

2024 SNUAC-Toyo GIC Co-Lecture Series 6

# Migration, Refugee and Social Policy in Japan

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# 1. Japan's Demographic Transition

|                              | 1970        | 1990        | 2010        | 2020        |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Population                   | 104,670,000 | 123,610,000 | 128,060,000 | 125,320,000 |
| TFR                          | 2.13        | 1.54        | 1.39        | 1.34        |
| Number of Children           | 1,934,239   | 1,221,585   | 1,071,305   | 840,832     |
| Aging Ratio                  | 7.1         | 12.1        | 23.0        | 28.9        |
| GDP rate growth              | 8.2         | 4.2         | -0.3        | -0.3        |
| Number of Foreign Population | 708,458     | 1,075,317   | 2,134,151   | 2,887,116   |

出典：国立社会保障人口問題研究所

# Japan's Population Projection

| 10,000 PERSON    |      | MIDDLE LEVEL<br>1.44 | HIGH LEVEL<br>1.65 | LOW LEVEL<br>1.35 |
|------------------|------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| TOTAL POPULATION |      |                      |                    |                   |
|                  | 2015 | 12,709               | 12,709             | 12,709            |
|                  | 2040 | 11,092               | 11,374             | 10,833            |
| AGE 0~14         | 2015 | 1,595                | 1,595              | <b>1,595</b>      |
|                  | 2040 | 1,194                | 1,372              | <b>1,027</b>      |
| AGE 15~64        | 2015 | 7,728                | 7,728              | <b>7,728</b>      |
|                  | 2040 | 5,978                | 6,018              | <b>5,885</b>      |
| ABOVE 65         | 2015 | 3,387                | 3,387              | 3,387             |
|                  | 2040 | 3,921                | 3,921              | 3,921             |

