sojourn as compared to Diyora's:

> When I first came here, I didn't work for a year, so my passion for work was intense. Seeing the conditions in Japan, the attitude of the people, companies... I had a good impression of the rights of the workers. So

maybe after graduation, after the bachelor's degree, if I learned Japanese

well, I would work, I thought. […] After graduating with a bachelor's

degree, plans changed. But the first impression is I got to stay in Japan

working. I wanted to work for 5-10 years longest, earn better money, and

then go to Uzbekistan (Sardor, 2018).

Sardor had a positive image of a Japanese work culture while he was studying, and that motivated him to learn Japanese to experience working in Japan after graduation. Unlike Diyora, who intended to utilize her specialization in the homeland immediately after graduation, Sardor planned to work in Japan for some time and then return to Uzbekistan.

Naima also initially thought of returning to Uzbekistan after a preliminary assessment of life in Japan:

After arriving, I realized that living in Japan was not easy in two or

three months because of the language issue. So, I thought I'd probably just

finish the MA, and getting back to Tashkent would probably be, like, a

better option for me (Naima, 2018).

Nevertheless, unlike informants above, her reasoning lay in difficulties regarding the Japanese language. She brought up the language barrier topic several times throughout the interview, and by the end of the interview, the language barrier and overcoming it were crucial moments for her decision to settle in Japan.

Nafisa, a master's student at the time of interview, shares her experience studying in Japan at the undergraduate level.

When I first came here, I wanted to get a bachelor's degree, a master's degree and build my career in Japan. But my parents wanted me to return to Uzbekistan at that time. "You've lived four years away from us. Now come back" – they said, "Maybe you will have a career in Uzbekistan". I went and got a job, but I realized that it is difficult for me to adapt to Uzbekistan after living here in Japan for four years. Then my family wanted me to get married. I was 22 years old then. I got married when I was 22 years old. Then I came with my husband. […] If I talk about my current goals in Japan – it is to get a job in a big foreign company in Japan after graduating from the master's program and continue my career there (Nafisa, 2018).

At that level, she wanted to extend her studies to master's level and grow professionally in Japan. However, initially, she did not have a chance to start her career as she planned in Japan. In Uzbekistan, traditionally, children and parents have a strong lifelong bond, and children listen and to what parents advise and have to say. Of course, it is not a standard for all families, and the significance of family council in decision-making varies to a certain extent. However, this sort of approach is moderately practiced in most Uzbek families of Uzbekistan. Nafisa's family is not an exception – families are particularly considerate in the case of daughters and the only sons in the family. Female children are mostly taught and expected to be obedient. They are also expected to get married earlier than sons. So Nafisa returns to the homeland, obeying her parents' advice. In patriarchally tuned Uzbekistan, females become freer from the parents and more dependent on their husbands once married. In Nafisa's case, she relocated her new family to Japan, advising her husband to study master's in Japan, too. Her goals regarding Japan remain the same as her first time in Japan. She does not specify the length of her family's stay in Japan yet.

Bekzod, who arrived as a master's student, points out how the first impression of the place he arrived in affected his plans:

When I arrived, I must say, I was surprised, in quotation marks, the conditions at the university, in the dormitory. And frankly, they caused a desire to leave, right away. Fortunately, I was lucky with the guys [...] We did kind of a room-sharing, and I did not have to live in *odnushka*[19] in the dormitory. And until I got the apartment […] through a real estate agency, in principle, I probably lived like this for about six months […] It was much better than if I lived in a dormitory in a hostel. The first thoughts were that I have a family, and my child and wife were in Tashkent. The first thoughts were to bring them here and look further, how everything would unfold. The first period was rather tricky for me. It was necessary to write a master's work and submit something, participate in courses, and so on.

On the other hand, my family was not there yet, and I felt longing and so on. Therefore, there were no unusual thoughts; there were no such plans. The plan for the first year was to survive it (Bekzod, 2018).

Bekzod refers to his unmet expectations at his arrival, which caused his desire to leave. Nevertheless, owing to his friends' immediate support and his busy schedule, he did not leave. He mentions the difficulty of living alone without his immediate community – the family members who were not in Japan upon his arrival. Regardless of hardships and unmet

---

[19] Odnushka – Russian conversational for one-room apartment.

expectations, he had a one-year plan of staying in Japan at least while trying to survive it without his family by his side.

Students who came to study the Japanese language in Japan reported having initial 1 to 2 years of study at Japanese language schools (Tamara, Bilol, Rustam, Javohir, 2018), and then their plans vary depending on their circumstances that brought them to Japan.

> When I just came, I was planning to study in that [Japanese language] school for a year and a half. In October, I would study until… I mean, as fast as I could finish it, basically. And I would apply for the university (Tamara, 2018).

In the sample group of Japanese language students of this work, Tamara is very different from the rest of the students. In this research sample, Tamara is the only female who was enrolled in Japanese language studies when she arrived. She is a woman of non-Uzbek ethnicity, who grew up in Tashkent. She experienced living in an international environment through her enrollment in the international high school in Tashkent with most international students – children of diplomats and foreign residents of Uzbekistan. As the high school trained students with an emphasis on studying abroad, she had several countries to choose from as her options.

> So… I was planning to study… science at first. But then, in 3rd year, I had an identity crisis, so I was like, you know what? I want to study art. And you know, like, thinking, art… manga… universities… Japan! I want to draw manga in Japan. My parents were like, fine, we thought you are going to study science, but if you want, go ahead. So… I wanted to study manga in a specific school in Kyoto. And to go there, you have to speak Japanese. So, my parents were like, "Why don't you just go and

study Japanese in a Japanese language school? And then you can decide where you want to go or, maybe you'll want to go to a different school". And I was like, no, I am going to study manga. In Kyoto. […] but education here is generally cheap (Tamara, 2018).

Compared to other Japanese language students of this research, she thought she was going abroad to study by default due to her environment and upbringing. She also has various options to choose from regarding her education and potential geographical residency in Japan. With this in mind, she enrolled in a Japanese language school to continue her education at the university.

The rest of the Japanese school students are from the small towns and cities of the Namangan region. These students are of the same age category as Tamara's – circa 19-21 years old. They describe themselves to be from middle income families. They mention that nobody from their nuclear family members have been abroad and they are the first generation in their families to experience going out of Uzbekistan.

I came having made a long-term 6-year living plan. […] university – 4-year university… I intend to enter university after two years of training here. To study at university for four years and return to Uzbekistan (Javohir, 2018).

The specific feature of this group is their arrival in Japan with a clear goal of studying hard. None of them are unsure about what they intend to do in Japan. Based on their narratives of arrival in Japan, they know that they have to study as soon as they arrive, as it took them debts from their acquaintances to come to Japan and pay their studies and living expenses.

When I first arrived, I was just studying. I intended to work in

Japanese companies in the future (Rustam, 2018).

Akmal and Rustam had clear plans to study Japanese and find an opportunity to work in Japan further.

My dream was to study first. Next comes both work and study.

Since I am young, it is more about studying now. Everyone has different

intentions. For me it is more of study then work (Akmal, 2018).

While Rustam talks about his intention to work in Japanese companies after completing studies, Akmal points out his priorities about study-work balance. Members of this group cautiously tell that they work simultaneously while studying to pay off their debts while studying. At the informal non-recorded talk with this group of students, living together as a community of 16 people in the same building, I learned how this community came into existence. The majority of members of this group studied at the Japanese language center nearly at the same time. They were given support by the Japanese school they were enrolled in in Uzbekistan to move their studies to a Japanese language school in Japan. Students also mention a big part of their motivation to come to Japan being an opportunity to work with no limits to working hours and earn money quick enough to cover their debts in a month or two. They explained that there is a specific, established system to come to Japan as a Japanese language student. The administrative center of the system is the Japanese school these students were enrolled in Uzbekistan – this center offered an option of going to Japan. According to students, there was significant misinformation regarding work and study balance possibilities and an easy change of visa status after a year of studies at a Japanese language school.

It is remarkable that compared to other categories of respondents, Japanese language school students were the most enthusiastic about entrepreneurship with regards to Japan:

When I spoke to my cousin, he said, 'Well, you better study, you'll have a better future' and I thought of my college specialization — it was the automotive industry. Uzbekistan, for example, has a joint venture with Korea – Asaka. And to make such a joint venture, even if it produces a small simple, for example, a headlight, or an engine, it will be beneficial for Uzbekistan. It will be useful. We have much vacant land, and we could build factories in Uzbekistan and do a lot of work there, I thought. That's what I came here for (Said, 2018).

Said, along with his idea of creating a joint venture, emphasizes being useful for his homeland. He stresses the idea of building a better future using his Japanese experience when he returns to Uzbekistan. We observe that he has a sojourning orientation towards staying in Japan.

Bilol also talks about his initial plan of sojourning in Japan and plans of entrepreneurship in Uzbekistan:

When I arrived, I planned to study first - for a year, go to school, then get the work visa and work in a good place. And if the work was going well, I wanted to open a joint venture in Uzbekistan. That was the plan. […] Initially, I wanted to reach my goals here and bring them to Uzbekistan. That was my goal (Bilol, 2018).

Like other Japanese language students, Bilol wanted to study Japanese for a year and obtain a specialist visa, as the agency promised him, he came to Japan using services of. He had general plans to return to Uzbekistan before he arrived in Japan. Interestingly, Japanese language students stress being useful to their homeland and think of joint projects the most during interviews and informal conversations.

Sojourning prevailed among initial plans of individuals who came to Japan aiming to work. It is also noticeable that individuals who arrived in Japan to work almost all had an initial network in Japan, and it was not their first time to come to the country.

Ilmiyaxon initially came to Japan to study at the master's level. After obtaining a degree, returning to Uzbekistan was one of the requirements of her program, so she had concrete plans to return home during her first stay in Japan. After she returned home, she got married and had a baby. She recalls her experience of trying to find a job at mayoral offices in Uzbekistan after she graduated from the Japanese program focusing on development:

> I have such and such ideas, I have such and such thoughts. If you can help me, if you can motivate me, I want to do these things." – I told them about things I wrote in my research. "Yes, that's fine. Great ideas, great thought, we'll get back to you." – they said, and nobody got back to me (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

She recalls her experience of job-hunting in the 2000s with disappointment. So, she decides to go back to Japan and obtains a guest visa using her network ties in Japan – her Japanese host father.

When I returned to Japan, I thought, "My child is still young, my husband was studying at that time, he was studying for a master's degree. We thought that if my husband graduated, if we lived in Japan for 1-2 more years, then we would return to Uzbekistan (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

She changes her guest visa to a specialist visa within three months of her initial stay in Japan, and she reports having general plans of returning home in 1-2 years.

Tahmina, another female respondent, looks back at her initial plans and describes a short-term – one-year sojourning plan:

Of course, at that point, I was not thinking about staying here longer or working here. I thought I would stay for only one year. And living in Kobe, I really loved Japan and people were super-friendly, curious. So, I had only good experiences during the first year, and I searched for opportunities to build my carrier in Japan. […] So, initially, I wanted to find a job in a Japanese company (Tahmina, 2018).

Anvar also oriented himself towards sojourning when he arrived in Japan for his work:

Frankly, the plan to stay here for a long time – I mean, more than five years, did not take place. Because I could not imagine that I would be abroad for so long. But the plan included working, gaining experience, creating a network, learning a language to some extent, which did not quite work out, but I am trying. And sometime then, probably, either to return to the homeland, or to look at other possibilities. Insofar there were not so

89

many opportunities for development and experience in my specialization

in my country at that time (Anvar, 2018).

He explains his plans towards Japan apart from plans regarding the length of residency. Anvar, like Ilmiyaxon, mentions a lack of job opportunities in the homeland in his field. Notably, Anvar considered a third country to move on to, which breaks the binary discussion mostly used in residency discourse, i.e., returning to the homeland or staying in the host country. Anvar brings up the possibility of making his sojourning experience permanent.

Osiyo talks about her multiple times of trying to stay in Japan:

The first time I arrived in Japan was a shock. The latter was

enjoyable. I thought, 'Wow, it's awesome!'. I intended to come back again

(Osiyo, 2018).

The first time she arrived in Japan, she was an exchange student, so she had ties to the university in Uzbekistan and concrete plans to return to her homeland and obtain her undergraduate degree. However, she already thought of returning to Japan based on her pleasant experience during her exchange year.

When I came back for the second time, I thought about my goal:

"It's done, I'm in master's program. At least, I am a *kenkyūsei*.[20] I will

---

[20] 研究生 (Japanese) – A research student (kenkyūsei) is a position at a university (in this specific case) for accepting a person who researches a specific matter for a limited period of time. In the case of international students, students take one to two years of research period before starting master's or doctorate programs. The research period may be or may not be available depending on the specifics of each program and university.

continue [studies]. I will work after graduation, at least after graduating

from Ph.D. I will find a good job (Osiyo, 2018).

She returned to Japan as a research student with an intention to stay long-term – at least 5-6 years only for studies. However, she was forced to return home after the Tohoku earthquake in 2011 shortly after she arrived. Although she intended to stay in Japan and had concrete plans for her stay, she became a *reluctant returnee* due to circumstances. She lost her scholarship and a chance to restore her enrollment in the master's studies at the university she was attending at that time. She recalls being depressed and having post-traumatic experiences due to the earthquake when she returned to Uzbekistan. She says that she could not see herself in Uzbekistan because of her interrupted stay in Japan and uses her Japanese network to return to Japan again:

[Third time] My friend made me a guest visa. I came to Japan at

the end of 2011 with a 3-month visa. […] To be honest, I had a firm

intention to change to a work visa in 3 months. I thought, "I'll enter some

company. I'll go to interviews (Osiyo, 2018).

She looks back at her third attempt to come to Japan and mentions that she did not know the job-hunting system and job-hunting periods in Japan. Her 3-months job-hunting was unsuccessful, and she returned to Uzbekistan again; once again, she is a *reluctant returnee* due to the visa regime between the two countries. At the same time, we observe that she has a *sojourning orientation* towards Uzbekistan between both previous cases of her return to Uzbekistan.

[Fourth time] I got a work visa. Then in 2012, I came to Japan again.

I hoped I came for a long time on a work visa (Osiyo, 2018).

On her fourth attempt, she obtains a specialist visa and plans to stay for a long time in Japan. She does not specify the length of her stay. However, she left Japan again due to her unsuccessful working experience at that time – she was involved in a fraudulent business scheme. She was unhappy with that event so much that she decided to leave without any plans to return to Japan again.

[Fifth time] I was offered a work visa in Japan […]. I was very hesitant, to be honest. But this is a big company now - in fact, a well-known company in Japan. In short, I went; I agreed to go to Japan. […] [This time] I said I would continue. I won't give up; I got a good job. I'm going to have a career (Osiyo, 2018).

Osiyo points out that she was hesitant to accept a work offer from a Japanese company after her previous experience of working in Japan. However, she still accepted the offer, and she is planning a long-term stay in Japan. She has general intentions of going to the homeland sometime in the future.

Based on the initial plans, this chapter demonstrates that the plans for sojourning and settling and sometimes just trying to go abroad out of curiosity are not always stable and consistent. In the case of Uzbekistani, residency permit is not the primary concern for migration among respondents. Uzbekistani instead are contingent on personal circumstances and cultural nuances, which affect the initial plans to sojourn and settle.

4.5. Motivations

Uzbekistani, who initially came to Japan to study, point out the importance of scholarship among their motivations to study in Japan.

> The reason was that I studied Japanese, but if I think about why I chose the Japanese language in the beginning... I know a Western language – English, so I wanted to try an Eastern language, too. But I think my scholarship played a significant role, too. […] I think anyways, the first reason is that I had a scholarship, I won *monbusho*[21] for the second time. Somehow, when we were studying at the time, there was no good relationship with America, or any other country, especially with America. It also had an influence. For that reason, I chose and tried oriental languages. It's hard to say why Japan… I won a big scholarship, but I didn't apply anywhere else. I only applied for a scholarship here (Gulnora, 2018).

Gulnora names knowledge of Japanese and Japanese governmental scholarship to play most significant roles in her way to Japan.

Tahmina also stresses about the importance of a scholarship in her experience:

> So, when I was studying in Samarkand, the Japanese language was my second language. I always was searching for opportunities to study abroad. And I heard about Japanese scholarship, and I realized that

---

[21]　文部省 - now 文部科学省 - academic scholarship offered by the Ministry of Education, Culture Sports, Science and Technology, Japan.

competition was lower than English. You know, like studying in the US or Europe? I felt like with Japan, I have more chances to get the scholarship. So, I focused on, you know, the Japanese language. And that's how I chose Japan. Basically, I was searching for opportunities to study abroad. Any country was OK, but I realized that with Japan, I had a better chance. That's how I chose Japan. And of course, from childhood, there was interest, you know, through movies, culture, tradition side of Japan of course. I was interested, that's how I chose the Japanese language as a second language from, you know, in the first place. That's how I came to Japan (Tahmina, 2018).

She also mentions knowledge of Japanese as a second language at her home university and compares the possibility of obtaining a scholarship in Japan versus in the US or UK. She also explains that she was initially interested in the Japanese language through her exposure to imported Japanese culture throughout her childhood.

Different from Tahmina and Gulnora, Bekzod did not have exposure to Japanese culture and language before he arrived in Japan:

[I arrived] due to the research I wanted to do. It was a program on Central Asia, and it seemed to me that this research would probably be interesting for this program, I submitted documents, and... I arrived. […] It was the only option at that time, plus, I thought, 'OK, I have never been to this side of the world, in this part. Why not combine the knowledge of Asia, Japan, and research (Bekzod, 2018).

94

So Bekzod was motivated to fulfill his research interests in Japan, and knowledge about Japan was a bonus of staying in Japan for him.

Through interviews and informal conversations, we observe that Uzbekistani rely on their network, i.e., family and extended family members, friends and acquaintances, and professional network. The younger the individuals are, the more they rely on parent's advice, although they may disagree with it at first:

[When I was choosing a country to study in,] my parents said, 'If you go to Japan, we believe the quality of education in Japan, the peacefulness of life.' […] Of course, to send an 18-year-old girl abroad for four years, parents need to trust that state. That's why I chose Japan (Nafisa, 2018).

As mentioned in the previous subchapter, Nafisa had her list of countries she was considering as options to study in. She listened to her parents' thoughts supporting studying in Japan and decided to choose this country.

Said, 20-years old Japanese vocational school student at the time of the interview, talked about not studying abroad as an option. He thought of going to Tashkent to study and makes peace regarding his choice by comparing the costs of living in Tashkent and Japan:

I can't say that our family situation is terrible, but it [going abroad] still needs much money. Tashkent is like Japan – it is more expensive than Namangan and the valley. Everything is expensive. My cousin said, 'I'm going to Japan to study, such and such conditions, such and such is the education there'. And my father said, 'You are going to Japan to study, too.' I was surprised, to be honest. I didn't think I'd go abroad, I didn't think

I'd study abroad, I didn't imagine it, to be honest. I am the youngest child in my family. Maybe because I was a pampered child, it had a different effect on me. Because my father did not study abroad, he said, 'Go abroad, see the world, travel. Study new things abroad'. So, I could not resist (Said, 2018).

He lets us know that if not his father's command, the probability of him not leaving Uzbekistan is significant. As mentioned in the previous subchapter, most respondents were exposed to internal migration – from their hometown to Tashkent. With contrasting economic and infrastructural differences between Tashkent and the regions, resulting in differences in cost of living, lifestyles, observance of customs, language (with a prevailing number of Russian speakers and the usage of Russian from shops to governmental establishments), internal migration is equalized to the international migration by Said.

