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International Student Migration in Japan: Considering the Life Course in a New Migration Pathway

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Introduction

International flows of students and workers have long been a feature of higher education sectors and national economies, and these mobile populations are considered to have occupied relatively distinct roles as either short-term educational sojourners or economic migrants respectively. However, as the global race for skills intensifies and the number of mobile students continues to rise (OECD, 2015), the uneasiness of the student/worker delineation has been subject to growing scrutiny. Despite this increase in critical concern over the past decade, the complexities of the relationship between international student mobility (ISM) and international labor migration are not well understood.

The importance of this relationship, termed the “education-migration nexus” by Shanthi Robertson (2011), is particularly clear in a number of recognized “receiving” countries that host large numbers of international students and have benefitted from the pro-active decision to open dedicated pathways for students to transition to migrant status. Canada and Australia were enthusiastic adopters of this approach, and both witnessed a boom in inbound student mobility and benefits to their higher education system and labor force.

Until recently Japan had exhibited little intent to implement similar reforms, despite longstanding ambitions to increase inbound student mobility under various state-sponsored internationalization programs, and growing labor shortages related to sharp demographic decline. However, new policy developments indicate a degree of guarded liberalization that has begun to open the door specifically for student-migrants. Research into the education-migration nexus in Japan has not kept pace with this guarded liberalization. This study capitalizes on the international research agenda in student migration, offering an intensive qualitative engagement with the life-course of individual student-migrants, giving a new perspective on the “human face” of the education migration nexus in a timely and neglected national context.

Literature review

Research into student migration borrows heavily from the broader sociological literature of globalization and internationalization and incorporates critical insights from migration studies to help define a coherent research agenda. The conditions of globalization are the foundations upon which the persistent growth of

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cross-national flows such as ISM and labor migration have been built in humanity's "second modernity" (Beck, 2000). Stakeholders engaged in these flows have adapted to their presence and become reliant upon the unencumbered movement of goods, services, information, and human resources. In this context, international students—and the knowledge and financial incentives associated with them—are an operational imperative for a growing number of higher education systems and institutions (Universities UK, 2017; Yonezawa & Yonezawa, 2016), and labor migrations have become embedded within the global knowledge economy. It is within this context that higher education systems have become fundamental tools by which many governments seek to increase their pool of "talent" and ensure their future prosperity. Internationalization initiatives, and particularly inbound student mobility programs, stem from this desire. International student policy is now a fundamental tool in the race for skilled workers (Chaloff & Lemaître, 2009)

As Christopher Ziguras and Siew-Fang Law (2006) identify, international students are a particularly attractive source of such skilled workers because: (1) they are readily available and, by definition, skilled; (2) their youth is attractive in developed economies managing demographic decline; (3) they have begun the process of cultural and linguistic adjustment; and (4) migration pathways are a marketing advantage when recruiting fee-paying students. As a result, international students are recognized as "designer migrants... in terms of both their consumption as students and production as future workers" (Robertson, 2011, p. 2206).

Early adopters: Student migration policies in the UK, Australia, and Canada

Over the past two decades several nations have sought to capitalize on this convergence of interests through the introduction of policies granting international students the right to stay post-graduation. In the UK, New Labour saw international students as the "silver bullet" that could finance higher education and increase the skilled labor pool (*The Migration Observatory*, 2011), and the "Post-Work Study Visa" was a key part of "migration management" reforms designed to "exploit" this opportunity (Geddie, 2015). Australia's "Picking Winners" strategy responded to longitudinal data that highlighted international students' positive employment outcomes, and used student-specific migration pathways to attract more students, and encourage an extended stay (Hawthorne, 2005). Canada implemented similar policies, such as the "Canadian Experience Class", among a swathe of migration reforms that allowed "a high degree of openness to the entry of international students and a low degree of control over their settlement" (Kim & Sondhi, 2015, p. 13). These liberalizing reforms combined with restrictive border policies in the United States may have contributed to the growth of international students in these countries.

Indeed, the policy changes above appear to be related to the rate of inbound mobility growth. The UK's "Post-Study Work Visa" was introduced in 2004, ushering in an 8-year period of rapid growth in inbound student mobility that continued until the visa was removed in 2012, corresponding with a drop in international students. Subsequently, international student numbers have remained virtually static in the UK, despite

growth in the global international education market. In Australia, the “Picking Winners” strategy preceded the sharpest increase in inbound student mobility in the nation’s history, and signaled the start of a 15-year period of growth that only stalled briefly around 2010 when “new rules making requirements for skilled migrant visas more stringent saw international student numbers plummet” (Civinini, 2018). Finally, in the midst of Canada’s steady and reliable growth in inbound mobility it is notable that the largest spike occurred in 2007, following the introduction of the “Canadian Experience Class” system.