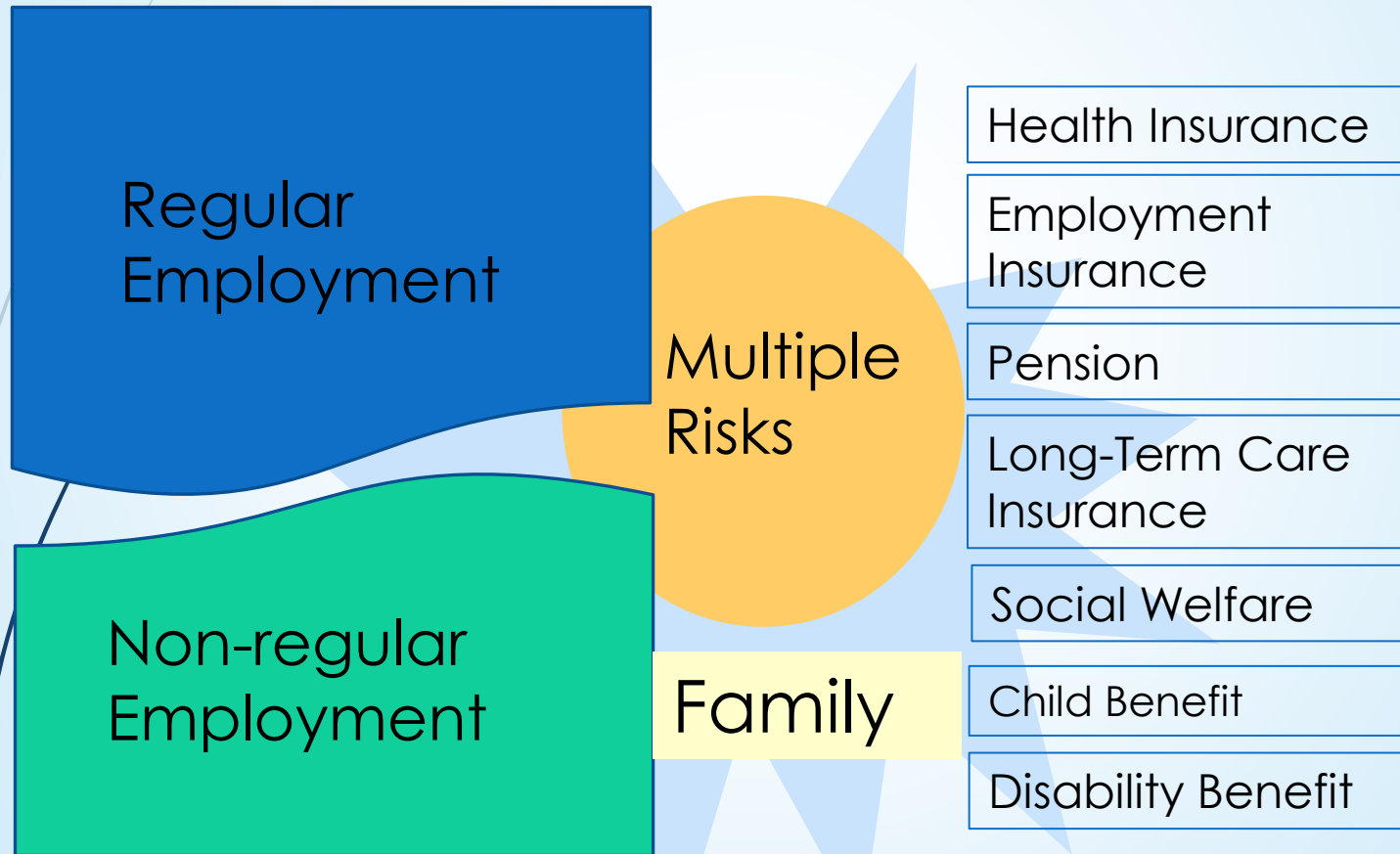
出典：国立社会保障人口問題研究所

# Asian Countries by Population (2018)

| #  | Country (or dependency) | Population (2018) | Yearly Change | Net Change | Density (P/Km <sup>2</sup> ) | Land Area (Km <sup>2</sup> ) | Migrants (net) | Fert. Rate | Med. Age | Urban Pop % | World Share |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|------------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1  | China                   | 1,415,045,928     | 0.39 %        | 5,528,531  | 151                          | 9,388,211                    | 339,690        | 1.6        | 37       | 58 %        | 18.54 %     |
| 2  | India                   | 1,354,051,854     | 1.11 %        | 14,871,727 | 455                          | 2,973,190                    | -515,643       | 2.4        | 27       | 32 %        | 17.74 %     |
| 3  | Indonesia               | 266,794,980       | 1.06 %        | 2,803,601  | 147                          | 1,811,570                    | -167,000       | 2.5        | 28       | 54 %        | 3.50 %      |
| 4  | Pakistan                | 200,813,818       | 1.93 %        | 3,797,863  | 260                          | 770,880                      | -236,384       | 3.7        | 22       | 38 %        | 2.63 %      |
| 5  | Bangladesh              | 166,368,149       | 1.03 %        | 1,698,398  | 1,278                        | 130,170                      | -505,297       | 2.2        | 26       | 35 %        | 2.18 %      |
| 6  | Japan                   | 127,185,332       | -0.23 %       | -299,118   | 349                          | 364,555                      | 71,827         | 1.4        | 46       | 94 %        | 1.67 %      |
| 7  | Philippines             | 106,512,074       | 1.52 %        | 1,593,984  | 357                          | 298,170                      | -130,000       | 3.1        | 24       | 44 %        | 1.40 %      |
| 8  | Viet Nam                | 96,491,146        | 0.99 %        | 950,346    | 311                          | 310,070                      | -40,000        | 2.0        | 30       | 34 %        | 1.26 %      |
| 9  | Iran                    | 82,011,735        | 1.05 %        | 848,947    | 50                           | 1,628,550                    | -80,000        | 1.7        | 30       | 74 %        | 1.07 %      |
| 10 | Turkey                  | 81,916,871        | 1.45 %        | 1,171,851  | 106                          | 769,630                      | 325,434        | 2.1        | 30       | 71 %        | 1.07 %      |
| 11 | Thailand                | 69,183,173        | 0.21 %        | 145,660    | 135                          | 510,890                      | 33,463         | 1.5        | 38       | 52 %        | 0.91 %      |
| 12 | Myanmar                 | 53,855,735        | 0.91 %        | 485,126    | 82                           | 653,290                      | -94,856        | 2.3        | 28       | 36 %        | 0.71 %      |
| 13 | South Korea             | 51,164,435        | 0.36 %        | 182,223    | 526                          | 97,230                       | 33,927         | 1.2        | 41       | 81 %        | 0.67 %      |

Source: **Worldometers** ([www.Worldometers.info](http://www.Worldometers.info)) Elaboration of data by United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. [World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision](#). (Medium-fertility variant).

# Employment, Family and Social Security



# 2. Migration Policies

## 2.1 Migration during the Imperial Period

- Promotion of industry
- Rapid population increase in modern period.

- 1872 34,810,000
- 1936 70,110,000
- 1970 146,600,000
- 2010 Population decrease

- Emigration of Japanese
- ① Rural to urban migration
- ② Migration to Hokkaido as an internal colony
- ③ Migration to North and South America and Asia
- ④ Migration to the colonies

# Emigration and Return Migration

- Before the WWII more than 6.6 million Japanese migrated to Hawaii, America, Southeast Asia, China, Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan.
- The Migrant Protection Law (1896) = "Migrant" meant Japanese who migrated abroad as migrant labors = Emigration was encouraged by the state
- After 1945, evacuation/return migration to Japan



Hakata Bay



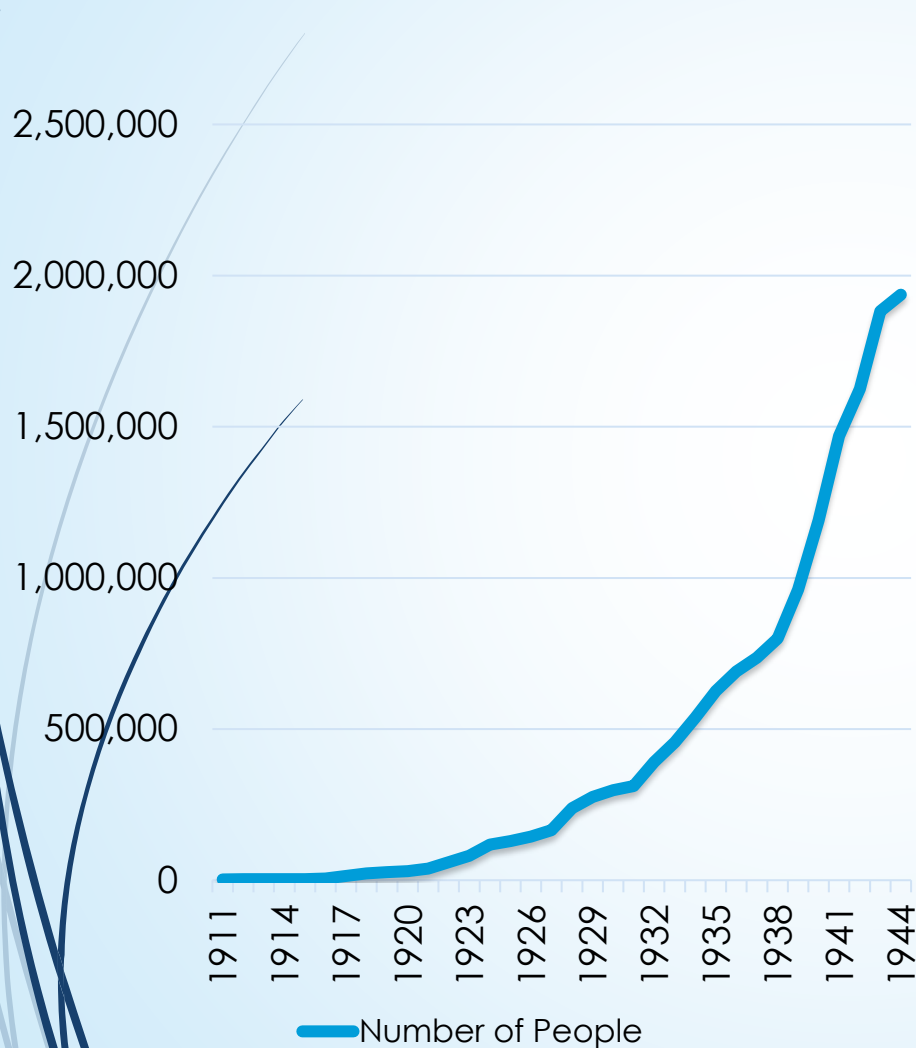
Hakata Bay  
Memorial



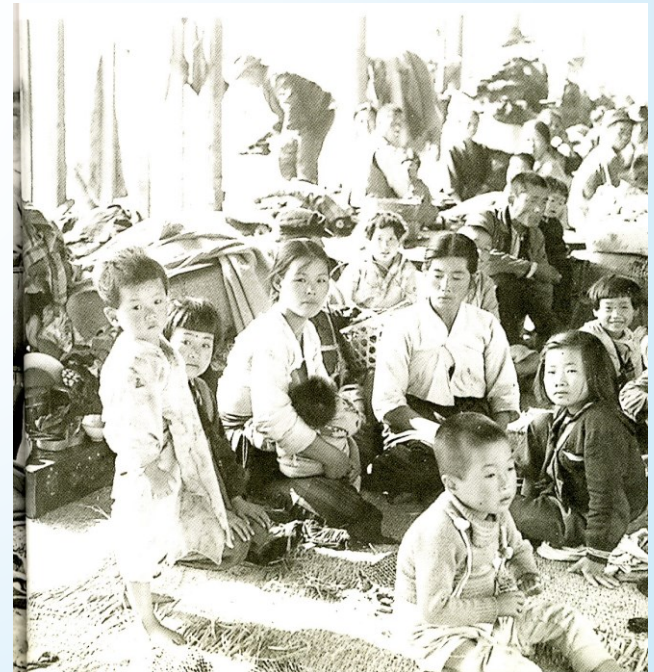
Futsukaichi  
Health Clinic



# Korean Migration to Japan



Ferry between Shimonoseki and Busan



Hakata (Fukuoka Port)



