# A Geographical Study on the Formation and Transformation Processes of Japanese Enclaves in Shanghai

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#### **Abstract**

This study was done to examine the formation and transformation processes of Japanese enclaves in Shanghai based on two aspects: (1) the development of Japanese residences and facilities from a spatial perspective, and (2) the settlement patterns of Japanese expatriates based upon their attributes, from a social perspective.

Since the Japanese post-war economic boom, migration of the Japanese to overseas has become more frequent. Before the Second World War, many of the Japanese were migrant labor, but later majority of the Japanese started to work globally due to the assignment by Japanese Headquarters. These Japanese expatriates have been studied from two perspectives. Firstly, the studies from social perspective have focused on the characteristics of Japanese communities overseas based upon Japanese socioeconomic attributes. Secondly, the studies from spatial perspective have focused on the spatial transformation of Japanese enclaves in Western and newly industrializing countries, by mainly analyzing the Japanese residences and facilities. However, many questions remain unanswered in the previous studies due to the following reasons. Firstly, the studies did not focus on both the social and spatial perspectives. Secondly, most of the studies have been conducted in English-speaking countries, so little is known about the Japanese enclaves in non-English-speaking countries. Thirdly, the studies focused more on the overseas resident businessmen and locally hired Japanese rather than the self-employed who were also important for the development of Japanese enclave.

Shanghai was chosen as the study area, as it has accepted most of the Japanese expatriates (57,458 in 2012) in China, and the two largest Japanese enclaves in Gubei and Pudong areas were chosen as case studies.

The Japanese enclave in the Gubei area had a specific formation pattern, which was significantly affected by China's immigration and economic policies. The foreigners were not allowed to choose their residences and had to live only in the foreign residences in Gubei according to the Chinese immigration policy until 2002. This directly affected the formation of Japanese enclave in the Gubei area. Since 2003, the

i

Japanese enclave expanded due to the accumulation of Japanese facilities. The Japanese facilities were important for the Japanese to overcome language and cultural barriers and maintain Japanese lifestyle. However, it is prudent to note that the Japanese-owned facilities increased in the number since 2004 with the permission to be established by Chinese policies. With the accumulation of Japanese facilities in the Japanese enclave, the ethnic commercial function also developed. This attracted more Japanese residents and facilities, which stimulated the further expansion of the Japanese enclave.

On the other hand, the Japanese enclave in the Pudong area had a different formation pattern due to several reasons. This mainly included liberty to choose their residences, and the increase in establishment of Japanese companies due to the economic policies of China and Shanghai. This Japanese enclave became increasingly important with the establishment of a Japanese school, as the Japanese school was a top priority in the residential choices for Japanese expatriates having children. However, the Japanese enclave in Pudong was characterized as a residential space due to the underdevelopment of Japanese-owned facilities, because most of the self-employed Japanese were more interested to live and work in the Gubei area.

In conclusion, although the Japanese enclaves in both the Gubei and Pudong areas were formed in the same city of Shanghai, their formation pattern and transformation process varied considerably due to different formation factors. Mostly, the formation and transformation processes of Japanese enclaves in Shanghai were affected by China's policies, in comparison to the Japanese enclaves in other foreign countries. In addition, the further development of Japanese enclaves in Shanghai is likely to be affected by the Japanese companies in future. Therefore, further investigation should be made on the transformation process of Japanese enclaves.

Key words: Japanese enclave, Japanese residences, Japanese facilities, settlement pattern, formation and transformation processes, Shanghai

### **Contents**

Abstract · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	j
Contents	iii
List of Tables · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	vi
List of Figures · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	vii
Chapter I Introduction · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1
1. Study subject · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1
2. Study purpose and methodology · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	4
3. Study area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	8
Chapter II The spatial transformation of Japanese enclave	
in the Gubei area from 1993 to 2013 · · · · · · · · · · ·	14
1. Formation factor of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	14
2. Expansion of Japanese residences · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	16
1) The initial period (1993–2002) • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	19
2) The developing period (2003–2013) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	22
3. Increase in Japanese facilities · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	22
4. Case study of Japanese facilities • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	26
1) Management and features of Japanese facilities • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	26
2) Case studies · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	29
(1) No. 2, the grocery store • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	29
(2) No. 3, the florist store • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	30
(3) No. 4, the tea store • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	31
(4) No. 7, the Japanese kindergarten • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	31

(5) No. 8, the beauty salon $\cdot \cdot \cdot$			
(6) No. 10, the Japanese nursery • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
3) Roles of Japanese proprietors · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	33		
Chapter III The social transformation of the Japanese enclave			
in the Gubei area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	35		
1. Classifications of the Japanese • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	35		
2. Settlement patterns of the Japanese • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	37		
1) The overseas resident businessmen · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	37		
2) The self-employed · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	41		
3) The locally hired • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	43		
3. Formation and transformation of Japanese enclave • • • • • • •	44		
Chapter IV The formation and transformation of the Japanese			
Chapter IV The formation and transformation of the Japanese enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · · ·	48		
	48		
	48 48		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·			
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·  1. Formation factors of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48 50		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·  1. Formation factors of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48 50 50		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·  1. Formation factors of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · ·  2. Spatial transformation of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48 50 50 53		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·  1. Formation factors of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48 50 50 53 56		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·  1. Formation factors of Japanese enclave · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48 50 50 53 56 58		
enclave in the Pudong area from 2002 to 2013 · · · ·  1. Formation factors of Japanese enclave · · · · ·  2. Spatial transformation of Japanese enclave · · · · ·  1) Japanese residences · · · · · · · ·  2) Japanese facilities · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	48 50 50 53 56 58		