While these policy changes did not necessarily cause these increases in mobility, as Geddie (2015) suggests, evidence of the importance of migration opportunities to student recruitment is increasingly available across multiple contexts. It increasingly appears that migration and international student policies are mutually influential, and as ISM becomes increasingly entwined with the “migration industries” (Beech, 2018), the development of a constructive interaction of these two policy realms is imperative to the success of both.

A new home? The policy shift from student mobility to student migration in Japan

Compared to the nations mentioned above, Japan is a late adopter of such policies and only recently began to open the door for students to remain after graduating. ISM has been at the heart of successive waves of internationalization that have long been vital to Japan’s higher education system and has made significant contributions to its national development. International scholars of the 19th century helped to kick-start Japan’s modernization during the Meiji era. Overseas Development Initiatives were vital soft power tools in the post-war period, and the more recent Nakasone and Fukuda plans to increase ISM are closely associated with the new age of national development (Yonezawa & Yonezawa, 2016). However, despite the significance of student mobility in Japan, until recently international students were not formally considered a source of migrants. Students held the legal right to transition from a “Foreign/College Student” visa to a “Long-term Resident” visa, but the low rate at which international students have remained in Japan indicates that this is not a highly developed migration pathway (Oishi, 2012).

However, at the policy level this role is beginning to change, as a guarded liberalization of immigration policy in Japan in the hunt for highly skilled, globally competent workers, has positioned international students at the heart of this process. The Cabinet’s 2008 Economic and Fiscal Reform “clarified Japan’s idea of expanding the acceptance of skilled foreign workers” (Yonezawa, 2011), before the subsequent New Growth and Japan Revitalization Strategies formalized the importance of international students to this strategy. According to Kazuhiro Kudo, “at a conceptual level, the ideal of global human resources has merged into the vision of intercultural and international understanding that has permeated in Japan’s public and educational discourses” (2016, p. 256-7). This process indicates that the importance of the education-migration nexus is recognized at the level of policy. As a part of this process, the “designated activities” job hunting visa for international students was introduced to formalize the migration pathway for international students in Japan, and both government sponsored and private support systems are becoming more widespread (JASSO, 2018).

The student migration research agenda

In light of these policy changes that illustrate that the link between student migration and the needs of the knowledge economy, global interest and research into student migration is growing rapidly. However, as suggested by a number of migration scholars, there are still significant inadequacies in existing understandings of student migration. In line with much migration research, conventional understandings have prioritized macro-level data sets and the use of neoclassical modelling techniques designed to identify the key determinants of whether students stay in their host country or return home. Bratsberg (1995) found that economic and political conditions in the country of origin dictated return decisions. A number of studies use a human capital perspective to explain why the majority of international students decide to return after graduation, as returns on the investment to study abroad are often greater in the home country (Bijwaard & Wang, 2016). Kim (2015) emphasizes the importance of marital status, while Meango (2014) identified familial budgetary constraints as a key determinant. Alberts and Hazen's (2005) influential study identified three key domains, suggesting that societal and personal factors encouraged return, while professional factors encouraged staying in the host country. Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri (2007, p. 99) offer a similar model which identifies "ethnic differences in labor markets, their adjustment process to the host country, and their family ties in host and home countries" as primary factors.

Despite the contributions of these articles, multiple authors highlight the weaknesses of these conventional understandings (Bakewell, 2010). Some argue that the assumption of rational choice that underpins these neoclassical modelling techniques is an inadequate engagement with migrant agency. The rational choice doctrine assumes that student-migrants decide whether to stay or return based on the rational evaluation of the benefits and costs of each trajectory. Such models contain the assumption that the circumstances of migration are in stasis, and then focus on stay/return determinants. These models cannot, however, explain how migration pathways and systems emerge, change, or disappear. An alternative perspective has emerged, arguing that migration decisions take place under conditions of "bounded rationality." As such, dynamic agency in constantly changing circumstances, and in the context of imperfect information, can better explain the development of migration pathways (Baláž, Williams, & Fifeková, 2016).