Coal Mines in  
Chikuhō, Kyushu



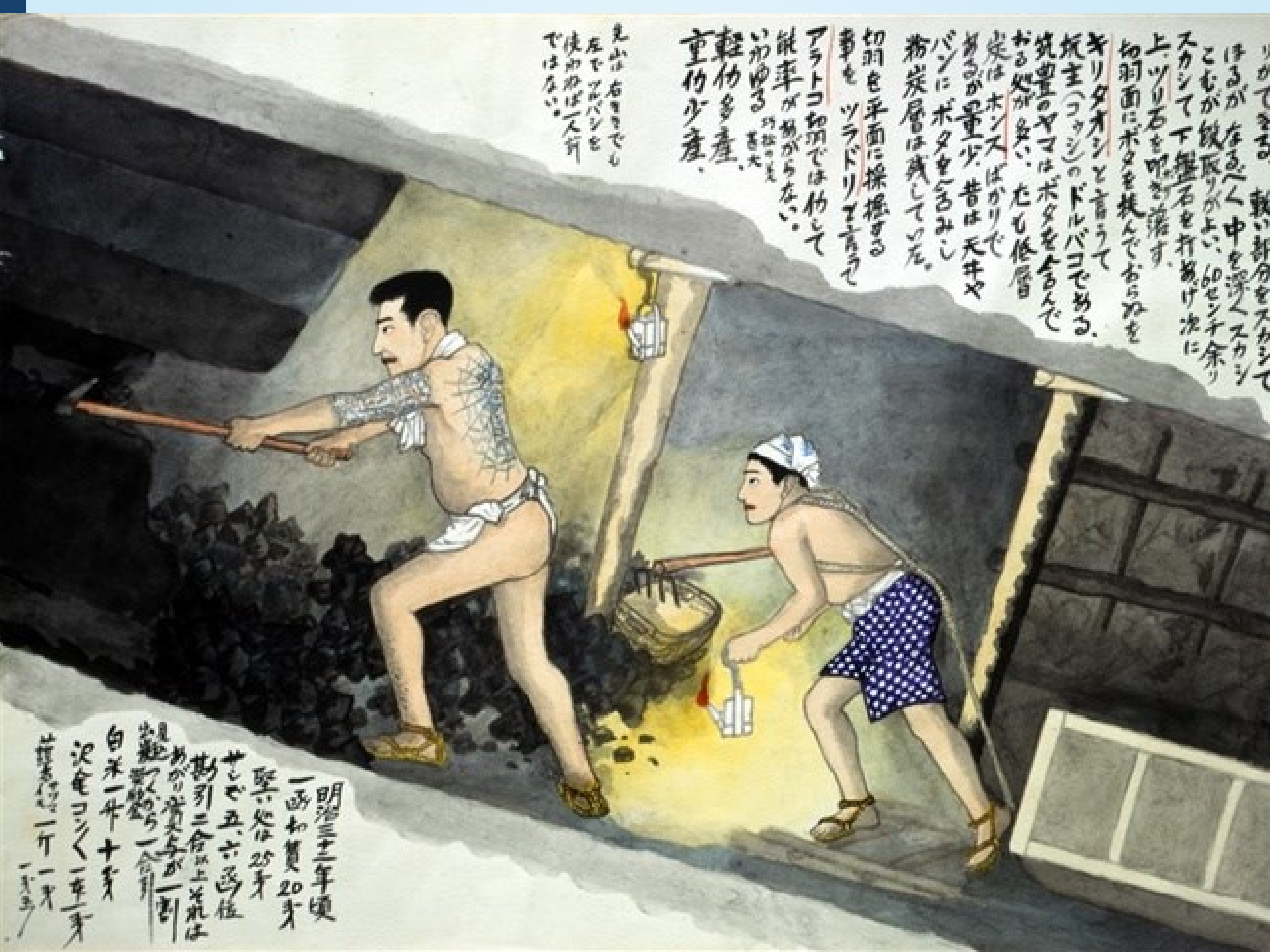
Izuka station(2006)

Izuka City (1961), 九州産業大学デジタル  
アーカイブ



@Sakubei Yamamoto

切羽を平面に採掘する  
 事も、ツラドリと言ふて  
 アラトコ切羽では竹として  
 能率が低からない。  
 いわゆる、竹炭  
 軽竹多産、  
 重竹少産、  
 切羽はホシ又ばかりで  
 量も少、昔は天牛や  
 バンにボタを含むみし、  
 希炭層は残して石、  
 切羽面にボタを挟んでおらぬを  
 キリタオシと言ふて  
 坂主(コウジ)のドルバコである。  
 炭層のヤマはボタを含むんで  
 おる処が多い、尤も後層  
 上ツリ石を叩き落す、  
 ほうがなま(く)中を深くスカシ  
 こもが飯取りがよい、6センチ余リ  
 スカシて下盤石を打抜け次に  
 上ツリ石を叩き落す、  
 切羽面にボタを挟んでおらぬを



見か右りでも  
 左でツラシを  
 使わねば不行  
 ではない。

明治三十三年頃  
 一函切羽 20才  
 堅くは 25才  
 サレで五、六為位  
 勘引三合以上炭は  
 あり、質も一割  
 出廻り、一合引  
 白米一斗十才  
 泥金コシク一車一才  
 此炭一斗一才

# Koreans in the Coal Mines

|          | 1941.3            | 1942.3             | 1943.3             | 1944.9             | 1945.6             |
|----------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Hokkaido | 17,057<br>(25.6%) | 28,886<br>(35.7%)  | 35,884<br>(41.8%)  | 35,209<br>(41.9%)  | 37,171<br>(41.2%)  |
| Honshu   | 5,458<br>(12.5%)  | 16,416<br>(27.0%)  | 18,179<br>(27.5%)  | 18,203<br>(26.9%)  | 17,647<br>(26.0%)  |
| Kyushu   | 21,522<br>(12.1%) | 56,759<br>(24.3%)  | 70,068<br>(29.1%)  | 74,736<br>(29.9%)  | 69,207<br>(29.3%)  |
| Total    | 44,037<br>(15.4%) | 102,061<br>(27.2%) | 124,131<br>(31.6%) | 128,148<br>(31.9%) | 124,025<br>(31.3%) |

