Situating Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences

Milena Urszula Janiec Grygo

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Situation Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences

by

Milena Urszula Janiec-Grygo

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
School of Geosciences
College of Arts & Sciences
University of South Florida

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Keywords: globalization, intersectionality, migrant workers, rural and urban places, safety, Tokyo

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Abstract

Within the broader literature on migration, Japan is often portrayed as straddling two categories, one of a homogenous country and another of a multicultural society. The arguments on both sides are supported through the historical evidence, analysis of media resources, as well as narratives of Japanese residents. This inquiry seeks to highlight voices of migrants within these debates. This dissertation focuses on the urban–rural residential experiences of international migrants in Kanto and Tohoku regions. This inquiry treats international migration processes in terms of moving between the contexts of different countries as well as between urban – rural locations. These global – local experiences of migrants are set within broader milieu of the social and spatial stratifications created through neoliberal competition. The theoretical framework for this analysis is based on post-structural understandings of identity, migration, and economy. This study draws on qualitative methods, including, ethnographic data, interviews, content and textual analysis of job advertisements, as well as cognitive mapping. These sources allow us to create a unique portrait of migrant subjectivity that pulls from different contexts of fluid, spatial identities which mediate migrants’ interpretations of living and working in neoliberal Japan. The findings of this dissertation support the thesis that intersectional social identities such as gender, ethnicity, and social class, have a spatial component.

Keywords: globalization, intersectionality, migrant workers, rural and urban places, safety, Tokyo
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation considers Japan as a case study that extends the regional focus of migration inquiries from advanced economies in North America and Western Europe to an advanced economy in Asia. Bartram (2012) argues that Japan remains an outlier because it has a relatively low numbers of migrants compared to other developed economies. Low percentages of migrant population in Japan can be explained partly on the basis of the unwillingness of state-level agencies to accept corporate demands to allow in more foreign workers. As Bartram points out, Japanese policy makers prefer to boost production of technologies that reduce the number of workers instead of encouraging greater numbers of migrants (64). However, current pressure on the government from ‘big business’ creates conditions under which this trend may change. For example, the number of immigrants has increased by 5.9 percent since 2005 (Statistics Bureau 2012, 1), a relatively major change in the context of Japan. This includes long term migrants as well as workers under the short term Technical Intern Training Program (TITP).

In order to engage with a meaning of migration in Japan, this study compares urban and rural places in Kanto and Tohoku regions, to understand the role of place in shaping migrant experiences (Figure 1). This research applies a post-structural understandings of place and situates migrant narratives at the center of debates on categorizing Japan as a multi-ethnic or homogenous state. Weiner (2009) and Burgess (2010) proposed two different ways of looking at Japanese society. Weiner and Chapman (2009) delve into
Japan’s history of engagement with Korea from the colonial period to the current neoliberal networks of finance and trade and based on these observations, build a picture of Japan as multi-ethnic, where “the Zainichi community’s presence has for a long time subverted and transgressed the notion of Japanese nation-state as home to only a single national identity (171)”

Burges proposes that notions of homogeneity are a discourse and as such cannot be constituted as false. Burgess (2010) posits that “the ‘myth’ of homogeneity persists because it both resonates with and seems true to people and can be verified statistically (n.p.)”. One of the reasons why Burgess (2010) perceives Weiner and Chapman’s (2009) descriptions of multicultural Japan as problematic is that,

“[c]ritics who argue for the ‘inevitability’ of increased migration based on demographic and other factors fail to understand that policy is often discursively driven: elite predispositions and public perceptions play an important role in the political decision-making process (n.p.).”

Thus, migration in Japan can be discussed in relation to political discourses, such as those invoked in 1986 by the former Prime Minister Nakasone, who referred to Japan as “homogenous nation without ethnic minorities (Chapman 2006, 91).” Yet, the political process has a number of stakeholders, a number of actors who are not limited to the Japanese nationals and proponents of “a racially unified nation (ibid.).” What gets lost in these discussions are the voices of the migrants themselves, and their perspectives on Japan. In addition, the argument about multicultural or homogenous Japan constructs the country as a static place, whereas the post-structural perspective allows us to view places and cultures not as “things”, but rather as processes (Prashad 2003; Mitchell 1995b; Massey 1991). Moreover, these processes, as Massey points out (1991), are seldom without conflicts related to belonging and power within stratified societies. Still, places are
continuously (re)created by connections formed by individuals between local and global context. This dissertation seeks to bring in experiences of migrants, who, while perhaps considered foreign/non-Japanese by the majority of Japanese nationals, are a part of the society and see themselves as such.

Research Questions and Research Methods

This research considers how migrants become part of Japanese society through Japan’s need for workers as well as migrants’ experience of Japan as a place of work and living across scales of provincial and municipal governments, non-governmental organizations, and individual experiences. The two questions considered in this inquiry are,

Question 1. How are migrants constructed as workers?

Question 2. How do migrants experience Japan as a place of residence and work?

There are over ninety organizations helping migrants in Japan (Kremers 2014). As a part of the fieldwork, I visited a number of organizations helping migrants, among them NGOs, labor unions, faith-based organizations, and lawyers associations. Three of these organizations, Ally, Included, and Advance were the main facilitators of my contact with migrant participants. Ally and Advance are both regional labor unions which include migrant workers in their membership. Included is a national scale migrant organization whose major goal is to foster cooperation between organization helping migrants and to lobby the government to consider reforms benefiting migrants in Japan.

To answer the first research question, “How are migrants constructed as workers?” the study utilized data from (1) a survey administered to the migrant advocacy organizations, as well as (2) ethnographic observation and interviews, combined with (3)
content and textual analysis of job advertisements in magazines geared towards the South American community.

1. Survey Data. Surveys were administered to the leaders and members of migrant organizations, unions, and faith based organizations, as well as government officials used convenience sampling (Fontana and Frey 2003). Convenience sampling is a non-probabilistic sampling technique that includes participants who are readily available. Therefore, not all of the individuals in the target population have the opportunity to be included. Consequently, the study results are not generalizable. The data for this section comes from part of a survey aimed to provide simple summaries of the types of activities these organizations pursue. A preliminary survey was first given to migrant organization members in Tokyo and improved with their feedback, in regards to content and language. The survey questions about participants’ social characteristics, such as, gender, country of birth and citizenship, regional reach of organization’s work, and the type of work the organization sought to pursue to help migrant workers. The survey was handed out as a hard copy together with the conference materials to everyone who passed through the door during the first day of the conference. From 116 surveys fifty five were returned. The participants who arrived late or on the second day were not included in the survey. The survey asked the participants to identify their affiliation with NGOs, government, religious organization, migrant /human rights lawyer associations, that is those who help migrants on an everyday basis. Four of the surveys of the participants who identified themselves as scholars, observers, or the press were excluded.
2. Ethnographic Observation and Interviews. Fitzgerald (2006) examines the utility of ethnography in the context of conducting migration research in multiple locations. He concludes that ethnography is particularly effective in documenting experiences of transnationalism among migrants. This study uses ethnography to demonstrate migrants’ integration into the receiving community and simultaneously continuing emotional and economic connections with their sending community. Gunewardena and Kingsolver (2008) use ethnographic method to trace ways in which women are pulled toward or are disrupted by globalization processes (2). They posit that globalization emerges within and across locations—as determined by, as well as influencing, transnational labor migrations (documented and undocumented, such as trafficking), agentive consumption (in addition to production) practices, entrepreneurial activities, and collective organizational efforts (4).”

This is an important aspect of the ethnographic method, as it seeks to verify theories through the study of actual human practices.

3. Content and Textual Analysis of Job Advertisements. A number of studies focus on job advertisements that are directed towards a specific group of professionals (Walters and Fage-Butler 2014; Leist 2007; Deeken and Thomas 2006). This study incorporates various job-types (positions) in its scope; however, it is limited in terms of magazine sources. In terms of sources, the study is looking at a two criteria: (1) magazines that were accessible to South American migrants in the offices of the NGOs visited during the field work and (2) magazines which featured job advertisements geared towards the South American community, including Nikkeijin migrants. In addition, this study included a review of the current government-issued documents pertaining to the types of visas utilized by migrants in order to secure their stay in Japan.
Neuendorf (2011) explains “In its most basic form, a content analysis […]” is “descriptive of message content (278)”. Thus, this study is looking to enumerate some of the message content that contributes to segmented labor market. However, this study also seeks to qualitatively examine the advertisement messages. Hardy et al. (2004) posit that such a combination of approaches can be fruitfully utilized in research since,

[m]ore qualitative forms of content analysis that do not assume highly stable meanings of words but, rather, include a sensitivity to the usage of words and the context in which they are used are compatible with discourse analysis and can, in fact, be used within a broad discourse analytic methodology in the analysis of social reality (20)

This approach stipulates that there is no intrinsic meaning in the text. Rather, the “meanings are constructed in particular context (21).” Further as Hardy et al. (2004) explain, the [c]ategories emerge from the data” and “allow for coding schemes involving counting occurrences of meanings in the text. Analysis is an interactive process of working back and forth between the texts and the categories (21)” and examination of advertisements’ messages elucidates on gendered construction of migrants as low wage workers.

To answer the second question, “How do migrants experience Japan as place of residence and work?” this dissertation utilizes data gathered from interviews with migrants, organized around two topics: rural and urban differences and safety in Japan. In addition, the methods include cognitive mapping to gain insights of migrants’ familiarity with their everyday routes. This part of the study uses ethnographic data, self-administered interviews with workers as well as cognitive mapping.

1. Cognitive Maps. This study utilizes cognitive mapping to consider how migrants view their residential experiences (Hannes et al. 2011; Weston and Handy 2004) and thus can
be used to embrace “non-western, perspectives producing a refreshing influx of critical thinking disrupting the status quo (Prosser and Loxley 2007, 55)”. For instance Smiley (2013) utilizes cognitive mapping to highlight their subjective meanings “influenced by a variety of factors including political, social, cultural, and economic components (220).”

Mental maps are a part of visual methods and are commonly used to represent the internal knowledge base of a human data processor, i.e., notions and know-how in the mind concerning a certain issue or question. Most often, this concept is related to geographical or spatial aspect (Hannes et al. 2012, 144).

Overall, mental maps are a valuable tool of qualitative research interested in perceptions of space in the eyes of vulnerable populations, such as women or racial minorities. This research utilizes cognitive mapping to include the perception of urban and rural spaces by immigrant workers in Japan. Especially, it seeks to highlight ways in which migrant workers relate to their neighborhood as well as engage with everyday mobility of the participants.

Data is also drawn from individual migrants’ mental maps in order to identify places that are important to them during their daily routines. This research tracks individual migrant’s daily routines and their contextual experiences of work, residence, and leisure. This sheds light on gendered aspect of migrants’ everyday lived experience.

2. The Semi-structured Interviews. The semi-structured interviews are used to understand how migrants perceive and relate to discourses of their presence as dangerous. As well, interview data reveals migrant’s perceptions of safety in public areas, at work, and in everyday spaces of living in a zone prone to natural disasters that, in addition to economic incentives, shape participants views on their experiences of migration.
Overall, the research used both semi-structured and unstructured interviews with sixty two migrants. Migrants came from three regions, South America, Africa, and Asia. Specifically, nineteen informants (30.6 percent) originated from South America. Fifteen participants (24.2 percent) came from Africa. Twenty eight migrants (45.2 percent) were originally from Asia (Table 1). Forty three, that is the majority of the participants, are men.

Table 1: Migrant Participant’s Country of Origin and Gender, Source: Author

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<th>Region</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar (Burma)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Nepal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only nineteen of the participants are women. The youngest participant is 20 years old and
the oldest 62 years old. The average age of the participants was about thirty six years old.
The majority of migrants (59.7 percent) are married (Table 2). Single migrants made the
second largest cohort of the group (33.9 percent). Single migrants included those who could be in a relationship, dating, or engaged, but who are not married. Three of the migrants are divorced and one is widowed. In addition, participants included twenty NGO's representatives. Seven of the NGO’s officials are migrants themselves. Moreover, the study recruited four government officials and eight Japanese nationals. The ethnographic and interview data with government officials was included to shed light on framing of migrants in broader political debates, for example, regarding topics such as ‘stop and frisk’ practice or labor broker involvement in TITP. Moreover, Japanese nationals working at companies employing migrants were included to add context to the responses received from migrants, especially in terms of perceptions of crime in Japan. The recruitment of migrant workers was restricted by their labor union membership.

Table 2: Migrant Participant’s Marital Status, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widower/Widow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ethnographic nature of this research informed the recruitment of participants from many different backgrounds in order to analyze the differences and connections between
the migrant experiences across national groups. Contact with migrant worker communities included preliminary surveys that were gathered at premises of two worker unions and one non-governmental organization. The organizations’ main goal was to help migrant workers through resolving labor disputes and facilitating access to legal representation in cases pertaining to immigration status. Preliminary surveys with migrants were conducted in May 2014, followed by interviews with migrant participants, conducted during the summer of 2014 and 2015. All the names, including of participants, organizations, places of work, and conference meetings, are pseudonyms and cannot be used to identify specific people or places.

Table 3 Migrant Participant’s Employment, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health Care and Social Assistance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and Warehousing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and Support and Waste Management</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and Food Services</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of migrant participants, this study was focused on migrant blue collar and pink collar workers in Japan, regardless of their visa status (Table 3), namely, those who are involved in skilled or unskilled work related to manufacturing, construction, mechanical maintenance, technical installation or service work and thus excluded
entertainment workers, educators, managers and other professionals. In addition, the study excluded interviews with persons applying for a refugee status who did not engage in work. Together with migrant workers, the study involved Japanese nationals who were employed in companies in order to reach the desired level of data saturation and different opinions regarding migration in Japan (Small 2009).

In this particular group\(^1\), the majority, namely, twenty three (37.1 percent) migrants, are employed in manufacturing. This includes heavy and light industries, for example, jobs in metallurgy or textiles. Twelfth of the participants (19.4 percent) work in the accommodation and food services industry, including cooks, servers, and dishwashers. Nine of the migrants (14.5 percent) are employed in construction. Five migrants (8.1 percent) are employed by the retail sector. Four of the migrants (6.5 percent) are working as administrative and support staff, for instance, as team leaders. Three of the participants (4.8 percent) have occupations related to agriculture, namely, landscaping and pesticide handling. Two of the participants (3.8 percent) work in transportation, for example, driving commercial trucks. Two of the migrants found employment in senior care centers and two other informants found jobs in other services, for instance, as car mechanics.