Tamara, as discussed in the previous subchapter, had a long way to decide on which country to go to study to. She tells about how she ended up settling in Nagoya instead of going to Tokyo when she arrived in Japan:

I came to Nagoya because my parents' friends' family lived in Nagoya, and they had their daughter there, attending the same school that I was attending. So, this daughter attended the same school in the past, and they knew that, like, teachers and everything. So they were, like, 'If you come to Nagoya, we can help you find an apartment close to us, so we can help you'. Like the Uzbek traditional, Uzbek thing, you know? And then help find you a school… I mean, it's nice. Like, I didn't have to [organize everything myself]… I wanted to go to Tokyo at first, but my parents were like, no. It is better to be in Nagoya because then I was… it made sense, I

never lived by myself alone, I was 17. That's how I ended up in Nagoya (Tamara, 2018).

Tamara mentions relying on her parents' network in Japan. She calls reliance on the network 'the Uzbek traditional […] thing', which is an interesting point to note. Uzbekistani are incredibly social, regardless of ethnicity, and this feature is reflected in how businesses are led, how casual daily interactions take place, and other spheres. Tamara's family, which is of the non-Uzbek mixed background, adopted this part of *o'zbekchilik,* which was helpful for Tamara in her experience of moving to Japan.

Diyora tells about her extended familial network:

> When my sister got married, my uncle was studying in Japan. He advised me that "Japan is a perfect country, peaceful for a girl. There are universities too. Not only do you study English there, and you study in English, but you also study Japanese. So, take a look and research a bit.". Then I did a bit of research on the Internet. Then I entered the university I got into. I applied for a visa, got other documents, and came here (Diyora, 2018).

She obtains brief ideas about her Japanese option from this encounter.

Sardor also elaborates on his extended network that affected his decision towards going to Japan positively:

> My relative studied in Japan. Arriving in Tsukuba for a year, he completed his master's degree at Waseda and now works for Panasonic. He introduced Japan to me, so I tried researching Japan. He directed me to the Japanese Student Center, the Nagoya business center, in Tashkent. So,

I went there, gathered information. As I don't quite like noisy places, I chose Tsukuba, not Tokyo (Sardor, 2018).

Sardor was not satisfied with his brief study experience in Dubai, so he reached out to his network member regarding options. While considering his relative's experience, he reconfigured his stay in Japan for his comfort.

Rustam mentioned his network, which heavily motivated him in various aspects:

When I was in lyceum, I was not interested in language at first. Then my friends from the lyceum went to the language. They were learning English. So, at that time, my friends took me to the language center. 'Come on, let's study'. […] Then I went there and learned English. So, I learned the language and came to Japan. The reason is my friends. They made me study, and things happened that I didn't expect after that. […] The first goal of choosing Japan was… at first, I wanted to go to England or America, but when I was looking for options in Uzbekistan, my friends went abroad. One or two of my classmates went to Japan and one or two to England. I talked to everyone. Then one of my close friends said, 'You'd better come to Japan' (Rustam, 2018).

Rustam tells about how his network of friends influenced his decisions regarding going abroad. He talks about how he relies on and considers each network member's thoughts.

Anvar reports utilizing his professional network regarding his arrival in Japan:

There is only one reason – at that moment, I received an invitation from a former colleague, and considering that I was going to go abroad, it seemed to me that Japan by that time was my best option (Anvar, 2018).

Anvar perceives his professional network as optional, and it seems that it was a combination of a time of his life and a coincidental invitation by his colleague.

This part shows that respondents are frequently motivated by the family members' and friends' positive experience, widely keeping in mind the initial inquiry and applying it to the advised country.

4.6. Narratives of adaptation

In this sub-chapter, we will discuss adaptation patterns of research participants. Responses regarding adaptation are filtered out using participants' replies to the question regarding adaptation, so the topics raised in their replies are entirely free and not context-specific.

Gulnora tells about social life coming from her experience of living in different communities in Japan:

Life in Japan is good, peaceful, safe, but as I said earlier, socialization with people is rare. But if you live in [the international community], it is not like that. Meeting people… […] Everything is fine. It's a safe, great place to raise kids. We've lived with Japanese, for example, outside the campus. I know the Japanese language, I have that 一級, I work with Japanese. But it's still tricky with the Japanese somehow. In my opinion, because it is one nation [country], 97% of them are Japanese, they don't consider foreigners as their own [people]. They are in a good relationship, but you feel like a stranger. For example, there are times when I feel isolated if I live in a Japanese neighborhood. That's why I think that

if I live in an international environment, my children and I will have more

socialization (Gulnora, 2018).

She compares living in the international community with living in the Japanese community. She mentions ease of socialization for her and her family in the international community rather than the Japanese community. From her narrative, she is Siu's (1952) marginalized stranger socially within the Japanese community, even with her Japanese language knowledge. Gulnora seems to have a psychological discomfort regarding the host community, specifically the ethnic representatives of it. The situation is similar when it comes to her workplace, too:

The environment in the workplace is perfect for the Japanese. I

don't think there is any discrimination at all at specifically in my workplace.

But others... Japanese environment is probably different, but we have

mostly English speakers, and the Japanese around us also speak English.

That's why I don't see any discrimination against foreigners at work

(Gulnora, 2018).

Gulnora is cautious about Japanese-only workplaces, as she describes her workplace as foreigner-friendly due to the presence of other foreigners and English-speaking Japanese.

Further on the topic of relations with the Japanese, Tahmina brings up the peculiarity of friendships with the Japanese:

Of course, I have Japanese friends too, but friendship in Japan is

slightly different, right? You share only good things, right, with friends in

Japan. When you're in trouble and stuff, like, in Uzbekistan, we talk to

friends and even when we're in a big situation, right? When I was doing

the same thing, I lost many Japanese friends just because maybe they felt

it heavy when I was talking about problems and stuff. It was strange that

they stopped contacting right away. I didn't understand why it's like this,

and then I started to make foreign friends and then after 2-3 years they

always leave when you have a really good relationship and leave suddenly

(Tahmina, 2018).

Her experience with the Japanese, which was based on cultural differences in understanding the role of friendship, affected her choice towards making meaningful connections with foreigners. Compared to the Western[22] concept of friendship based on privacy, intimacy, and voluntariness of relationships, as mentioned by Naima:

The Japanese people are kind of different from us, from Uzbek

people, from Central Asian people. We are more open, we are more

sensitive, we like communicating, we like exchanging views and we open

our feelings – we don't usually hide them, which is actually different from

Japanese people (Naima, 2018).

The Japanese concept of friendship appears more complex and sophisticated. From the perspective of Uzbekistani, to whom the Western concept of friendship is closer, distinct Japanese categories such as *tsukiai-nakama* – less intimate relationships at the workplace, study, which lasts as long as the obligation of the work and study does; and *shin-yu* – closer to the

---

[22] in the sense of West being countries on the Western side of the world from Japan.

Western type of friendships –characterized with openness, sincerity, and intimacy, however, usually from the young age (Taniguchi, 2014: p. 1476) can be challenging:

> I do have many Japanese acquaintances. I have so many friends from my daughter's school, from my university. But still, I cannot call them real friends. We talk on different topics – about culture and education, but you still feel there's some kind of a barrier. Kind of a curtain. Even if you try, it is difficult to overcome. I even feel the distance (Naima, 2018).

This might be one way to explain why foreigners, including Uzbekistani, who did not grow up in Japan might not be able to form Western-like intimate friendships with Japanese.

Naima's adaptation interactions with locals are centered around overcoming the language barrier:

> After the years, as I took some Japanese classes, I realized that I overcame the language barrier. I was very fit into the culture, language, and people. So, it was the time that I realized that I could prolong my stay in Japan. So, until probably maybe a year or a year and a half, I actually didn't give up my mind about getting back or to any other English-speaking country for further study, further research, or just living. But up to overcoming this language barrier, I realized I could stay here in Japan (Naima, 2018).

When Naima arrived in Japan, her further decisions with regards to staying in Japan depended on her assessment of whether she fit into local culture and mastered Japanese. Her adaptation, as she mentions, is a process and one the language proficiency was obtained, she moved on to assessing other layers to adaptation:

Now I'm more confident with the language […] After starting to work for the Japanese university, I realized that 'Yeah, I can do that. I stay here, and I can work here. I can communicate with these people. I can get into the culture'. You know there are so many cultural nuances and peculiarities of communicating with Japanese people, especially with Japanese bosses. So, actually kind of getting used to it and working for some time, that was one of the barriers that I overcame, and I felt more confident in staying here (Naima, 2018).

Working in a Japanese environment with the Japanese strengthened Naima's knowledge of culture and context, which, in turn, motivated her to continue exploring other opportunities in Japan:

I really like the medical system here. The insurance system is different from the US case when the insurance does not cover sometimes. Because I have so many relatives living there in the US, coming to Tashkent to get medical treatment, even to see the dentist. So, here, I don't really have that problem. It is also safe here, so I can walk in the middle of the night in Tokyo or even in Tsukuba, so you don't have any problems (Naima, 2018).

Assessment of her situation in Japan throughout her adaptation is continuously contrasted with an initial choice – the US and her network's experiences in that country in terms of quality of life.

Sardor tells about his workplace and university club environments, which are significantly different from the experiences above:

In the beginning, when I started working, I was left out during break time. Because the immense discrimination in Japan happens when you don't know the language. I don't like discrimination. When I first started working, because I didn't know the language, all the workers would gather in groups of ten, called by the boss, and had gatherings. I was called once. I was left out because I didn't know the language. After that, I was not called at all. These things – leaving me out – happened throughout 6-7 months. Then I joined different clubs because I was not Japanese. For example, when I participated in a football club, I was not taken to the competition, but I was one of the best players at that time. The point is, I have some sort of anger awaken in myself for being left out like this (Sardor, 2018).

Sardor worked in a restaurant, where, unlike Gulnora's workplace, English was not spoken. It is evident that he feels marginalized, not having adapted to the language in the working environment initially. However, he further elaborates on the discriminative experiences he had been through that surpassed language barriers. He talks about becoming aggressive and angry due to his experiences in Japan several times throughout the interview.

Diyora describes her adaptation to having her own business and navigating business life with her team in a Japanese setting:

To be honest, it's not easy. It's hard because now I think that if I were in Russia or Italy, we couldn't reach this level in another country. But

in Japan, you know, no one cheats, I don't know, we haven't had it until now. Our biggest problem is that we don't know the language very well. We know, but it is not a business level, because we studied in English. So, when we see something on the Internet, you know, we have to search in Japanese. In Japanese, kanji come out, and that's where we struggle. I'm having trouble. And then if I go to a business meeting, you know, there's a different Japanese language out there. I have a little trouble there too. I speak English sometimes. It's hard to fill out a document; there is kanji too. But when we ask the question, nobody says 'They are small, they don't know anything, it's new company' – or 'She's just graduated from university' – it doesn't matter. They treat us the same way they treat others – big companies. Equally, that's the decent thing to do, I like it. We have a little bit of a language barrier, but the rest is excellent (Diyora, 2018).

Diyora highlights the non-discriminatory treatment of her lacking business language knowledge and the scale of her company. She points out that while she feels troubled throughout bureaucratic moments, she is satisfied with how she and her business are treated.

Ilmiyaxon and Anvar both report similar thoughts about the Japanese bureaucratic system to be a favorable moment of their adaptation in Japan:

It was not difficult for me to adapt. If you have to describe Japan in one word, you can say 'bureaucracy at work' about Japan. Indeed, there is bureaucracy in Japan, and the bureaucratic process is very meticulous. There are a lot of small steps, but the bureaucracy works. You get some results, though (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

If we talk about the bureaucratic part, I noticed this initially – I think that I like how the bureaucracy works both in Tsukuba and Tokyo. It is a very effective bureaucracy. Naturally, there is no question of corruption here, which serves as a factor why it is comfortable to live here, especially for those who come from countries with a high level of corruption. There is no question of corruption. It's quite effective, it will take much time, for example, getting inquiries, getting documents, referrals, anything, but if a person goes through all stages, checklists in an organized and consistent manner, then the bureaucracy, I would say, is quite practical (Anvar, 2018).

Both respondents bring up similar points regarding how they favor the bureaucratic system in Japan. Ilmiyaxon backs up her thoughts with personal experience with regards to bureaucracy:

When I came here. I was a student, pregnant in the 2nd year of my master's degree, and had to give birth. For example, if you think, in Japan, the birth process is not covered by insurance, medical insurance. At that time, I had to pay 400,000-360,000 to the hospital. But when we asked the city hall, we knew that because we were students, because we were regarded as the family with zero income, we knew that they would give us a 90 percent discount or even more. Then we collected all the necessary documents. Although it took us two weeks to collect the documents and responded to us within a week, that $4,000 payment came down to $400 for us. For a young family, for example, it was a huge help. It's like a bureaucracy at work, you go through all sorts of bureaucratic processes,

but it has a result, of course. Whether the result is positive or negative, they

will definitely tell you about it (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

She tells about the needed support the Japanese bureaucratic system provided her and her family and sums up her story characterizing this system as result-oriented. She carried on contrasting bureaucratic moments in Japan with bureaucratic moments in her homeland:

When I applied for permanent residence, I waited with some peace

of mind because of that bureaucracy at work. But when I waited for 1,5

months to 3 months for OVIR[23] in Uzbekistan, I had no peace of mind. I

didn't know who's calling for the interview this time; who's asking what

this time. You think about everything you do. What I mean is, it was not

that hard to get used to Japan for me. Maybe knowing the language helped.

Maybe I got into it because I have some kind of flexible or conformable

character. But it wasn't that hard to get used to (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

She talks about applying for permanent residency in Japan and not being worried about it based on her previous Japanese bureaucratic experiences. She recalls applying for a renewal of her OVIR in Uzbekistan and being restless throughout the whole process. She tries to make sense that possibly her knowledge of Japanese and specific features of her character helped her get used to living in Japan.

Anvar focuses on how his adaptation went on further:

As I began to build networking, as I began to study the country, I

adapted – this is the most critical thing about Japan compared to other

---

[23] Russian ОВИР – Отдел Виз и Регистрации (Department of Visas and Registration), term adopted from the Soviet system into Uzbek system until 2019 and abolished afterwards.

countries. Given that cultural adaptation, domestic adaptation passed in the first place, I realized that in this country, even if you do not know the language or do not speak or cannot read the local language, you, in principle, still can create networking, find work, do some projects (Anvar, 2018).

Anvar stresses the importance of cultural adaptation based on his local networking experience and learning about the country. He highlights the possibility of working and networking in Japan without Japanese knowledge if culturally adapted to Japan.

Unlike works conducted on the western residents, Chinese or Korean (Arudou, 2015; Yoon, 2016) residents, with whom Japan has a long colonial history, Uzbekistani respondents do not accentuate their adaptation narratives on Japanese discrimination against them. This can be explained with the similar state of affairs towards differences and ethnicities in Uzbekistan (Dadabaev and Akhmedova, 2021). Mutual differentiation between various ethnic groups in Uzbekistan is common. While sharing social spaces is equal in most parts, sharing private can be inaccessible spaces based on ethnic differences, identical to the Japanese treatment. Thus, topics raised by Uzbekistani tend to revolve around adapting to daily life in the practical sense.

4.7. Further plans

In this part, I will provide a general summary of Uzbekistani's ground to stay in Japan and their intentions to leave Japan. Outcomes are problematic and abstract since it is difficult to draw a harsh line between sojourners and settlers. The processes lived by the individuals in the host country, home country, and the third country do not necessarily lead to the outcome. These patterns will be explored through the semi-structured interview transcripts with

informants and informal conversations with Uzbekistani in the various community gatherings and meetings.

In this sub-chapter, we will discuss respondents' intentions to live in Japan and based on their experiences elaborated in previous chapters. We will try to categorize them based on the renewed typology of orientations towards the place of residency.

Tamara reflects upon her general plans to stay in Japan:

OK, so, for now, I know that I am going to stay in Japan. If I have a chance to go to a different country for an exchange or something, to see how it happens, I probably would. I wouldn't just leave Japan randomly, without knowing what there for me in that country is, because I … I mean, society-wise, there are wrong sides everywhere, every place, I guess. I feel comfortable living here. At least I know that in Japan, the easiest thing for me, I know that I can always find work. You know, like baito or something. You work many hours, and you can at least survive. That's what makes me sort of… feel safe, I guess? Because I know, that if I have to, I can work every day for 24 hours, you know… Because I can change to my husband's visa and work anytime. And about leaving Japan… Well, if I find an opportunity to go and see some other place, but… right now, I don't know. I think I will stay in Japan (Tamara, 2018).

She thinks about what makes her feel safe and comfortable living in Japan. She does not avoid considering other countries as options, but her thoughts bring her back to staying in Japan. She further talks about not planning to return to Uzbekistan:

Living in Uzbekistan is nice because people are friendly, right? You can, it's comfortable, you don't have to… Like, regardless of what people say, you don't have, like, horrible families, I mean, it's comfortable to live there. It's not uncomfortable. If you have money, you know, it's nice. But the reason people leave Uzbekistan, I guess, initially people go to other countries to study and make money, but then they find something that… Because, I guess even for me… I changed a lot in these 3 years. Let's say, if… I can't say I was suitable to live there back then, because I was already not the most common girl, you know. But right now, I will just be a freak there. *Gaikoku* changed me so much. Because in this place I am free, like, not thinking about the norms of the society…. Going back for me doesn't have a purpose. I don't think I would fit anymore (Tamara, 2018).

Tamara brings up the inability to re-adapt to Uzbekistan, considering her initial perceived deviation from the 'common', as she puts it, Uzbek society. She does not think of returning in terms of a job or financial security – it is a perceived threat to her societal security and personal freedom.

Tahmina also mentions not being able to fit in Uzbek society anymore:

There are many reasons. First, my mentality has completely changed, and I don't feel like I belong there anymore. Because I always have Japanese and European people around me, my mindset completely changed. So, when I go to Uzbekistan, and we talk, we don't have common topics anymore, you know. And also, taste in food changed, basically, you know, everything (Tahmina, 2018).

Tahmina mentions changes in personality and mindset after living in Japan and her experiences of conversing with people when she is in Uzbekistan. She further elaborates on her plans of staying in Japan:

> Only recently, I decided to settle down here. But before that… Now my current husband is Italian, so every year we were considering moving to Italy. Basically, every year, I stayed there for one month to see if I, you know, like it culturally and stuff. But I always felt it's different, you know… I feel Japan is similar to our mentality, you know, Uzbekistan. And my way of thinking, mindset actually fits well with Japanese culture originally. So, I decided, yeah, to even if I have a choice to live in Europe, I still choose Japan (Tahmina, 2018).

She talks about how she decided to stay permanently in Japan. She highlights her attempts to move to Italy with her husband. However, she decided to settle in Japan due to perceived similarity in Uzbekistani and Japanese mentality. Along with it, Tahmina mentions having an established business in Japan, the Japanese business environment and, respectively another reason she does not consider going to the homeland:

> And the big reason, of course, is my businesses keep me. If I leave Japan, I cannot do the same business in Uzbekistan because what we're doing is… the market is not the right market for, I mean, in Uzbekistan, right. And doing business, where the target market is Japan, US, and Germany and we're doing completely IT thing, so I don't see Uzbekistan as a right market. And also, I would say the cultural themes, business

111

opportunity, and network - I feel I have bigger network in Japan with Japanese companies than… I mean in Japan I can reach CEOs of any company I want; I mean if I pass 1-2 persons, I can reach it. So that gives me strong power here to achieve whatever I'm planning, you know (Tahmina, 2018).

Ilmiyaxon elaborates on the process that led her to permanent residency in Japan:

> We decided to stay permanently… We decided when my child went to school. My children go to a special gymnasium, both of them. […] They attend elementary school and high school at Pedagogical University. While preparing for that elementary school, my kids were training with tutors, learning logic, learning English, and answering interview questions. I constantly thought if my child could enter the school after that – it was a very competitive school. I was wondering if he could get in, and then when my son started school, "Yeah, so Japan isn't a motherland for me, but it's kind of for my kids. It's not like a second country; it is the first country, and has become a homeland for my children." – it seemed. Because their daily lives are in Japanese, they grew up in a Japanese environment. Thinking about them going to a Japanese school from then… how many years will it be... In 2010 we decided to stay permanently (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

She talks about her realization through her son's life event. Unlike Gulnora, Ilmiyaxon accepts Japan as a homeland for her children and decides to settle down in Japan.