\*figures in the bracket represents Koreans as a percent of the total coal-mining labor force (Weiner 1994: 198)

## 2.2 Migration Theories

- Migration theories (Massey, 2005)
  - Neo-classical theory
  - Segmented labor market theory
- Migration infrastructure (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014)
  - commercial, the regulatory, the technological, the humanitarian and the social
- “the economic and sociological factors were the necessary conditions for continued migration, but the sufficient conditions were political and legal” (Hollifield, 2008:195)



# Where do people move?

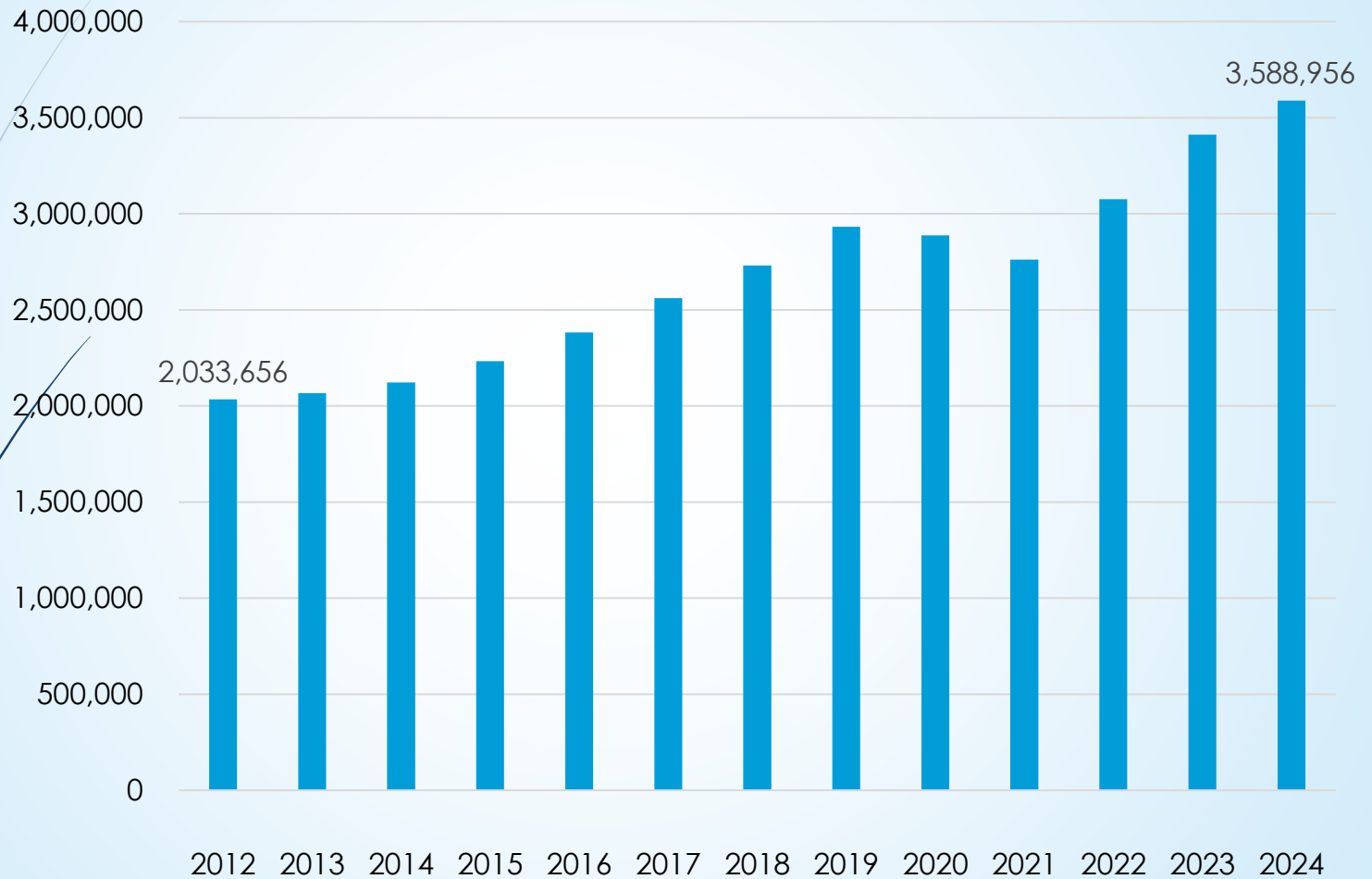
- Pre-existing networks: Economic, political, colonial, religious, families and relatives etc.
- While people may decide to migrate of their own decision, international migration itself is socially shaped by systematic policies and existing institutions (Sassen, 2007:131).
- Migration has been channeled through existing images such as popular culture, tourism and technology etc.
- Lack of global governance on migration.

## 2.3 Labor Migration in Japan

- Shortage in the labor market
  - Population aging
  - Declining population
  - Higher education
- 1990 Revised Immigration Law-Accepting highly skilled but not allowing the low skilled workers to settle
  - New visa categories were created i.e. managers, accountants
  - Accepted Nikkei of Japanese ancestry
  - Created the Technical Internship Training Program (TITP)
- 2019 Revised Immigration law-Accepting semi-skilled workers under Specified Skill Worker (SSW)