The semi-structured interviews ranged between 30 minutes and 3 hours. In addition, some conversations were conducted while accompanying the participants during their days off. In addition, some data come from ethnographic observations. These techniques were employed to obtain a representation of the migration experience in urban and rural settings in Japan. The participants included migrant workers, members of migrant nongovernmental organizations and unions, as well as government representatives. The

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\(^1\) Migrants’ job types are categorized using North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) since it is robust with respect to the sectors represented by the majority of participants of this study.
formal introductions to participants took place in the offices of migrant organizations; however, some of the interviews were conducted outside of the organizations’ accommodations, depending on migrants’ suggestions. While the majority of the interviews were recorded, some interviews conducted in noisy environments, such as karaoke clubs, were written down instead.

**Fieldwork Sites**

The empirical evidence presented in this dissertation comes from interviews, analysis of texts, ethnographic experiences, conducted in study locations within the Kanto and Tohoku regions (Figure 1). The fieldwork was conducted during the summer in 2014 and 2015. The research was supported by the Fred L. and Helen M. Tharp Endowed Scholarship Fund.

Within the Kanto region, initially two prefectures were picked as research sites, namely, Tokyo Metropolis and neighboring Gunma, due to their high number of migrants. However, following a meeting of research participants, the case study was extended to Kanagawa, Saitama, and Chiba to follow informants. Within Tohoku region, two prefectures were added as research sites, namely, Miyagi and Fukushima.

Kanto region, including Tokyo, experience the largest economic growth in the country. In terms of population, Tokyo is a home to over 31 million people, and it is currently the largest urban center in the world (Statistics Bureau 2012). In addition to its substantial size, Tokyo also has extensive links and connections to major financial centers around the world. Tokyo is the highest recipient of foreigners in Japan and thus is a meeting place of diverse cultures. Conversely, Tohoku region’s population levels are decreasing.
Figure 1. Research Sites within Kanto and Tohoku Regions and Conference Locations, Japan
Still, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2015) reports that,

The gross regional production in the Tohoku region (nominal) for fiscal year 2012 was 31.2080 trillion yen, a 4.7% increase from the previous year and 6.24% of the national total, higher than the value before the Great East Japan Earthquake (6.14% in 2010).

Despite high, above two percent rate of economic growth, Tohoku does not attract as many migrants as the Kanto region. Tohoku does not have the same level of investments and international money flows as Tokyo. In addition, Tohoku is still recovering from the 2011 tsunami disaster. The disaster itself contributed to a decrease in the number of migrants residing in the area. However, some of participants of this study came from this region.

Research Contributions

1. Concept of Spatial Intersectionality: Intersectional studies posit that identities rarely fit into neat, bounded categories. Valentine (2007) and Haraway (1991) demonstrate that the experiences of age, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, ability, religion, social class, education, and other social categories do not lead to a stable sense of identification or dis-identification, rather they lead to identities that are engaged in a constant and unpredictable process of becoming (18). However, thus far “intersectionality” has been viewed through the prism of social identities. This research adds a dimension of spatiality (Massey 1994; Samers 2002; Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003; Samers 2009; Anh et al. 2012) to such deliberations of intersectionalities, by considering complexities of urban-rural locations and country of origin.

2. Migration as a Growth Machine: This research extends Molotch’s (1976) concept of urban growth machine to migration, and argues that migrant population is
incorporated into Japanese economy, as workers crucial to realty profits, laborers in rural factories as well as by marketing of ethnic communities as sites of exotic difference to support growth through tourism.

3. **Adding Voices of Migrant Agency to Migration Research:** This inquiry adds to current migration studies by analyzing the ways in which the voices of foreign workers reach national forums in Japan (Douglass 2008; Bagheri 2014). Migrants’ everyday experiences as well as participation in migrant organizations including activism and protests challenge the construction of Japan as homogenous, and suggests consideration of its global and local linkages. Thus, this study allows for understanding Japan as a place in the process of becoming.

4. **Understanding construction of migrants as workers through themes of job advertising:** This inquiry adds to studies related to migration and labor market segmentation (Takenoshita 2006; Gaucher et al. 2011) by analyzing the types of information advertisers choose to post in order to attract migrant labor. For instance, the analysis of the overt and hidden communications of work expectations in terms of gender and age, as well as language proficiency comprehension, helps to interpret the construction of migrant workers as targets of low wage labor.

5. **Brokers as Facilitators of Low Wage Labor:** This study helps to illustrate the extent to which labor brokers are a part of migrant labor market segmentation (Xiang 2012). This study points to the differences related to brokers’ power over workers with
respect to workers visa status and countries of origin. Furthermore it visualizes the spatial disconnect between the labor brokers and the work places they advertise.

6. **Urban and Rural Lived Experience:** This research argues that migrant experiences of urban and rural living (Domosh 1996; Hayden 1995; Marrow 2011) are shaped by the Japanese growth efforts, that include shifting of manufacturing to the countryside, the extensive network of public transportation, as well as access to new information technologies.

7. **Migrant Narratives Reflecting on Framing Foreigners as Dangerous.** This inquiry delves into the ways in which migrants understand the construction of foreigners as possible crime suspects in Japan (Mamdani 2005; Maira 2009; Menjívar 2016). Participants of various national backgrounds, age, and gender shared commonalities in their narratives, by portraying Japan as a safe place to live as opposed to the experience in their countries of origin. Most migrants equated their safety to less crime, and therefore characterized their experience in Japan as positive. The analysis of data reveals that there is a disconnect between migrants’ experiences of safety and their perception as suspects and potential criminals in society. Most respondents sought to distance themselves from other foreigners to avoid the stigma of being associated with criminal behavior. At the same time, migrants counter discourse of dangerous foreigners by emphasizing their contribution to Japanese society as hard workers.
8. Perception of Risk and Experience of Migration: This inquiry adds migrants’ views of risk of crime, occupational injury, and environmental hazards (LaGrange et al. 1992; Cutter et al 2003; Fothergill and Peek 2004; Masuda and Garvin 2006; Fothergill 2012; Onoue et al. 2013; Snedker 2015) and posits that, in addition to the economic incentives, these opinions influence migrants’ decisions about maintaining their residence in Japan. Furthermore this study comments on migrants’ susceptibility to some of these risks due to framing them as disposable labor force.

Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter Two outlines the theoretical frameworks utilized for this research. Specifically, the chapter discusses migration studies relevant to this research as well as frameworks related to intersectional identities. It draws attention to the need to expand the identity frameworks to include aspects connected to place. In addition, this chapter explains post-structural perspectives that influence the research methods and procedures employed during fieldwork, including ethnographic processes and interviews, as well as the process of choosing the study’s participants. The following chapters describe the capitalist processes that led participants to choose Japan as their destination for migration, the ways in which migrants may find jobs, their experiences of living in urban and rural areas where the jobs are located, as well as reasons why migrants decide to remain or leave Japan.

Specifically, Chapter Three critically examines the current impacts of the neoliberal economy on urban growth in Japan; notably, Tokyo, and contrasts it with the decreased economic opportunities combined with aging of population in the countryside. This sets the broader context for discussion of urban and rural destination for international migrants,
including their employment opportunities and residential experiences.

Chapter Four discusses the ethnographic data concerning organizations helping migrants and the way in which organizations sought to produce linkages with each other. The inclusion of migrants in the activities of the non-governmental organizations promotes consideration of permanent and temporary migrants, including foreign workers, as part of the conflict over the meaning of Japan as a polycultural place.

Chapter Five focuses on the ways in which companies use job advertisements to seek migrant workers. Based on content and textual analysis of job advertisements, the chapter delves into broader gendered employment inequalities with respect to job opportunities. It also discusses possible work prospects outside of the Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan areas.

Chapter Six focuses on migrants’ lives in rural and urban areas. It discusses migrants’ daily routines based on ethnographic data and interviews including cognitive mapping. It delves into the significance of the availability of public transportation on the quality of migrants residential experiences in Japan. In addition, the chapter focuses on how migrants understand their positions through the lens of hybrid urban and rural identities. In addition, it considers the migration process as taking place between urban and rural localities.

Chapter Seven details findings from interviews, ethnographic data, as well as textual analysis of government documents. It discussed ways in which migrant participants understand safety in the context of residential and work experiences and in turn, discusses how these experiences, in addition to the economic incentives, shape migrants’ intentions to seek their stay in Japan to be permanent or temporary.
Overall, this study seeks to understand the social geographies of migration at the scale of both Japanese NGOs and everyday experiences of individual migrants. By juxtaposing various aspects of socio-spatial identity formation (for example, gender, national origin, urban-rural location), this research seeks to understand the incorporation of migrants into receiving communities as a creative process, shaped by migrants’ own understandings of their role in national economies and cultures, and by the ability of migrants to shape the spaces available to them. The concluding chapter reflects on the potential transformations and increased presence of migration in Japan.
CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION AND IDENTITY STUDIES: SELECTED THEORIES AND EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM JAPAN

Since the 1980s, changes in migration numbers and patterns as well as in the relationship between economic development and migration has led to more interest in international migration (Piper 2005). Currently, migration is studied as a characteristic “of contemporary social and economic life globally” (Piper 2005, 1). A geographic lens offers unique opportunities to combine spatial and social perspectives in order to contribute to migration studies. Spatial considerations complicate general social theories by emphasizing the role of place and space in labor markets and flows (Massey 1994).

The review of theories utilized towards this study is divided into three major sections: Migration as Process, Migration as Identities, and Studies of Migration and Identities in Japan. The Migration as Process section is divided into four subsections. The first subsection discusses the overview of structural explanations of migration process. The second subsection delves into the issues related to the usefulness of categories of ‘migrant’ and ‘worker’. The third subsection describes current debates in migration studies pertaining to social capital. The fourth subsection considers space and place as concepts which foster understanding of migrant presence and connectedness within the receiving societies.

Next section, Identities, is divided into four subsections. The first subsection focuses on the intersectionality approach in geography that considers gender to be one among other multiple identities that an individual experiences. The second subsection,
Gender, looks at gendered analyses of migration. In this section, three particular themes are discussed. Namely, gendering of migrant work, differential migration flows, and the impact of migration on gender roles. While many frameworks for gender analysis have been utilized in current geographic research, all of these theories are interested in explaining the construction and roles of social categories, especially ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. The third subsection, Race, explicates the social construction of race category. The fourth subsection engages with post-colonial approaches to migration, in particular, the creation of categories of the ‘other.’ The third subsection describes findings from the current debates in migration studies including rural migration.

The following section, Studies of Migration and Identities in Japan, is divided into four subsections. The first subsection, Migrants in Japan’s Economic Development considers the ways in which Japanese government seeks to increase the economic output through immigration. The subsection on Migrants and Assimilation - Social Ties in Japan reviews the current literature related to assimilation and social ties theories in the context of transnational migrant communities in Japan. The following subsection, Migrants by National Origin in Japan - Japan’s Colonial History and Race, describes statistical data on migration in Japan as well as the colonial past that continues to shape some of the linkages between Japan and migrants’ countries of origin. The final subsection, Gender and Work in Japan - Feminism in Japan, discusses the contributions of the gender approach to understanding how view of women’s right to work is understood in the context of Japan. Overall, the presented literature review guides this research poststructural approach to migration research and, in turn informs its methods. Specifically in addition to understanding migration as process embedded in economic structures, this research sheds
light on migrants’ intersectional identities through analysis of participants’ intimate narratives.

**Migration as Process**

Structural approaches to migration seek to explain migration processes in the context of historical variations in the organization of the society. Within Marxist political economy frameworks, social phenomena are always subordinated to reinforce economic imperatives and structures (McLellan 2003). Wise and Covarrubias (2012) posit that “institutionality and bourgeois social practices are historical and transitory phenomena, as are the private ownership of production means, capitalist democracy, salaried relations and the mercantilization of social life (94).” Geographers use historical analysis and the examination of spatial patterns in order to reveal the capitalist processes and unequal social relationships (for example, Harvey 1973). These structural explanations are utilized by this research to consider migrants’ pathways to Japanese urban and rural areas.

**Economic Structures**

In terms of migration research,

Marxist political economy addresses the phenomenon of migration at its highest level of abstraction. That is, in relation to the dynamics of capital in general and on the basis of the two following analytical categories: original accumulation and overpopulation (Wise and Covarrubias 2012, 97).

Furthermore, globalization and support for companies to reduce their expenditures and increase profits results in the race to the bottom in terms of wages and further exploitation of workers. Exploitation is even more advanced where it comes to migrants. Scholars point out that both international and domestic migrants can face mistreatment, as illustrated by
the case of internal migrants in China (Fan 2003). Many international migrants either are not protected by labor laws in the same capacity as citizens, or are more susceptible to be subdued by employers if they have undocumented status, or they do not know migrant laws of the recipient countries.

This research considers Wise and Covarrubias’ (2012) argument that “[u]nequal development generates forced migration (106)”. There are two implications associated with this statement. First, that migration should not be considered a choice, but an outcome of economic expansion schemes implemented by governments in collaboration with private businesses. The second implication has to do with maintaining underdevelopment strategically to create the permanent, low-wage labor force and to invest in areas that cater to the private companies. World Systems Theory (WST) originally accentuated “large-scale processes and a formulaic application of the core/periphery/semi-periphery triad (Kardulias and Hall 2008, 573).” Still, while the broader, global conditions remain an important part of the WST, Wallerstein’s (1974) initial theory was reformulated to include the specific context. In case of this study, the majority of participants come from countries with underdeveloped economies to then take on low wage jobs in Japan.

**Migrants as Workers**

Studies in migration suggest that the definition of a migrant is linked to the definition of a foreign worker. Thus, Bartram (2012) posits that to the recipient society “foreign workers are useful as workers but are considered unsuitable for full membership in the societies in which they are employed; if they were full members, they would not be useful for the specific types of employment that brought them to the destination country (58).” This suggests that societies often view migrants’ presence as temporary. Vertovec (2002) argues
that “migration has connotations of permanency or long-term stay, whereas the movement of many highly skilled persons tends, today, to be intermittent and short-term (2).” However, others maintain that categories of movement or mobility can be only used in so far as the daily commute of workers is discussed.