Chapter V The formation and transformation processes of Japanese	
enclaves in Shanghai · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	67
1. Formation patterns and functions of Japanese enclaves • • • • • •	67
1) Formation patterns of Japanese enclaves • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	67
2) Functions of Japanese enclaves · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	70
2. Transformation of Japanese enclaves · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	73
1) Spatial transformation of Japanese enclaves in Shanghai • • • • •	73
2) Extent of Japanese enclaves from Japanese perspective • • • • •	76
(1) The overseas resident businessmen • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	78
(2) The self-employed · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	80
(3) The locally hired · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	81
3. Japanese social network · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	82
Chapter VI Conclusion · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	86
Acknowledgements	91
Notes · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	92
References	95
Photos·······	99

## **List of Tables**

Table 1.	Changes in the Japanese expatriates and Japanese investment	
	in Shanghai · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	11
Table 2.	Trends in the number of Japanese expatriates in the main cities	
	of the world $\cdots$	13
Table 3.	Changes in the China's immigration policies • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	15
Table 4.	Property in Japanese residences in the Gubei area,	
	1993–2002 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	21
Table 5.	Property in Japanese residences in the Gubei area,	
	2003–2012 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	23
Table 6.	Trends in the number of Japanese students in Shanghai,	
	1996-2012 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	27
Table 7.	Management of the Japanese facilities in the Gubei area from	
	the interviews, 2012 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	28
Table 8.	Attributes of the Japanese expatriates in the Gubei area	
	extrapolated from the questionnaires • • • • • • • • • 38,	39
Table 9.	Property in the Japanese residences in the Pudong area,	
	2002-2012 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	51
Table 10.	Attributes of the Japanese expatriates in the Pudong area	
	extrapolated from the questionnaires • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	57
Table 11.	Average family size of the foreigners in the top 5 districts	
	of Shanghai, 2010 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	60
Table 12	The Japanese community activities in Shanghai • • • • • • •	83

### **List of Figures**

Figure 1.	Distribution of the Japanese expatriates in the main cities of	
	China, 2012 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	5
Figure 2.	Study area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	9
Figure 3.	Trends in the number of Japanese expatriates in Shanghai,	
	Hong Kong, Beijing and Suzhou, 1996-2012 · · · · · · · · ·	12
Figure 4.	Trends in the number of foreigners in Shanghai, 2000-2012 · · · ·	17
Figure 5.	Distribution of the Japanese expatriates in the urban center of	
	Shanghai, 2010 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	18
Figure 6.	Development of the Japanese residences in the Gubei area,	
	1993–2012 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	20
Figure 7.	Distribution of the Japanese facilities in the Gubei area, $2002 \cdot \cdot \cdot$	25
Figure 8.	Distribution of the Japanese facilities in the Gubei area, 2012 · · ·	25
Figure 9.	Formation and transformation processes of the Japanese enclave	
	in the Gubei area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	45
Figure 10.	Development of the Japanese residences in the Pudong	
	area, 2002–2013 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<b>5</b> 3
Figure 11.	Distribution of the Japanese facilities in the Pudong area, 2005	
		54
Figure 12.	Distribution of the Japanese facilities in the Pudong area, 2012	
		55
Figure 13.	Formation and transformation processes of the Japanese	
	enclave in the Pudong area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	64
Figure 14.	Formation mechanism of the Japanese enclave in the Gubei	
	area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	68
Figure 15.	Formation mechanism of the Japanese enclave in the Pudong	
	area · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	69

Figure 16.	Development of the Japanese enclave's ethnic business	
	function in the Gubei area • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	71
Figure 17.	Development of the Japanese enclave's ethnic business	
	function in the Pudong area • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	74
Figure 18.	Formation and transformation processes of Japanese enclaves	
	in Shanghai · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	75
Figure 19.	Distribution of the Japanese enclaves in Shanghai • • • • • •	77
Figure 20.	Extent of the Japanese enclaves from Japanese perspective	
	by classifications • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	79

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- (J): written in Japanese
- (JE): written in Japanese with English abstract
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- (C): written in Chinese
- (CE): written in Chinese with English abstract



Photo.1 Initial multiple-dwellings in the Gubei area



Photo.2 Mid multiple-dwellings in the Gubei area



Photo.3 A Japanese supermarket ("Sinsenkan") in the Gubei area



Photo.4 A Japanese supermarket in a multiple-dwelling unit of Gubei



Photo.5 Japanese sauces sold in a Japanese supermarket of Gubei



Photo.6 A Japanese nursery in the Gubei area



Photo.7 A Japanese kindergarten in the Gubei area



Photo.8 School buses provided by the Japanese kindergarten



Photo.9 Expanding multiple-dwellings in the Gubei area



 $\label{eq:continuous} Photo. 10~A~Japanese~shopping~mall~(Takashimaya)~in$  the~Gubei~area



Photo.11 Seafood from Japan sold in the Takashimaya



Photo. 12 Japanese restaurants opened in a shopping mall of Gubei



Photo. 13 A ramen store in the Gubei area



Photo. 14 An optical stores in a multiple-dwelling unit of Gubei



Photo.15 The Japanese residence for overseas resident businessmen in the Pudong area



Photo.16 The Japanese school in the Pudong area



Photo.17 A Japanese medical facility in the Pudong area Photo.18 Cram schools' advertisements for the Japanese



students

(Source: fieldwork in March 2012 and March 2013, by author)