For Naima, the realization of the possibility of staying in Japan came with overcoming the Japanese language barrier:

I probably will stay here for more than five years, even more, I don't know. Because my husband works here, he has a lifetime employment in one of the Japanese companies; and so, my kids are going to Japanese schools in English. I'm thinking of staying here, thinking of making my career here in Japan. Yes, so, I'm kind of seeing myself future, like, in about 5 or 10 years in Japan (Naima, 2018).

Diyora is hesitant between a long-term sojourning and settling down in Japan:

To be honest, I may say now – 10 years, 15 years, but what I'm thinking about is that it doesn't matter where you live, but who you live with plays a significant role. Many people think of Japan as a rich, technological country, but Japan has much nature, a lot of beautiful, beautiful places. I went to Miyazaki, I wondered if you can buy a house there, if your neighbors are Uzbeks, friends... I am thinking of creating a small *mahalla*[24] there and living there with friends away from the city. Because I like the air in Japan; and people, too. Lots of things, lots of possibilities. That's why now I can't give you concrete five years, or ten years. But in my plan, God willing, I want to stay longer (Diyora, 2018).

---

[24] Neighborhoods common in Uzbekistan.

Diyora reflects upon creating a physical Uzbek community in Japan. Since she interacts only with the Uzbek community (see Chapter VI), we understand the importance of the ethnic community is for her comfortable stay in Japan.

In the following part, we discuss general and concrete plans to leave Japan as shared by the research participants and attempt to categorize them by the typology of orientations towards the place of residency.

Sardor elaborates on his reasons for leaving Japan:

I have a future here, now I have a chance – I know Japanese, I also have English, but I will join the company as an ordinary worker, as an entry-level. It is possible to enter as *shūshoku*[25], but growing at work… And the starting point here starts from 20 *man*[26], the salary. It will change after at least five years unless the bonuses come out. Many friends still work. They always say that it is useless. They stay because most of them come with their families, so they support each other if their wives or children work; there will be money for the family. But I can't save with 20 *man*. I have about 40 Uzbek friends, and only one of them has risen to average level. In 8-9 years. So, I don't think I have a future [here]. I can stay, maybe for 2-3 years, to make up a budget for myself.

I intend to return to work in Uzbekistan after collecting the necessary money. I have acquaintances there, and I was offered a job, even before I entered the master's degree. But the salaries are around one million [sum[27]], one and a half million [sum], one million eight hundred [sum] -

---

[25] 就職 – (jap.) finding employment.

[26] 万 – (jap.) ten thousand (numeric).

[27] Uzbek currency.

approximately $200. It is not possible to live in Tashkent with this amount. So, I plan to save money in 2-3 years and then go back to work. There are many options for employment in Uzbekistan because I studied in Japan. Furthermore, my current master's degree is directly related to Uzbekistan."

– Sardor, 2018.

Sardor is aware of his job prospects in Japan; however, he wishes for faster career growth and a better salary. Sardor uses his knowledge about working in Japan after living in the country for five years and relies on the experiences of his network of friends who work in Japan. He is not satisfied with the working conditions he knows of and creates a general plan of returning to his homeland in 2-3 years. He is not satisfied with Tashkent's wages either but mentions having a network in Uzbekistan, too.

I wanted to stay here, but now, if you think about the future, you want to go back to your homeland and do something. I also wanted to stay here before the president changed. But I may return to Uzbekistan to take advantage of the opportunities for youth if I have a better budget (Sardor, 2018).

He continues that he would continue staying in Japan if the Karimov rule in Uzbekistan carried on. He views conditions under the new Uzbek leader – Mirziyoyev, favorable, and thinks of catching an opportunity for himself.

Bekzod deliberates on returning to Uzbekistan or moving to Germany and provides grounds for each option:

Well, somehow, with my wife, we decided that we wouldn't like to cling to Japan at any price. In principle, the task is now for me to finish in

115

a year. And I am considering the option of perhaps, moving to a country I

would know the language of, I would know how it works, with a more or

less suitable climate, and a lot more things. And more or less, maybe with

the social system closer, similar to Japan, more family-friendly. So, we

think of Germany as a possible relocation option. And, of course, the

option to go to Uzbekistan after that is also always on the agenda, and here

it already depends more on the proposals that I will receive, because being

a family man, you become more compelled to look and think where it's

better for the family, and for this we need work, we need decent earnings.

Therefore, there is no such desire to stay (Bekzod, 2018).

Bekzod has a concrete plan of leaving Japan in one year and does not consider staying

in the country. He mentions that his and his family's future relocations [from Uzbekistan]

depend on his business prospects. As he was planning to leave Japan for Uzbekistan, this

categorizes Bekzod as a sojourner with a concrete plan to go home after he fulfills his goal of

finalizing his research in Japan.

Gulnora explains her personal and family grounds for leaving Japan:

Not for a long time. I am already thinking about it, but, of course,

I'm hesitant. It's a very comfortable country, but I plan to go to another

country, a western country, in the future. […] If I apply for a Ph.D. abroad,

we intend to leave in two to three years. But it is not clear, that is the

intention (Gulnora, 2018).

From her previous reflections upon Japanese society and a desire to explore Western

countries, Gulnora contemplates leaving Japan in 2-3 years – she has general intentions and no

concrete plans. If she left for the third country, we could categorize her as a transitional

116

sojourner. Until now, discussions on orientations towards the place of residence took place between the homeland and the host country, having the third part open the discussion for a new type of sojourners. We name them transitional sojourners. Returning to Gulnora's plans, since it is yet a plan and not an outcome, we can categorize her as a sojourner at the moment.

> I don't want my son to go to a Japanese school either. I don't want my kids to go to a Japanese school because they will be the only foreigners. This is not about the language. They know the language very well. I teach classes, and sometimes I see the only foreigner kid among Japanese. They look kind of cramped. They can't speak up their thoughts. As if they are out of place, they look strange. They don't look free. Japanese always seem to be easy-going and free than everyone else. That's why I don't see this place for my children. I don't want my son to grow up like that. You know, individualism is strong in the West, and collectivism is essential to Japan. I don't see collectivism for my son for his development (Gulnora, 2018).

Gulnora is cautious about her son's upbringing in Japan. She tells about her observations of foreign children in Japanese classes, where she teaches. Unlike Ilmiyaxon, she did not accept Japan as the first country for her child, and she does not want her child to be a part of this society.

Osiyo talks about her long-term sojourning plans because of her daughter:

> I don't think I'll stay long. Why am I in Japan now? For my child. To let her know many languages from an early age, let go to many countries, and let her worldview expand... I mean, whether my daughter uses Japanese when she grows up or not is her choice. But as a child, at

least, let her learn Japanese naturally; maybe in the future it will help her, maybe will not help her. But I want her to know many languages (Osiyo, 2018).

Yet strong intentions to return to Uzbekistan because of her parents:

I have big intentions to return to Uzbekistan. Firstly, I have to take care of my parents, and my sister is also married. My parents are over 50, around 55s. They are still healthy now. But if something suddenly happens and they say they won't be able to respond themselves, I'll go and take care of them. This will be my last [leave]. I will probably leave Japan and never come back (Osiyo, 2018).

Osiyo is torn between her child's accessible international upbringing and better exposure to the international community in Japan compared to Uzbekistan and a wish to take care of her parents. As Osiyo mentioned before, she has a married female sibling, which means that her parents live independently. Parents are not left alone, especially in elderly age, in Uzbek culture, and children are to take care of. So, Osiyo shares her general plan and a reason for leaving Japan.

Uzbekistani share the general sojourning orientation towards Japan, whether they return to Uzbekistan or move to the third country. However, their sojourning plans are not tied to their residence status. Residence status is an instrumental factor to Uzbekistani residence in Japan, and sojourning, and settling experiences are shaped by the cultural practices and previous sojourns of the respondents. In the next chapter, we will discuss the role of cultural practices regarding Uzbekistani experiences in Japan.

CHAPTER V. Role of ethnicity and religion in settlement practices of Uzbekistani in Japan

This part of the dissertation discusses and demonstrates factors of ethnicity and religion in various manifestations that affect Uzbekistani's settlement, and the author believes, other foreigners throughout their journeys and decision-making in the processes of migration immigration. After reviewing previous scholarship on sojourner and settlement studies in the literature and conceptual framework chapters, we realize that previous research did not take factors of subjective perception of self through ethnic belonging, religious views and views towards self as a woman as well as views towards women[28] in the host society into account of conceptualizing settlement practices, rather intentions to stay or leave and developed categories of sojourners and settlers resulting from those. In the case of Uzbekistani in Japan, such grounds for decision-making are blurred, as we saw in the previous chapter on the temporality of Uzbekistani settlement practices; and they are backed up with subjective perceptions, which are elaborated on in this chapter.

5.1. *O'zbekchilik* as an alternative reality

Narratives of ethnic experience of mobility throughout the residence in terms of sojourning are an element that has not been registered in the previous scholarship within the relevant conceptual framework. Focus on ethnicity has not been an initial goal of this research as well; however, narratives of experiencing Japan as an *Uzbek* migrant with their *Uzbek* ways kept re-occurring in various forms such as strengthening Uzbek identity as self-preservation in

---

[28] Always keeping in mind that patriarchal worldview is not rare for Uzbekistani along with some other post-Soviet countries.

a foreign land; teaching Uzbekness to new generations born in Japan as opposition to Japaneseness; Uzbekness as a way to ease sojourning abroad and so on. But what is Uzbekness? Let us review the concept before we get into such practices of Uzbekistani in Japan.

O'zbekchilik, translated into English as 'Uzbekness', roughly relates to being Uzbek, while practically extending to a wide variety of manifestations. As a relatively new phenomenon shaped in the post-Soviet Uzbekistan in the 1990s, it was a response to form a nation-state with its national ideology after obtaining independence from the Soviet Union. What *o'zbekchilik* connotes on a personal subjective level and socio-political level remains contested both in academic and public discourse while being widely practiced both consciously and unconsciously by Uzbekistani in Uzbekistan and abroad. *O'zbekchilik* was a government-run national policy under Karimov's Milliy Istiqlol G'oyasi (National Independence Ideology), which fostered Uzbekness as the most appealing identity and at the same time, it was discriminatory as an idea towards the non-Uzbek population of Uzbekistan (Hojaqizi, 2008: p. 313).

O'zbekchilik, in a broad sense, is a mentality, which, in turn, comprises many components. *O'zbekchilik* can be understood as a particular spirituality specific to Uzbeks. It is said to count back to cultural heritage, historical roots, and moral values (Sayidov & Umansky, 1998). *O'zbekchilik* does not exist separately as an ethnicity-based national ideology, but it is sometimes contiguous to Islam because most Uzbekistani practice or identify as Muslims. However, this combination is treated by the state with cautiousness due to the securitization of Islamic practices in Uzbekistan.

Not to construct a negative image of *o'zbekchilik*, notable is the fact that *o'zbekchilik* serves as:

- Self-sustaining support system among Uzbeks and surpasses the borders of the country. The majority grows up observing almost the guarantee of help and

support in case of hardships – by mahalla, by neighbors, and so on due to semi-collectivistic traits of Uzbek society;

- While Uzbeks may or may not adopt elements of other cultures, *o'zbekchilik* promotes general respect and tolerance towards other cultures, nurtures positive behavior;

- As religious morale. *O'zbekchilik* attempts to reduce criminal thinking and improve public morale.

In less abstract understanding, *o'zbekchilik* nowadays covers daily practices and norms by Uzbekistani. It can be utilized in order to regulate and limit the way people dress[29] (UzNews, 2020); behavior[30] – what is proper and what is not according to Uzbek morality (Gazeta.uz, 2020); gender roles – what a man is to do and what a woman is to in given situations; and so on. *O'zbekchilik* might have been created to empower Uzbekistani by creating a sense of communal unity and self-identification using unique norms and values (Dadabaev et al., 2017: pp. 20-21), yet in the Mirziyoyev Uzbekistan, it has been criticized (mainly using online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter by more informed Tashkent and followed by bigger city dwellers), and even the term *'ma'naviyatchilar'* – 'spiritualists' appeared in the public vocabulary as a reference to promoters of Uzbek cultural and spiritual norms. *Ma'naviyat* and *milliy g'oya* [national ideology] agendas fostered in the Karimov era as a part of *o'zbekchilik* are questioned during the Mirziyoyev era. The Mirziyoyev era is more relaxed in terms of

---

[29] For instance, 'Munosabat' TV program discussed fashion choices of young people. A historian and celebrities bring up recent trends in hairstyles and wearing ripped jeans and short socks among men. Discussants conclude that these fashion trends are signs of homosexuality and propose wearing proper national clothes as opposed to those exported by West.

[30] In the same TV program, hosts and celebrities condemned ideas of feminism and a feminist protests among young women, as these "inhuman, immoral vices completely contradict the national mentality, customs and religious values". The protest in question was on raising awareness on violence against women in response to the incident of 17-year old woman beaten up by a stranger in the street in Fergana for wearing shorts.

media freedom (yet still limited) (HRW, 2018) and serves as a ground for individuals to be more vocal on social media platforms. This is a particular layer of society with specific characteristics that opposes and criticizes *o'zbekchilik* and its components – usually Russian- and/or English-speaking Uzbekistani with broader access to alternative information, which is not limited to only produced in Uzbekistan or Uzbek language. Some of those in smaller towns and villages, who do not have access to the Internet, who do not speak Russian or English, are limited to information in Uzbek via newspapers, TV, and radio, which is usually state-owned and promotes ideas of *o'zbekchilik*.

Furthermore, *o'zbekchilik* might not be practiced by non-Uzbek Uzbekistani such as Russians, Karakalpaks, Koreans, Tajiks, Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and others. It should be noted that 'being' and 'belonging' in terms of Uzbekness is different – the former is passive – existing as is, and the latter is active – conscious choice and alignment to it (Hojaqizi, 2008: p. 314). Therefore, views on *o'zbekchilik* in Uzbekistan differ, which consequently affects Uzbekistani's ethnicity-based practices in Japan.

In a country with contrasting (from the Uzbekistani viewpoint) culture, rituals, society, and communication that is Japan, *o'zbekchilik* may serve as a sense of belonging, ground for one's identity in the foreign land. The use of Uzbek essentialism in Japan becomes even more fascinating because Japan also has a robust essentialist notion of *nihonjinron*[31], which also uses Japanese culture, nationality, and ethnicity to shape Japaneseness. In Japanese, it is expressed using words such as *nihonsei, nihonrashisa, nihonteki, nihon bunka.* Similarly, one of *nihonjinron*'s ideas, like *o'zbekchilik's,* is to minimize the outer influence on the culture, ethnicity, and nationality to preserve the national identity and keep from contamination by the other (Sugimoto, 1999: p. 94). Japaneseness stems from the idea of Japan being a homogenous country, being equally (like Uzbekistan) discriminatory on ethnic grounds to Japan's

---

[31] 日本人論 – 'theories/discussions about the Japanese'

indigenous people, *burakumin*, Okinawan, *zainichi* Koreans (who do not hold Japanese citizenship). Existing and having developed for centuries, *nihonjinron* became especially active during the post-WWII period when Japan started its economic restoration – the question of the Japanese identity became acute again. Again, reminiscent of the Uzbek way of identity-building, Japanese identity construction took place through publications and national symbols (Burgess, 2004). The following sums up the main points of *nihonjinron* ideology:

- Homogeneity of Japanese is what makes it unique and superior to other nations;

- Collectivistic traits in society viewed as a better option as opposed to individualistic values in the Western nations;

- Features of Japanese society: social obligation, indebtedness, and shame stemming from collectivism;

- Harmony over conflict and emotion over rationality (Rear, 2017: p. 6).

Specific points such as a relatively strong collectivist approach in Uzbekistan, notion of shame, perceived homogeneity coincide with *o'zbekchilik* and possibly those similarities help Uzbekistani adapt better to life in Japan compared to the Western counterparts. It looks like initial conditions of state policies are similar and from that perspective, living in Japan is nothing new, and it is instead a change of context with a familiar socio-political base. Naima brings up an interesting point on this aspect:

It's not even the issue of time, it's the issue of cultural differences. Uniqueness of Japanese people, uniqueness of their culture, the one I cannot adapt to (Naima, 2018).

From Naima's perspective, it looks like acceptance of yet another form of uniqueness – *o'zbekchilik* yet in another form. Naima, whose Uzbek identity is not the strongest, rather her

identity as a member of the intelligentsia, accepts *nihonjinron* as it is without replacing it with *o'zbekchilik* for herself.

Uzbekistani, who stick to their Uzbek identity, explain their attitude to the Japanese culture and society in the following manner:

> I mean I understand Japanese culture, I respect but I don't try to be like them. I don't adapt myself to be like Japanese. I have my identity as Uzbekistani, my identity is still Uzbekistani, and I'm proud of it, you know. So yeah, I understand them, but at the same time, I don't try to be like them. I keep myself with an Uzbek identity (Tahmina, 2018).

In the manner, how *o'zbekchilik* works in multiethnic Uzbekistan, i.e., keeping the Uzbek identity, practices, lifestyle separate and non-mixed with other ethnic groups lifestyles, is adaptable to a Japanese setting and *nihonjinron. O'zbekchilik* works as a translation module for Japanese patterns of behavior, and they become unquestionably acceptable for many. However, at the same time, as it is in Uzbekistan, *o'zbekchilik* also works as a barrier or a barricade from the host society (Dadabaev and Akhmedova, 2021):

> Living in Uzbek society is good for me right now. For example, lifestyle – we cook everything ourselves for now. We don't go out and eat anywhere else. We're just trying to preserve our traditions (Bilol, 2018).

Unlike previous sojourners in the literature, this case is different because the Uzbek self is pushed forward as self-protection, rather than an isolating tool. Preservation of Uzbek practices serves as a safe sojourn, and such practices occur among those who came exceptionally to sojourn in Japan.

Japanese language students like Bilol and other Uzbeks, who stick to their Uzbek identity, practice 'ways of belonging' (Hojaqizi, 2008) in such a manner, active way to identify with their Uzbek identity by creating their agencies and practices that create a safe space in the Japanese setting. On the other hand, Tahmina, Naima, and others, who do accept their Uzbek identity as given, identify with it in the manner of 'way of being' – fit into Japanese society, without barricading themselves with Uzbek identity as it is not the most vital identifying point for them. This way, they do not feel the need to create a particular Uzbek environment around themselves.

Respondents also pointed out their concerns, which helped in identifying a clearer picture of *o'zbekchilik* and perception of the Japanese environment by them:

I think for children's upbringing, it's good to add a little bit of our *o'zbekchilik*. Respect for parents, respect for siblings… For example, in Japanese families, children seem to be strangers to each other. When I visit many places myself, they don't talk, and they don't get along well during dinners, they don't open the doors of their rooms… I wish they would feel for each other (Zarina, 2018).

Especially by parenthood-led opinions and perceptions, it becomes clear that Uzbekistani's issue regarding Japanese (other) culture does not center around being an element of social isolation. *O'zbekchilik* and *o'zbekchilik*-fueled mobility practices are about ideational blockades of Japaneseness's similar practices against their own Uzbekness.

Because my eldest son is growing up. He should go there [Uzbekistan], go to school, and get used to it – this is my plan. There are good private

schools in Uzbekistan, too. If you get your child to go to a private school and get him extra tutoring, you can manage his studies. Somehow, I want the child to grow up to be Uzbek among Uzbeks. Even though we are working on it [Uzbekness] with my husband now, the Japanese environment influences the child's thinking. This is not a bad thing, but it will be difficult for him to live in Uzbekistan with this [upbringing] (Kamola, 2018).