Salzinger (1991) suggestes that working within the category of immigrant was difficult and provided little result until the category has been switched to worker (157). The worker category provided a new outlet to understand issues of “survival and professionalization (Burawoy 1991, 19)”. Thus, Burawoy observes that “[u]nderlying this balkanization of the labor market is the historical transformation of domestic work from neofeudal servant relations of service sector, that is from servant to wage laborer (ibid.)”.

However, we do not always view “all non - citizens in the labor force as foreign workers (Bartram 2012, 58).” Barry points out that this operational definition does not encompass all possible attitudes or situations of foreign nationals in host countries. In the same country, some foreign nationals may be viewed as a “problem”, while others may escape this kind of categorization. The difference in situation of workers is often tied to their initial social and economic capital, legal status, limits placed on the kinds of jobs they can get, including specific work sectors and job locations.

Bartram (2012) argues that there is a need to better conceptualize the category of “immigrant”. He posits that current understandings of “immigrant” has to do with administrative rules that categorize people by placing them as foreign born, naturalized, etc. However, this conceptualization does not address what the actual perceived status of the person could be, that is an experience of feeling foreign despite being naturalized, or feeling welcomed, or at home despite having a “visitor” status. While in some countries a
person can be born, or live his/her whole life and be considered foreign, in others migrants can quickly be considered part of the society. This research highlights NGOs debates on worker and migrant categories, in particular, how framing foreign workers as temporary trainee migrants limits their right as workers.

In general, capitalist economies maximize their profits by utilizing vulnerable labor (migrants, women). In turn, migrants use social networks to enter the market and simultaneously ease the concern of the future employees by relying on references that are known to him/her. Portes (2006) argues that “[c]lass position is commonly associated with wealth or its lack, but it is also linked to other power-conferring resources such as expertise or the "right" connections (240).” Thus, social networks often play a crucial role in terms of shaping migrant access to work, amenities and resources (Winddance Twine and Gardener 2013, 4). These perspectives guide this research in exploring the role of social networks in informing migrants’ access to nongovernmental organizations.

**Assimilation Theories, Social Ties, and Social Capital**

Migrant networks are often considered in terms of individual migrant’s connection with family, friends, community members, as well as migrant organizations. These networks offer immigrants resources, such as job access, these resources. Immigrants’ survival and upward mobility are closely tied to the social capital from which they can draw upon their arrival. Bourdieu (1985) defines the social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (248)” and argued that the benefits acquired due to the network contribute towards the closer ties of the group,
reinforce camaraderie, and contribute to unequal distribution of resources, through making them available to the network members and denying them to the outsiders. Portes (1998) offers a comprehensive review of social capital in literature and posits that social capital can is viewed as a relationship built on common social and cultural norms or solidarity built through common fate (8). In addition, this process is understood in terms of reciprocity exchanges. The motivation of donors can be understood either as related to trust towards the recipient, or alternatively as an exchange that takes place within broader social structures and results in the increased social status of the donor (8, 9). Thus, the concept of social capital suggests the social embeddedness of economic phenomena (Portes 1998; Yeung and Lin 2003). Vertovec (2002) posits that research and policies related to migration have to yet come to the understanding of the complex migrant identities simultaneously present in multiple national entities. He posits that especially now, with the new technologies allowing for greater communication, migrant networks research should be especially fruitful. Currently,

  globally ‘stretched’ patterns of activity affect a variety of migrants’ social relations (including friendship, kinship and status hierarchies), modes of economic exchange, processes of political mobilization, practices of cultural reproduction (including religious practices, institutions like marriage, images and symbols affecting group identity) forms of information transfer, and nature of professional association (4).

Nevertheless, this process is complicated by the distinctions between creating and recreating of social networks as well as the positive and negative outcome possibilities of social networks (Portes 1998).

When it comes to creating social capital within the immigrant communities, it is important to examine what kind of economic structures facilitate it. Waldinger (1994) identifies major forms of political–economic structures that enable processes in which
social networks are utilized by migrants in order to secure jobs. However, in addition to construction of the social capital on a broader scale, analysis may focus on the need for such a network in a first place. There is a need to examine what are the possible outcomes of having social capital on the broader scale. Portes (1998) identifies multiple levels of social capital an individual may possess. He writes, “through social capital, actors can gain direct access to economic resources (subsidized loans, investment tips, protected markets); they can increase their cultural capital through contacts with experts or individuals of refinement (i.e., embodied cultural capital); or, alternatively, they can affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials (i.e., institutionalized cultural capital) (Portes 1998, 4).” Thus, although the most apparent example of a migrant using social networks would be to secure her/his economic security and employment upon arrival (Menjívar 2000, 116), there are other more concealed or nuanced forms of benefiting from social capital. This includes access to amenities and help from nongovernmental organizations that may in turn help migrants settle in a new country and facilitate access to information about jobs through their networks.

Nonetheless, there is a limit to the positive function of social networks (Nee and Sanders 1987). First, it has to do with limited potential to upward mobility for a migrant in terms of making a career. Second, ties to the community can be seen as a burden especially within communities that are less affluent. Waldinger (1994) points out how often although migrants are able to gain employment through using their social networks, they have a difficult time when it comes to becoming managers. This assessment applies to the majority of this study’s participants, who pointed out to their limited prospects of upward mobility.
Further, studies discuss other aspects of social ties. For example, in the United States, Menjívar (2000) discusses high expectations of newcomers and the stark reality they are facing upon their arrival. Even though migrants often have been forewarned about tough job market and stress associated with undocumented stay and work, they often hope that they may count on their family and friends in the United States to help them start up and assist them with finding a job. However, what they find in the United States is very different, from what they expect. Often they imagine that their families and friends are wealthy and are going to be able to support them (Menjívar 2000, 127). However, what they find is that migrant communities are often economically overburdened. Menjívar (2000) gives examples of families that struggle to make ends meet. Many migrant families survive within meager living conditions with little if any money left after basic expenses. Menjívar (2000) describes one of her informants who instead of renting a place of her own, rented a couch at friend’s house, until her family arrived, when she decided to rent a small apartment for them. This case illustrates, how the already precarious economic situation of a migrant is compounded by the arrival of newcomers who depend on their social networks for initial support. This type of arrangement is an example of the undesirable outcome of having access to social networks (Menjívar 2000, 124). However, other research suggests that costs of social ties can be mitigated when migrants are exposed to other ethnic group in order to share burdens and expedite financial success (Nee and Sanders 1987).

There seems to be a dichotomy between benefits of social networks associated with more affluent migrant communities and the strain on the community among less affluent migrant groups. For instance, Coleman (1988) and Portes (1998) show that well to do migrants keep tightly knit community to help maintain order. On the contrary, case studies
provided by Menjivar (2000) show that community’s perilous economic state experiences even more pressure by having to support new coming generation of migrants. In addition, ties between kin and friends may become increasingly under pressure when migrants have to choose between their own survival and loyalty to their extended families. Thus, newcomers are often forced to seek help outside of their designated social networks. The majority of migrants in this study are newcomers and relied on help from organizations that did not represent particular ethnicities and similarly to Agyeman (2013)’s findings, ethnographic data suggests that participants’ individual social networks extended beyond national ties.

It seems from the above examples that the concept of social networks allows for multifaceted analysis of the factors that facilitate migration, as well as studying the migration outcomes on a community level. In addition, the concept delves into the process that render migration either successful, namely, allowing an opportunity for upward movement for a migrant, or unsuccessful, whereby migration becomes more socio-economically costly than staying in the home country. That may also apply to educated migrants. For instance, case studies in Hyderabad, India (Xiang 2007) revealed that in order for a young man to come to the Unites States, a family has to pull all of their savings and sometimes borrow money to secure his IT education and later his arrival in the U.S. However, often upon arrival this IT worker from Hyderabad finds it difficult to obtain a job in the U.S. and has to return home empty-handed.

Consequently, the concept of social capital helps in understanding the facilitation of migration processes from origin to destination as well as the reproduction of the process. However, relying on this concept without engaging with situatedness, production and
reproduction of the theory becomes problematic as it creates less nuanced understanding of migration processes, social networks, and social capital, as well as it results in limited interpretations of the data (Portes 1998). In particular, Portes (1998) warns against designing policies that use “social capital” theory in order to omit economic responsibilities to provide support for migrants (2, 3). Although Portes (ibid.) advocates a well-rounded approach that engages with both social capital and economic structures within which social capital is produced, his analysis lacks a more complex engagement with gendered socio-economic of migration processes. Context within which migration occurred is important in formulating networks. Zell and Skop (2011) suggest in their study of Brazilian migrants in Japan that the makeup of social migrant networks is influenced by the state migration policies.

Adding to Portes’ (1998) earlier studies, present research has been interested in the ways in which the ties between migrant societies are drawn and divided. For instance, Vertovec (2002) concludes that within migrant networks

“[g]ender and gender relations have much to do with conditioning who one’s contacts are, what one’s relationship to them is, and how networks are accessed, managed and taken advantage of (5)”. Current research introduced new ways of looking at social ties of migrants. Hence, there is an increased interest in tracing networks that go beyond ethnic ties.

**Spaces of Migration and Ties to Places**

Studies of space shed light on process of globalization, exploitation and uneven development propagated by the capitalist system. Close examination of space seeks to demystify political and economic structures by exposing class, gender, race exploitation,
and environmental degradation adding to understanding multifaceted social interactions and complexity and simultaneity of space.

Urban spaces are an arena for class struggle (Harvey 1985, 13) where social “justice is simply whatever the ruling class wants it to be (Harvey 2003, 940).” Moreover, the urban economic development “involves the structuring and differentiation of space through the distribution of fixed capital investments” whereby the city is "a giant manmade resource system (Harvey 1973, 309)". Therefore, within urban areas spaces are designated to benefit class that controls the means of production. Accordingly, urban space serves to maintain the capitalist system, through financial institutions that utilize the built environment in order to gain profits from rent, loans towards building new structures, or selling of the urban structures, such as bridges, apartment complexes, transportation, or commercial buildings (Harvey 1985, 36). Thus urban spaces that are not utilized towards economic growth are expunged.

Lefebvre (1991) considers space as a site of a lived experience and thus extending beyond binary categories of objective/subjective understanding. Soja (1989) argues that critical examination of meanings of space offers a potential to examine “a struggle over the social production of space” and formulate insights related to the survival of the capitalist system (Soja 1989, 70). Accordingly, hegemonic maintenance of current global economic structure is enmeshed within broader socio-cultural construction of meaning of urban space (Lefebvre 1991; 26, 27). For instance, by portraying policies that disrupt communities and contribute to social exclusion as desirable programs aiming to increase economic growth. This is the case of implementation Tokyo’s Urban Renaissance policy which led to increased exclusion of blue collar migrant workers.
Still, rural spaces are similarly embedded in neoliberal processes (Basu 2009). Marrow (2011) links economic changes to the 1990s shift of destinations for migration from urban to rural areas, where there is an increased need for low wage labor. On the (1) global scale, she explains the transformation from industrial to postindustrial economy and its global linkages as relevant to changing the job market; (2) at the national level, she traces the impact of migration policies on migrants opportunities within the U.S., (3) on the regional level, she distinguishes between urban and rural areas as well as northern and southern destinations for migration, and (4) at the local level, she provides the description of migrant’s experiences of place, the small towns in North Carolina.

Tuan (1977) defines place as “[…] whatever stable object catches our attention” when “we look at a panoramic scene (161)”. Thus, “space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning (136).” However, this indicates that places and cultures are always in a process of making. Mitchell (1995b) warns that by looking at places and cultures as a ‘thing’ instead of a process, “powerful groups have historically operationalized the notion of culture (113)” in a context of place “to aid colonization, ‘ethnic’ war, [and] production of an ‘underclass’ (ibid).” The meaning of place is complex and “intertwined [in] simultaneities of ongoing, unfinished, stories (Massey 2006, 46).” Place is a “representation of diversity (May 1996, 208).” Massey posits that residents’ connections to places can have different meanings. Namely, every individual creates their own links with the place for example, through the ways they prefer to take, or subjective feelings towards specific places (Massey 1991, 24). Massey (1991) points out that places are dynamic and while people’s communities can be global and local, connections are
maintained though particular meeting spaces. Places are polycultural, interconnected, and continuously inchoate. As Prashad (2003) explains,

[…] our notion of cultural community should not be built inside the high walls of parochialism and ethnonationalism. The framework of polyculturalism uncouples the notions of origins and authenticity from that of culture. Culture is a process (that may sometimes be seen as a thing), which has no identifiable origin, and therefore no cultural actor can, in good faith, claim proprietary interest in what is claimed to be his or her authentic culture (53).

Similarly, Massey (1991) argues that under what we seemingly may see as a homogenous community hides difference. She sees place as “constellation of social relations (28),” ever-changing and formulated by human linkages and intersecting histories that add to its uniqueness and particularity (29). This study is guided by these theories that see both culture and place as a process, allowing for inclusion and “a global sense of the local (ibid.)”

**Migration as Identities**

Migration can be analyzed in terms of individual migrant identities that reveal complexes of privilege and oppression. For instance, Bastia (2014) argues that

[given that migrants cross multiple boundaries – ethnic, racial, class, gender – it is not surprising that migrant women are fast becoming the new ‘quintessential intersectional subjects’ (238).

This section highlights the potential of utilizing intersectionality approach in migration studies.

**Intersectionality**

The intersectionality approach in feminist geography adds to the understanding of production of categories or privileging one, explicit category (Crenshaw 1989; Collins
Specifically, intersectional studies posit that we can simultaneously fit into different identity categories. We can trace how categories are variously accepted within the power structures by challenging identities and recognizing that our identities are problematized by age, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, ability, religion, social class, education, and other social categories. Valentine (2007) explains it as “the way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups” and as Collins (2015) points out identities “operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities (2).” Fernandes (2003) posits that “intersectional analysis names and describes these hidden acts of multiple discrimination and how they obfuscate damaging power relations, and it also brings to the fore how they construct, while paradoxically obviating, identities of the self (309).” In other words, intersectionality captures the recognition that difference is located in “the spaces within identity” (Fuss 1989, 103). Thus, intersectionality, the confluence of different social categories at the same time is a process. This process does not imply that identities can be added as individual members. Rather it is understood as happening within the crossing of identities. Moreover, intersectionality suggests that identities are fluid and spatial, “lived and experienced” within context (Valentine 2007, 15). Furthermore, the theory implies that an individual under different circumstances can experience privilege and hardship. To Haraway (1991) the cyborg body opens up an opportunity to accept that each individual’s identity lies at intersection of many. To this end, identities are not just categories that are simply stacked next to each other just by adding race to gender. On the contrary, identities intertwine and cross each other creating new spaces on the spectrum of power. As Bettie (2000) points out,
“It is not the case that race and gender are mere ideologies that mask the reproduction of class inequality; they are organizing principles in their own right, processes that are co-created with class (29).”