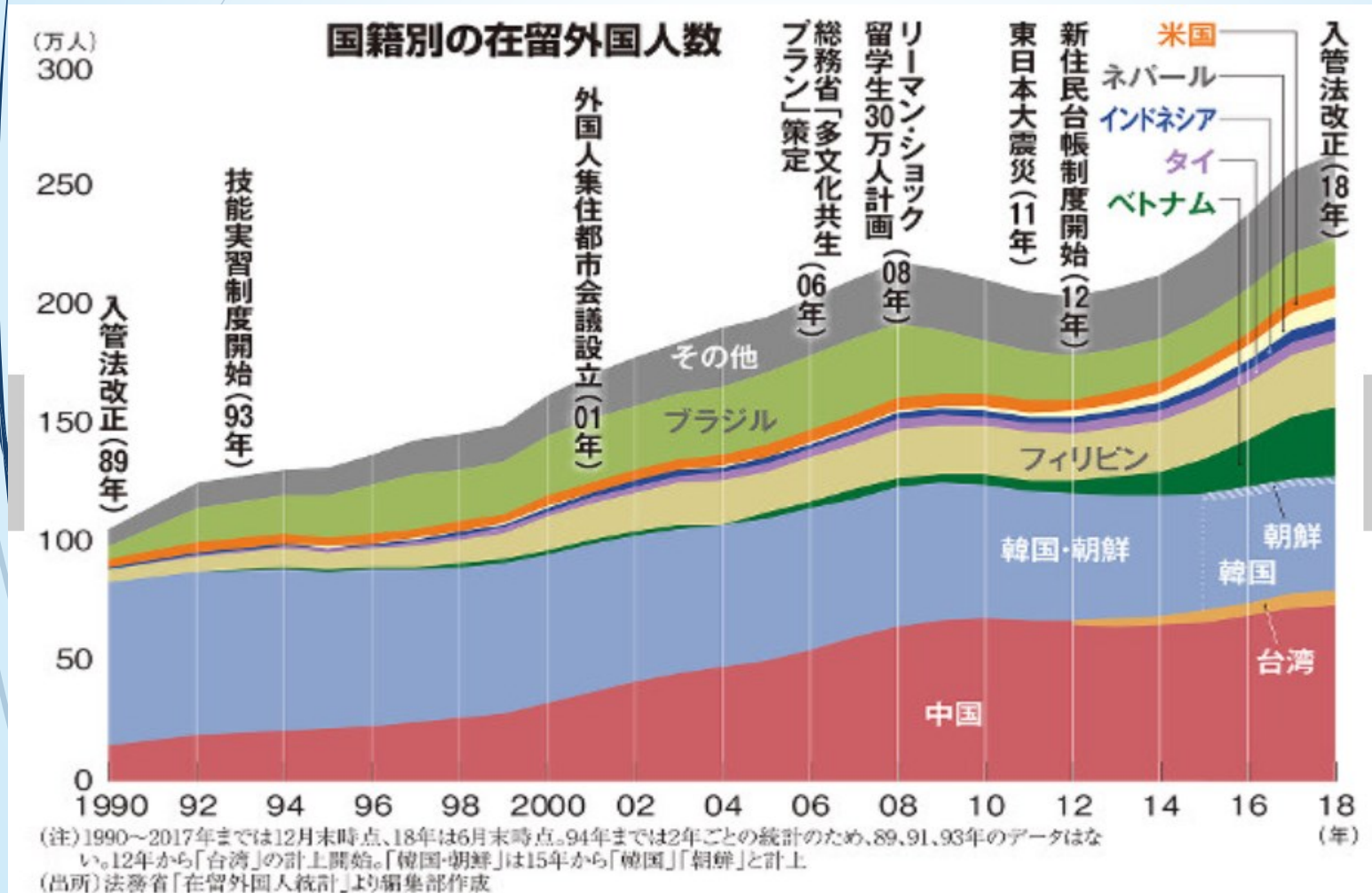


# Number of Foreigners in Japan



法務省、2023

# Migration in Japan



- Others
- Brazil
- USA
- Nepal
- Indonesia
- Thailand
- Philippines
- Vietnam
- Korea
- Taiwan
- China

# Migrant Workers in the Labor Market

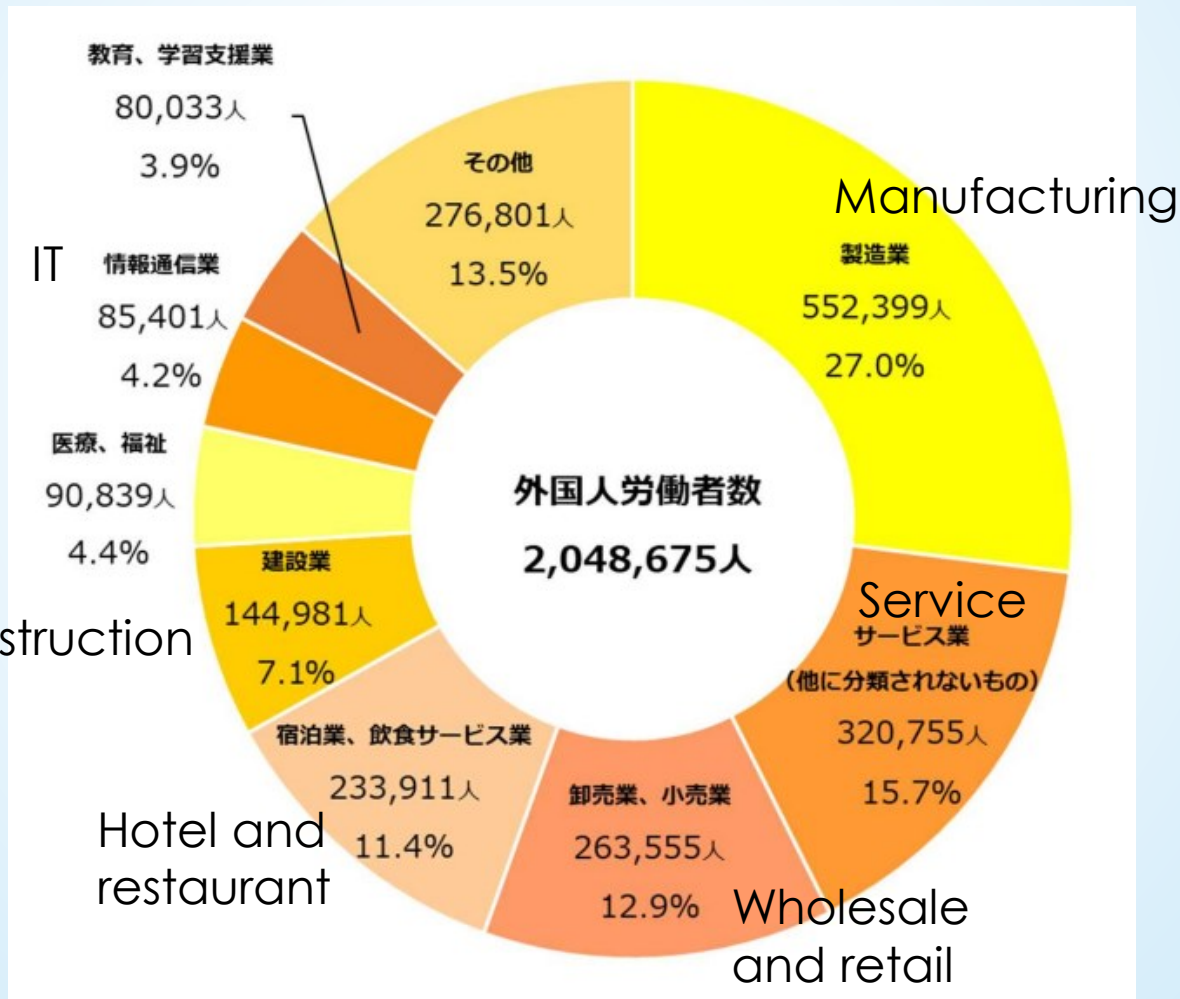
2 million in  
2023

Health  
and  
Social  
Welfare

Construction

Hotel and  
restaurant

Wholesale  
and retail



Source: MHLW, 2023, Gaikokujin Koyo Jyokyo no Todokede

# Does Skills Matter ?

- ▶ In most countries migration policy is more open to highly skilled but restrictive to low skilled.
- ▶ Developed countries give more rights to the highly skilled but not to the low skilled (Ruhs, 2013)
- ▶ **Skills are social construct** according to the political/economic contexts.
- ▶ Brain drain, brain circulation, brain gain.
- ▶ Feminization of migration (Castles and Millar )
- ▶ Contradictory class mobility (Parrenas, 2001)