Kamola demonstrates once again that there is no hostility or avoidance of the Japanese lifestyle and culture. It is a similar situation for her as if her kids went to a Russian school or kindergarten in Uzbekistan – one with *o'zbekchilik* sentiments would usually perceive this situation in a similar way. Unlike Mizukami's Japanese and other authors' Chinese sojourners, in this case, Kamola, Zarina, and Abdulla do not have an Uzbek community to expose their children to *o'zbekchilik* and Uzbek culture in Japan outside of their houses. Parents with weaker Uzbek identity, like Naima, find Uzbek communities and gatherings in Tokyo for language purposes. Naima (2018) pointed out that she joins women's gatherings in Tokyo to have her child exposed to Uzbek and Russian languages so the child could relate to parents' cultural background.

This chapter demonstrates that respondents' rationalization of their plans towards the residence in Japan correlates with the notion of *o'zbekchilik. O'zbekchilik* serves as an instrument to understand the Japanese society and at the same time, as a tool to measure if it is time to leave for parents with Japan-born children who lack cultural exposure.

5.2. The notion of *Ona Vatan* in narratives

Ona Vatan, which can be translated to English as Motherland, is the concept all Uzbekistani are familiar with historically, although the concept had been ever-changing in

its political use throughout the route of history. In the Soviet period, this concept was coupled with the concept of Fatherland[32], which reproduced the sentiment of dedication to the Soviet Union (especially during and after wartime) as the identity of the Soviet person was more substantial than the nation-state belonging.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, *Ona Vatan* has become a source of national identity. *Ona Vatan* became the foundation of nationalist sentiments by bringing back old and long-lost actuality throughout the Soviet time's poems and novels and the creation and promotion of new literary works. *Ona Vatan* gained, or rather was restored its place as a national identity element and propagated by the Karimov administration. *Ona Vatan* has become an abstract image of the land to protect (from the outer influence), take care of, give back, which goes along well with the notion of *o'zbekchilik* pushed forward by the government. Those sentiments are recurring ones in the narratives of Uzbekistani residents in Japan. This notion of *Ona Vatan* Uzbekistani grew up soaking up in sometimes creates a sense of inner conflict during one's sojourn. Let us turn to Ilmiyaxon's example in this sub-chapter.

Ilmiyaxon, at the time, which she was telling about, was confident of not returning to Uzbekistan. She had an experience of returning to Uzbekistan once, where she hoped to find a job at the mayoral office. With a sentiment of giving back to her motherland, she proposed ideas for projects to be implemented in the regional area; Ilmiyaxon tried to seek connections. Her ideas were heard, but she never heard back, so she returned to Japan with her host father's invitation. She found a job in Japan as a translator. Soon after, she switched to an academic position at the university.

---

[32] Отчизна [*Otchizna*] – in Russian

OVIR[33] system was in use at that time, so she had to return to Uzbekistan to renew her registration:

> Then all sorts of bureaucratic headaches occurred, which lasted for
> three months, so I had to stay in Uzbekistan. I was worried about my kids in
> Japan; they were small then. I couldn't relax in Uzbekistan either. My mother
> was sick. She was in a wheelchair, and she couldn't walk. It caused all sorts
> of emotional challenges, you know (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

Obtaining OVIR registration was a challenge, and for many people, it involved the activation of all sorts of connections, which could help facilitate the process. Ilmiyaxon mentioned her stress of knocking on every door to obtain the registration and return to her family in Japan sooner. However, due to OVIR and family challenges, her trip planned for a month extended to three months.

> When it all ended, and I returned to Japan, my husband asked, "Shall
> we apply for citizenship? You've been through so much," – he said. We went
> to the legal office in Nagoya to ask about it, and then they gave us a list of
> documents. But despite all the hardships I went through, I didn't want to take
> that step. My husband would push me towards it – he is somewhat pragmatic;
> I am more emotionally inclined. That's why he said I should go for it, but
> every time I delayed and delayed… Because in my heart of hearts, I could not

---

[33] *Otdel Viz i Registracii* – Soviet-inherited system of registration for foreign nationals entering the country and citizens exiting the country. OVIR registration had to be renewed every 3 years for exiting individuals and for that the migrant had to return to Uzbekistan. The system is partly in effect in 2020. The system of international passports was introduced in 2019.

renounce my Uzbek citizenship. I knew that everything would work out fine

[with Japanese citizenship], but I could not take that step (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

Ilmiyaxon tells about her husband's suggestion to apply for Japanese citizenship. She explains, despite her challenges in Uzbekistan with the existing bureaucratic system at that time, she could not give up her Uzbek citizenship as it seems like a betrayal of the motherland for her. These sentiments were also amplified by the following episode:

When my mother passed away last year… it was hurting so much. When I went back to Uzbekistan and held the Eid ceremonies, an ordinary woman from a village came to me. She said, "Ilmiya, Ilmiyaxon, come back now. How long will you be *vatangado*? Can't you come back and live in our Uzbekistan?". It's as if some kind of person from a low social status has taken pity on me. It hurt so much then. I thought, 'Are we really *vatangado*?' (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

Ilmiyaxon tells a story of contemplating if she is *vatangado* – rejected by *Ona Vatan*, or if she's an exile. Being *vatangado* is described in proverbs ('It is better to be penniless than to be a *vatangado*') and literature ('How amazing! Not even a handful of soil wants to soak the tears of a *vatangado* into her bosom'[34]) in a negative language. This way, we understand that in the case of Uzbekistani, belonging to the state plays a significant role in decision-making regarding one's migration and immigration.

During Mirziyoev's era and the start of dialogues and projects involving Uzbekistani abroad, Ilmiyaxon resumed traveling to Uzbekistan more often:

---

[34] Excerpt from Sarvar Azimov's 'Oppoq tong qo'shig'i' [White dawn's song], 1962.

It seems that my ties with Uzbekistan have become even more vital since last year. Because I participate in different projects and participate in different programs. For example, now I go to Uzbekistan 3 to 4 times a year to conduct master classes. I am organizing various master classes at various universities in Uzbekistan on applying to study abroad, on the Japanese education system, academic presentations, and writing articles. My innermost feelings about it are good feelings. I feel like giving back to my own country… I want my country to benefit from me in some way (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

Ilmiyaxon's story might remind of a story of self-psychoanalysis. From her narrative, it sounds like she is on her way to find closure for *vatangado* through being able to pay Uzbekistan back the price of herself not being in the country. Being *vatangado* – a settler in a foreign land is equated to rejection without the element of connection to the homeland. Once the connection is established, emotional needs are met, and one can continue the sojourn.

5.3. Sojourning as a religious practice

Historically, according to the Islamic concept of migration, Islamic migration is divided by territories – *Dar al-Islam* – the land under Muslim control; *Dar al-Harb* – the land of war, which will pass to Muslim control, which is doubled as *Dar al-Kufr* – the land of infidelity. Here, *dar al-Islam* is considered a homeland for Muslims, so technically, it does not necessarily undermine a sojourn country. *Dar al-Islam* is a country where every Muslim is a part of the *ummah*[35], regardless of ethnicity, nationality, etc. *Dar al-Harb,* for that matter,

---

[35] Islamic nation

is controversial and contested. Sojourning in *dar al-Harb* is acceptable by a stream of Muslim jurists if one can practice Islam. On the other hand, other Muslim jurists do not approve of sojourning in *dar al-Harb* as it is a land of *kufras* and immigration to *dar al-Islam* at the earliest possibility (Sami, 1996, pp. 39-44).

In present-day Uzbekistan, the concept of *musofir* – a wanderer, a sojourner is based on the Muslim concept of migration. However, due to a tremendous economic and cultural contrast between Tashkent and the regions, *musofirchilik* is not a process occurring abroad – it may well take place and be perceived by the intra-national level, bringing more clarity to the concept (Hojaqizi, 2008).

In the concept of the current research, *musofir,* usually a man, goes through hardships in the alien land and returns matured and more experienced, which then affects his social status:

I think I am gaining a lot of life experience in Japan. There is an Uzbek saying: 'You can't be a Muslim without being a *musofir*'. I am learning a great lesson from life experience. For myself, for life (Javohir, 2018).

The notions of *musofirchilik* and religiosity are articulated by the group of Japanese vocational school students. For this group, sacrifices for a trip to Japan as a part of *musofir*'s hardships started before they arrived in Japan. These students chose Japan as a destination for labor migration primarily – studies of Japanese are an instrumental task in increasing employment chances. Before going to Japan, the students studied Japanese for 2-3 months at the local Japanese language center. After passing an exam at the local Japanese center, the center arranged enrolment to Japanese schools in Japan. Most respondents did not own

solvency covering a trip, deposit for an apartment and a language school, and other initial expenses in Japan, so the local language center offered loans for those in need. The students agreed to take a significant amount of loan from the center, as their local center, along with many others, provided misleading information about the prospects of remunerations for part-time work in Japan.

Thus, coming to Japan with a great deal of debt to find out the reality of lower pay, higher expectations from part-time workers in terms of Japanese language knowledge, and the limited working hours for students enhance the idea of being tested for faith for a *musofir* in a religious notion. 'You cannot be a Muslim without being a *musofir*' – an Uzbek saying is what everyone in the group of Japanese language students implied. *Musofirchilik* – a sojourn is viewed as 'test that they must complete with dignity to be rewarded later after their return home' (Dadabaev and Akhmedova, 2021, p. 23). *Musofirchilik* specifically re-gained its Islamic meaning after Uzbekistan's independence for many reasons – one of them being mass labor migration to Russia. Migration, which did not carry a mass character, became a common phenomenon in many households, which strive to maintain their basic needs (Urinboyev, 2017, p. 121). As a concept stemming from Islam, *musofirchilik* brings religious aspects to one's sojourning experience:

In the beginning, when we just came here, I was curious and took a tour of everybody's room. I couldn't help but notice praying mats in all rooms. It comes out, 95% of us pray *namaz*[36]. When I saw that, I was amazed and overjoyed. I pray *namaz* myself (Javohir, 2018).

---

[36] Daily obligatory standardized prayers in Islam. *Namaz* is the Persian word used in non-Arab countries.

As Japan is not *dar al-Islam*, *musofir*s seek common religious grounds. In the example of Javohir, the indicator for religiousness is a praying mat, which creates a sense of community, the *ummah,* to overcome hardships together. The notion of patience during difficulties during *musofirchilik – sabr*[37] is another element used in portraying the experience of *musofirchilik*:

> It is also mentioned in Islam: 'Human is intolerant, but he will get used to it. After a little *sabr,* he gets used to it. He gets used to everything (Said, 2018).

These characteristics are a few of several which make up a *musofir*. After a sojourn completed, the experience is gained and once the *musofir* returns to the homeland, he acquires the social status of someone who has seen/experienced *musofirchilik* (*musofirchilikni ko'rgan odam*), who is much wiser, exposed, but thanks to *sabr* and strong character, is now back to serve his family and homeland with renewed vigor.

In Japan, a *musofir* is cautious of surroundings like a Muslim sojourner in *dar al-Harb* and *dar al-Kufr:*

> Then we realized that it was tough to adapt – now, for the Muslim people – to the environment here. We have never had a separate shop or a *halal*[38] shop for Muslims in Uzbekistan. Because everything is *halal*, everything can be eaten in Uzbekistan. If you don't see pork in some shops from time to time, you won't see it anywhere else, even that you can find

---

[37] Spiritual concept in Islam, undermining patience, perseverance, endurance in challenging situations and outcomes.

[38] Acceptable in the Islamic law.

in some regional centers. This is not the case in remote areas. Here, however, [*haram*[39] ingredient] is added even in the water. May God forgive us for the sins. We did not know that (Bilol, 2018).

Bilol mentions that adaptation to the Japanese environment being difficult for a practicing Muslim. The Japanese level is elementary (greetings and elementary daily conversations for a part-time job at a (food) packing factory) among Japanese language students. They mention struggling to understand the ingredients of consumer products in their strive to avoid *haram* consumption. Nevertheless, *haram* does not only appear in narratives in terms of consumption:

I'm glad I got to be among these guys. God forbad these guys from going astray – they are all on the right path. For example, I saw guys in Tokyo eating *haram*, doing shōkai [paid job introductions], feeding off from somebody's money… that is not *halal*. Our guys are not involved in *haram* work. They earn *halal* and send halal money home (Javohir, 2018).

Javohir evaluates his surroundings and a community of choice based on *halal* behavior and deeds. As stated above, he prefers a community of practicing Muslims. Doing paid introductions for jobs, a common practice in Japan, is evaluated and rationalized from the religious and *o'zbekchilik* perspective, where a Muslim and a fellow Uzbek compatriot in need is supported and helped based on communal and ethnic belonging.

The group of Japanese vocational school students from a religiously conservative part of Uzbekistan has demonstrated the religious dimension to the concept of sojourning.

---

[39] Forbidden by the Islamic law.

Sojourning is rationalized by *o'zbekchilik* norms in the case of practicing Muslims and is a learning experience, enriching the life of a Muslim and raising the individual's social status due to overcoming hardships in alien lands. Since the Islamic laws and concepts regulate religious sojourning, it is a challenging test. Surviving it grants the individual respect in society by return and spiritually – Allah's blessing.

CHAPTER VI. Gendered experiences and communities of belonging

An individual's gender plays a considerable role concerning experiences an individual has, and migration is no exception in the Uzbek society. This is also not an exception among Uzbeks and Uzbekistani communities in migration. Uzbek society being tightly dependent on social ties at any level – family, relatives, neighbors, *mahalla,* and others, maintains Uzbek socialization in Japan through online and offline community building and collaborative practices. This chapter explores the role of gender and the practices of interacting with offline and online communities among skilled Uzbekistani migrants in their migration experiences in Japan.

6.1. Narratives of gender

We will look into women's narratives of their experiences in deciding to migrate and in practices of sojourning and settling in Japan. Interview questions did not undermine gender-related topics; nevertheless, gender naturally became one of the trends in the stories women shared about their lives before coming to Japan, the stories of decision-making towards moving to Japan, and decisions towards moving out of Japan. Although narratives relating to gendered experiences have been continuously raised by women or, again, women's 'proper' role has been mentioned by men, the gendered part of especially sojourning for men has been brought to attention. The trend of such a topic within the discussion of settlement practices broadens the study of orientations towards the place of residents within the migration studies being one of the factors, which has not been analyzed before within this conceptual frame.

Gender roles and gender equality have not been a topic of general consideration in Uzbekistan until the end of the 2010s, although gender within the context of Uzbekistan has

been a subject of academic inquiry since the early 2000s. As for migration studies, while interrelation of gender and migration has been researched in various contexts and utilizing a range of concepts in analyzing such correlation, gender has not been revealed as a feature affecting experiences of migrants within the studies of sojourners and settlers by now.

Being a man and being a woman in Uzbekistan requires scrupulous navigation. In the Uzbek realities, frequently, gender roles and expectations are attached and taught to an individual from the very birth. Ordinary Uzbek girl is expected to graduate school, enter the technical college or university, get married halfway from graduation or after graduation, and give birth to a child. Ordinary Uzbek boy is also expected to graduate from school, enter technical college or university, graduate, find a job, and get married and have children – in the best-case scenario. The pressure for the fulfillment of traditional gender roles targets everyone; however, men choose not to talk about the pressure and stay firm as a part of male upbringing, which constructs the image of strong character for men – another side of patriarchy. Such upbringing and societal treatment of gender roles expect career-building from men and family-building from women. Traditionally investment in the male child's education and early societal exposure is prioritized – male upbringing is practical:

> There were two girls in the family, and on my father's side, there
> was only one boy – my father. And he had two sisters. My grandmother
> prioritized boys. Boy, boy, boy… I think this is the most significant
> disadvantage of Uzbeks. The girl can do it too. I don't know if I was trying
> to prove them, but I was trying hard against them. This is the first reason,
> the biggest (Osiyo, 2018).

Osiyo mentions prioritizing male children and not trusting female children as much as male children in her family. She talks about her family and gives her opinion about this

treatment being a 'disadvantage of Uzbeks'. However, at the same time, precisely this treatment was her biggest motivation to fight against this treatment and to go abroad to prove that females can be trusted too. MOJ statistics of registered Uzbekistani by sex (see Chapter I) is another indicator of the societal approach to migration (among other parts of an individual's life), with only 20 percent of female Uzbekistani residents in Japan. There are numerous factors for such a phenomenon, such as:

- The OVIR stamp. Until 2019, before the introduction of international passports in Uzbekistan, when the OVIR stamp on the passport was the only option of traveling abroad for Uzbekistani citizens, Uzbekistani women had different conditions to present to the stamp issuing officials. The conditions included a letter of permission from the father (for a single woman) or the husband (for a married woman) along with an interview in person with a police officer and the husband or the father of the woman, who wishes to travel. Considering the men-centric culture, these conditions made it difficult for women to obtain consent for travel from fathers and husbands;

- Fear of human trafficking. With the rising numbers of migrants from Uzbekistan to Russia, Kazakhstan, UAE, Turkey, the Republic of Korea, and others, the number of human trafficking cases has been rising. OVIR's additional conditions have been in place to combat human trafficking, particularly women trafficking for the global sex industry. Dramatic banners at OVIR offices and social advertisements on state television channels have been used to warn the population about human trafficking. Anti-human trafficking campaign often utilizes images and scenarios of women in the trafficking of all sorts to combat the issue;

- Cultural Islam and attachment to conservative traditions. In the Uzbek families, sometimes by the Central Asian interpretation of Islam, by the modern perception of Uzbek traditions, sometimes by combining both, women's status is established within families, which undermines participation in family affairs. With this, while participation in family matters is broad, women's decision-making power is limited, and the final ruling comes with men. The societal participation of women is even more limited and controlled by men within and outside families. Within the family, Uzbek women traditionally seek men's (fathers', brothers', husbands') approval before embarking on a new course of action. Outside families, institutions of all levels are dominated by men in decision-making positions. For example, a police officer, with whom women must pass an interview for the OVIR stamp; a head of the mahalla committee, who issues all sorts of certificates and others. While Uzbekistan is a secular country with respective legislation, there is often a second layer to governance – cultural judgment, which affects the legislative transparency of the services citizens have rights to obtain. It should also be noted that men's dominance in decision-making levels is not the only limiting factor of women's full participation in societal life – women perpetuate the effects of patriarchy and patriarchal rules by applying them to other women and themselves.

The OVIR stamp mentioned above and other parts of this work is because this entry-exit registration system was still in place in Uzbekistan until 2019, and all the respondents were affected by this system.

From the stories of female respondents, we realize that in the case of Uzbekistani migrants, gendered experiences in the homeland, which were not mentioned or simply did not come up contextually in the previous literature, affect sojourning and settling practices and

decisions. Tahmina, who is a Tajik woman from Samarkand, whose marriage was arranged, describes her initial plan in Japan:

> So, initially, I wanted to find a job in a Japanese company. And because I was married, arranged to an Uzbekistani guy. He didn't let me work, all these, you know, religious, cultural things. So, I lost, like, three years… after graduating the university, he didn't let me work anywhere. […] That [arranged marriage] and since I already liked Japan, I wanted to stay in Japan longer, and I was searching for the opportunities to work. So, basically, I divorced that guy, and then I started my company the following month (Tahmina, 2018).

However, as described above, submissive culture held her from her plans. We cannot generalize this story into the marriage institute's image in Uzbekistan. However, such marriages certainly are not rare, especially in smaller towns and conservative parts of bigger cities. Such marital construct limits women's decision-making with regards to their migration plans, among others. In Tahmina's case, it is the inability to work after graduating home university in Uzbekistan because of the conservative and patriarchally tuned husband. In a sense, leaving Uzbekistan has been an escape from patriarchal culture and cultural expectations, directly affecting her (Dadabaev and Akhmedova, 2021). As mentioned in Chapter IV, in Osiyo's family, boys were prioritized. Osiyo conscious of such treatment also chose to escape from the male-dominated reality to the place where she could have more freedom as a woman.