In seeking to further this alternative perspective, a research agenda has emerged that advocates a more concerted engagement with temporality and the dynamism of migrant agency. This research should be sensitive to biography (King & Raghuram, 2013), consider migration as a "process rather than an event" (Carlson, 2013), be temporally sensitive and appreciative of the life-course of participants and foreground the "human face" of student-migration (Favell et al., 2007). It is this research agenda with which the present study is engaged.

Purpose of the study

This biographical-narrative study of graduating international students in Japan presents a new methodological perspective on the “education-migration nexus” in a research context of growing importance, which may represent an emerging migration system and a new frontier of the student migration landscape. Through a direct engagement with participants’ biographical-narratives the study aims to answer the research questions stated below by uncovering the past experiences, present circumstances, and future projections that have been influential in their decision of whether or not to stay in Japan: (1) how may international students in Japan first come to consider the opportunity to pursue migration transition?; and (2) how may their biographical relationship with Japan impact with the evaluation of this opportunity? In answering these questions this study contributes to the research agenda defined above by providing an intensive empirical engagement with the “human face” of the education-migration nexus, offering new perspectives on the emergence and evaluation of the opportunity to migrate, aiding our understanding of the potential emergence of a new migration pathway in Japan, and with methodological implications for research elsewhere.

Methodology

The study used biographical-narrative interviews with 18 international students approaching their graduation, and interviews took place in English or Japanese, according to each participant’s preference. Biographical-narrative interviews are designed to allow the participant to give a full narrative account of their life course. Such interviews are a powerful way to understand the dynamic and temporal nature of their agency, by giving them the chance to reflect on past experiences, their present condition, and future projections. These interviews are characterized by open-ended questioning and probing techniques that encourage detailed accounts of “critical incidents” that are particularly meaningful. The participants’ description of these “critical incidents,” and the way in which they influenced the emergence of migration intentions formed the basis of the analysis for this study. During the analysis process thematic analysis was used to codify the “critical incidents” that formed the content of these narratives, which were augmented by an interpretive reading of the “telling of the story,” creating a mutually informative picture of the participants’ objective life events and the importance attributed to them by the participants themselves.

Being a broadly explorative study, a maximal variation sampling strategy was used. Key dimensions of variation included students’ discipline, level of study, and country of origin. At the level of the institution key dimensions of variation included their national reputation, and geographical location. To achieve variation on each of these dimensions, international students from a variety of departments were purposively sampled from a variety of institutions distributed throughout the country. Gatekeepers were contacted directly, and upon their cooperation the researcher was put in contact with potential participants. Due to this purposive selection, the final sample contained all key dimensions of variation.

Results

The emergence of migration intent prior to the course of study

For some participants pre-existing biographic factors were the source of a desire to live in Japan that occurred very early in their life course, and which certainly predated their study experience. Pedro was born in Argentina with Japanese ancestry, and early exposure to culture through his grandparents combined with a love of language learning meant that the opportunity to live in Japan was a key goal from a very early age:

Pedro: Maybe from ten to fourteen, I started to like and then love Japan... So, I wanted to try to go abroad if I can, and then, uh, and also I started to plan how to come and study in Japan... My dream was to come here, that was the first part. The second part was live in Japan, stay living in Japan.

Pedro's narrative was testament to the idea that biographical factors can give rise to a determined intent to migrate very early in the lifecourse, and his strategic pursuit of the opportunity to visit and subsequently live in Japan was a persistent feature of his narrative. He took Japanese lessons while attending school in Argentina, searched independently for scholarships, and chose an undergraduate major that would be highly regarded in Japan. Pedro's biography led to the early emergence of the desire to live in Japan and little ongoing evaluation throughout his study experience. His determination to build a life in Japan was deeply engrained in his life course from a young age and evident from his investment in this trajectory.

Karl, too, was influenced by early mobility experiences and language study in his decision to study in Japan, and the conscious intent to evaluate his opportunities for an extended stay was always a goal. Born in the US to first-generation immigrant parents who regularly moved with their jobs, Karl returned to the bilingual environment of Taiwan at the age of eight. This made him comfortable and curious about mobility and language from a young age. He locates the persistent cultural influence of Japan in Taiwan as an early source of interest in the country, and a key influence in his decision to minor in Japanese language as an undergraduate, and subsequent decision to study in Japan during his master's degree:

Karl: Japan left a pretty deep impression, but, I hadn't lived in Japan before, and wanted to try that out. Having followed Japan quite closely over the last couple years, I think the general impression that I was getting was that some things were changing in Japan... One of my motivations was to come and see that.