## What it means to be a migrant

- **Asymmetrical power relationship**
  - Access to justice
  - Fair salary
  - Freedom of mobility
  - Family reunion
  - Reproductive right
  - Harassment & Discrimination
  - Intersectionality

# 3. Refugee Crisis

- There is a general understanding that **refugees** and **migrants** are different. While the definition of refugee is stated in the Refugee Convention, there is no legal definition for the migrants.
- UNHCR states that “Refugees are not immigrants. Confusing the two is dangerous and technically harmful to refugee protection.”
- **Definition:** owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of **race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion**, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (Refugee Convention Article 1A)

# NY Times 2022.3.15



The New York Times   
@nytimes



Japan, one of the world's least friendly countries to refugees, has admitted dozens of Ukrainians who have fled the Russian invasion, officials said. Those who have family or friends already in Japan will be granted a temporary 90-day visa.



[nytimes.com](https://www.nytimes.com)

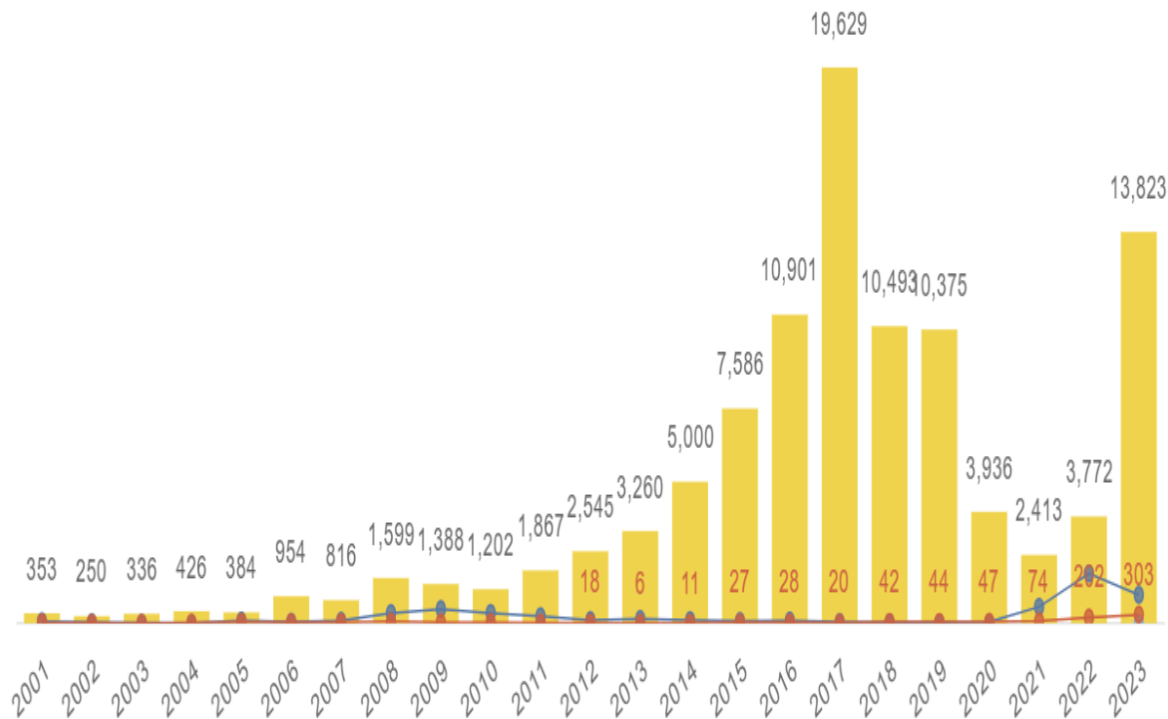
Japan, long averse to refugees, says it has admitted 47 Ukrainians.

Japan is the fourth donor to UNHCR

# 3.1 Refugee Recognition in Japan

日本の難民申請者・認定者数推移

認定者数 人道配慮 補完的保護 難民申請者数



- ▶ Starting with the Indochina refugees in the 1970s.
- ▶ Japan ratified the refugee convention in 1981.
- ▶ The number of those who are recognized as refugees are extremely low.
- ▶ In 2022, 202 was recognized among which 147 was Afghanistan nationals (72%).
- ▶ In 2023, 303 was recognized among which 237 was Afghanistan nationals (78%).



## 3.2 Japan-Afghanistan Relationship

- ▶ Japan was one of the major donor in the reconstruction of Afghanistan spending US\$6000 billion for infrastructure, agriculture, health and education etc. in the past 20 years.
- ▶ Ministry of Education and JICA established a **scholarship** inviting more than **1,400 students** from Afghanistan in fields such as science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, law and peace building.
- ▶ In the aftermath of political change in Afghanistan on August 15<sup>th</sup> 2021, those who were involved in Japan's international co-operation projects were threatened to death as "foreign spies".



2002 Tokyo Conference

## 3.3 Humanitarian Crisis in Afghanistan

- 2021.8.15
- The fall of Kabul and Taliban seized power
- Door-to-door search, death threats, killing

Currently there is no way out, I have no visa for Pakistan, even if I had the land border is closed. And civil flight run way have been closed since Taliban entered Kabul, the evacuation was talking place from military run way.