The respondents have mentioned the expected gender-specific role in the Uzbek society, which affected women's stay in Japan:

I went to Uzbekistan because my parents wanted me to return to Uzbekistan. The marital situation demanded, 'You're a girl, you need to get married' – that I should get married as a girl. The Uzbek mentality still influenced me. Career alone is not enough. As a woman, I have to have both family and career (Nafisa, 2018).

More often than not, Uzbek women are suggested and/or pressured to get married before continuing their migrant or immigrant lives. Marriage is perceived as the peak accomplishment in an individual's life by the Uzbek society, which is voluntary in theory, yet often is a critical checkpoint. As women join in matrimony at an earlier age compared to men, marriage respectively affects single women's sojourn more frequently.

My parents saw the results of my efforts, and they were really supportive. But because I was a woman, who was from the valley, a village, my mother was anxious about me: "Will my daughter remain single?" – we have such a thing among Uzbeks, right? My mother was worried that I'd become a spinster. But after I came back from Japan and got married a year later, my husband and I returned to Japan together (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

Nafisa and Ilmiyaxon talk about how *o'zbekchilik* and its views on women's role affected their mobility decisions after graduating from the Japanese university. While the societal views (mainly and steadily in the capital city) are changing towards women and their role in the family and society, a part of *o'zbekchilik*, questioning 'What would people say?' on uncommon decisions for men and women still remain to a certain extent. Usually, the idea of an obligatory marriage as a mission of a successful woman is advanced by a mother or a woman

in the family, as the cases above also show. While men/fathers do not take part in advancing such ideas directly, it is common for them to share the same idea:

> In our country, a woman cannot go out until she is an adult. For example, she doesn't leave the house she grew up in until she gets married and becomes a part of the husband's house. But I didn't like that here they [Japanese] live separately from parents, even when they are not adults. Honestly, I didn't like that (Bilol, 2018).

Bilol, the *musofir* in the alien land, shares his frustration about a Japanese woman's life cycle compared to the more acceptable cycle of an Uzbek woman. It should be noted that the life Bilol imagines for a woman is more frequently practiced in the smaller towns, villages, and by the traditionalist families in bigger cities. Once a woman is married, one of her two main missions (the second being childbearing) is accomplished; she is free to go her way with her husband, which is the case for women above – they both moved back to Japan soon after marriage. The situation is different for divorced women – a societal perception of a divorced woman may vary from acceptance to shaming based on the location. Tahmina divorced her husband to have freedom of choice and decision, which initially led her to migrate to Japan.

No laws restrict women in Uzbekistan in any sphere. Furthermore, individuals are protected against sex-based discrimination. However, on the societal level, there are restrictions to a certain extent for men and women. Traditional notions of motherhood, children, and family are predominant in Uzbekistan, which in the core are positive practices. However, in excessive attention, they bring in gender stereotypes (how a man/woman should look like; what they should be; how they should behave based on gender) at least, creating a gender-based bias at individual, communal and institutional levels. For instance, (labor) migration has been considered a 'male' work, being a gender bias, and hence, males have dominated in outflows

from Uzbekistan. Therefore, Japan's case has not been an exception with regards to the disproportionate sex distribution of Uzbekistani migrants in the country.

Responses from women have demonstrated the gender bias in the sojourning and settling practices, affecting the course of women's initial plans. Uzbekistan's gender-based practices may serve as motivation for a woman to have a less limited life by escaping to another country. In the period of sojourn, marital plans parents put before them may turn sojourner women into reluctant returnees, and the residence in the host country may be renewed after fulfilling parental expectations with a partner with matching migration-oriented interests.

6.2. Offline and online communities in navigating life in Japan

In this part, we will explore communities Uzbekistani prefer to be involved with analyzing excerpts from interviews and the interview conducted with Uzbekistan Youth Association Japan, which deals with Uzbekistani community matters in Japan.

There is no exact definition of what exactly community is in social sciences. Communities can be characterized as smaller or bigger groups in real life or the virtual realms, members of which engage with each other based on interests, shared values, emotions, everyday experiences. Uzbek society in Uzbekistan can be described as having a feature of s strong sense of community, which has been shaped through Uzbek traditions and culture historically. Uzbek communities heavily rely on neighborhood bonds and communities of place (ties at the workplace, school, etc.) from daily practices to massive life events. This sense of community is one feature Uzbeks bring with themselves to the place of migration as well.

Uzbekistani community in Japan sustains itself offline and online. Offline community is maintained by small gatherings at migrants' homes or restaurants, and more significant events

organized by the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tokyo, by organizations such as Uzbekistan Youth Association in Japan, Friendship Association of Nagoya and Uzbekistan, and others. Physical face-to-face meetings represent the offline community. Uzbekistani's online community is presented in the groups for Uzbekistani in Japan on Facebook and Telegram channels.

Before discussing Uzbekistani communities in Japan, I will tell a bit about communities' backgrounds and how I became acquainted with them. My fieldwork took place in 2018. After I reached out to my acquaintances, I started looking for groups on Facebook, where I could possibly find respondents. I found the group with the largest number of members and the most frequent daily activity – Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati | Uzbek Society in Japan. It is a private group with the largest virtual community of Uzbekistani in Japan established in 2014. Preliminary survey, carried out in this group with 69 participants showed the general sojourning orientation (91 percent) of the group members (Appendix E). Space is used to share information about Uzbekistan-related events; Japan-related news, which can be useful for foreigners; to discuss and asking advice about problems and worries in daily life in Japan; and to make connections with people who are flying to/from Japan from/to Uzbekistan and can take parcels and documents with, especially in 2020 with COVID-19 restrictions.

Since I avoided the snowballing method to maintain the maximum anonymity of respondents, I looked for and approached everyone separately. Through the Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati, which shared an upcoming event, I had a chance to participate at Uzbekistan's Independence Day event for the Uzbek community organized by the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Uzbekistan Youth Association in Japan, where I met the Uzbek community in real life.

The head of another small community reached out to me with help through the virtual community page. I agreed to meet, and I arrived at the apartment house, where the community

144

lived together. It was a community of Japanese vocational school students, looking for networking for better job opportunities immediately and in prospect. The community consisted of 16 men who came to Japan from the same region using the same company's services.

In the following part, I will introduce forms of socialization within Uzbek communities and beyond Uzbek communities.

Members of Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati announce upcoming events linked to Uzbek holidays and causes regularly. It is different in 2020 with the wake of the coronavirus pandemic with the gatherings restricted and the events canceled; other than that, Navro'z, Independence Day, Constitution Day, and New Year are celebrated every year. For example, the Uzbek community in Nagoya organized the New Year events for all the interested at the Uzbek-owned restaurant with the partial organization of transportation for Uzbeks traveling from the Kanto area. With a denser concentration of Uzbekistani in Aichi before the Kanto area took over (see Figure 11) for a relatively long time, Uzbekistani in Aichi were naturally exposed to creating communal gatherings as opposed to dispersed Uzbekistani of the Kanto area. Such events are a partial recreation of the holiday celebrations as they are done in Uzbekistan. Any event is accompanied by Uzbek food such as *osh*, *somsa*; live Uzbek music using traditional instruments such as *dutor*, *childirma,* and dances, which are essential to Uzbek celebrations of any kind, be it New Year's celebrations or Independence Day's.

In contrast to the Uzbek community's events, organized by community members themselves in Kansai, recent events in the Kanto area are organized by the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Uzbekistan Youth Association (UYAJ). I attended one of the

events – the celebration of Independence Day. The information about the event was announced at Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati group. The event took place at the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tokyo. I arrived at the embassy 15 minutes before the start. I entered the embassy yard, where everybody, approximately 40 people, gathered. I immediately realized I was the only woman among all the attendees (see Figure 13). Many participants were members of the Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati group, some of whom brought friends who were not members. I stood in the back of the yard in order to observe the event and interactions. The

Figure 13. Crowd at the Independence Day event at the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Source: Author.

event started with the opening speech by the Council. Once the event started, 4-5 women came out of the Embassy building. Women and men generally kept separate companies throughout the event. Compared to the Nagoya community's events, there is an acute gap in the number of women in Kanto events. This is explained by the familiarity of women with the event organizers in Nagoya.

Ilmiyaxon is one of the event organizers and active members of the Nagoya community. She has gained the experienced and trusted '*opa*'[40] status among the local Uzbeks. Uzbeks arriving in Nagoya are commonly men from the Tashkent State University of Law, which have exchange agreements with the Nagoya University and the Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan. They bring their wives and children as dependents in 5-6 months after arrival. These men, women, and their children are sojourners as men's programs at the Nagoya University require returning to Uzbekistan and their jobs in Uzbekistan by completion. Ilmiyaxon stresses on the interactions with the female members of the Nagoya community:

When women come as someone's wife, they, of course, do not know the [English, Japanese] language. And then in cases where they come with their children, it is often difficult to take them to school, kindergarten, for example, to the hospital for medical examination. Their husbands come here to study in English, so their knowledge of the Japanese language is not very good either. I try to help with things like that. I translate for them; I take them to places they need to go to. For example, there are times when many of those women can't tell certain things to their husbands. Many women come and get pregnant. In such cases, I definitely help. That's how I help women. I don't expect financial incentives for these things. As an Uzbek who has lived here for a long time, I can advise and help. (Ilmiyaxon, 2018).

Ilmiyaxon, a married woman with children herself, gained trust in the community she built around herself throughout the years she has resided in Japan and the newcomer sojourners.

---

[40] In Uzbek language and culture, opa (sister) and aka (brother) used along with the person's name indicate experience of the person and the respect towards the person.

Being older than most Uzbekistani in the twenties arriving in Japan as students and having long experience of residing in Japan enhanced her reputation as the community leader and *opa*.

Apart from locally organized community help and assistance, since 2018, there is the UYAJ – non-governmental non-commercial organization, as stated on the website, established by the presidential decree, working with the Uzbekistani community and individuals in Japan. UYAJ, the working group of which consists of volunteers – Uzbekistani residing in Japan and a Japanese lawyer, is determined to provide Uzbekistani with their rights while in the sojourn. Namely, UYAJ arranges legal and educational advice for Uzbekistani in need. Legal advice is directed at individuals who do not own legal rights and obligations in Japan by inquiries on Facebook or Telegram; or at mediation of the occasional (as such incidents do not take place regularly) cases of imprisonment of the Uzbek nationals in Japan. Educational advice is delivered through the online and offline thematic seminars regarding various spheres of life in Japan by the experienced Uzbekistani residents.

Individual needs and experiences in communities differ. Diyora explains what brought her to live in the Uzbek community in Japan:

> I think my community is the Uzbeks. 100 percent. Because the Japanese… I like Japan, the people are very nice, but I have only a few Japanese friends although I studied for 4 years at the university. I don't know why. Maybe because the Japanese are somehow closed. There are foreigners, acquaintances, of course, I know them from the university. But I studied more with Uzbeks … and then I have many Uzbek neighbors here in Tokyo now. We meet once a week and organize gatherings. I think I live in such a pure Uzbek community (Diyora, 2018).

Diyora, like previous respondents, points out perceiving Japanese as distant. She explains having tighter ties with the Uzbek community. We observe ethnic solidarity or attachment to the ethnic group, which is characteristic of the sojourner mentioned by Siu (1952) and Uriely (1994).

For women, who navigate caretaking, house making, and working, connections outside the household become opportunistic in nature. Nafisa stresses on herself and people around her being busy:

I live in a two-room apartment: I, my spouse, my son. I'm not complaining about my current life – it is okay. There are a lot of Uzbeks in the house where I live. We talk whenever we come across each other. Since I spend most of my time studying, I don't have extra time for Uzbeks. […] I do not live in Uzbek society. My family is more than enough for me. It's hard to find a time that suits everyone. So, I can't say I am involved [with Uzbeks]. But I keep in touch whenever I see meet them (Nafisa, 2018).

She talks about the impossibility to regularly maintain relations with the Uzbek community due to being busy. Community is not prioritized for Nafisa regardless of theme and not tied to her identity due to sufficient communication outside of it. In contrast, Naima, who is a working mother, also does not feel a need in Uzbek or other communities; however, joins community gatherings for her child, who is older than Nafisa's:

For me, I am okay with the language. So, I can communicate with Japanese, Russian or Uzbek people. There are different types of Uzbeks here, you know. I cannot generalize them and call them the Uzbek

community. I am more comfortable communicating with people who are like my status, maybe. The ones who have been educated or who can speak foreign languages. It is challenging to communicate with a person who has totally been educated in Uzbek and doesn't know Russian or English languages, or even Japanese. So, our outlook is kind of different. I do not communicate with these people. I don't even have that kind of friends in my community. There are some people I have to communicate with because of my kids – because my kids should speak Uzbek and Russian. So, I try to get into gatherings of Uzbeks and Russians (Naima, 2018).

Naima, who is neither attached to the Uzbek community and Uzbekness; nor to Japanese communication due to her struggles to adapt to peculiarities of Japanese friendships, strives for a more cosmopolitan identity. Ethnicity does not necessarily matter for her if the companion shares an ordinary intelligence level and knowledge of languages. However, in having her child exposed to the same cosmopolitan view, she takes part in the meetings of Uzbeks and Russians. However, Naima's exposure to social theories makes her very aware of her identity and surroundings. Everyone outside her family is the Other in the ethnic and social identity sense. Although for Nafisa, it is more relevant to having a family as a nucleus to her Self.

Tahmina, the multiple business owner, also mentions being busy regarding her community needs:

In the past, I stopped making friends like at home, even with Japanese and foreigners. I was only hanging out with 2 or 3 people. I mean, no problem at all; everything is convenient, of course, safe (Tahmina, 2018).

Yet as a settler in Tokyo, she talks about seeing many foreigner friends she'd made throughout her stay, whom she saw off to their homes time and time again. Inability to make Japanese friends and the temporality of foreigner friends, who come and go, made her stop considering making friends and belonging to a community. Communities might be necessary for a sojourner instrumentally, as a support system, an information desk, and so on, but for a settler like Tahmina, communities may not last and be sufficient:

> I have friends. We sometimes meet, not that often. I have senpais from Samarkand university that I keep in touch. Yeah, basically, whoever approaches me for the business, I listen to them. I try to help as much as possible. But I don't have much time to join the events I would say (Tahmina, 2018).

Uzbek community for Tahmina, similar to Ilmiyaxon's sentiments from the previous sub-chapter, is an element of giving back by showing the support while in Japan, rather than seeking a company and personal ties.

Remarkable is the fact that from the sample of informants in this research, women, rather than men, showed detachment from the Uzbek community for various reasons. Men, on the other hand, showed a spectrum of attachment to the Uzbek community:

> Maybe in Uzbekistan, we might not have known each other, or we might not have helped each other, but you become like brothers when you come to Japan. Well, I'm from Syrdarya, he is from Karakalpakstan or Khorezm, but you become very close when you come here. You can't stand without each other. That's important. In this way, you will become close like brothers in the future (Oybek, 2018).

As heads of families in Uzbek households, men tend to have more inclination to building network culturally in Uzbekistan, which surpasses country boundaries, and it is observed among men in Japan as well. Unlike Nepalese networks (Kharel, 2016), which are built between Nepalese residing in Japan and Nepalese residing in Nepal, Uzbek networks are created between Uzbeks residing in Japan. Uzbek networks are online – Facebook group Yaponiyadagi O'zbek Jamiyati, Telegram groups, and offline such as *gap*[41] style gatherings, football games, meetings at the masjid others.

Since the significant rise in numbers of the Japanese vocational school students by 2018, who mostly aim to fulfill the scheme of working part-time and remitting the paychecks home and mask under the disguise of students, this has been widely discussed within the Uzbekistani community:

When I came to Tokyo, I arrived in early 2015. Even in 2015, there were very few Uzbeks in Tokyo. We were very close; we met regularly, supported one another. We used to lend money to each other. But in the last 1,5 years, the number of Uzbeks has increased significantly. But now I think there is no courtesy that we had before. Because the more people there are, the fewer people feel for each other. I think the former

---

[41] Informal meetings for socialization, which can also serve as an economic safety net. For men, *gap* gatherings traditionally took place in *choyxona* – Central Asian teahouses visited by men for *gap* and networking. Women's appearance in *choyxona* was not considered as appropriate, so, women, in turn, traditionally gathered at home for *gap*. Recently *choyxona* are not as gender restrictive, yet factually women gather at each other's homes by turn and men meet at *choyxona*. Not always, however, there is a loan system for the participants of *gap*. Certain agreed amount of money is submitted by each participant to the so-called bank of the *gap* every time. As such, some amount of deposit forms depending on the frequency, the number of participants and the amount of money agreed for submissions every time. Gathered amount can be requested by any participant as an emergency fund.

Uzbek community was much better. By now, so many Uzbeks have come here, and they don't know the language – they don't know Japanese, they don't know English. They came only to work, and now more people work without studying. More and more people are working without studying [although they came to study]. They are ruining our image. Such people come, they distort the image of Uzbeks, and they just want to work and make money (Rustam, 2018).

As Uzbekistani migrating to Japan until 2017-2018, have been university students with concrete plans to obtain a degree, individuals on work permits and dependents, the discussion about the community divide did not occur. With a significant rise in the number of lower-skilled migrants, thoughts as above are frequented in virtual communities' discussions. Many respondents shared their concerns over the negative residential performance (exceeding permitted 28 hours for part-time jobs; news appearance linked to theft cases) of Japanese vocational students. Namely, apprehensions over similar judgment towards Uzbekistani with a different residence permit and social standing by the Japanese are expressed.

Uzbekistani virtual and real-life communities, shaped by the sojourners predominantly and settlers as mentors, serve functional and recreational roles. Nagoya, where the Uzbek population was denser, has a more active and systematized physical community for sojourners (by the particularity of newcomers' backgrounds). Even though in recent years, the initially homogenous Uzbekistani community has seen its first divide brought by the different types of residents – the Japanese vocational students, organizations such as UYAJ attempt to mediate the process by providing training and mentoring workshops.

CONCLUSIONS

This research attempted to reveal the meaning Uzbekistani give to their stay and residence in Japan and how they internalize their experiences in Japan. To do that, we took migrants' lives and plans before, during, and after residing in Japan and migrants' reoccurring narratives with regards to their experiences in Japan into consideration. In order to demonstrate that, I divided the analysis section into two parts: the chapter on temporality and fluidity of settlement practices and the chapter on the role of ethnicity, religion, and gender throughout residence of Uzbekistani in Japan.

In the first part of the analysis, I tackled migrants' backgrounds stemming from Uzbekistan – their occupation and skills by arrival; their history of migration and options before arriving in Japan, and how those elements influence their initial expectations, motivations, and plans. Using the data obtained from interviews, I demonstrated the range of expectations and motivations for Uzbekistani coming to Japan, and variations of the reality of residing in Japan – adaptation process and the further plans vis-à-vis residing in Japan.

Most respondents did not have a mobility experience in the third country (apart from tourist trips) while considering migrating to the US as the most popular opposing option to migrating to Japan. The majority of migrants, who arrived as international students in the undergraduate and Japanese language schools, did not have a history of residing abroad. However, a part of the students arrived after the previous experience of the exchange year in Japan. Individuals who initially came to Japan intending to work partly had a sojourning experience in the third country, with no intention to stay permanently. This group of individuals pointed out not having any other country as a choice before coming to Japan. What unites these groups is that majority had a similar image of Japan being very traditionally cultural or technologically and economically advanced. Of course, they had respective expectations based on that image of Japan.

The research found that initial plans and motivations vary depending on the type of residency. Initial sojourner orientation is characteristic to international students due to their plan to obtain a degree and return home. Their orientation changes when they graduate, and they prolong their stay for longer due to intentions to gain working experience in Japan. Nevertheless, the sojourner orientation still remains intending to gain working experience and return to the homeland to apply gained experience to the local context. The situation among international students also depends on the sex of the respondent – the pattern of reluctant returning is characteristic to the female respondents due to gender roles and expectations set for women in Uzbek society. Working individuals held initial sojourning plans, which remained in some respondents, while their length of stay extended. Some respondents moved on to becoming consequent settlers after they have decided to obtain a permanent residence in Japan. Noticeably, the respondents, who decided to settle in Japan gave a reason for enjoying their own business in Japan or having family and children, for whom Japan is the first country of residency.