Thus, the intersectionality lens allows us to approach the complexities of social categories that are created to maintain the status quo and yet are problematized by the multiplicity of discrimination and privilege, for instance in case of gender and race.

Theories of Gender

Initial challenges to the essential categorization of sex into male and female came from feminist studies interested in challenging monolithic, static social identities. Specifically, category of women that implied white, middle class Anglo-European women. Therefore, one of the first tasks of feminist studies was to dismantle this category and include other identities, such as women of color and blue-collar women workers (Collins 2001; Crenshaw 1989). However, Miller asks if the outcome of this diversification is that the individuals that do not fit the profile of white, middle class, Anglo-European women are considered “less ‘women’”. This proliferation of categories elevates the status of other identities that may not be perceived as important to the individuals (ibid., 35). Some feminist scholars, such as Riley (1988) advocated to do away with the categories of men and women.

Miller (1994) points out that it would be difficult to the feminist political project to advocate liberty of women and yet not refer to any specific individuals. She posits that “our task is to clarify our identification of ourselves as women, without confining us to spurious claims of biologically rooted limitations or to theoretically predefined defining traits, and without erasing the real differences between us (38).” There are however problems related to defining ‘women’ and determining individual’s sex, at the time when social and medical
sciences question references to clear-cut categories. This is especially true in geography, since the discipline traverses social and physical sciences.

A different approach to defining the category of women was presented by Haraway (1991) who posits that,

Identities seem contradictory, partial, and strategic. With the hard-won recognition of their social and historical construction, gender, race, and class cannot provide the basis for belief in ‘essential’ unity. There is nothing about being ‘female’ that naturally binds women. There is not even such a state as ‘being’ female, itself a highly complex category constructed in contested sexual scientific discourses and other social practices (155).

In terms of political implications of doing away with category of ‘women,’ Haraway proposes that instead of trying to force unity through creating a single category, we should aim at creating a coalition of individuals. To this end, Haraway (1991) argues that what women need is “affinity, not identity (155),” the recognition that they belong to a particular category, or a class of people. This research focuses on some of the issues related to gendered experiences of migrants in Japan, such as those related labor segmentation.

When it comes to defining the sex of an individual, Gregory et al. (2011) explains that,

The term has been used historically to describe both sex differences – male/female –which are assumed to flow from anatomy, and a physical drive. Since the late 1970s both these meanings of sex, which characterize it as a biological given, have been problematized, and it has been re-theorized in increasingly complex ways. Feminism (Women and Geography Study Group, 1997) first introduced, and then troubled, the distinction between sex (biology) and gender (social meanings ascribed to biological differences). Foucault (1978 [1976]) identified sex and the related concept of sexuality as discursive constructions that are temporally and spatially specific (679).

After the post-structural turn in geography, repressive and heterosexist terms for sex and gender became questioned as ‘natural’ markers of human difference. Rather sex and gender became understood in terms of their social construction. The recent progress in epigenetics
dealing with neurological, social influence on the expression of the genes revealed the degrees in which categories transcend basic social/biological dichotomies since the variations are activated outside of DNA nuceotide sequence changes (Berger et al. 2009; Mazzio and Soliman 2012). Moreover, even though sex is popularly thought of as biological, it is very difficult to make a definitive distinction between males and females even on genetic level (ibid.).

Gender identity is hard to define as well. Gregory et al. (2009) define gender as,

A categorical distinction between men and women; a technology of classification that naturalizes sexual difference and is intertwined with other distinctions, such as nature/culture, and racial and national differentiation. [...] Within Anglophone feminism, ‘gender’ is typically contrasted to ‘sex’: the former is understood as a social construction, the latter defined by biology. The distinction has been part of an effort to denaturalize conventional understandings of women and femininity, to remove women from nature and place them within culture as constructed and self-constituting social subjects. The treatment of gender within geography is slightly unusual in this [...] The feminist distinction between sex and gender may save gender from essentialist or naturalizing versions of femininity, but it repeats the problems of the nature/culture dualism insofar as it posits gender as the (active) social that acts upon the (passive) surface of sex (268-269).

However, as Gregory et al. (2009) point out, this distinction between sex and gender was further problematized by Butler (1990), who posits that sex and gender are both performed every day, to the extent that they are believed to be natural. However, repeated performances could also potentially lead to questioning of those categories. Yet, Nelson (1999) argues against uncritical use of concept of performativity because it “ontologically assumes an abstracted subject (i.e. abstracted as a subject position in a given discourse) and thus provides no space for conscious reflexivity, negotiation or agency in the doing of identity (332)”. In particular Nelson draws attention to the nuances of “identity, space and change (351)” and complexities associated with intersectionality and performance in
various spatial and temporal contexts (Nelson 1999). This inquiry emphasizes the spatial component of social categories, such as gender and race.

**Theories of Race**

Considerations of racial identities play an important role in geographic research on migration (Kobayashi 2004). Merrill (2011) argues that within deliberations “of Marxist labor theory, critical race theory, and geographical approaches to racism (1542)” it transpires that “racialization operates in autonomous but intersecting ways with class formation (ibid.).

Many cultures have their own, singular way of defining what constitutes racial difference. Gans (1995) points out that “scientifically there can be no human races” yet nonprofessionals outside of biological and social sciences tend to define races based on skin pigmentation and shape of the facial features and then ascribe the identified “other” inferior or superior status (94). Classifying people in terms of their physical markers often stems from a particular social meaning. Gregory et al. (2009) define race as

[a] historical means of social classification and differentiation that attempts to essentialize political and cultural differences by linking physical traits (i.e. skin, blood, genes) and social practices (i.e. religion, violence, passion) to innate, immutable characteristics (see essentialism). Race as a concept presumes that characteristics (tendencies, behaviours, dispositions, interests) of an individual can be projected to understandings of essential traits of a population or that the presumed traits of a population can be discerned through the characteristics of an individual. Though these assumptions have been widely and exhaustively disproven, they still operate as ‘common sense’ in society with powerful and violent effects. As such, race is a social construction but racism is a material fact (615).
In addition, Collins (1993) warns that on the issue that accompany studies dealing with social constructs of race as well as other identities is that the analysis is often formulated around binaries of the oppressor and oppressed. She proposes that

[…] everyone […] has race/gender/class specific identity. Either/or, dichotomous thinking is especially troublesome when applied to theories of oppression because every individual must be classified as being either oppressed or not oppressed. The both/and position of simultaneously being oppressed and oppressor becomes conceptually impossible (28).

The intersections of race and other social categories in migration studies promise more nuanced way of considering complex migrant identities and facilitate engagement with multifaceted narratives of discrimination and privilege. In particular this study delves into migrant understandings of framing foreigners as dangerous crime suspects in Japan in the popular discourse and contemplates how migrants accept or resist such discourses. In addition, it is important to engage with colonial histories that still play a role in construction of migrant identities (Orlove 1993).

**Postcolonial and Neocolonial Critiques**

Postcolonial and neocolonial critiques are useful in studying migration in Japan since the majority of migrants come from areas historically affected by Japanese occupation and the colonial project that lasted between 1869 and 194. Huggan (1997) argues that postcolonial critique “has arisen to account for neocolonialism, for continuing modes of imperialist thought and action across much of the contemporary world (22)” and that it “does not imply that the colonial era is over (ibid.)”. Spivak (1991) links neocolonialism to “the beginning of the dismantling of colonial proper, that is to say, old territorial imperialisms which began with rise of monopoly industrial capitalism (1)”. The Japanese colonial project is often
viewed from two different angles. One, pointing out that the ability of Japan to rise as a colonial power was used to undermine the dominance of Western powers. Second, looks at the result of the Japanese rule in Korea and parts of China and brutal occupation of China and Philippines during WWII.

Starting from the beginning of Meiji period (1868), there has been an increased movement of the Japanese population to the South and East parts of Asia as well as movement of people from these areas to Japan. Currently, as Befu (2007) points out Japanese “offshore corporate activities have sent hundreds of corporate soldiers to operations abroad (xxiii).” This was followed by establishing Japanese company communities in many parts of Asia, such as Korea, China, and Malaysia. Therefore the links that existed between Japan and its colonies before World War II are still maintained today. The colonial project still effects the construction of migrants and, as this research illustrates, is tied to the efforts of the Japanese government in creating touristic attractions through othering of migrant communities.

Bhabha (1994) discusses the creation of self-identity in terms of dual categories. In order to create the Other of us, we are creating imaginary categories that we are trying to attach to other people. Bhabha (1994) posits that “to exist is to be called in to being in relation to the Otherness, its look or locus (xxiv)”. The creation of the Occident identity can be only discussed in terms of Oriental identity. However, this identification can never be completed or fully realized; rather the process of identifying must be repeated, for the constant negation of finding self in the other; “[f]or the image- as the point of identification –marks the site of an ambivalence. Its representation is always spatially split – it makes
present somewhat absent and temporarily deferred – it is the representation of the time that is always elsewhere, a repetition (Bhabha 2000, 100)”.

Spivak (1994) reveals that the nature of national and human narratives is formulated to maintain existing power networks and operating between narratives of the oppressor and the victim. Spivak points out,

“[…] the substantive concern for the politics of the oppressed which often accounts for Foucault’s appeal can hide a privileging of the intellectual and of the ‘concrete’ subject of oppression that in fact compounds the appeal (87).”

Spivak (1994) posits that Foucault and Deleuze operationalize power as heterogeneous, but leave the category of the ‘other’ undone. Spivak blames western philosophers for portraying developing countries as unified and sharing similar experiences and in a way producing unchallenged category akin to positivists’ views. Moreover Spivak questions whether it is possible for developing nations to unite and seek social justice, since the experiences of developing nations are different and not necessarily representative of one another. For example, Spivak (2008), problematizes postcolonial discussions that place countries within the binaries of oppressor or victim categories and argues that “is it increasingly representative of the contemporary predicament, where mere postcoloniality may be caught in a time-warp and nationalism must enter into an economy and globality (117).” In case of Japan, colonial histories, as well as current globalization processes reveal a fluid nature of national and human networks. In addition, female bodies are especially important in the context of contributing to colonial and state projects. Female bodies were considered to be “a key site of contest, and the gendered nature of this territorialization highlights women’s bodies in particular as contested territory (Smith 2011, 456).”

This research engages with experiences of blue collar migrants in Japan and it is important to elucidate on some of the methodological proposals regarding the
poststructural and postcolonial analysis, in particular the positionality of the researcher. Abu-Lughod (1993) discusses problems researching the “Other” and producing generalizations that overlook the historical and social context. According to Williams (2014),

positionality holds that all observers may attain only a partial or incomplete comprehension of the world due to their embedded and inevitable positionality within any particular province of spatial–temporal reality.

Positionality reveals some of the bias of the researcher that reflects in the contact with participants and in turn affects the collection of data and research’s outcome (Nelson 1999). Thus my positionality remained an active process throughout the research and reflected in my interactions with my participants.

Based on a review of feminist papers, Mohanty (1988) challenges feminist writers who produce literature that describes the ‘Other’ – non Western women as essentially the same. She shows how literature often portrays women as if they would represent universal struggles and histories. She points out that, often in these narratives, non-western women are represented as oppressed, and sharing the faith of being “‘powerless, exploited, sexually harassed’ (66)” and therefore universally ‘powerless’ (ibid) and condemned to their unsuccessful struggle against men. This plays into general portrayals of relationships between colonizers and colonized that use discourse pertaining to stereotypically assumed feminine and masculine characteristics. Colonized nations are often portrayed as passive and feminine. Colonizers, on the other hand, are considered to be active and masculine.

Similarly, experiences of women from developing countries are usually represented in essentialist terms, namely, by producing images of uniformly oppressed women. For example, Mohanty (1988) warns against stating that “Prostitution is the only work option for African women as a group (67)”.

Unfortunately, narratives found in current literature
repeat similar sentiments. Gaetano (2008) describes struggles of rural migrant women workers in Beijing. These migrant women are portrayed as victims of the migration process in China: “[r]ural women are further concentrated in the most stigmatized occupations, whether domestic work, janitorial services, hotel and entertainment, or prostitution (631)”.

As Suzuki (2000) and Tyner (1996) point out, Filipino women in Japan are often portrayed in similar way, as mail-order brides, sex trafficking victims, and prostitutes. And yet, these are not all the jobs available to migrant women. Instead, she finds that rural migrant woman pursue other jobs, such as teaching. At this point, there is a mismatch between, on the one hand, the generalization of powerless migrant women who sell their bodies as their only viable job option, and on the other hand, actual various types of work in which migrant women are engaged. This research draw attention to some of Filipino migrant women workers narratives and highlights their agency.

Thus, the post-colonial approach to gender reveals how gendered experiences of women from developing countries are connected to realities of colonialism. Moreover, postcolonial perspectives call for including voices of non-Western women in research (Mohanty 1988). In addition, the perspective adds methodological recommendations in terms of how researchers should discuss their findings in relation to their positionality (Abu-Lughod 1993).

**Studies of Migration and Identities in Japan**

Non-Western perspectives on feminism are likely to show contextual differences in migration studies. Research on gendered migration processes in Japan requires considering what ‘feminism’ means to Japanese and migrant men and women. In Japan, research on
gender in started in the 1990s and as Yoshida et al (2013) explains, “while defining the field of study such as ‘geography by feminists,’ […] female researchers have autonomously advanced research from the beginning (35).” Thus, researchers are often interested in struggles of Japanese women against patriarchal structures as well as issues faced by migrant women in Japan (Ogawa 2012; Imamura 1990). This research highlights some of the issues faced by female migrant workers. In addition, it discusses how Japanese NGOs reflect on the structures that facilitate Japanese women’s reliance on the labor of other women from other countries. Spivak (1994) notes that “in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in the shadow (83)”. Instead, subordinate nationalities, minorities are obscured. Thus, we can consider the extent to which women migrant workers may be excluded from participating in the feminist project in Japan. In addition, research based on poststructural theory allows to hear migrant voices and does not presupposes the strength of their agency. For instance, previous studies have delved into histories of the colonial oppression of Korea that led to increase in Korean minority in Japan. In turn, the Zainichi Korean community is linked to efforts to challenge xenophobia in Japan (Lie 2008). Power is understood to be on a continuum instead of a simple dichotomous, powerful – powerless relationship.