This is that the Taliban is not going to extant the evacuation beyond the 31 August, which is really really dangerous if we couldn't get out by that time 😭😭😭😭😭

2021.8.24 Kabul Airport,  
Photo by Former Student



# Plight of Afghan Students (On-line Survey, 2022.1~2)

- ▶ Respondents: Afghan evacuees who arrived in Japan after 15 August or those who could not return
- ▶ Response 56 (120 family members share 23% of the total evacuees)
- ▶ 83% of the respondents are current or former students evacuated by the University 回答者の83%は留学生
- ▶ 50% have worked for the previous government (旧政権関係者), 21 % worked in the University (大学教員), 10% worked for NGOs and 5% are students
- ▶ 98% speak English while those who can speak Japanese was 25%
- ▶ 63% wanted to settle in Japan (日本への定住を希望), 25% want to settle in the third country (第3国への定住を希望)
- ▶ 94.6% said if they return they will be persecuted (帰国すれば迫害の恐れがある)

# Reasons for Persecution (free answer)

- Having a Ph.D from Japan
  - Taliban is against women to have higher education. I am a woman who studied abroad.
  - Taliban calls those who have worked for foreign organizations “infidels” and justify their killing
  - I have worked for Japanese ODA projects
  - Taliban will never forgive those who had scholarship from foreign countries and studied abroad, especially women and minorities
  - Those who worked for previous government and Japanese organization are considered as spies and never forgiven
  - → We are here because you were there.
1. Relationship with Japan and other countries
  2. Worked for the previous government
  3. Belonging to an ethnic/religious minority
  4. Women who are educated abroad & hold high positions
  5. Believing in democratic values
- well-founded fear of being persecuted



# Refugee Policies

- ▶ Racialized border control by MOFA
- ▶ Strict refugee recognition by the immigration agency
- ▶ Minimum state support (Gov. evacuees, private evacuees)
  - ▶ 6 months of Japanese language training
  - ▶ Allowance during the 6 months training @1600 yen for those who are above 12 years old

## Ukraine

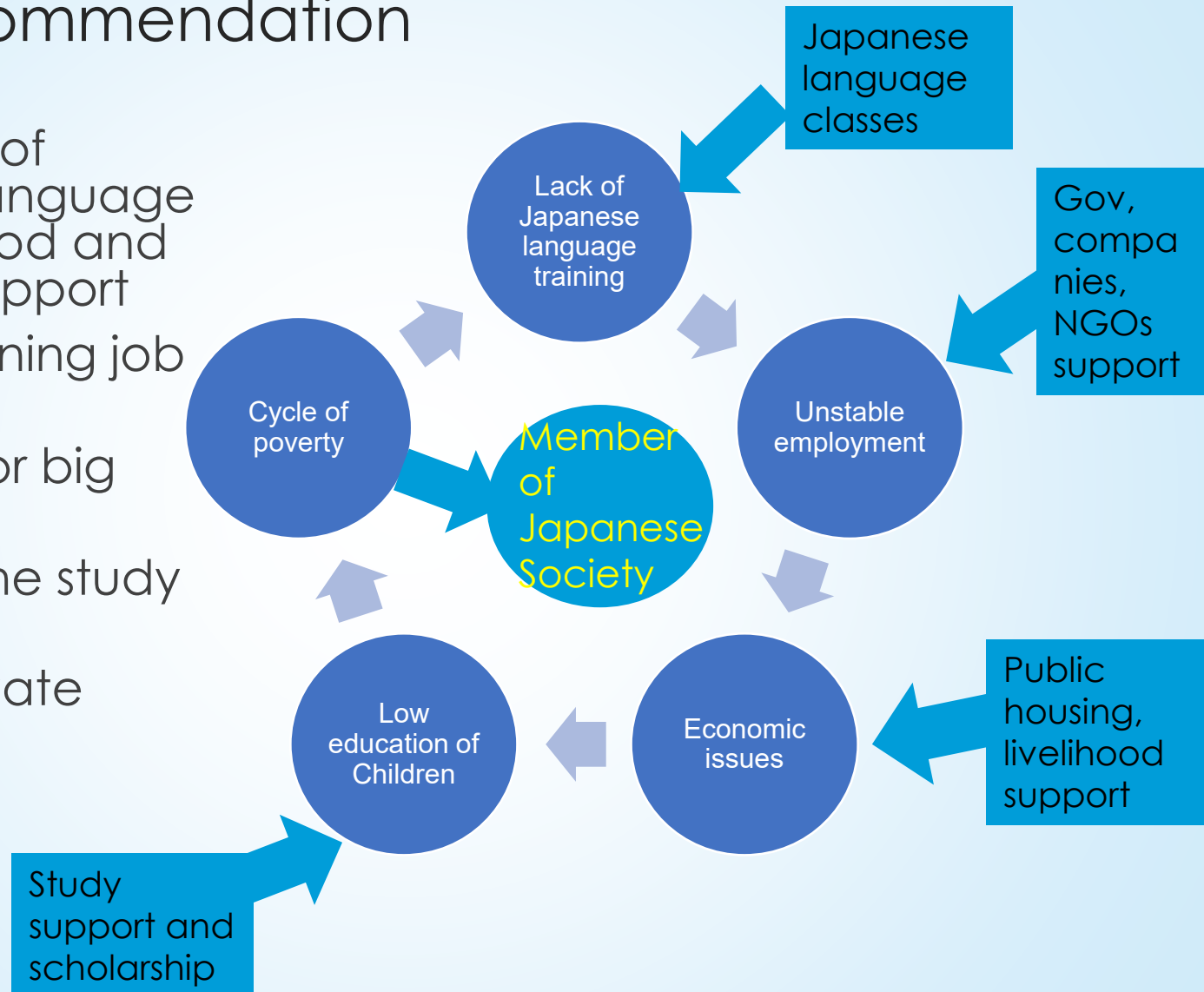
## Afghanistan

| Name                                       | Evacuees   | Migrants  |
|--|--|---|
| Guarantor                                  | No need  | Japanese or PR  |
| Visa upon arrival                          | Short-term                                       | Student or working visa   |
| Public Assistance to the person            | One time payment 160,000 yen, @2,400 yen per day | None  |
| Public Assistance by municipal governments | Yes  | None  |
| Information from Immigration Bureau        | For Ukrainians Living in Japan                   | Responding to Afghans in light of the situation in their home country |
| Japanese Language                          | Cultural Agency, Private Schools (free)          | None  |
| Private Assistance                         | 1 million yen per person (Nippon Foundation)     | Donation, cloud funding   |

# Recommendation

1. Extension of Japanese language training period and livelihood support
2. Strengthening job matching
3. Support for big families
4. Support the study of children

➔ Public-Private Partnership



# Becoming Part of Japanese Society

## アフガニスタンの元留学生の早期救出:



42,015  
50,011

On-line petition by Tokyo Univ. of Agriculture and Technology 42,360 signatures, submitted 2021.11

Symposium by Universities 2021.10.2



Recommendation submitted by universities to MOFA, MOJ, MITI, MEXT, JICA, 2021.11

Press conference at Foreign Correspondent Club (FCA) 2022.4.22

Crowdfunding by 6 universities.




Food support from food banks



Craft exhibition by Afghan women at international festival in Tochigi





## 4. Globalization and Social Policy

- ▶ Social policy is understood as policy and administrative practice in social security, health, education, employment, care and housing.
- ▶ One of the dilemmas that confronts many welfare states is the issue of support for migrants. **If welfare is based on solidarity or networks of social relationships, people from different backgrounds do not have the same entitlements as those who are within them** (Spicker, 2014).