It is also observed that the majority of Uzbekistani in Japan rely on their network in Uzbekistan – namely, relatives, friends, colleagues, who experienced sojourning in Japan, and relatives, friends, colleagues, who resided in Japan, in their decision to go to Japan.

Intentions to settle in Japan are reported by the holders of permanent residence in Japan or persons married to Japanese nationals who had an initial intention to leave Japan. At the time of the interview, they were categorized as consequent setters.

The vast majority of Uzbekistani interviewed for this research reported their general sojourner orientation towards Japan. Japanese language school students pointed out their desire to return to Uzbekistan based on their expectations and non-corresponding reality. The process and conditions upon which this category arrived in Japan play a significant role regarding this

specific group. A strong desire to return to the homeland but personal obligations to remain in the host country categorize this group of respondents as reluctant sojourners.

Remarkably, what unites all categories of visa-holders is that many respondents experience residing in Japan, followed by returning to Uzbekistan, followed by coming to Japan again. Respondents mentioned the inability to adapt to the Uzbek environment upon return, which therefore ends up being another place for sojourning for Uzbekistani residents in Japan. With the intentions of returning to Uzbekistan, which all categories of settlers and sojourners mentioned, the notion of sojourning and settling becomes ever temporary and fluid. However, Uzbekistani specifically in the case of Japan, are not the matter of transnational or transitional (Mizukami, 2007) migrants as suggested by previous scholarship on Uzbek migrants in Russia (while it is relevant to migrants in Russia) (Urinboyev, 2018; Abashin, 2015; Ruget and Usmanalieva, 2008). Uzbekistani in Japan nor live in diasporic groups, nor are they displaced or exiled. While Uzbekistani (not all respondents) maintain their ties to their motherland through the practices of *o'zbekchilik*, settling in Japan involves little to no Japanese cultural practices on a daily basis.

In the second part, I attempted to tackle the reoccurring narratives from the interviews with Uzbekistani migrants. Those include mobility practices primed with ethnic background – *o'zbekchilik* and *Ona Vatan*, and religious background – *musofirchilik*.

Uzbek respondents of the research self-identity of Uzbek being a part of their mobility experience in Japan. Compared to other foreigners, most Uzbekistani migrants do not find the Japanese environment to be disregarding towards themselves. This is explained by *o'zbekchilik,* similar to Japanese *nihonjinron*, being a part of daily life in Uzbekistan. Multi-ethnic dynamics and treatment of foreigners in Japan is not a new environment for an Uzbekistani, brought up in a similar multi-ethnic environment with striking differentiation between various groups. Japanese treatment might be viewed as a perpetuated Uzbek multi-ethnic environment, or

156

Japanese might also be perceived as another Russian/Tajik/Jewish/Korean/etc., neighbor, who is acknowledged, but not let in mixing cultural and identity practices.

Through the interviews with, particularly Japanese language school students, who were brought up in stricter Islamic traditions compared to other groups in this research, sojourning emerged as a culturally sensitive category. This group members described themselves as 'musofirs', wanderers searching for wisdom through hardships and experience abroad, which provide them a better social status and professional potential upon returning to Uzbekistan. Sojourning is defined as a religious category and justification by their family circles.

In the last part, I analyzed the role of gender and offline and online communities in Uzbekistani experience in Japan. Women often than not used their chance to sojourn as an escape from inflicted gender roles and societal expectations laid on them back home. Gendered mobility is also seen in the backward movement from Japan to Uzbekistan among women. I have presented examples of escaping the social status after divorce, returning to Uzbekistan to get married (societal expectations), which affect their settlement practices significantly.

Uzbekistani's presence in Japan is represented by online and offline communities, which Uzbekistani use to connect, seek help and provide assistance, celebrate, maintain and teach Uzbek culture to younger Japan-born Uzbekistani children and others. While the state of connectivity differs, the community's function remains consistent at the core, both online and offline. It is observed that Japanese language students, the majority of whom sojourn in Japan as labor migrants in the student disguise, utilize Telegram channels for the instant messaging purposes information distribution and in the moments of need. Highly skilled Uzbekistani migrants in Japan communicate online using less immediate platforms such as Facebook groups. Women form women-only self-help communities. Remarkable is the fact that in the physical gatherings, the Uzbekistani community reproduces separate sex gatherings.

Further inquiry into the fluidity of migrant settlement and sojourning practices going beyond the binary, not limited by the type of forms of residency, yet informed by contextual (cultural, religious, ethnic and others) background of a migrant and migrant's home country is suggested. Each person's individual residency outcome takes an entire lifetime – we can never know whether the present state of residency is a final stop or a temporary condition for any individual. As the outcome of residency cannot be tracked and traced, one may seem limited to tracing the outcome of residence only regarding migrants' current plans and relations towards the host country. However, these limitations open multiple possibilities to the research of temporality and fluidity settlement journey.

Bibliography

Abashin, S. (2015). Возвращение домой: Семейные и миграционные сценарии в Узбекистане [Returning home: Family and migration scenarios in Uzbekistan]. *Ab Imperio*, 3, 125-165. doi: 10.1353/imp.2015.0064

Al Ariss, A., & Özbilgin, M. (2010). Understanding self-initiated expatriates: Career experiences of Lebanese self-initiated expatriates in France. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 52(4), 275-285. doi: 10.1002/tie.20355

Arudou, D. (2015). *Embedded racism: Japan's visible minorities and racial discrimination.* London: Lexington Books.

Baker, S., & Edwards, R. (2018). *How many qualitative interviews is enough?* [Ebook] (p. 5). National Centre for Research Methods. Retrieved from http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf

Bartolomeo, A. D., Makaryan, S., & Weinar, A. (2014). Regional migration report: Russia and Central Asia. *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies*. Florence: European University Institute. Retrieved from https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/31245/RussiaAndCentralAsia_MPC_CarimEastReport.pdf?sequence=1

Bartram, D. (2000). Japan and labor migration: Theoretical and methodological implications of negative cases. *The International Migration Review*, 34(1), 5-32. doi: 10.2307/2676010

Bedrina, E. B., & Tukhtarova, E. H. (2016). Мониторинг факторов формирования миграционных потоков из Узбекистана в Россию [Monitoring of migration formation factors flows from Uzbekistan to Russia]. *Labour Economics*, 15(4), 589-611. doi: 10.15826/vestnik.2016.15.4.030

Belanger, D., Ueno, K., Hong, K. T., & Ochiai, E. (2011). From foreign trainees to unauthorized workers: Vietnamese migrant workers in Japan. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal,* 20(1), 31-53. doi: 10.1177/011719681102000102

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review,* 46(1), 5-34. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/026999497378467

Berry, J. W. (2006). Acculturative stress. In P. T. Wong, & L. C. Wong, *Handbook of Multicultural Perspectives on Stress and Coping.* Boston, Massachusetts, USA: Springer. doi: 10.1007/0-387-26238-5_12

Bonacich, E. (1973). A Theory of Middleman Minorities. *American Sociological Review*, 38(5), 583. doi: 10.2307/2094409

Bornstein, M. (2013). Psychological acculturation: Perspectives, principles, processes, and prospects. In S. J. Gold, & S. J. Nawyn, *The Routledge International Handbook of Migration* (pp. 38-51). Oxford: Routledge.

Breaden, J. (2014). Global attributes or local literacy? International students in Japan's graduate employment system. *In Japan Forum*. Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 417-440). Routledge. doi: 10.1080/09555803.2013.865661

Brettell, C. B. (2008). Theorizing migration in anthropology: The social construction of networks, identities, communities, and globalscapes. In C. B. Brettell, & J. F. Hollifeld, *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines.* New York, New York, USA: Routledge.

Brown, J., & Brown, L. (2013). The international student sojourn, identity conflict and threats to well-being. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 41(4), 395-413. doi: 10.1080/03069885.2012.729026

Brown, L., & Holloway, I. (2008). The initial stage of the international sojourn: Excitement or culture shock? *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 36(1), 33-49. doi: 10.1080/03069880701715689

Burgess, C. (2004). Maintaining Identities: Discourses of Homogeneity in a Rapidly Globalizing Japan. *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*, 4(1). http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/Burgess.html?pagewanted=all

Burghart, D., & Sabonis-Helf, T. (2005). *In the tracks of Tamerlane* (1st ed., pp. 377-400). Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific.

Cabinet Office. (2018). *Basic policy on economic and fiscal management and reform*. Cabinet Office. http://www.cao.go.jp/keizai-shimon/kaigi/cabinet/2018/point_en.pdf

Castles, S., Haas, H., & Miller, M. (2014). *The Age of Migration* (5th ed., pp. 16-17). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chiavacci, D. (2016). Migration and integration patterns of new immigrants in Japan. In D. Chiavacci & C. Hommerich (Eds.), *Social inequality in post-growth Japan: transformation during economic and demographic stagnation* (pp. 233-249). Routledge.

Christofi, V., & Thompson, C. (2007). You cannot go home again: Phenomenological investigation of returning to the sojourn country after studying abroad. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 85(1), 53-63. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6678.2007.tb00444.x

Church, A. (1982). Sojourner adjustment. *Psychological Bulletin*, 91(3), 540-572. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.91.3.540

Cox, J. L. (1988). The overseas student: Expatriate, sojourner or settler? *Acta Psychiartica Scandinavica*, 78(344), 179-184. doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0447.1988.tb09019.x

Dadabaev, T. & Akhmedova, M. (2021). A Home Away from Home: Migration, Identity and "Sojourning" in the life of Uzbeks in Japan. *Europe-Asia Studies*. Accepted, forthcoming.

Dadabaev, T., Ismailov, M., & Tsujinaka, Y. (2017). *Social capital construction and governance in Central Asia: Communities and NGOs in post-Soviet Uzbekistan*. Tsukuba, Japan: Palgrave Macmillan.

Daly, A. (2007). Outbound student exchange at Australian and New Zealand universities: the effects of pre-departure decision-making, in-country experiences and post-sojourn outcomes (Doctoral dissertation, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia). Retrieved from https://eprints.utas.edu.au/6736/

D'Costa, A. P. (2013). Positioning Indian emigration to Japan: the case of the IT industry. *Migration and Development*, 2(1), 16-36. doi: 10.1080/21632324.2013.773153

Denscombe, M. (2014). *The Good Research Guide* (5th ed.). Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Education.

Diner, H. R. (2008). History and the Study of Immigration. In C. B. Brettell, & J. F. Hollifield, *History and the study of immigration*. New York, New York, USA: Routledge.

Dorigo, G., & Tobler, W. (1983). Push-pull migration laws. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73(1), 1-17. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8306.1983.tb01392.x

Firdaus, A. (2013). Comparing the intercultural adaptation experiences of four Western expatriates in Malaysia. *Malaysian Journal of Media Studies*, 15(2), 1-16. Retrieved from https://jice.um.edu.my/index.php/JPMM/article/view/9013/6362

Gazeta.uz. (2020, August 27). На ТВ раскритиковали молодежь за «подражание Западу» [Young people were criticized on TV for "imitating the West"]. *Gazeta.uz* https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2020/08/27/munosabat/

Gillespie, J. (2001). *Japan: A short history*. (J. Gillespie, Ed.) New York: ICG Muse.

Glick, C. E. (1980). *Sojourners and settlers: Chinese migrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu, Hawaii, USA: University Press of Hawaii.

Gray, P. S., Williamson, J. B., Karp, D. A., & Dalphin, J. A. (2007). *The research imagination: An introduction to qualitative and quantitative Methods*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Hamann, E. T. (2001, February). Theorizing the sojourner student (with a sketch of appropriate school responsiveness). *Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education,* 32-72. doi: 10.1037/e596702011-005

Hardwick, S. W. (2008). Place, space, and pattern: Geographical theories in international migration. In C. B. Brettell, & J. F. Hollifield, *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*. New York, New York, USA: Routledge.

Heath, D. (2017). *Long-Term Western Residents in Japan: Hidden Barriers to Acculturation* (Master's Thesis, University of the Pacific Stockton).

Henn, M., Weinstein, M., & Foard, N. (2006). *A short introduction to social research.* London, UK: SAGE.

Henshall, K. (2012). *History of Japan: From Stone Age to superpower*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hiwatari, M. (2016). Social networks and migration decisions: The influence of peer effects in rural households in Central Asia. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 44(4), 1115-1131. doi: 10.1016/j.jce.2016.10.004

Hojaqizi, G. (2008). Citizenship and ethnicity: Old propiska and new citizenship in post-Soviet Uzbekistan. *Inner Asia,* 10(2), 305-322. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/23615099

Holbrow, H. J., & Nagayoshi, K. (2018). Economic integration of skilled migrants in Japan: The role of employment practices. *International Migration Review*, 1-29. doi: 10.1111/imre.12295

Hollifield, J. F., & Orlando Sharpe, M. (2017). Japan as an 'Emerging Migration State'. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 17(3), 371-400.

HRW. (2018). "You Can't See Them, but They're Always There": Censorship and Freedom of the Media in Uzbekistan. *Human Rights Watch*. https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/03/29/you-cant-see-them-theyre-always-there/censorship-and-freedom-media-uzbekistan

ILO (International Labour Office). (2012). International Standard Classification of Occupations: Structure, Group Definitions and Correspondence Tables. Geneva: *International Labour Office*. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_172572.pdf

IOM (International Organization for Migration). (2018). Key Migration Data. Vienna: *IOM Regional Office for South-Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe and Central Asia.* https://rovienna.iom.int/sites/default/files/field/EN%20SEEECA%20Factsheet%20%282018%29.pdf

ISAJ. (2016). *Immigration control report. Immigration Services Agency of Japan.* http://www.moj.go.jp/content/001211228.pdf

Isakulov, S. (2010). The state control of migration in Uzbekistan and the some aspects of its further improvement. *International Cross-Industry Journal,* 6(3), 112-115. doi: 10.22004/ag.econ.125827

Islamov, B. (1998). Социально-экономические аспекты миграционных процессов в независимых государствах Центральной Азии [Socio-economic Aspects of Migration Processes in Independent States of Central Asia]. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, 16. http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/publictn/acta/16/islamov/islamov.html

Ismayilova, L., Lee, N. N., Shaw, S., El-Bassel, N., Gilbert, L., Terlikbayeva, A., & Rozental, Y. (2014). Mental health and migration: depression, alcohol abuse, and access to health care among migrants in Central Asia. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health,* 16(6), 1138-1148. doi: 10.1007/s10903-013-9942-1

Iwata, M. & Nemoto, K. Co-constituting migrant strangers and foreigners: The case of Japan. *Current Sociology Monograph,* 00(0), 1-17. doi: 10.1177/0011392117736306

Jackson, J. (2018). *Interculturality in International Education* (1st ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Juraev, A. (2012). *Labor migration from Uzbekistan: Social and economic impacts on local development.* Retrieved from Unitn-eprints PhD.

Kadirova, Z. (2015). Integration of Uzbekistan into international labor market. 19(3), 205-222. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/35921390/INTEGRATION_OF_UZBEKISTAN_INTO_INTERNATIONAL_LABOR_MARKET_ZULAYKHO_KADIROVA

Kakharov, J. (2012). Labor migration from Uzbekistan. *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies,* 16(3-4), 104-117. Retrieved from http://www.himalayanresearch.org/journal-2012.html

Karpestam, P., & Andersson, F. N. (2013). Economic perspectives on migration. In S. J. Gold, & S. J. Nawyn, *The Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies.* Oxford: Routledge.

Kashiwazaki, C. (2016). Multicultural discourse and policies in Japan: An assessment of tabunka kyōsei. *The Gakushuin Journal of International Studies*, 1-15. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10959/3868

Kharel, D. (2016). From Lahures to global cooks: Network migration from the Western Hills of Nepal to Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 19(2), 173–192. doi: 10.1093/ssjj/jyw033

Kibe, T. (2014). Can tabunkakyōsei be a public philosophy of integration? In W. Vosse, R. Drifte, & V. Blechinger-Talcott*, Governing insecurity in Japan: The domestic discourse and policy response* (pp. 71-91). London: Routledge.

Kim, E. (2017). Особенности процессов трудовой миграции в Центральной Азии (на примере республик Узбекистан и Казахстан) [Features of labor migration in Central Asia (on the example of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Kazakhstan)]. *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta – Tomsk State University Journal*, 419, 133–137. doi: 10.17223/15617793/419/17

Kim, H. (2014). Immigrant network structure and perceived social capital: A study of the Korean ethnic enclave in Uzbekistan. *Development and Society,* 43(2), 351-379. doi: deveandsoci.43.2.351

Knight, A. W. (2002). Conceptualizing Transnational Community Formation: Migrants, Sojourners and Diasporas in a Globalized Era. Special Issue on Migration and Globalization*, Canadian Studies in Population*, 29(1), 1-30. doi: 10.25336/P6PK6B

Kondo, A. (2002). The Development of immigration policy in Japan. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal,* 11(4), 415-436. doi: 10.1177/011719680201100404

Korobkov, A. V. (2007, June). Migration trends in Central Eurasia: Politics versus economics. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 40(2), 169-189. doi: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2007.04.001

Kuwahara, Y. (2005). Migrant workers in the post-war history of Japan. *Japan Labor Review,* 2(4), 25-47.

Ladegaard, H. J. (2016). The disquieting tension of 'the other': international students' experience of sojourn in Hong Kong. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 1-15. doi: 10.1080/01434632.2015.1134552

Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography,* 3(1), 47-57. doi: 10.2307/2060063

Lin, G., & Tse, P. (2005). Flexible sojourning in the era of globalization: Cross-border population mobility in the Hong Kong–Guangdong border region. *International*

Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 29(4), 867–894. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2005.00626.x

Liu-Farrer, G. (2009). Educationally Channeled International Labor Mobility: Contemporary Student Migration from China to Japan. *International Migration Review,* 43(1), 178-204. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2008.01152.x

Liu-Farrer, G. (2011). *Labor migration from China to Japan: International students, transnational migrants.* New York: Routledge.

Liu-Farrer, G. (2017). Immigrants in a Non-Immigrant Society: Recent PhD Dissertations on Migration in Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 21(1), 117-127. doi: 10.1093/ssjj/jyx034

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., McQueen, K. M., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide.* Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, USA: Family Health International.

Mahmud, H. (2013). Enemy or ally: migrants, intermediaries and the state in Bangladeshi migration to Japan and the United States. *Migration and Development,* 2(1), 1-15. doi: 10.1080/21632324.2012.759438

Marat, E. (2009). *Labor Migration in Central Asia: Implications of the Global Economic Crisis* (1st ed.). Washington: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program.

Marszewski, M. (2018). Thaw in Uzbekistan. Reforms by President Mirziyoyev. OSW *Centre for Eastern Studies,* (278), 1-6. Retrieved from http://aei.pitt.edu/94362/1/commentary_278.pdf

Maruyama, M. (1998). *Cross-cultural adaptation and host environment: A study of international students in Japan* (Publication No. 9914410) [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Oklahoma]. UMI Microform.

Massot, S. (2013). Economic migrations from Uzbekistan to Moscow, Seoul, and New York: Sacrifice or rite of passage? In M. Laruelle, *Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia* (pp. 283-299). Brill. doi: 10.1163/9789004249509

Matthews, B., & Ross, L. (2010). *Research methods.* Harlow: Pearson Education.

McNulty, Y., & Brewster, C. (2017). Theorizing the meaning(s) of 'expatriate': establishing boundary conditions for business expatriates. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 28(1), 27-61. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2016.1243567

Merz-Benz, P. (2010). The Chinese Laundryman: A Model for the Social Type of the Sojourner – and a Living Transcultural Phenomenon. *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques,* 64(1), 89-100. doi: 10.5169/seals-147844

Milstein, T. (2005). Transformation abroad: Sojourning and the perceived enhancement of self-efficacy. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 29, 217-238. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.05.005

Mizukami, T. (2007). *The sojourner community*. Leiden: Brill.