**Migrants in Japan’s Economic Development**

Takeyama (2010) suggest that the “neoliberal traits such as privatization, market deregulation, and corporate restructuring have been promoted consistently since the late 1980s (233)” that manifest themselves in bilateral trade agreements that contain clauses concerned with migration (Takeyama 2010, 490; Onuki 2009). In a similar manner, Castles
(2011) discusses the inequalities of the “a global labour market (312)” that arose as a result of neoliberal policies. He connects the disparities resulting from labor market segmentation to the neoliberal globalization and recruitment of migrant workers from underdeveloped Asian economies to Japan (313). Still, drawing on unskilled foreign labor from the neighboring countries does not fully satisfy the need for foreign workers in Japan. In order to fill these needs as well as to mitigate possible opposition to opening borders to migrants Japanese government came out with two schemes that allow for the labor to come in under the guise of “‘trainees’ or Nikkeijin (descendants of Japanese emigrants to Latin America) to fill factory jobs (315).” While the literature points out the link between the economic cycles of expansion and contraction the evidence demonstrates that in highly developed economies the number of migrants did not significantly decreased during economic crises. For instance, Castles (2011) points out that “[m]igrants have been unwilling to leave richer countries, even if they become unemployed. Several destination country governments (for example, Spain, the Czech Republic, and Japan) have set up schemes to give migrants financial incentives to return home (320)” and links it with poor economic conditions in the countries of origin and the migrant’s anxiety over being readmitted to Japan during the economic boom (ibid.)

Migrants’ Assimilation and Social Ties in Japan

The debates regarding formation of transnational ties are often discussed in relation to the newcomers, namely, migrants who entered Japan after WWII. The assimilation processes are studied within the old comer communities; namely, communities formed during the colonial time and WWII period, as well as newcomers (Lie 2008; Takenaka et al. 2015).
For example, Takenaka (1999) questions possibility of forming transnational community among Japanese Peruvians and points out that “maintaining transnational ties can indeed accentuate immigrants’ group boundaries both within the receiving and sending countries (1460).” Specifically, by highlighting their Japanese roots Nikkei are not fully considered to be Peruvian. At the same time, Nikkei are not considered to be completely Japanese. Tsuda (2003) presents similar view in regards to Brazilian Nikkei and suggest that despite the Japanese ancestry Brazilian migrants are considered foreigners among Japanese population (ix). Takenaka (2009) demonstrates that those Nikkei that entered Japan as blue collar workers are deemed a failure and are excluded from broader Nikkei – Japanese networks (1342). Takenaka argues that possibility of successfully forming social ties between Japanese and American (South and North) Nikkei was limited to those Nikkei who were already economically successful and did not migrate to Japan in order to seek a better economic future.

In terms of assimilation studies, Cornelius and Tsuda (2004) argue that while Korean old comer minority in Japan is culturally assimilated, Korean people are not considered to be fully fledged Japanese. Yet, Chapman (2006) suggests that since 1990s, there has been an increase in naturalization of zainichi in Japan and that a number of the people who formally accepted Japanese citizenship in hope to “establish the rights of zainichi to acquire Japanese citizenship and at the same time make obvious their Korean ethnic and cultural roots (94)” and seek to identify themselves as “Korean-Japanese or ‘Japanese of Korean background’(95)” to celebrate their ethnic background and acknowledge Japanese citizenship.
Migrants by National Origin in Japan

A number of research on migration points out to the specific situation of the country in respect to population changes. Japan is ranked as highly developed in terms of national gross domestic product (International Monetary Fund. 2015). That is, it ranks as fourth largest world economy behind the European Union, The United States and China (Ibid.). At the same all of these entities and countries annual population growth percentage is below 1. However, Japan’s the trend is particularly visible (Figure 2).

Currently, Japan’s population pyramid exhibits distribution characteristic of an aging, economically developed society (Statistics Bureau 2016). There were two sharp drops in the population numbers during 1940s and in 1966. The first drop can be explained by World War II. The second is related to the Hinoeuma superstition in Japan (Hashimoto 1974, 226). This is a belief that if certain zodiac signs and elements fall closely to each other (in this case fire and horse) it will bring a tragic future to the children. However, this temporary drop followed by the increase in births. Still, overall, birth rates have been dropping especially since 1970s. This can be linked to availability of contraception and abortion to Japanese women as well as increased economic development (Hashimoto 1974). The pyramid indicates that currently Japan experiences low fertility rates. The percent of the population below fourteen years old is smaller than those who are over sixty five years old. In 2015, the population aged between below one year old and fourteen years old comprised 12.7 percent of the total population as compared to the population aged sixty five years and over that was at 26.7 percent. The majority of the population (60.6 percent) was between ages of fifteen to sixty four (Statistics Bureau 2016). The population pyramid indicates high life expectancy. Japanese population is declining. In 2016 the Statistics
Bureau (2016) reported that it registered for the first time a marked decrease in population numbers. Although, the decline in the population started slowly since the 2000s.

Figure 2. Japan’s Population Pyramid (2014). Source: Statistics Bureau 2015d.
While the overall percentage of the migrant population in Japan seems negligible (Figure 3), both numbers of old comers and newcomers, have been steadily increasing. The term of either old comers or newcomers is often used in reference to Japanese foreign residents. Shin (2001) describes the division in the following way,
Starting in the mid-1980s, a wave of people began to arrive in Japan, most of them looking for work. They came primarily from Asia but also from South America and Africa. The Japanese labeled the migrants "newcomers" (nyakamdzu). The term distinguishes the migrants from "oldcomers" (orudokamdzu), a word used to describe former colonial subjects who settled in Japan and their descendants. (266).

However, sometimes newcomers are understood as migrants who came to Japan after WWII.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2,173,356</td>
<td>963,194</td>
<td>1,210,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, North</td>
<td>108,813</td>
<td>68,142</td>
<td>40,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America, South</td>
<td>237,882</td>
<td>127,747</td>
<td>110,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>108,654</td>
<td>66,059</td>
<td>42,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>15,745</td>
<td>11,502</td>
<td>4,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>43,235</td>
<td>26,025</td>
<td>17,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless Persons</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Total Number</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,688,288</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,262,991</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,425,297</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in the graph (Figure 4), between 1960s and 1980s numbers of international migrants were at a slow increase. This was during the time when Japan experienced economic expansion. That peaked in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. During that time, the big business represented by Keidanren [Japan Business Federation], started taking more pronounced interest in hiring cheaper labor force from outside of Japan (Weiner 2003, 59). Since the beginning of 1990s the percentage of migrant population started to increase more rapidly. While a number of countries in the region experienced downturn following the Asian financial crisis, Japan’s recession was low in comparison to
Weiner (2003) argues that because neighboring countries economies were severely hit, Japan became an attractive destination for migrants (64). The need for foreign labor was steady until 2008, when the number of migrant workers has declined due to the experiencing economic recession. In 2011, the number of registered foreigners has dropped even more due to Tohoku earthquake and tsunami. Since 2013, numbers of registered foreigners begun to rise up again. Between 2013 and 2014 the rate of increase was approximately 2.7 percent. The annual 2014 statistical report provided by the Ministry of Justice (2015) indicates that currently 2,688,288 people are qualified as foreign residents in Japan (Table 4).

![Number of Registered Aliens as a Percentage of Total Population](image)

Figure 4. Number of Registered Aliens as a percentage of the Total Population. Source: The Ministry of Justice (2009).

In 2014, the largest number of registered foreigners arriving in Japan came from Asia (Table 4). In 2014, tourists were the largest visitor group to Japan. Namely 12,052,224 people entered Japan on short term (less than 90 day visa) (Ministry of Justice 2015). In
this cohort 9,681,667 people came from Asia and 1,015,242 from North America. Permanent residents were the second largest group entering the country in 2014. Followed by 289,844 student visa holders, and Specialists in Humanities and International Services, which includes English teachers, language specialists as well as designers, business and sales professionals. Categories, such as Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) were less represented, namely 92,126 people entered Japan that year under the program’s visa, primarily from Asia (91,958).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>11,419,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>1,146,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>92,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>1,106,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>32,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>351,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless Persons</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Total Number</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,150,185</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition border patrol recorded arrivals of 88,115 Long Term Residents (Ministry of Justice 2015).
Gender and Work in Japan

Before the industrial revolution, women were important participant of household and national economies (Scott and Tilly 1975). Every able body was expected to work on the farm and every person working outside the home had to turn their income to the household. Thus, women were integral part of rural incomes. Moreover, in urban areas, women worked in a partnership with their husbands helping the family business by selling their products and keeping books (38). However, with the progress of industrialization the value of the family work, or family as the most important unit started to dissolve and income was attributed to individual work (61). When male incomes increased to the point that they exceeded female incomes, many women stayed at home (63).

Neoliberal discourse often portrays women entering commercial workforce and climbing the corporate ladder as a new and welcomed phenomena that reflects equal gender relationships. On the contrary, such discourse hides the inequalities with respect to gender, race and class that support the capitalist enterprise (Wetherall 2007; Roberts and Soederberg 2012). In addition, women workers image is framed and valued not only in terms of the actual work they perform, but also in terms of profit and added value that they can add to the product through long term commitment, low wages, and continued training (Wright 463).

Female and male bodies are being concentrated towards specific occupations and as Mills (1998) point out “[…] what changed is the form that this expression takes and the possibilities of response to sexism (237)” Yet, gendered categories is are constructed differently across context (Yoshida 1993; Aguilar 1996; Katz 2001; Sassen 2002; Silvey 2004). For example, Scott (2010) argues,
By the mid-1990s, in the US at least, the term gender seemed to me to have lost its critical edge precisely because its meaning seemed to be able to be taken for granted. [...] This wasn’t the case, of course, in other parts of the non-English-speaking world. In those places the very difficulty of translating the word provided the kind of radical interrogation associated with feminism (10).

Specifically, in terms of feminist research in Japan, studies have been concerned with underrepresentation of women in the political forum as well as the access of women to equal employment opportunities (Shin 2004; Chan-Tiberghien 2004). Stockwin (2007) gives an example of the current political discourse regarding women “[t]he Abe administration has been beset by scandals and unfortunate ministerial statements. The Home Minister, Yanagisawa Hakuo, caused a storm by referring to women as ‘machines for making babies’ (229).” Shin (2004) points out that one of the ways which women employed to gain access to political circles was through advancing nationalist and modernist agenda (171, 172). However, it remains unclear how this pathway of feminist politics in Japan would affect their stance on immigration policy. Chan-Tiberghien’s (2004) studies on transnational organizations reveal that global issues related to politics of race and gender picked up interest in Japan. However, she criticizes “Western model of sisterhood,” and points out that the feminist movement in Japan is diverse, and encompasses various agenda. Still, it is uncertain how migrant identities play into the feminist agenda of access to power and representation (141).

Thus, while questions related to job access and gender categories are researched broadly (Suzuki 2000; Yoshida et al. 2013), the issues concerning migrant women workers vary between the contexts (Miasato 2002). This research highlights concerns of NGO’s helping migrants with respect to the government proposals to exclusively promote the rights of Japanese women at the expense of migrant women.
Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the problem of defining international migration and migrants, especially since the reception of foreign nationals’ changes across different context. Marxist theory explains migration in relation to capital accumulation. Governments provide disposable and low wage labor to companies seeking to increase their profits, through regulating the supply of cheap and disposable migrant labor. The lack of development initiatives in poor areas leads to continuous supply of such labor. This research highlights how participants who come from countries with underdeveloped economies and high unemployment rates, take on low wage jobs in Japan’s urban and rural areas. Moreover, this research argues that migrant population plays a role as Japanese growth strategy. In addition, migrants influence labor market through utilizing social networks. Having social networks often enables migrants to access information about types of help they can receive from NGOs, find out about job opportunities or get into contact with labor brokers.

Another set of issues in migration studies has to do with forming of a migrant identity. This chapter has reviewed different attempts, especially in the studies concerned with migration in the U.S., to define the mainstream and establish how migrants fit into a broader society. This research analyses the ways in which the voices of foreign workers challenge framing of Japan as a homogenous country.

Scholars are becoming increasingly interested in migration in rural areas. This research considers experiences of international migrants in rural and urban areas of Japan. Moreover, studies of migrant communities reveal the processes of social construction of race and gender. For instance, Raju and Lahiri-Dutt (2011) argue that female migrants
show different movement patterns with regards to regions as well as rural and urban spaces. In addition, male and female migrants are often steered toward different lines of work (food manufacturing, construction). The gender perspective adds to migration studies by problematizing current migration policies in terms of maintaining the patriarchal status quo. For instance, Jayapal (2013) criticizes immigration procedures in the United States as “sexclusionary,” whereby, “[w]omen and children comprise three-quarters of people migrating to the United States. Yet our current policy excludes them from many of the opportunities and protections of the system, and boxes them into a small number of visa categories (n.p.).” However, similar processes have occurred elsewhere, where in spite of high numbers of female migrants, easier pathways for migration were introduced to male populations by the industries hiring male migrants. This study engages with job advertising targeted at migrants and reveals gendered construction of migrants as low wage workers.