Karl's early interest in Japan was stimulated by the complex interaction of biographic factors, and this was heavily influential in his decision to study at a Japanese university, in this case for one year of a dual degree program. However, in contrast to Pedro, Karl had not pre-determined to stay after graduation. Rather,

a period of study in Japan would allow him to evaluate opportunities to migrate for a longer term:

Karl: I guess one last thing from the dual degree program, it was hypothesis testing to see if a life in Japan would be viable. It was a low risk way to do it. Everything fails, rocks fall, I go back to the US, or I go somewhere else... I came with the intent of seeing whether or not this is a place where I want to stay. I was assessing it as a potential migrant.

In Karl's story we can trace how early interests and embedded affinities can be immensely influential in future migrant decision-making. This is further evidence of the way in which key incidents early in the life course can have a tremendous impact on migrant trajectories. Despite being a highly cross-culturally competent individual with almost limitless mobility options, the steady cultivation of an interest in Japan finally culminated in the choice to study there with the intent to evaluate it as a future migration option.

These narratives illustrate how specific biographic factors and critical incidents early in the life course can be the catalyst for migration intentions, and the genesis of self-defined student-migrants. Temporally, this is evidence of how certain people may become determined to follow migration trajectories despite lacking any prolonged contact with the destination country, and thus with limited first-hand information of their compatibility and likely reception. Cases of this nature were relatively rare among the study participants, but were also those whose migration transitions were most fully considered and proactively pursued, resulting in the procurement of secure long-term employment and highly developed social networks.

The emergence of migration intent during the course of study

For other participants of the study their presence in Japan was not the result of a pre-existing desire to live and work in Japan stemming from a relationship with the country, but was rather the result of pursuing opportunities that emerged later in their life course. These opportunities were the critical incidents that stimulated their mobility. For these participants experiences during their studies and the availability of opportunities became the catalyst for them to consider an extended stay. Yes had been certain of returning to China and taking the highly competitive civil service exam, but his experiences in Japan as a student challenged this trajectory:

Yes: When you visit a few places, you think about what you would like to do, and your priorities change. I had wanted to be a civil servant because that's a stable job. But now I want something more challenging, where I can try different things... Since coming to Japan my whole sense of values, my view of the world has changed.

Similarly, Tanya arrived from Vietnam at age 18 on a scholarship program, but it was clear in her

narrative that she had little emotional investment in this opportunity, admitting that “it wasn’t a case of definitely wanting to study abroad; if I hadn’t got the scholarship I would have just studied in Vietnam like normal.” Having secured the scholarship, Tanya began her time in Japan with few expectations for the future, and has taken a very step-by-step approach to managing her opportunities:

Tanya: So, I tried living here, and it was pretty fun. Then the four years of university just flew by without me even realizing. I did the master’s because my research topic was interesting, but always wanted something more. And then I thought, since I’ve got a master’s why not look for a job? It all just happened.

This step-by-step approach is indicative of the nature of her relationship with Japan, with which she had little affinity prior to her degree. Even now, she stated regularly that she has no investment in Japan itself, and can return home at any time. Her connection with Japan developed due to ease of integration and the opportunities she discovered. It is the presence of opportunity and the sense of feeling valued that has prolonged her stay and led her to pursue employment and remain in the country.

Tanya, Yes, and the majority of other participants arrived in the country with few expectations, but during their course of study they were alerted to the option to remain in the country, and Japan emerged as a mobility option late in the recent present. In the evaluation process, the ease of pursuing their present goals whilst remaining in Japan was crucially important, but the extent to which remaining was compatible with their existing biography was often the defining factor in their decision-making.

Compatibility of biographies in the migration transition

For many participants, studying in Japan was the genesis for new biographic factors that were often critical in encouraging the participant to remain after graduating. The changing circumstances and personal growth that occur during international study are well known to be a formative factor in international students’ life course, and the consequences of these changes have dramatic results. This was true for the study participants, as changes of circumstance and personal growth that occurred during the stay in Japan were regularly seen as the fundamental factor that made previously uninterested students determined to remain. Mo came from India to study for his PhD with no prior knowledge of Japan, due to a lack of opportunities for doctoral candidates in his research field. While the original plan had been to return home to a research position after graduation, his experiences encouraged his family to arrange for his younger sister to study a master’s at the same university. Despite his personal difficulties in finding a position in Japan to support an extended stay, Mo felt a personal responsibility to stay and continue to support his sister’s education:

Mo: My sister started her career as a master student in this university last September... It's very hard

to get her from home. Myself and my father escorted her until this point. Especially in India, mostly, they won't allow girl child especially female to move abroad to study more. It's a closed community. I want for her - at least for one year I want to be here. That's a personal reason.