MOJ. (2019, July 11). 在留外国人統計（旧登録外国人統計）統計表 *[Statistics of Foreign Residents (Formerly Registered Foreigners)]*. Retrieved 11 2019, from Ministry of Justice: http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html

MOJ. (2015). *Basic plan for immigration control. (5th edition*). Immigration Services Agency of Japan. http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/seisaku/2015_kihonkeikaku_honbun_pamphlet_english.pdf

MOJ. (2009). 留学生及び就学生の受入れに関する提言 *[Recommendations for accepting international students and enrollment students]*. Retrieved from Ministry of Justice: http://www.moj.go.jp/content/000007320.pdf

Morita, L. (2016). Language Difficulties in kyosei ('living together') of Japanese and
    Foreigners. *Studies in Asian Social Science,* 3(1), 1-9. doi: 10.5430/sass.v3n1p1

Morita, L. (2017a). The Potential of Bicultural Nikkeijin. *Studies in Asian Social Science*,
    4(1), 21-31. doi: 10.5430/sass.v4n1p21

Morita, L. (2017b). Why Japan isn't more attractive to highly-skilled migrants. *Cogent Social*
    Sciences, 3, 1-12. doi: 10.1080/23311886.2017.1306952

Murphy-Shigematsu, S. (2002). Psychological barriers for international students in Japan.
    International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling. 24, 19-30.

Nash, D. (1991). The course of sojourner adaptation: A new test of the U-curve hypothesis.
    Human Organization, 50(3), 282-286. doi: 10.17730/humo.50.3.h33m187228041203

Asian Women's Fund. (n.d.) *Number of comfort stations and comfort women*. The Comfort
    Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund. https://www.awf.or.jp/e1/facts-07.html

Oishi, N. (2012). The limits of immigration policies: The challenges of highly skilled
    migration in Japan. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 56(8), 1080-1100. doi:
    10.1177/0002764212441787

Oishi, N. (2020). Skilled or unskilled?: The reconfiguration of migration policies in Japan.
    Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 1-18. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1731984

O'Neill, M. (2010). *Asylum, migration and community*. Bristol: Policy Press.

O'Reilly, K. (2012). *International migration and social theory*. Houndmills: Red Globe Press.

Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *The American Journal of*
    Sociology, 33(6), 881-893. Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2765982

Park, S. (2017). Inventing aliens: immigration control, 'xenophobia' and racism in Japan.
    Race & Class, 58(3), 64-80. doi: 10.1177/0306396816657719

Pedersen, E., Neighbors, C., Larimer, M., & Lee, C. (2011). Measuring sojourner adjustment among American students studying abroad. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 35(6), 881-889. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.06.003

Petesch, P. L., & Demarchi, G. (2015). *Gender, mobility and middle class in Europe and Central Asia: insights from qualitative research.* World Bank Group, Washington, D.C. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/474281467999076389/Gender-mobility-and-middle-class-in-Europe-and-Central-Asia-insights-from-qualitative-research

Petty, A. (2009). *Deconstructing the Chinese sojourner: Case studies of early Chinese migrants to Tasmania.* Retrieved from University of Tasmania Open Access Repository.

Radnitz, S. (2006). Weighing the political and economic motivations for migration in post-Soviet space: The case of Uzbekistan. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58(5), 653-677. doi: 10.1080/09668130600731003

Rahman, M. M., & Fee, L. K. (2011). The development of migrant entrepreneurship in Japan: Case of Bangladeshis. *International Migration and Integration*, 12, 253-274. doi: 10.1007/s12134-010-0158-0

Rahmonova-Schwarz, D. (2010). Migrations during the Soviet Period and in the Early Years of USSR's Dissolution: A Focus on Central Asia. *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales,* 26(3), 9-30. doi: 10.4000/remi.5196

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885, June). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London,* 48(2), 167-235. doi: 10.2307/2979181

Rear, D. (2017). A Critical Analysis of Japanese Identity Discourse: Alternatives to the Hegemony of Nihonjinron. *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia*, 53(2).

https://asj.upd.edu.ph/mediabox/archive/ASJ_53_2_2017/Critical_Analysis_Japanese
_Identity_Discourse_Alternatives_Nihonjinron_Rear.pdf

Roberts, G. (2017). An Immigration Policy by Any Other Name: Semantics of Immigration
to Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal,* 21(1), 89-102. doi: 10.1093/ssjj/jyx033

Rohrlich, B., & Martin, J. (1991). Host country and reentry adjustment of student sojourners.
International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 15(2), 163-182. doi: 10.1016/0147-
1767(91)90027-e

Ruget, V., & Usmanalieva, B. (2008). Citizenship, migration and loyalty towards the state: A
case study of the Kyrgyzstani migrants working in Russia and Kazakhstan. *Central
Asian Survey*, 27(2), 129-141.

Ruget, V., & Usmanalieva, B. (2011). Social and Political Transnationalism Among Central
Asian Migrants and Return Migrants: A Case Study of Kyrgyzstan. *Problems of Post-
Communism*, 58(6), 48-60.

Sami A. (1996). The Islamic Conception of Migration. *The International Migration Review,*
30(1), 37-57. doi:10.2307/2547457

Sarroub, L. (2001). The sojourner experience of Yemeni American high school students: An
ethnographic portrait. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(3), 390-416. doi:
10.17763/haer.71.3.m8190855254316p1

Saunders, B., Kitzinger, J., & Kitzinger, C. (2014). Anonymising interview data: challenges
and compromise in practice. *Qualititative Research*, 15(4), 616-632. doi:
10.1177/1468794114550439

Sayidov, A., & Umansky, Y. (1998). The factor of polyethnicity in Uzbekistan, security
challenges, human rights and development potential. *Medzinárodné Otázky*, 7(3), 50-
71. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/44961046

Schartner, A., & Young, T. (2015). Culture shock or love at first sight? Exploring the 'honeymoon' stage of the international student sojourn. In A. H. Fabricius, & B. Preisler, *Transcultural interaction and linguistic diversity in higher education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9781137397478_2

Schmidt, B. (2000). *The Service Sojourn: Conceptualizing the College Student Volunteer Experience* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, US). Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/slcedt/18/

Schmitter Heisler, B. (2008). The sociology of immigration: From assimilation to segmented assimilation, from the American experience to the global arena. In C. B. Brettell, & J. F. Hollifield, *Migration theory: Talking across discipline*. New York, New York, USA: Routledge.

Schröder, P., & Stephan-Emmrich, M. (2014). The institutionalization of mobility: Well-being and social hierarchies in Central Asian translocal livelihoods. *Mobillities,* 11(3), 420-443. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2014.984939

Seitz, W. (2019). International migration and household well-being: Evidence from Uzbekistan. *Poverty and Equity Global Practice*. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/615721561125387061/International-Migration-and-Household-Well-Being-Evidence-from-Uzbekistan

Shintani, R. (2007). The Nikkei community of Peru: Settlement and development. *Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture*, 18(3), 79-94. Retrieved from http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/lcs/kiyou/18-3/RitsIILCS_18.3pp.79-94shintani.pdf

Siu, P. (1952). The Sojourner. *American Journal of Sociology*, 58(1), 34-44. doi: 10.1086/221070

Sodatsayrova, N. (2018). Expanding Education through Local and International Borders: Tajikistani Students in Japan. *Journal of International And Advanced Japanese*

Studies, 10, 1-22. Retrieved from
http://japan.tsukuba.ac.jp/research/JIAJS10_PRINT01_Sodatsayrova.pdf

Stephan-Emmrich, M., & Schröder, P. (2018). *Mobilities, Boundaries, and Traveling Ideas: Rethinking Translocality Beyond Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Open Book Publishers.

Sugimoto, Y. (1999). Making Sense of Nihonjinron. *Thesis Eleven*, 57(1), 81–96. doi: 10.1177/0725513699057000007

Sulaimanova, S. (2004). Migration trends in Central Asia and the case of trafficking of women. In D. Burghart, & T. Sabonis-Helf*, In the tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia's path the 21st century.* Washington, D.C.: National Defense University.

Sussman, N. (2002). Sojourners to Another Country: The Psychological Roller-Coaster of Cultural Transitions. *Online Readings in Psychology And Culture*, 8(1). doi: 10.9707/2307-0919.1067

Syed Zwick, H. (2019). Motivation - Opportunity - Ability nexus: application to regional Central Asian student mobility. *Munich Personal RePEc Archive*, 1-23. Retrieved from https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/93051/

Tajima, J. (2000). A study of Asian immigrants in global city Tokyo. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 9(3), 349-364. doi: 10.1177/011719680000900308

Tajima, J. (2003). Chinese newcomers in the global city Tokyo: Social networks and settlement tendencies. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 12, 68-78. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6781.2003.00043.x

Tan, E. (2001). From sojourners to citizens: managing the ethnic Chinese minority in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(6), 949–978. doi: 10.1080/01419870120077922

Tanaka, T., Takai, J., Kohyama, T., & Fujihara, T. (1994). Adjustment patterns of
international students in Japan. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18(1),
55-75. doi: 10.1016/0147-1767(94)90004-3

Taniguchi, H. (2014). Interpersonal Mattering in Friendship as a Predictor of Happiness in
Japan: The Case of Tokyoites. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 16(6), 1475–1491.
doi:10.1007/s10902-014-9570-z

Tolich, M. (2004). Internal confidentiality: When confidentiality assurances fail relational
informants. *Qualitative Sociology*, 27(1), 101-106. doi:
10.1023/b:quas.0000015546.20441.4a

Toyoizumi, N. (2018). *Subsidizing Japanese National Identity through Immigration Policy:
Nikkeijin and Applications of Teiju-sha Status* (Doctoral dissertation, Seoul National
University).

Tsuchida, M. (1998). A history of Japanese emigration from the 1860s to the 1990s. In M.
Weiner, & T. Hanami, *Temporary workers or future citizens: Japanese and US
migration policies* (pp. 77-199). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tsuda, T. (1999a). The permanence of "temporary" migration: The "structural
embeddedness" of Japanese-Brazilian immigrant workers in Japan. *The Journal of
Asian Studies*, 58(3), 687-722. doi: 10.2307/2659116

Tsuda, T. (1999b). The motivation to migrate: The ethnic and sociocultural constitution of the
Japanese-Brazilian return-migration system. *Economic Development and Cultural
Change,* 48(1), 1-31. doi: 10.1086/452444

Turaeva, R. (2013). Post-Soviet uncertainties: micro-orders of Central Asian migrants in
Russia. *Inner Asia*, 15(2), 273-292. Retrieved from
https://www.jstor.org/stable/23614925

Turaeva, R. (2014). Mobile entrepreneurs in post-Soviet Central Asia. *Communist and Post-
Communist Studies*, 47(1), 105–114. doi: 10.1016

Turaeva, R. (2018). *Migration and identity in Central Asia: The Uzbek experience.* Routledge. Retrieved from https://www.crcpress.com/Migration-and-Identity-in-Central-Asia-The-Uzbek-Experience/Turaeva/p/book/9781138592940

Umino, T., & Benson, P. (2017). Communities of practice in Study abroad: A four-year study of an Indonesian student's experience in Japan. *The Modern Language Journal*, 100(4), 757-774. doi: 10.1111/modl.12351

Uosaki, N., Ogata, H., Mouri, K., & Lkhagvasuren, E. (2015, July). Career support for international students in Japan using ubiquitous learning log system. In *2015 IEEE 15th International Conference on Advanced Learning Technologies* (pp. 78-82). IEEE. doi: 10.1109/ICALT.2015.19

Uriely, N. (1994). Rhetorical Ethnicity of Permanent Sojourners: The Case of Israeli Immigrants in the Chicago Area. *International Sociology,* 9(4), 431-445. doi: 10.1177/026858094009004003

Urinboyev, R. (2018). Migration, Transnationalism, and Social Change in Central Asia: Everyday Transnational Lives of Uzbek Migrants in Russia. In *Eurasia on the Move. Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Dynamic Migration Region* (pp. 27-41). The George Washington University, Central Asia Program.

Urinboyev, R. (2017). Establishing an "Uzbek Mahalla" via smartphones and social media: Everyday transnational lives of Uzbek labor migrants in Russia. In Laruelle, M. *Constructing the Uzbek state: Narratives of post-Soviet years* (pp. 119-151). Lexington Books.

UzNews (2020, August 27). Эксперты на узбекском ТВ назвали ношение коротких носков признаком гомосексуализма - видео [Experts on Uzbek TV call wearing short socks a sign of homosexuality]. *UzNews.* https://uznews.uz/ru/article/23956

Virkkunen, J. (2017). Economic Aspects of Migration from Central Asia in Russia. *RUDN Journal of Economics,* 25(1), 102-111. doi: 10.22363/2313-2329-2017-25-1-102-111

Vogt, G. (2006). Doors wide shut? The current discourse on labor migration to Japan. *German Institute for Japanese Studies*, 6(3), 1-27. Retrieved from https://perspectivia.net/receive/pnet_mods_00001218

Vogt, G. (2015). Foreign workers in Japan. In *The sage handbook of modern Japanese studies* (pp. 567-582). London: Sage. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/download/37760060/Modern_Japanese_Studies_-_Foreign_Workers_in_Japan.pdf

Ward, C. (2008). Thinking outside the Berry boxes: New perspectives on identity, acculturation and intercultural relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32(2), 105-114. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.11.002

Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1993). Where's the "Culture" in Cross-Cultural Transition?. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 24(2), 221-249. doi: 10.1177/0022022193242006

Wen, L. (2017). From International Students to "permanent sojourner" - Japanese Institute of Technology Chinese Students' Awareness of Staying in Japan. *International Information Institute (Tokyo)*. Information, 20(7(A), 4949-4970. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/openview/7fa7118477be3dc3d6cbf7137d282db8/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=936334

Wilson, J., Ward, C., Fetvadjiev, V., & Bethel, A. (2017). Measuring Cultural Competencies: The Development and Validation of a Revised Measure of Sociocultural Adaptation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 48(10), 1475-1506. doi: 10.1177/0022022117732721

Wolff, K. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel.* New York: Free Press. Retrieved from: https://www.infoamerica.org/documentos_pdf/simmel01.pdf

Woon, Y. (1983). The voluntary sojourner among the overseas Chinese: Myth or reality? *Pacific Affairs*, 56(4), 673-690. doi: 10.2307/2758597

Yamanaka, K. (1996). Return migration of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan: The Nikkeijin as ethnic minority and political construct. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 5(1), 65-97. doi: 10.1353/dsp.1996.0002

Yamanaka, K. (1997). Return migration of Japanese Brazilian women: Household strategies and search for the homeland. *Beyond Boundaries: Selected Papers on Refugees and Immigrants,* 5, 11-33. Retrieved from http://www.keikoyamanaka.info/assets/1_Yamanaka_Beyond_Boundaries.pdf

Yamanaka, K. (2000). "I will go home, but when?" Labor migration and circular diaspora formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan. In M. Douglass, & G. Roberts, *Japan and global migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society* (pp. 120-149). London and New York: Routledge.

Yamanaka, K. (2008). Japan as a country of immigration: Two decades after an influx of migrant workers. *Transnational Migration in East Asia*, (77), 187-196. Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.623.970&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Yang, P. (2000). The "Sojourner Hypothesis" Revisited. Diaspora: *A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 9(2), 235-258. doi: 10.1353/dsp.2000.0003

Yoon, I., Kim, J., & Jung-Mee, H. (2013). Brain circulation of South Korean students in Japan and China. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 22(4), 501-525. doi: 10.1177/011719681302200403

Yoon, S. (2016). Colorless Racialization: Analyzing the Discrimination of 'Oldcomer' Koreans in Japan and Chinese in Korea from an American Sociological Perspective. *Korean Journal of Sociology,* 50(6), 73-99.

APPENDICES
Appendix A: Interview consent forms
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERVIEW

Central Asia in Japan: Patterns of Uzbek Sojourner Orientation
Mukaddam Akhmedova
Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, International and Advanced Japanese Studies
University of Tsukuba

You have been asked to participate in a research study conducted by Mukaddam Akhmedova, Ph.D. candidate, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba. The results will be included in her Ph.D. dissertation.

The overall goal of the study is to understand the orientations and motivations of Uzbek citizens regarding their stay in Japan. You are being asked to take part because you have Japanese visa for 6 months or more and are planning to reside in Japan at least for 6 months or you have lived in Japan for more than 6 months.

Please read this form carefully before agreeing to take part in the study, and please don't hesitate to ask any questions.

Key points:
• This interview is voluntary. You have the right not to answer any question and to stop the interview at any time for any reason. The interview will take about an hour to complete.
• For the purposes of the Ph.D. dissertation and any resulting publications, all information that you provide will be anonymized and kept confidential.
• I would like to record this interview so that I can make notes later and use the recording for reference while proceeding with this study. I will not record this interview without your permission. If you do grant permission for this conversation to be recorded, you have the right to revoke recording permission and/or end the interview at any time.
• Should you feel any discomfort regarding interview being tape recorded, I would like to request the opportunity take notes during interview.

This project is expected to be completed by 2019. All interview recordings will be stored in a secure workspace until 5 years after that date. The recordings will then be destroyed.

Consent Statement: I understand the procedures described above, and I agree to participate in this study. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been given a copy of this form.

(*Please check all that apply*)

☐   I give permission for this interview to be recorded.

Your Name   _____

Your Signature _____ Date _____

If you have questions: The researcher conducting this study is Mukaddam Akhmedova (Supervisor: Professor Timur Dadabaev). For any questions and concerns later, you may contact the researcher at s1636002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp. You can also reach Professor Dadabaev at dadabaev@gmail.com
If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a subject in this study, you may contact the researcher affiliation (International and Advanced Japanese Studies Office) at office@japan.tsukuba.ac.jp

End of the form

Interview consent form in Uzbek

SUHBATDA ISHTIROK ETISHGA ROZILIK

Yaponiyada Markaziy Osiyo: O'zbek yashash yo'nalishlari namunalari
Mukaddam Akhmedova
Gumanitar va ijtimoiy fanlar fakulteti, Xalqaro va yetakchi yapon tadqiqotlari
Tsukuba universiteti

Sizdan Tsukuba Universiteti, Gumanitar va ijtimoiy fanlar fakulteti, doktorantura studenti Mukaddam Akhmedova tomonidan olib borilayotgan tadqiqotda ishtirok etishingiz so'ralmoqda. Yakuniy natijalar dissertatsiyaga kiritiladi.
Tadqiqotning umumiy maqsadi O'zbekiston fuqarolarining Yaponiyada bo'lishiga nisbatan yo'nalishlari va motivlarini tushunishdir. Sizga Yaponiyada bir yildan ortiq yashaganingiz sababli ishtirok etish iltimos qilinmoqda.
Tadqiqotda ishtirok etishga rozilik bermasdan oldin ushbu shaklni diqqat bilan o'qing va iltimos, savollar berishdan qo'rqmang.

Asosiy fikrlar:
• Ushbu suhbat ixtiyoriy. Hech qanday savolga javob bermaslik va istalgan vaqtda suhbatni to'xtatish huquqiga egasiz. Suhbatni yakunlash uchun taxminan bir soat vaqt ketadi.
• Dissertatsiya va nashrlarda siz taqdim etgan barcha ma'lumotlar anonymizatsiya qilinadi va maxfiy saqlanadi.
• Ushbu intervyuni keyinchalik tadqiqot yozuvlarini chiqarib olish va ushbu yozuvlarni tadqiqot davomida malumotnoma sifatida ishlatish maqsadida yozib olmoqchiman. Sizning ruxsatingizsiz suhbatni yozmayman. Siz ushbu suhbatga yozilish uchun ruxsat berganingiz bilan, istalgan vaqtda yozuvni bekor qilish va/yoki suhbatni tugatish huquqiga egasiz.