Historically, concerns over categories of gender and sex in geography had to do with women’s access to the production of knowledge and the removal of the patriarchal and colonial project from geography. However, even now, resonant ideas from the colonial times preoccupy certain areas of geography. Malthusian and Darwinian science is still influential, in particular in case of current genetic, reproductive science. Therefore, unpacking the category of gender remains a political project. To this end, Warf (2004) argues that “[t]o ignore gender is to assume that men’s lives are ‘the norm,’ that there is no fundamental difference in the ways in which men and women experience and are constrained by social relations (44)”. Gender studies as an approach are used to develop more abstract, theoretical ideas especially in terms of dismantling of the categories that are used to justify inequality. Accordingly, scholars sought to trace how ideas of gender and
race developed and changed over time in different contexts. In particular they became interested in the relationship between the exercise of power and production of gender and race categories. Overall, feminist geographers problematize understandings of space by exposing its gendered character. They point out the relationship between space and power and question the divisions and availability of space replicating social relationships of class, race, sex and gender (Knopp 2007, 49). These reflections are useful in particular because this study delves into migrant understandings of framing foreigners as dangerous crime suspects in Japan. This study considers how migrants accept or resist such discourse.

Furthermore, migration research reveals that migrants often face change in their gender roles when they move from their countries of origin to their destination. Women migrants may become the sole bread winners for their families which may shift the task of care work to fathers left at home and impact the interactions with the spouse. Thus, in multiple ways geographic analysis reveals how gendered migrant flows are complicated by the context of place and space (Massey 1994). This research highlights spatial components of intersectionality.

This chapter has also documented the evolution of theoretical approaches to migration. However, there seems to be a disconnect between the academia and policy making in terms of theories guiding their migration research. It seems that the most influential on everyday lives is the neoliberal framework, through which global institutions, such as the U.N. seem to formulate their understanding of migration problems. Conversely, a number of academic researchers on migration and gender are guided by either structural or post-structural approaches (for example, Yeung and Lin 2003; Marrow 2011; Xiang 2012; Anh et al. 2012). The theoretical framework for this examination is based on post-
structural considerations of economy, migration, and identity. This research situates migration as process embedded in economic structures. Moreover, this analysis is attentive to migrants’ narratives of their everyday experiences of living in urban – rural areas of Japan and argues that intersectional social identities such as gender, ethnicity and social class, have a spatial component.
CHAPTER THREE
MIGRATION AS ECONOMIC GROWTH STRATEGY: SUSTAINING THE GROWTH MACHINE

One evening, in my first month of research, I spotted a women taking a picture of a mounted plaque which had the name of an apartment building engraved on it. She carefully wiped the plaque with a handkerchief, and took a picture of it from afar. She then removed a screwdriver from her purse, unscrewed the plaque, and put it in her purse. I passed her by as she looked over the plants in front of the empty building. The next day workers started covering the building with construction tarpaulins. This procession of buildings covered in tarpaulins became a common sight during my stay in Tokyo. As I walked to one of the migrant organizations with which I worked, I passed eight construction projects. While construction and associated demolition is a usual feature of Japanese urban space, I connected the frenzy of construction around me to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics being around the corner (Figure 6) and real-estate companies hoping that investment in building in Tokyo will result in guaranteed profits.

With Tokyo boosting preparations to host the 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games, a myriad of business opportunities exist in the fast-paced city (Figure 5. Now is the time for companies to expand business into Tokyo to give birth to new innovation and growth. This chapter links the capitalist processes to migration and situates them in the context of the Tokyo’s real estate markets and the decline of the countryside.
Tokyo’s real estate business seems to be particularly active now, in anticipation of profits related to the 2020 Olympics. Tokyo’s Metropolitan Government (2016a) encourages investors by stating that,

With Tokyo boosting preparations to host the 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games, a myriad of business opportunities exist in the fast-paced city. Now is the time for companies to expand business into Tokyo to give birth to new innovation and growth.
In order to proceed with construction work, companies are in need of a crucial production component: labor. Ganelli and Miake (2015) argue that

[…] “labor market” shortages—the fact that companies cannot find the workers they need to carry out specific projects—implies that the effectiveness of monetary and fiscal stimulus is also reduced. A prime example of this is in the construction sector, for which disaggregated data point to a high job-to-applicant ratio, and anecdotal evidence suggests that shortages are delaying public infrastructure projects, including reconstruction in the areas affected by the March 11 disaster (3).

Thus, the discourse on migration is closely tied to that on the economy.

The current government, led by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, has been pushing for a number of economic reforms, including fiscal stimulus focused on sponsoring large infrastructure projects, monetary easing through asset purchases and decrease in interest rates, as well as structural reforms (McBride and Xu 2016). The structural reforms are aimed at deregulation of the economy coupled with schemes to increase available labor (ibid.). The last part of the proposal is realized through encouraging Japanese women to work outside the home and increasing migrant labor. Accordingly, the government plans to expand the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) as well as to facilitate bilateral agreements to bring in foreign care workers into Special Economic Zones.

The modification of immigration laws is met with disapproval of both the left-wing and conservative parties. The political opposition argues that the current visa structure creates oppressive work conditions and that the entire immigration system needs to be reformed so that migrants have the same rights as Japanese workers. The conservative movement argues against the increase in the number of migrants. Despite the complex history that facilitated the influx of migrants and ethnic minorities, conservatives propagate a discourse of Japan homogeneous and unique (Lie 2001). This type of narrative portrays Japan as exceptional in terms of its place within the global economy, namely, by
considering the Japanese system as state-led capitalism, in contrast to laissez-faire capitalism. Thus, within Abe’s political base, there is a conflict between conservative and neoliberal values. Ultimately, to get ahead of global competition as well as respond to pressures created by international finance and banking systems, the Japanese government seems to be tending towards enlarging the migration program and following United States–led economic models.

The interlinking of economy and migration also requires an interlinking of the spaces within which notions of economy and migration are articulated. By concentrating on Tokyo and surrounding prefectures, this chapter depicts the ways in which a migrant blue collar worker is incorporated into the Japan’s economy.

Tokyo dominates the rest of the country in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Statistics Bureau n.d.). Tokyo’s government is seeking profits in real estate markets, and this quest for growth is leading to an increased need for migrant labor. The Tokyo Metropolitan Area is currently the most populated area in the world. It is considered to be a “world city”, along with New York and London – one that controls global markets and accumulation of profits (Saito and Thornley 2003; Child Hill and Kim 2000; Sassen 2001; Sassen 1995). In particular, Sorensen (2010) points out that the Japanese government has emphasized growth of the Tokyo area for economic reasons as well as to maintain the status of the city on the global scale. Accordingly, the government appeals through a variety of programs to promote internationalization (kokusaika). Leheny (2003) explains that the goals of kokusaika were international (access to foreign technology and news), human (tourism, international students, foreign marriage, foreign students), and significantly material (consumption […]]) (117).
To this end, we can extend this into the consumption of urban spaces that are promoted to reflect the skylines of New York and London.

This chapter utilizes the “growth machine” (Molotch 1976) perspective to shed light on current processes of Tokyo gentrification. In particular, it discusses how Tokyo elites are able to mobilize the government to support the Urban Renaissance Policy and the resulting change in the Tokyo’s skyline. In addition, this chapter explores how through an appeal to building the global leadership in terms of the urbanization model as well as the center of capital control the Japanese government is able to force through current redevelopment models. This theory is going to be applied to three particular aspects of Tokyo and countryside development: (1) Tokyo’s participation in global market competition and real estate markets, and (2) the use of the environment to promote the gentrification of the central Tokyo area, and (3) the development of strategies mitigating economic downturn in the countryside. In turn, each of the subsections discusses how the neoliberal growth agenda connects migrants to its profit making goals, through construction, factory work, and tourism.

Specifically, this chapter describes how the trajectories that led migrants to live in rural-urban areas in Japan, can be in part understood in terms of neoliberal policies aiming to boost economic growth. One of the schemes aiming to increase profits is through focus on the real estate and construction markets. Companies seek to cut the costs as well, and one way of achieving it is through the hiring of migrant labor. Moreover, manufacturing companies are looking to move out of the megacities, where rents are high and choose either oversees or rural location to decrease rent expenses. Thus, migrant workers are steered by the government policies where the factories are located, that is, increasingly
towards rural areas. In the rural and urban areas in which foreign workers formed migrant enclaves, local municipalities seek to extend profits by marketing differences between Japanese standards and advertising the possibility of observing the exotic "other".

**Global City and the Growth Machine**

Gramling and Freudenburg (2013) posit that currently, cities are driven by “the actions of powerful individuals and coalitions shape development scenarios (643).” While different actors may want different outcomes from the city, they become unified by the purpose of ‘growth’. Molotch (1976) argues that the way that a city is developed is influenced by the elites, specifically people who try to shape the city in such a way in which they can secure profits. For instance, he identifies the elites as persons and entities who benefit from land ownership on the real estate market. One of the strategies that the elites use to assure profit, is through encouraging larger population. For example Molotch suggests that

[an] university may require an increase in the local urban population pool to sustain its own expansion plans and, in addition, it may be induced to defer to others in the growth machine (bankers, newspapers) upon whom it depends for the favorable financial and public-opinion environment necessary for institutional enhancement (317)

Accordingly, the elites call for increases in population size. However, this is disguised through the popular discourse of job creation. However, as Molotch explains, there is no proven relationship between higher numbers of an urban population and better availability of jobs. Thus, he argues that

[taking all the evidence together, it is certainly a rather conservative statement to make that under many circumstances growth is a liability financially and in quality of life for the majority of local residents. Under such circumstances, local growth is a transfer of quality of life and wealth from the local general public to a certain segment of the local elite (ibid., 320).]
Despite the lack of a clear relationship between the increased number of urban population and economic growth, governments are engaging in urban growth projects. The real estate benefits from a larger number of potential buyers. In the case of Tokyo, Waley (2007) discusses the changes in terms of goals “to maintain and if possible increase number of residents and […] to provide the support for local small and medium enterprises (1484)” and then after securing the support of small business enticing the large corporations (ibid.). Accordingly, the only beneficiaries of growth remain privileged groups of the society.

However, residents do not always object to the changes that are brought about by gentrification, even if in the long term these changes increase the cost of living and limit their access to the city. This suggests that an important part of transformation of urban landscapes is the creation of desires for modern urban spaces.

**The Rise of the Growth Machine**

As Smith (2002, 427) points out, currently, rather than being a regulator of the city, governments became the consumer of the real estate markets enmeshed with the interest of the growth machine – the elites (Molotch 1976). This is in particular visible through the creation of so-called partnerships between the city and private developers, who are now allowed a special treatment, the form low (or zero) taxes, ready infrastructure paid by citizen’s taxes, and attractive zoning laws. Tokyo is not an exception. Thus, Smith argues that Tokyo together with New York and London engage in gentrification processes through which it “represents the victory of certain economic and social interests over others, a reassertion of (neoliberal) economic assumptions over the trajectory of gentrification (446)”

65
The city is haunted by the ghost of the capital: while we can easily identify the profits made by selling of the materials, as well as manufacture, and construction industries, the desire for skyscrapers is less easily revealed. It is present in the glossy advertisements (Waley 2007, 1470), the government internationalization and modernization rhetoric, movies and literature. Thus, the Urban Renaissance is both material and symbolic. The internationalization (kokusaika) discourse is cherished by the government officials, who promote the creation of a cosmopolitan city. Tokyo’s future is envisioned as a leading global city – both in terms of profits as well as visual appeal.

Currently, the prospects of Tokyo Olympics accelerated construction craze in Tokyo. During my field work I participated in moving activities of one of the metropolis’ NGOs. The organization was asked to vacate the building it has occupied for close to forty years. The level of anxiety was high among the organization volunteers and staff. One of the participants, a twenty eight years old man, Japanese national expressed his unease:

I am worried about where we are going to move. Our organization’s leader is taking care of that, but it is not easy. Now real estate prices are rising. We do not have a large budget. Actually, right now he is asking our major donors for help, so we can afford the new rent. We are the last ones to move out of this building. Everyone else has already left. But the owner has already sold the building to a developer. We have no choice. The building next to us is being demolished. This noise that you are hearing, that is because they are smashing the walls [of the building next door]. This one is going to be next.

The changes in Tokyo’s skyline are the most prominent example of the Urban Renaissance policy. The consent of the public over the building of new skyscrapers is done in various ways. First, through intimidation by real estate companies. Second, by appealing to the public, by arguing that new forms of urbanization are useful in the context of Japan’s aging population. Third, by introducing the new policies as environmentally friendly and promoting safety from hazards. Fourth, by tempting the public with visions of the modern,
global city. Nevertheless, these arguments are deceiving residents, as their real aim – profits in which government wants to partake, gained from the real estate and lending markets speculations are being obscured.

At the same time, older neighborhoods and affordable housing are disappearing. Lower income residents are being shifted to the outskirts of the city. Thus, the new urban space, visibly changed by contemporary, creative urban form hides social exclusion and environmental injustice. As a result, new apartment complexes and office spaces are enjoyed by affluent Japanese residents at the exclusion of migrant workers that contributed to building them.

**Tokyo and Urban Renaissance Policy**

Tokyo Urban Renaissance Policy started during the 1980s (Machimura 1992). It was briefly hidden during the economic crisis, but then in 2000, Urban Renaissance policy was resuscitated, despite the fact that “between 1992 and 2006 Japan experienced its worst and most prolonged recession in over a century (Sorensen 2010, 556).” Waley (2007) argues that we should not be mystified by the relative low numbers of migrant workers and foreign capital in Tokyo as compared to that of other global cities– it is still a global city in the sense that “capital (Japanese - not global) plays more important role in urban restructuring of Tokyo […] than it has been given credit for (1466).”

Sorensen et al. (2010) argue that despite the economic secession of the 1990s the Tokyo Metropolitan Area experiences high levels of the real estate development. Until the 1980s Tokyo had a relatively low skyline. While as a city it was considered to be an
important actor on the global financial markets, Sorensen et al. (2010) write that the character of the city was unlike other major cities because

[…] it is a centre primarily for Japanese capital not global capital, is still a heavily manufacturing-based economy and has neither the high levels of immigrant population nor the other imperial legacies of London and New York (557).

Saito and Thornley (2003) reveal that during the early 1980s, the government started new policies in order to take advantage of the high levels of office occupancy rates in the center of Tokyo and the rising land prices (669).

There were other projects planned by government officials and then sold to the private investors. Waley argues that although initially government representatives fought with each other over the future of the area, private interests was agreeable to both sides (Waley 2007, 1472-3). As Saito and Thornley (2003) point out, this was done concurrently with the loosening requirements for the credit availability and increased speculation on the international stock market. The general deregulation of the market rendered the Japanese economy vulnerable to the market changes and following the economic failure of the 1990s, Japan including Tokyo experienced prolonged recession. Nevertheless, following a brief intermission, that is a plan to include affordable housing after the recession, Tokyo’s government decided to subsequently follow the same growth policies that were in place before the crisis (Fujita 2013). However, while before the official discourse referred to Tokyo as the world city, during the 1990s the government sold its policy as “resident friendly (Saito and Thornley 2003, 674).”