Though Mo thoroughly enjoyed his time in Japan, he had achieved his original goals and was in a strong position to return home as anticipated. However, a fundamental change of circumstances required a change in trajectory and resulted in a determination to stay in Japan despite inevitable difficulties. Changes of circumstance during the period of study were often the critical determining factor for participants who chose to stay. Yes was powerfully influenced by a romantic relationship that began during his time in Japan, a factor that not only dictated that he stay in Japan, but also geographically restricted his job search to an area close to his partner, but with relatively few positions.

In addition to circumstances, personal growth experienced during their study was similarly influential, often exhibiting a powerful impact on participants' attitudes and priorities. Harry is a key example, being extremely candid about his attitude prior to coming to Japan to pursue a master's degree, revealing that "most of my life I just break the rules... I don't have teamwork skill, I don't have time management skills. I'm so selfish at that time." Harry's experiences in his university and working part-time at a restaurant had a profound effect on his attitude to work, self-restraint and diligence. He was proud of his personal growth and attributed this progress to the environment in Japan. This personal growth was accompanied by gratitude towards Japan and the opportunities it had afforded him, and a strong desire to remain.

Harry: First, I want to stay here, I think around 10 years or more than that... Japan for me is my second home now, because they give me a lot of experiences. They give me a chance to be a good person, to be a better person in here. Japan is like my second home.

From these narratives we can see that the study abroad experience was immensely formative for a number of participants, and their migration intentions materialized alongside significant changes of circumstance and personal growth that made remaining in Japan both possible and desirable. It was apparent that in these cases they had not only become aware of the possibility of a migration transition during their course of study, but had also become more compatible with such a transition. In many cases, these were the key determining factors that encouraged them to forgo other opportunities and pursue a challenging migration transition.

On the other hand, while all participants had at least briefly considered the option of remaining in Japan, for several participants the specifics of their pre-existing biographies precluded any meaningful evaluation of a migration transition, at least in the short term. For example, the presence of dependents in the home country commonly dictated a return home. Dolly openly stated that "when I graduate, I need to protect my mother also... I long to graduate as soon as possible and go back home". She had become a key guardian of her

mother, and this growing dependent relationship prevented her from considering any further stay in Japan. Similarly, Mel decided to return home to secure the future of his children despite their successful adaptation to life in Japan during his PhD, and growing environmental worries in his hometown. For him, proximity to his support networks who could aid childcare outweighed his professional opportunities in Japan.

Other participants were required to return home for a pre-specified period due to conditions of their scholarships. Juande was in such a position, and despite attempts to negotiate a longer stay was resigned to the fact that his return home was inevitable. Unfortunately, this was to the detriment of his future research plans, and a disruption of his son's education:

Juande: In terms of my educational attainment, I wanted to continue my PhD, but the JICA said, "You must go home first." My professor gave me endorsement letter to continue, but JICA said in our agreement I need to go home... I cannot express what kind of feeling. But I feel sorry for my son. At least, he experienced the kind of life in Japan.

These participants recalled earlier interest to remain in Japan where they may have had access to attractive opportunities, but they never entered a meaningful evaluation process due to non-negotiable biographic factors that were incompatible with such a decision.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results of this study indicate that the post-study trajectories of potential student-migrants in Japan are fundamentally entwined with the interaction of temporal and biographical factors in their life course development. The interviews revealed several key findings.

First, a small number of participants revealed that an early experience or incident had catalyzed an interest in Japan and as a result, they often possessed an interest in staying in Japan that predated their course of study, often despite limited direct contact with the destination country. These people are evidence that biographical factors can be a powerful motivator of migration transitions for international students, often precluding the first-hand evaluation of the opportunities at hand, and offering an explanation why, for a minority of students, the existence of an established migration pathway may be attractive. In addition, these participants also appeared to benefit from a distinct planning advantage in negotiating their migration transition. Due to the time-consuming processes of language acquisition, developing social networks and particularly job hunting, those who had begun their process of cultural and linguistic adaptation prior to studying abroad, and who were motivated to dedicate themselves to organizing their transition early in their period of study, perceived that they were comparatively well-positioned to successfully transition from student to migrant status.