Suhbat yozuviga aloqador biron bir noqulaylik his qilsangiz, men intervyu davomida eslatmalar yozib olishni iltimos qilaman.
Ushbu loyihani 2019 yilga qadar yakunlash kutilmoqda. Barcha intervyu yozuvlari shu sanadan 5 yil o'tgach xavfsiz ish joyida saqlanadi. Keyin yozuvlar o'chiriladi.

Rozilik bayonnomasi: Yuqorida bayon qilingan tartib-qoidalarni tushunaman va men bu ishda qatnashishga rozilik bildiraman. Savollarimga qoniqarli javob berildi. Menga bu shaklning nusxasi berildi.

Ushbu suhbatga yozilishga ruxsat beraman.

Ismingiz _____

Imzoingiz _____ Sana _____

Savollar uchun: Ushbu ishning tadqiqotchisi: Mukaddam Ahmedova (Ilmiy rahbar: professor Timur Dadabaev). Keyinchalik savollar va xavotirlar uchun tadqiqotchi ushbu manzil orqali aloqa qilishingiz mumkin: s1636002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp. Shuningdek, dadabaev@gmail.com orqali professor Dadabaevga murojaat qilishingiz mumkin.
Agar sizda ushbu masalada o'zingizning huquqlaringiz haqida savollaringiz yoki tashvishlaringiz bo'lsa, tadqiqotchi a'zoligiga (International and Advanced Japanese Studies Office) murojaat etishingiz mumkin office@japan.tsukuba.ac.jp

End of the form

Interview consent form in Russian

СОГЛАСИЕ НА УЧАСТИЕ В ИНТЕРВЬЮ

Центральная Азия в Японии: Образцы узбекской ориентации пребывания
Mukaddam Akhmedova
Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, International and Advanced Japanese Studies
University of Tsukuba

Вас попросили принять участие в исследовании, проводимом Мукаддам Ахмедовой, докторантом Высшей Школы Гуманитарных и Социальных Наук, Университет Цукубы. Результаты интервью будут включены в её кандидатскую диссертацию.

Общая цель исследования - понять ориентацию и мотивацию граждан Узбекистана относительно их пребывания в Японии. Вас просят принять участие, потому что вы проживаете в Японии более года.

Пожалуйста, внимательно прочитайте эту форму, прежде чем согласиться принять участие в исследовании и, пожалуйста, не стесняйтесь задавать вопросы.

Ключевые моменты:
• Это интервью является добровольным. Вы имеете право не отвечать на любой вопрос и прекратить интервью в любое время по любой причине. Интервью займет около часа.
• В диссертации и любых публикациях вся предоставленная Вами информация будет анонимизирована и сохранена в конфиденциальности.
• Я хотела бы записать это интервью с целью последующего извлечения исследовательских заметок и использования записи в качестве справки во время этого исследования. Я не буду записывать это интервью без Вашего разрешения. Если Вы даете разрешение на запись этого разговора, Вы также имеете полное право отозвать разрешение на запись и/или завершить интервью в любое время.
• Если Вы чувствуете какой-либо дискомфорт в отношении записи интервью, я хотела бы попросить возможность делать заметки во время собеседования.

Завершение этого проекта ожидается в 2019 году. Все записи интервью будут храниться в безопасном рабочем месте до 5 лет после этой даты. Затем записи будут уничтожены.

Заявление о согласии: Я понимаю процедуры, описанные выше и я согласен(-на) участвовать в этом исследовании. На мои вопросы получены удовлетворительные ответы. Мне была предоставлена копия этой формы.

    Я даю разрешение на запись этого интервью.

Ваше имя _____

Ваша подпись _____ Дата _____

Исследователем является Мукаддам Ахмедова (Руководитель: профессор Тимур Дадабаев). По любым вопросам позже Вы можете связаться с исследователем по адресу s1636002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp. Вы также можете связаться с профессором Дадабаевым по адресу dadabaev@gmail.com.
Если у Вас есть какие-либо вопросы или проблемы в отношении ваших прав в качестве объекта этого исследования, Вы можете обратиться в исследовательскую организацию (Международные и углубленные японские исследования) по адресу office@japan.tsukuba.ac.jp
<center>End of the form</center>

Appendix B: Anonymized list of interviewees

#	Pseudonym	Sex	Visa status	Period of residing in Japan
1	Sardor	M	International student visa	5 years
2	Bekzod	M	International student visa	3 years
3	Tamara	F	International student visa	3 years
4	Gulnora	F	Dependent visa	9 years
5	Zarina	F	Japanese spouse	6 years
6	Diyora	F	Working visa	4 years
7	Osiyo	F	Working visa	11 years
8	Anvar	M	Professor	7 years
9	Oybek	M	International student visa	6 years
10	Rustam	M	International student visa	5 years
11	Nafisa	F	International student visa	6 years
12	Tahmina	F	Investment/Management	13 years
13	Javohir	M	International student visa	5 months
14	Said	M	International student visa	5 months
15	Akmal	M	International student visa	5 months
16	Bilol	M	International student visa	5 months
17	Elmira	F	Permanent resident	16 years
18	Naima	F	International student visa	8 years
19	Zohid	M	International student visa	1 year
20	Abdulla	M	Instructor	8 years
21	Kamola	F	Dependent visa	8 years
22	Yusuf	M	Working visa	6 months
23	Ali	M	International student visa	4 years
24	Hamida	F	Dependent visa	4 years
25	Ra'no	F	Spouse of permanent resident	7 years
26	Umar	M	International student visa	5 months
27	Feruz	M	International student visa	6 years
28	Shahlo	F	Dependent visa	4 months
29	Shohruh	M	Professor	13 years
30	Doston	M	Working visa	8 years

Appendix C: Personal card of the respondent in English, Uzbek and Russian

Personal card of the respondent in English

Name
Age
Sex
Relationship status
Place of birth
Year of arrival in Japan
Visa status
Education level and degrees (if applicable) before moving to Japan
Work experience before coming to Japan

Personal card of the respondent in Uzbek

Ism
Yosh
Jins
Oilaviy ahvol
Tug'ilgan joy va Yapoiniyagacha yashash joyi
Yaponiyaga kelgan yil
Viza holati
Yaponiyagacha ta'lim va darajalar
Yaponiyagacha bo'lgan ish tajribasi

Personal card of the respondent in Russian

Имя

Возраст

Пол

Семейное положение

Место рождения и проживания до Японии

Год прибытия в Японию

Статус визы

Образование и степени образования до
переезда в Японию

Опыт работы до переезда в Японию

End of the form

Appendix D: Individual interview questions in English, Uzbek and Russian

Interview questions in English

1. How did you come to Japan?
2. What was the reason for you to come to Japan?
3. What are the reasons for you choose Japan instead of/among other countries? Is it the first time you are in Japan? If not, can you tell me about your previous visits?
4. How long have you been living in Japan?
5. What was your plan when you just arrived regarding your stay in Japan?
6. How did your plans change over the time?
7. When did you decide to stay permanently? (If you have plans for permanent residence)
8. What do you currently do?
9. What has been your living, working, studying experiences in Japan?
10. How do you find working, studying in Japanese environment?
11. How is your experience with Uzbek community in Japan?
12. Do you think of staying in or leaving Japan? What are the reasons? What can influence your decisions about it?
13. How long do you plan to reside in Japan? Why?
14. Do you think it is difficult for you to naturalize?
15. What is the attitude of your parents?
16. What is your goal? Can you achieve that goal in Japan? If not where?
17. What is your residential preference if you consider living in Japan?

Interview questions in Uzbek

1. Qanday qilib Yaponiyaga kelgansiz?

2. Yaponiyaga kelishingizga nima sabab bo'lgan?

3. Boshqa mamlakatlarning ichida nima uchun Yaponiyani tanladingiz? Bu birinchi marta Yaponiyaga kelishingiz bo'lganmi? Birinchi marta bo'lmasa, avvalgi tashriflaringiz haqida menga xabar bera olasizmi?

4. Siz Yaponiyada qancha vaqt yashadingiz?

5. Yaponiyaga yangi kelganingizda mamlakatda yashash bo'yicha rejangiz qanday edi?

6. Vaqt o'tgani bilan rejalaringiz qanday o'zgardi?

7. (Qachon doimo turishga qaror qildingiz?)

8. Hozir nima bilan shug'ullanyapsiz?

9. Yaponiyada hayotingiz, ishingiz, tajribangiz qanday?

10. Yaponiyani tark etmoqchimisiz yoki Yaponiyada qolmoqchimisiz? Buning uchun nima sabab bo'ldi? Bu boradagi qarorlaringizga qanday ta'sir qilishi mumkin?

11. Qancha vaqt Yaponiyada yashashni rejalashtiryapsiz? Nima uchun?

12. Siz uchun Yaponiyada hayotga ko'nikish qanday?

13. Sizning Yaponiyada yashashingiz bo'yicha ota-onangizning munosabati qanday?

14. Sizning maqsadingiz nima? Yaponiyada shu maqsadga erisha olasizmi? Yaponiyada bo'lmasa, qayerda erisha olasiz deb o'ylaysiz?

15. Yaponiyada qayerda yashashni hohlaysiz? Nima uchun?

Interview questions in Russian

1. Каким образом Вы приехали в Японию?

2. По какой причине Вы приехали в Японию?

3. По какой причине Вы выбрали Японию среди всех остальных стран?

4. Как долго Вы проживаете в Японии?

5. Каков был Ваш план насчет Вашего пребывания в Японии, когда Вы только приехали?

6. Как поменялись Ваши планы с течением времени?

7. Когда Вы решили остаться в Японии перманентно? (Если у Вас планы на постоянное проживание в Японии)

8. Чем Вы сейчас занимаетесь?

9. Каков Ваш опыт проживания, работы, учебы в Японии?

10. Вы думаете остаться жить в Японии или уехать? Какие причины? Что может повлиять на Ваше решение?

11. Как долго Вы планируете находиться в Японии? Почему?

12. Что Вы можете рассказать о Вашем процессе натурализации в Японии?

13. Каково отношение Ваших родителей насчет Вашего проживания в Японии?

14. Какова Ваша цель? Вы думаете, что Вы можете достигнуть эту цель в Японии? Если нет, то где?

15. Каково Ваше предпочтение места проживания, если Вы рассматриваете проживание в Японии?

End of interview questions

Appendix E. General background survey of Uzbekistani residing in Japan in English, Uzbek and Russian

English translation:

The following questionnaire aims to understand the orientations and motivations of Uzbekistani regarding their stay in Japan. Your answers will be helpful in refining the concept of 'sojourners' within the Japanese context using the case of Uzbekistani.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Data and responses gathered through this survey will be used for academic purposes only – specifically, as data for the aforementioned M.A. thesis – and may be used in the preparation of academic publications. The data collection will not be used to identify individuals. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer or withdraw at any time.

The survey is divided into six sections (A, B, C, D, E and F) and will take approximately 3 minutes to complete. Any questions marked with an asterisk (*) require an answer in order to progress through the survey.

In case you have any questions regarding the survey, please contact Mukaddam Akhmedova at s1636002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a subject in this study, you may contact the researcher affiliation (International and Advanced Japanese Studies Office) at office@japan.tsukuba.ac.jp

Thank you very much for your time.

A. Age:
- 19 years old or less
- 20-29 years old
- 30-39 years old
- 40-49 years old
- 50-59 years old
- 60 years old and over

B. Sex:
- Male
- Female
- Other

C. Educational background:
- Secondary (complete) general education
- Secondary vocational education
- Academic lyceum
- Incomplete higher education
- Undergraduate degree
- Master's degree
- Doctoral degree

D. Length of stay in Japan (at the time of participation in the survey):
- Less than 3 months
- 3 months to less than 12 months
- 1 year to less than 3 years
- 3 years to less than 5 years
- 5 years to less than 10 years
- 10 years to less than 20 years
- Over 20 years

E. Residential plans towards Japan:
- Limited stay
- Permanent residence

F. Professional field in Japan:

- Section chief or manager
- Executive or director
- Family employee
- Clerk
- Part-time clerk
- Sales person
- Part-time sales person
- Teacher or lecturer
- Part-time teacher or lecturer
- Government officer
- Student
- Homemaker
- Technical specialist
- Unskilled labourer
- Unemployed
- Other

Comments:

General background survey of Uzbekistani residing in Japan in Uzbek

Yaponiyada yashash haqida savol varaqasi

Ushbu savol varaqasi Yaponiyada yashovchi O'zbekistonliklarning asos va munosabatlarini o'rganishni maqsad qilib, Tsukuba Universiteti Gumanitar va ijtimoiy fanlar fakulteti, doktorantura studenti Muqaddam Ahmedova tomonidan olib borilayotgan tadqiqotda ishlatilishi nazarda tutilgan.

Tadqiqotning umumiy maqsadi O'zbekiston fuqarolarining Yaponiyada bo'lishiga nisbatan munosabat va motivlarini tushunishdir.

Tegishli statistik natijalar Mukaddam Akhmedovaning ilmiy ishi, ya'ni PhD dissertatsiyasiga kiritiladi.

Ushbu so'rovnomada qatnashish ixtiyoriy bo'lib, yig'ilgan ma'lumotlar faqat ilmiy maqsadda ishlatiladi. Barcha ulashilgan ma'lumotlar maxfiy bo'lib qolib, ular sizning shaxsingizni aniqlash va oshkora qilish maqsadida ishlatilmaydi. Istalgan paytda savollarga javob bermaslik, so'rovnomani to'xtatish yoki qatnashmaslik huquqiga egasiz.

Savol varaqasi 6 qismga bo'linib (A, B, C, D, E, F), varaqani to'ldirish 3 daqiqacha vaqt oladi. Yulduzcha (*) belgisi ko'rsatilgan savollar javob belgilanishini talab qiladi.

Savol varaqasi haqida savol yoki tashvishlaringiz bo'lsa, men bilan s1636002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp adresi orqali bog'lanishingiz mumkin. Agar sizda savol varaqasida ishtirok etish borasida o'zingizning huquqlaringiz haqida savollaringiz bo'lsa, tadqiqotchi a'zoligiga (International and Advanced Japanese Studies Office) office@japan.tsukuba.ac.jp adresi orqali murojaat etishingiz mumkin.

Vaqtingiz va ishtirokingiz uchun rahmat.

A. Yoshingiz:

- 19 yoki yoki undan kichkina
- 20-29 yosh
- 30-39 yosh
- 40-49 yosh
- 50-59 yosh
- 60 yoshdan katta

- Jinsingiz:
- Erkak
- Ayol
- Boshqa

- Ta'lim darajasi:
- Umumiy o'rta ta'lim
- Kasb-hunar kolleji
- Akademik litsey
- Tugallanmagan oliy
- Bakalavr
- Magistratura
- Doktorantura
- Boshqa:

D. Yaponiyada yashash rejasi:
- Chegaralangan yashash muddati
- Mamlakatda doimo qolish

E. Yaponiyada yashash muddati:
- 3 oydan kam
- 3 oydan 12 oygacha
- 1 yildan 3 yilgacha
- 3 yildan 5 yilgacha
- 5 yildan 10 yilgacha

- 10 yildan 20 yilgacha
- 20 yildan ortiq

F. Yaponiyadagi kasb-hunaringiz
- Bo'lim boshlig'i yoki menejer
- Direktor yoki ijrochi
- Oila ishi
- Kotib
- Kotib (to'liqsiz ish kuni)
- Savdo xodimi
- Savdo xodimi (to'liqsiz ish kuni)
- O'qituvchi yoki ma'ruzachi
- O'qituvchi yoki ma'ruzachi (to'liqsiz ish kuni)
- Davlat xodimi
- Talaba
- Uy bekasi
- Mutaxassis
- Malakasiz ishchi
- Ishsiz
- Boshqa:

Izohlar:

General background survey of Uzbekistani residing in Japan in Russian

Опрос узбекистанцев, проживающих в Японии

Эта анкета, созданная Мукаддам Ахмедовой, докторантом Университета Цукубы, факультета Гуманитарных и Общественных Наук, предназначена для сбора данных для научного исследования.

Основная цель исследования – понять отношение и мотивацию узбекистанцев касательно проживания в Японии.

Участие в опросе является добровольным, а собранные данные предназначены исключительно для научных целей. Результаты сбора данных будут включены в диссертацию Мукаддам Ахмедовой.

Все полученные данные останутся конфиденциальными и не будут использоваться для идентификации и раскрытия личности участника. Участник имеет право в любой момент прервать прохождение опроса.

Анкета разделена на 6 частей (A, B, C, D, E, F), прохождение занимает не более 3 минут. Вопросы со знаком звездочки (*) обязательны для ответа.

По вопросам или комментариям по поводу опроса, можно связаться с Мукаддам Ахмедовой по адресу s1636002@u.tsukuba.ac.jp. По этическим вопросам можно обратиться в International and Advanced Japanese Studies Office по адресу office@japan.tsukuba.ac.jp.

Спасибо за Ваше участие!

A. Возраст

- 19 лет или менее
- 20-29 лет
- 30-39 лет
- 40-49 лет
- 50-59 лет
- 60 лет и более

B. Пол

- Мужчина
- Женщина
- Другое

C. Образование

- Среднее
- Профессиональный колледж
- Академический лицей
- Неоконченное высшее образование
- Бакалавр
- Магистратура
- Докторантура

D. Период проживания в Японии (на момент участия в опросе)

- Менее 3 месяцев
- От 3 до 12 месяцев
- От 1 до 3 года
- От 3 до 5 лет
- От 5 до 10 лет
- От 10 до 20 лет
- 20 и более лет

E. Продолжительность предполагаемого пребывания в Японии

- Ограниченный период времени
- Постоянное проживание

F. Профессиональная деятельность в Японии

- Заведующий отделом или менеджер

- Директор или исполняющий

- Семейное дело

- Секретарь

- Секретарь (неполный рабочий день)

- Сотрудник по продажам

- Сотрудник по продажам (неполный рабочий день)

- Преподаватель или лектор

- Преподаватель или лектор (неполный рабочий день)

- Государственный сотрудник

- Студент

- Домохозяин/Домохозяйка

- Технический специалист

- Неквалифицированный работник

- Безработный

- Другое:

Комментарии:

End of survey form

Appendix F. Interview questions for organizations in English and Uzbek

Interview questions (English translation)

1. When was the organization established?

2. How and in what kind of conditions was the organization established?

3. How many members did the organization consist of when it was established? How many members are there now?

4. How does the organization employ members?

5. Tell me about the structure of the organization when it was established. How did the structure change since then?

6. What kind of an organization is it?

7. Tell me about projects and activities of the organization.

8. What are the goals of the organization?

9. What is the source of organization's financial income?

10. What is the relationship between the organization and Uzbek and Japanese governments?

11. Is organization supported (financially or other way) by governments? If so, tell me about it.

12. Tell me about organization's future plans.

Interview questions in Uzbek

1. Tashkilot qachon tashkil qilingan?
2. Tashkilot qanday va qanday sharoitda tashkil qilingan?
3. Tashkilot tashkil qilingan paytda necha kishi a'zo bo'lgan? Hozirda necha kishi?
4. Tashkilot qanday ishchilarni qa'bul qiladi?
5. Vaqt o'tishi bilan tashkilot tuzilishi qanday o'zgargan?
6. Tashkilot qanday turdagi tashkilot hisoblanadi?
7. Tashkilotning faoliyati yo'nalishlari va olib borgan tadbirlari haqida gapirib bera olasizmi?
8. Tashkilotning hozirdagi tadbirlari haqida gapirib bering.
9. Tashkilotning maqsadi nima?
10. Tashkilotning Yaponiya va O'zbekiston hukumatlari bilan aloqalari qanaqa?
11. Tashkilot hukumat(lar) tomonidan qo'llab-quvvatlanadimi (moliyaviy yoki boshqa turda)?
12. Откуда финансирование?
13. Tashkilotning kelajakdagi rejalari qanaqa?

End of interview questions