When crisis became devastating in 1998, the government issued new directives aimed at increasing the city’s competitiveness and developing special packages to support “public–private partnerships (675).” In 2002, the Urban Renaissance was brought back by
the government (Shima et al. 2007, 1) and the policy was later expended to other areas outside of Tokyo. The Urban Renaissance policy involved,

[...] various incentives, like deregulation of urban planning [...] financial support, are provided to encourage private investment. In Tokyo Metropolitan, 8 areas of 2,514ha were selected as Priority Urban Development Areas [...] where large-scale redevelopment projects are planned or implemented (3).

The initial economic gains that real estate companies made as well as the following losses were spectacular. Dehesh and Pugh (1999) report that,

[i]n the three year period 1987-89, the value of Japanes property assets in the corporate sector rose by as much as the 1988 size of Japan’s GDP. Landed property in Japan in 1991 was at some 20% of the world’s wealth that is double the value of the world’s equities. Subsequently some sections of Japanese property markets lost some 40% of their value by 1994 (147).

As Languillon-Aussel (2014) points out, the “renewal operations concern the office real-estate market, the diversification of economic functions and the redevelopment of public spaces for the benefit of their principal users: white-collar workers (n.p.)”. Moreover, he argues that a number of the development projects in Tokyo are done as competing projects in different areas between various real estate companies (ibid.). The 2002 regulation allows the

[...] companies to propose urban redevelopment plans, normally the exclusive prerogative of local authorities elsewhere. The relevant local authorities have six months to approve or refuse the plans and, in the case of a refusal, must provide a detailed justification for their decision (n.p.).

In addition, current laws allow for the government to compensate real estate companies for losses incurred due to the housing bubble (Sorensen 2005, 234).

The increase in high rise development, although initiated by the government, aimed at stimulating the private sector (Waley 2007; Sorensen et al. 2010). Thus, although the
new policies were advanced under the auspices of urban planners, they were aimed at bringing in the business sector and gaining profit on the real estate market to the extent that as they note the government “promote[s] land development profitability through urban intensification (558)” and further as a policy that treats “land as asset, as bank collateral and as potential development profit is central not only to the Japanese economic model but also to its political system (Sorensen et al. 2010, 559).” The project started with the Tokyo government seeking to build new office spaces, since there was virtually no vacancy, but now, with new offices, the vacancy rates have increased and the prices have become more unpredictable (Languillon-Aussel 2014, n.p.).

Environmental problems plaguing Tokyo are often the result of national economic policies. For example, After WWII, the government focus on economic development led to the building of a number of heavy industry plants, which in turn contributed to increased levels of pollution (Sorensen 2003, 523). Currently, there are a number of environmental concerns in Tokyo area, including the heat island effects (Masuda et al. 2009), air pollution, and exposure to natural and technological hazards that may plague the city located on the Bay and situated on the seismically active Pacific "Ring of Fire." The discourse on proper environmental techniques hides the development agenda of the real estate market. For example, Waley (2007) notes that “East Shirahige development was cast in terms of disaster prevention (1476).” Thus, building safety is often associated with new construction projects. For example, one of the participants, a thirty seven years old Japanese women working for migrant NGO, remarked,

Yes we have been here for a long time. There are so many memories here. Also, because we do not know what will happen to us, where are we going to move? We all know that this is because of the Olympics. People are trying to make money on real estate. But not all of this is bad you know. See this crack in the wall over here?
This building is old and went through many earthquakes. Sooner or later it would have to be replaced anyway.

The number of the development plans in Tokyo discuss to revitalization of the downtown area as a program that would help either to reduce the impact on the environment or decrease the vulnerability to disasters.

As Rashidi (2010) explains that “[g]reen development is always associated with ecological concerns, energy efficiency, clean environment, low impact development and smart community (1)” The number of new development projects in Tokyo are trying to appeal to residents’ environmental sensibilities and present their schemes as environmentally friendly, “green” development. During the 1980s urban Renaissance program, “Suzuki outlined the vision of a new downtown including changes in green spaces (Saito and Thornley, 672). In the 2002 version of Renaissance, the impacts to the environment were also mentioned and the government argued for ecological protection as well as “advancing measures for urban rebirth, such as more effective land use (Shima et al. 2007, 3).”

Although a number of scholars argues that it is possible to reach both economic growth and environmental sustainability through implementing suitable planning (see Hayashi 2003), as While et al. (2010) argue, under the capitalist system, the environment is used for profit. The governments gear their policies towards making profits on real estate markets through debt lending. While planners may recognize different techniques that may lessen the impact on the environment, their work seems to evolve around selling ideas to the private sectors – and as long as the policies seem to offer the possibility of profit they are accepted. The contradiction between the economic growth and protecting the environment is often not acknowledged.
Thus, the new plans involve redevelopment of centrally located areas to include more high-rises. These projects are often advertised as “smart growth” – preventing sprawl, limiting the impact on the environment and utilizing mixed type uses. Still, the inclusion of environmentally friendly designs is often tied to profits. Urban planners hope that they can entice new types of affluent resident to urban neighborhoods. In turn, construction companies capitalizing on these projects seek to hire migrant labor in order to increase profits.

**Gentrification**

At the city level, a number of old communities have been relocated to make place for new, posh apartment complexes for residents with higher incomes. The former residents were moved to the outskirts of the city and experience longer commutes (Sorensen 2005). This is especially important, since trains, subways and busses are owned and operated by large privatized companies in Japan. Sorensen argues that while for a long time old neighborhoods were able to resist change and maintain their traditional appearance, they all currently starting to undergo neoliberal transformation following other parts of the city.

The scene also has changed for the entertainment districts. Languillon-Aussel (2014) states that “there is now a wider range of shops and restaurants on offer, with the dual aim of ensuring the area remains lively outside office hours and increasing its retail potential to extend beyond white-collar workers alone (n.p.).” However, other research shows that within the current urban landscapes, the spaces of consumption create social exclusion (Eldridge 2010). For instance, Cybriwsky (2011) describes how Roppongi Hills in Tokyo used to be an area where a number of people used to go to be entertained and to
drink. The nightlife was open to everyone, to the extent that clubs and drinking bars welcomed both documented and undocumented migrants. However, after the redevelopment – Urban Renaissance of 2001 – the entertainment industry, bars and restaurants have changed. They have become more upscale and started serving the upper middle class. One of the results is that the migrant blue collar community is less welcome. Also, some businesses were given compensation to leave Roppongi. These changes reflected the desire to bring more profit to the Roppongi district and entice wealthy customers. Waley (2007) argues that “[i]t is at […] neighborhood level, in the spaces of everyday life, that prestige projects of clustered skyscrapers give rise to the tensions, as city centre functions spill over into contiguous inner-city areas (1467).” The new projects reveal themselves through the proliferation of gated housing and secured apartments, loss of affordable, government-sponsored accommodations, and the increase in homelessness (ibid. 1471). Migrant workers who participate in building of these projects cannot afford to live in new apartments and are often rejected by local clubs and drinking bars.

Declining Population: Limits to the Growth Machine

Some developers in Tokyo are concerned with the declining population (Kidokoro 2008). A number of publications mentions that Japan is the first out of the developed countries to face a decline in population, and thus needs to adjust its urban planning models to fit into the demands of the aging, decreasing population. Possible policy changes related to increased migration are not mentioned. Kidokoro (2008) mentions that the Tokyo’s problems are different from those of the cities in the United States because the population in the U.S. is increasing, forgetting that the increase is coming from both the natural birth
rates and from migration. In Japan, some consideration was given to fertility treatments. Ito (2015) and Ogawa (2014) report that until 2013, The Japan Society for Reproductive Medicine restricted the permission for women to undergo oocyte cryopreservation to only those who had serious medical problems. Currently, all women regardless of their health and marital status can undergo the procedure. However, in 2016, Urayasu city decided to subsidize the expensive procedure to promote the fertility of Japanese women (BBC 2016). Still, oocyte cryopreservation (extraction, freezing and storing woman’s eggs) does not guarantee that women will conceive when they are older and wish to become pregnant. In addition, advancing of oocyte cryopreservation program to all women does not addresses issues of lack of social benefits and which play role in women’s decision to delay pregnancy, such as the problem of lack of childcare in Japan.

Still, while migrants are not readily recognized as future permanent residents and property owners, the number of those working in construction are part of real estate politics in Tokyo. Further, Tokyo’s shortage of construction workers informs national immigration policy. The government leans towards expanding the TITP. Thus, the Immigration Bureau (2015) explains that,

[...] in order to further accelerate the reconstruction projects needed after the Great East Japan Earthquake and to respond to the demands for construction related to the 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games, foreign nationals are being accepted as a temporary emergency measure, and it is expected that the debate on the acceptance of foreign nationals will intensify even more in the future (5)

Consequently the government seeks to increase the number of the labor force for two reasons: (1) rebuilding and cleanup of the Tohoku area and (2) to participate in construction work related to the Tokyo Olympics. However, this is not a detailed description. Tohoku region includes Fukushima prefecture, home to the Fukushima I Nuclear Power Plant. The
“reconstruction projects (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2015, 5)” could potentially include anything, from building levees to cleaning up radioactive materials that contaminated water and topsoil. In terms of “construction related to the 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games (ibid.)”, it not specified whether this means stadiums and the Olympic Village or just general construction of residential and commercial buildings. Although, it seems that construction workers are hired for all of the above mentioned purposes, the Japanese government seems to prioritize making profit related to real-estate and construction industries. The discourse presented by the Immigration Bureau (2015) seems to link the need to increase the number of immigrants to economic growth,

as facing an era of a fully-fledged population decline, the economy has since been sluggish due to such impacts as the Global Financial Crisis leading to a need to more proactively accept those foreign nationals who contribute to the vitalization of the Japanese economy (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2015, 3).

Thus, the presence of migrant workers is increasingly discussed as a part of the economic revitalization strategy.

While Tokyo dominates the rest of the country in terms of the GDP (Statistics Bureau n.d.), elsewhere a number of prefectures are in deterioration, as evidenced by the decline in population and profits. Migrant work trajectories are thus linked to Tokyo’s growth on the one hand and rural decline on the other hand.

**Hollowed Towns**

The construction of urban – rural dichotomies is inescapably tied to the capitalist driven market processes. “Becoming urban” is understood as becoming participants of neoliberal, globalized economy. For instance, Brenner (2013) observed that “[u]rbanizing built
environments and urban institutional configurations is now thought to have major consequences for the futures of capitalism, politics, and indeed the planetary ecosystem as a whole (89). Urbanization is often viewed as a process of modernization and creating economic and political capacity. Thus, the U.N. Habitat’s (2012) valuation of urban areas is that

[w]hen they are well-articulated with the national and provincial governments and their own development agendas are linked to regional and national development plans, when investments from central governments are aligned with local investments, cities can yield critically important results for the nation as a whole (6).

Thus now, urban–rural differences have to do with the presence or absence in the neoliberal process.

While the Tokyo area is striving to maintain its growth, a number of communities in Japan are experiencing decline. For instance, one of the emergent issues in Japan is the increasing number of abandoned houses in the countryside and suburbia. Young families are moving to Tokyo and Osaka and no one is willing to buy their properties in the areas that are decreasing in population and job opportunities. As Kubo et al. (2014) point out, the only properties that have a better chance of being occupied are those located closely to train tracks, thus enabling occupants to commute to the city by train. Thus, the value of living in the suburbs or the countryside is understood in the terms of their connection to the city.

In this context of global market oriented economies and mass consumption, (re)production of rural and urban categories is sometimes expressed in consumer culture. Products are marketed by creating desires that help the sales of the urban - rural spaces. The retail of a particular place is articulated by evoking connections to the rural idyll and urban cosmopolitanism. On one hand, neoliberalism represented by cities becomes
dramescape of modernity, regulation, control, order and the future. On the other hand, the lack of participation in globalization processes is often connected with rural areas that are associated with traditionalism, disorder and the past. Matanle and Sato (2010) state that “less concerned with how to achieve revitalization, if that expression is to be interpreted as meaning growth, but about how to live well within a shrinking region (2008).”

One way of looking at the process of creating urban rural categories is to follow the consumer practices. For instance, Creighton (2001) argues that tourists’ activities in the countryside are promoted as leading to reviving of “Japanese identity and rediscovering Japan’s roots (6).” However, this connection is achieved specifically in the countryside “located in an otherwise totally remote […] area.” The search for the national identity is consumed in a form of craft work starts in the place physically disconnected from the usual work schedule, communication and transportation technologies.

Still, the meaning of the Japanese countryside is changing. While young Japanese moved to urban areas in search of better paying job, the countryside is going through facelift. The aging, native, rural population is experiencing change with the arrival of young migrant workers brought in by a number of companies have moved production to the countryside and hired migrants to cut costs (Japan Today 2010). As one of the participants, forty six years old Japanese man, has remarked,

I am originally from Hokkaido and when I visit back home there are no young people left where I used to live. That is not entirely correct. There are young people, but the young people are foreigners, they are the only ones who are young and live on the island.

Thus, in part, the discourse of rural areas as sights of declining and old population is correct only when the discussion leaves out the presence of migrant workers brought in by the manufacturing and agro-industry companies.
Migrant Urban – Rural Communities and Tourist Growth Machine

There are many South American communities in Japan, especially in Kanto region. One of the towns, Oizumi, in Gunma prefecture, has a number of factories that engage in food, chemicals, electronics, and automobiles production. The majority of Brazilian residents of the town work in these factories. Despite the presence of the factories, the town is characterized by low density settlements, with many single family houses, and small fields placed in between residential, commercial and industrial sites. However, there are also a couple of small apartment buildings, including some near the factory. There is a sports field and a number of parks. In addition to Japanese primary, middle and high schools, the town has Brazilian schools, as well as stores and restaurants that carry South American, especially Brazilian specialty foods.