# 4.1 Impact of International Norms

- ▶ Japan has ratified most of the core international human rights conventions
- ▶ **Refugee Convention (1951)**
  - ▶ **Article 3 - Non-discrimination**
    - ▶ The Contracting States shall apply the provisions of this Convention to refugees without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin.
  - ▶ **Article 23 - Public relief**
    - ▶ The Contracting States shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the same treatment with respect to public relief and assistance as is accorded to their nationals.
      - ▶ Child benefit
      - ▶ Child benefit for single parents
      - ▶ National Pension
      - ▶ National Health Insurance



# Labor Standard Act

- ▶ **Article 3** An employer shall not discriminate against a worker with respect to wages, working hours, or other working conditions because of the worker's nationality, creed, or social status.
- ▶ However, the occupational injury ratio is **1.6 times higher** for migrants than general Japanese workers.
- ▶ Language issues, safety in workplace, restriction on freedom of mobility might be the reason.

# Impact of International Norms

- SDGs Goal 17 Multi-stake holder partnership
- 2011 UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights
- State duty to protect, Corporate responsibility to respect, Access to remedy
- Human Rights Due Diligence
- “Companies should pay particular attention to the impact of human rights on individuals belonging to groups or ethnic groups that may be at higher risk of being socially vulnerable or excluded, and should also bear in mind that women and men may be at different risk.”



National  
Action Plan  
(2020)

Tokyo Olympic  
and  
Paralympic  
2020

ESG  
Investment

# The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights

## PROTECT

### GOVERNMENT

**The duty of the State duty to -**

1. Prevent, investigate, punish and redress human rights abuses that take place in domestic business operations.
2. Enact and enforce laws that require businesses to respect human rights.
3. Create a regulatory environment that facilitates business respect for human rights and provide guidance to companies on their responsibilities.

## RESPECT

### BUSINESS

**The Corporate Responsibility to -**

1. Prevent, mitigate and, where appropriate, remedy human rights abuses that they cause or contribute to.
2. Institute a policy commitment to meet the responsibility to respect human rights.
3. Undertake ongoing human rights due diligence to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for their human rights impacts.
4. Communicate how they address their human rights impacts.

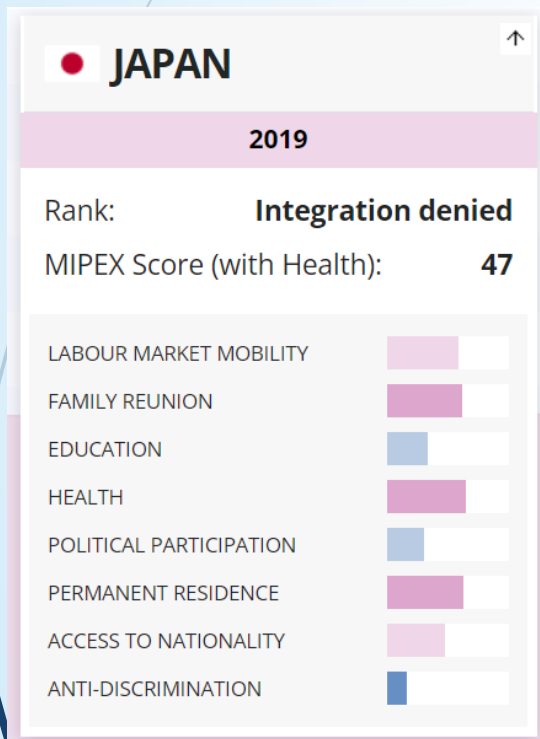
## REMEDY

### GOVERNMENT + BUSINESS

**State duty and business responsibility to -**

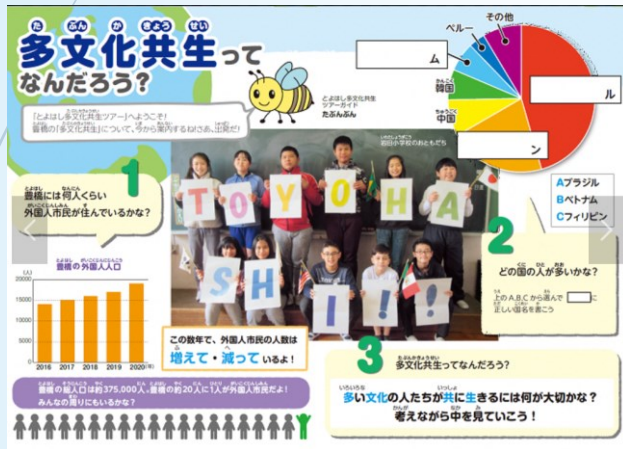
1. Provide access to an effective remedy for those affected
2. Ensure that State-based domestic judicial mechanisms are able to effectively address business-related human rights abuses
3. Provide effective and appropriate non-judicial grievance mechanisms with the capacity to hear and adjudicate business-related human rights complaints as part of a comprehensive State-based system for remedy.

## 4.2 Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) <https://www.mipex.eu/what-is-mipex>



Japanese policies still refuse to recognise that Japan is a country of immigration. This denial leads to contradictory policies that create as many obstacles as opportunities for foreign nationals. Japan's approach to integration is categorised as **"Immigration without Integration"**. While Japan is a leader far ahead of the other countries in this category, **its policies still deny basic rights and equal opportunities to newcomers**. Foreign nationals can find some ways to settle long-term in Japan. However, Japanese policies only go halfway to guarantee them equal opportunities, (e.g., on health and education), while also denying them several basic rights, most notably **protections from discrimination**.

## 4.3 Multi-Cultural Co-existence Policy (2006~)



自治体国際化協会

<http://www.clair.or.jp/j/multiculture/index.html>

1995 Hanshin Awaji Earthquake

Tabunka Kyosei Center, FM radio station

- ▶ a condition where people with different nationalities, ethnicities or other attributes live on together as fellow members of the local community, while respecting the differences in the cultural background of each other and striving to build relationships as equals.

# Discussions on Tabunka Kyosei

- Fashion, Food, Festival (3F) cosmetic multiculturalism
- Based on the assimilationist model
- Does not include zainichi Koreans
- Human rights are not discussed
- It neglects **hate speech against foreigners**
- Does not discuss social and economic inequalities
- However, it has some positive values (Kashiwazaki, 2016).
- Discursive side: challenges the dominant notion of Japanese society as ethnically and culturally homogenous.
- Policy side: recognition as a policy area generates institutional response, such as the designation of a section in the city or prefectural government to oversee policies and programs on tabunka kyōsei.



## 5. Conclusion & Discussion: What do we need?

- ▶ Labor migration and refugee policies are constructed differently but the people converge on the actual ground
- ▶ International norms play a significant role in expansion of social security to migrants.
- ▶ However, that is not enough. Non discrimination has to be assured
- ▶ Language training and supporting children's education is a priority
- ▶ How can Japan become a more fair and inclusive society?



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