However, the majority of participants only became cognizant of the possibility of a migration transition

during their course of study, and the interviews revealed that compatibility of their biography with an extended stay in Japan was a necessary precondition for a meaningful engagement with the decision to stay or leave. Having realized that remaining in Japan was an option, participants then had to evaluate whether such a transition was compatible with their wider personal circumstances. However, while some participants had relatively few barriers preventing a considered evaluation of this opportunity, those with dependents or outstanding contractual obligations that precluded them from remaining in Japan often displayed a resignation to the fact they would be unable to stay, and it was revealed that a perceived incompatibility of circumstance prevented any meaningful evaluation of the potential to remain. Clearly, due to pre-existing biographic factors a large number of people who choose to study in Japan will never be potential candidates for an extended stay. As such, they never enter into a considered process of evaluation of the costs or benefits of remaining, as opposed to returning to their home country.

Those whose circumstances were compatible with an extended stay in Japan exhibited more concerted efforts to evaluate the opportunities available to them and make a reasoned decision about their future mobility. Many of those who chose to remain indicated that it was critical incidents that occurred during their time in Japan, citing a variety of circumstantial changes and personal developments, that were most influential in their decision to remain. In addition, it is also of interest that participants whose desire to remain emerged later in their course of study were at a disadvantage in trying to negotiate this transition, compared to those with a pre-existing desire to remain in Japan. This late emergence of both the recognition of the opportunity to stay in Japan, and the desire to actively pursue this trajectory, is testament to the importance of engaging with these potential migrants throughout the course of study.

In summary, while these results do not reveal any specific decision-making patterns that can be generalized to all international students in Japan, by providing this insight into how migration transition decisions are both temporally and biographically moderated this study acts as testament to the explanatory power of life-course approaches to the study of education-migration pathways, and the importance of considering temporal variation and individual life courses when dealing with student migration. Cross-sectional analyses of students' desire to stay and decision-making processes are unable to capture these temporal variations, and similarly unable to capture the important biographical factors that are the necessary precondition for meaningful engagement with a migration transition as a potential trajectory.

These findings suggest that for governments and institutions that wish to support the development of an established pathway from student to migrant status, an understanding of the temporally variable emergence of such intentions and its impact on the subsequent transition may be beneficial. The apparent benefits of a pre-study interest in a migration transition indicates that in cases where student-migrants are desired, publicity of such programs may be particularly effective prior to the course of study or soon after arrival. It is also interesting to note that due to the obvious variability of intentions throughout the student sojourn, the likelihood of any particular students' migration outcome is unlikely to be measured accurately at the outset of the course of study. Governments and responsible higher education institutions may benefit from frequent

engagement with students to account for critical incidents that occur during the study period, with potentially large impacts on their future trajectories. This would ensure that more students are made aware of opportunities and provided with adequate information to meaningfully evaluate these in light of their ever-changing circumstances and dynamic agency.

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日本における留学生移民

—新しい移民の道筋におけるライフコースの考察—

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世界中の先進国には、知識社会と高齢化を背景として、高度人材の留学生を社会に受け入れる政策が広がっています。留学生の受け入れ数が多い国では留学生が卒業したのち、彼らを移民として受け入れる政策がとられています。カナダとオーストラリアではその政策が、多くの留学生や高度人材を引き付けています。近年では、日本も試験的に、この政策をとっています。本研究は、個々の留学生の視点から移民の理解を探るものです。参加者のこれまでの伝記（バイオグラフィー）を詳細に理解することや、生き方への影響、移民への評価のインタビュー調査を実施しました。この研究では、三つの発見がありました。第一に、日本に留学する前に日本となんらかの関係があった留学生は、日本に移民として残ることがより容易であるという関係性が明らかになりました。第二に、留学前には卒業後に日本に滞在することを意識していなかった学生であっても、留学中に環境の変化や個人の成長を経ることが、移民となる選択に大きな影響を与えることが分かりました。第三に、学生の伝記によっては、卒業後の日本での滞在との条件が合わず、卒業後も日本に住むことが自身にとって有益であると判断したとしても、日本で移民となる可能性を検討することすらないことを発見しました。

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