The town organizes their own festival with the vendors selling Japanese takoyaki and Brazilian sausages and beer. South American women and men dawn their Carnival costumes and dance to Brazilian music. According to the municipal government, these events bring the community together (Kataoka 2013). However, advertisements in the local media suggest that the community did not necessarily need the festival to become more agreeable, rather the festival was to encourage tourists to come to town. The visitors’ map (Figure 6) shows the locations of the Brazilian shops and restaurants. As Kataoka (2013) argues, the ethnic shops are spread out in-between Japanese businesses. This suggest a difference in spatial arrangement of ethnic communities in comparison to ethnic towns in the United States and Europe. Some of the South American stores serve as regular grocery stores run by migrants that sell Japanese staple foods (Figure 7).
Figure 6 Oizumi: Visitor’s Map Source: Oizumi Town (n.d.)
Kataoka (2013) sees the move to utilize Oizumi’s ethnic resources as a way to increase growth of the small towns across Japan. She puts forward that,

[t]he perspective of ethnicity as a local resource is an extremely effective perspective that is useful not only for residents in the host community, but also for improving the socioeconomic position of the ethnic group and for encouraging their cooperation with the host community, thereby reducing conflict and friction (43).

Further, Kataoka extends this evaluation and proposes that these schemes should be extended across Japan and that “[s]uch initiatives would not only completely resolve the problems associated with the utilization of ethnic towns as tourism resources, but they would also provide a stepping stone toward local vitalization (ibid.)”. As Kataoka explains, these projects are approved by the Cabinet and initiated with collaboration from the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (36). Therefore, the economic

Figure 7. Picture of the Grocery Store in Oizumi Town
utilization of migrants extends beyond the factories of Oizumi and into the tourist industries intended to strengthen the local economy.

For example, similar reasoning seems to influence the Ikebukuro’s (Figure 8) Toshima municipal government to involve the Chinese community in tourism (Yamashita 2003, 2011). Ikebukuro is already drawing a number of the visitors because of its Tobu, Seibu and Marui famous shopping malls. However, to spread the wealth to the less busy streets and businesses, the local government printed out visitors guide to Chinatown in the local paper (Figure 9). To differentiate it from Yokohama, home to the larger old comer community in Japan, Ikebukuro is portrayed as a place where the majority of Chinese migrants are newcomers. While Oizumi is a small town and Ikebukuro is located in Tokyo, both are home to growing immigrant communities.

Figure 8. Ikebukuro: New Chinatown in Tokyo

The local governments see the presence of these communities as a chance to highlight the potential of a difference, as a way of competing with parts of Japan or other
part of the city, and draw profits from tourists industries.

Figure 9 Ikebukuro: Visitor’s Map – “Start” and “Finish” areas are highlighted in red.

Source: Ikebukuro Ward. n.d.
Visitors to Ikebukuro are encouraged to follow a designated route that leads them to visit local shops and taste the food at Chinese restaurants (Figure 10). The route has a suggested “start” and “finish” close to the subway station. Therefore, shopping at the local large department stores can be combined with a trip to the new Chinatown. This illustrates how new ethnic communities are marketed to attract more visitors.

Creating new ways of generating growth is accomplished at the intersections of “social dynamics of race, space, and power in the global city (Lin 2008, 110).” The immigrant blue collar communities fulfil their role as both the suppliers of labor in the local construction sites, factories, stores, restaurants, but also as providers of the exotic experience for tourists.

**Conclusion**

This chapter described the links between the Japanese Revitalization Policy and migration in the context of Tokyo. Current discourse within Japan framed Tokyo as a sight of economic development realized through real estate markets paired with an increasing population in the metropolitan area. Crucial to this development is low wage migrant labor. For example, through opening of the TITP visa scheme, the government enabled construction companies to access labor that cannot secure workers’ rights, due to their legal trainee designation. The construction companies who gained contracts related to Tokyo 2020 Olympics largely benefit from this immigration scheme.

The current developments in Tokyo suggest that economic and demographic changes could result in a further increase in migrant population in Japan. Conversely, the countryside is often described as a place of decline in terms of economic activity and inhabitants. Creighton (2001) posits that Japanese rural communities construct their places
as traditional sites of reconnecting with Japanese identity. This may be linked to desires to
gain profits from urban tourists. Still, migrant presence can be found outside of
metropolitan areas and some communities seem to be learning that the financial benefits
may rise from advertising their towns as sites of exotic difference. One of the ways in
which rural administrators seek to draw profits is through tourism. Increasingly, local
governments see a potential in using migrant communities as a means of advertising the
uniqueness of particular places.

This research situates itself within the dichotomous spaces of economic and
population growth of Tokyo metropolitan area as well as declining rural economies and by
highlighting how the presence of migrants within the urban-rural areas changes complex
understandings of urban-rural localities. The next chapter describes the landscape of the
non-governmental organizations in Japan and its roles in advocating for foreign residents
in Japan.
CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRANT SUPPORT AND ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS IN JAPAN

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) encompass a number of entities and are difficult to define due to their contested role. Lewis and Schuller (2016) describe them as “[a]s quintessentially neoliberal ‘shape shifting’ actors” that “are normally characterized in residual terms as non-state organizations that are distinct from the worlds of for-profit business (1).” Yet Lewis and Schuller (2016) point out that despite the appearance of being unrelated to the state, the NGOs may in fact hide “crucial ties with governments, business and other interest groups. They may take hybridized forms that make a straightforward identification with a particular institutional ‘sector’ difficult to determine (ibid.)”.

Similarly, Bernal and Grewal (2014) argue that NGOs may represent various political positions and that NGO landscape is diverse and contradictory. This can be understood in relation to the histories of NGOs. The origins of NGOs can be traced to different traditions and establishments, for example,

some emerging from long standing institutions (churches for instance) and some from new social movements, corporate enterprises, or new needs (for example, NGOs focusing on global warming or other environmental issue) (2).

One of the types of nongovernmental organization is a labor union. In Japan, labor unions can be divided into enterprise unions, general (local) unions, and national unions. Enterprise unions represent workers through company based form of organizing. Noda and Hirano (2013) explain,

Japanese unions are organized along enterprise lines, rather than the craft or industrial lines that typify American unions. Therefore, it seems plausible that the
employer and employee share more interests in the enterprise union system than they do in industrial or craft unions in the U.S. This unique feature of enterprise-based unionism creates their “state-contingent” responses to employment adjustment behaviors. Japanese enterprise unions aim primarily at the preservation of long-term employment contracts and the regulation of internal promotion prospects. They are likely to have a strong, common interest in improving their own firm’s competitiveness, in order to ensure growth prospects and stable employment. (94)

Thus this form of organizing is limited, since enterprise unions speak for workers interests insofar as they meet company’s interests. Moreover, enterprise unions represent regular employees, namely, permanent, full time workers (Fujimura 2012, 10). Still, the majority of enterprise unions are affiliated with industrial unions and Fujimura (2012) suggest that “enterprise unions recognize the significance of acting in collaboration with other unions (7)” to have a better bargaining position vis-à-vis corporations.

A second type of labor unions are the general unions. Ebisuno (2012) traces the history of general unions to the prewar Meiji industrial period. The general unions represent workers from across different industries, corporations, and types of employment, namely, they include temporary and part time workers as members. These unions act on the municipal, prefectural and regional scales.

A third type is the national trade union. There are three such national trade unions in Japan: Rengo, Zenroren, and Zenrokyo. These unions are affiliated with political parties and their activities are largely related to political and public relations. Watanabe (2015) argues that national labor unions in Japan became prominent in 1989, when major trade unions decided to unify and form Japanese Trade Union Confederation [Rengo]. However, during the late 1990s the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) sought to curb the power of the labor unions and install reforms aiming to deregulate labor market (510-512).
During fieldwork, I visited a number of organizations helping migrants in Japan, among them advocacy organizations, labor unions, migrant support groups, and faith-based organizations. These organizations were the main facilitators of my contact with migrant participants. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first section, Entering the Field: Approaching Labor Unions and Migrant Organizations explains the way in which the study was able to employ help from migrant organizations to seek migrant participants. The second section, Migrant Support Association Conference, discusses the types of help that the nongovernmental organizations offered to migrants. The third section, Ethnographic Experience: Accompanying Activist from Migrant Organization describes an example of how nongovernmental organization activist seek cooperation with government officials.

**Positionality of Entering the Field**

My positionality as a western researcher and a woman analysing issues affecting migrant workers in Japan has been an important factor in this study. As a western researcher with limited Japanese language, I had to make use of colleagues and research assistants fluent in Japanese to help set-up meetings with organisations and participants, as well as act as translators during data collection. My past lived experience in Japan during high school mitigated my perception of certain issues affecting some of the participants of this study. The first organization I contacted was a general labor union 部 rodo kumiai, Ally, based in Tokyo. I secured the meeting with the help of my Japanese friend who worked at a local university. My direct attempt at setting a meeting with Ally was not successful in part due to my Japanese language limitation. A more formal and professional letter in Japanese requesting a visit to discuss a possible future collaboration written by my friend
helped to secure a meeting with Mr. Saito. My first meeting with Mr. Saito was very formal and proved to be critical in enabling me to establish trust with the union leader and his staff. Mr Saito introduced me to the union’s legal assistant Mr. Nakamura who also participated in the interview. Refreshments and green tea were served as customary during the interview by Ms. Tanaka, who is the union administrator. I thought my interest in this union organisation will be welcome. I had mistakenly assumed that my visit as an international researcher will spark some attention from Mr. Saito. In fact, Mr. Saito is a respected specialist and well known personality accustomed to many visitors on a weekly basis. His views are regularly sought by the media on various issues. His opinions is often sought during major debates over immigration law in Japan. University professors from Japan and abroad as well as representatives from different embassies join the list of Mr. Saito’s visitors. My first meeting with Mr. Saito took place in the conference room filled with mementos from different parts of the world as well as pictures of Mr. Saito with world leaders. Needless to say my visit was inconsequential in the context of procession of visitors he has received. Still, Mr. Saito talked to me about the history of the NGO as well as its main goals. His organization is a general union which membership include both Japanese and foreign workers. The workers were full time employees as well as part time. He gave me a brochure about his union, then inquired if I needed any help with my research. I asked if it would be possible for me to come over on a daily basis and observe the work of his union. I also asked if I could participate as a volunteer for his organization while conducting my research. Mr. Saito agreed and led me in the workroom downstairs where he showed me a place to set my laptop. He then introduced me to everyone and we exchanged business cards.
During my second day at the Union’s office, my offer to help in the office was turned down. I set my laptop in the corner of the office and began to observe the daily operations routine. Everyone in the office was polite and union volunteers chatted with me for a short time, but in a formal manner. I was again offered green tea and wagashi (traditional Japanese sweets) during the lunch time. Initially it seemed to me that everyone prefer traditional, healthy food and drink at the office and I wishfully thought that if I stay with the union for a longer time I may finally break my coffee addiction and replace it with healthier Japanese tea.

For a couple of days, I immersed myself into the routine, but progressively, my interactions with the staff and union members became less formal. I knew that I had managed to establish some level of trust and acceptance when one day, Ms. Tanaka showed me the location of small kitchenette for me to make my own drinks. Few days later, while drinking my tea during lunch, my Japanese colleagues joined me at the table and asked if perhaps I would prefer coffee instead. They informed me that they preferred coffee during the lunch, because they needed a little pick-me-up in the middle of the afternoon. One of the union employees, showed me a coffee catalogue and asked if I would like to order anything for myself to drink at the office. From that point, I felt accepted and it my offer to volunteer at the NGO was finally accepted.

Throughout the remainder of the research, my positionality was checked by participants as my involvement with their organisations progressively expanded my involvement. Furthermore, they did not shy away from asking me questions whenever necessary during interviews and data collection. During the second fieldwork², in 2015,

²The field work took place during the summer of 2014 and 2015.
Mr. Saito extended his hospitality even further. I was offered a better desk equipped with a personal computer and my level of participation in the union’s formal meetings was increased. During both summers I was given an opportunity to use one of the rooms to conduct interviews with participants. Mr. Saito introduced me to a number of union leaders, who in turn helped me recruit participants.

One of the labor unions that helped me to recruit workers was run by Mr. Matsumoto. I met Mr. Matsumoto through Mr. Saito at a conference, but despite them being good friends, Mr. Matsumoto avoided setting up a meeting with me. As he explained to me later on “You know, I have lots of people who contact me, journalists and scholars, who interview me and then I never see them again”. It was my research assistant who secured the meeting between me and Mr. Matsumoto. She talked favorably about me with Mr. Matsumoto introducing me as reliable and caring about workers’ rights. My research assistant also showed my pictures with Dr. X.J., a Marxist activist, to help gain trust of Mr. Matsumoto. This seemed to win Mr. Matsumoto over; however, he requested that I join their protest as a test of my dedication to the cause. Setting up protests, participation in protests, and arranging assemblies in the Diet building were part of the functions of a number of NGOs encountered in this study. I attended the protest and Mr. Matsumoto introduced me to couple of migrant workers. Later during the evening few of us went to restaurant, so we could talk.

Later Mr. Matsumoto contacted my research assistant and through her set up my visits to his NGO, so that I could interview the workers. He introduced me to a person who became my second research assistant and allowed me to use one of the rooms in his headquarters to conduct interviews. The room was filled with pictures of Mr. Matsumoto.
and other union leaders as well as pictures from demonstrations. Mr. Matsumoto gave me a tour of various facilities that the union owned, including a nearby clubhouse and a safe house for migrant workers.

Both Mr. Saito and Mr. Matsumoto advertised my research and always checked on my wellbeing. If the interview was taking a long time, or I had a number of interviews back to back they would knock on a door and suggest we should take a break or bring refreshments for me and the participant. Migrant workers visited the unions frequently and this proved to be a fruitful way to recruit participants.

In addition, Mr. Saito introduced me to Ms. Miyagi. She has in turn acquainted me with other NGO leaders, invited me to seminars at local universities, and encouraged me to accompany her during her visits to the National Diet. Moreover, Ms. Miyagi was one of the organizers of annual migrant NGO meeting and she coordinated a number of talks with government officials.

**Migrant Support Association Conference**

Every year migrant NGO members, government officials, press, and scholars gather during a two day Migrant Support Association Conference. The conference used to be held further apart, but three years ago leaders of migrant organizations decided that it was a need to gather and discuss issues pertinent to migration annually. Especially with the debates brought on by the expansion of the TITP program, prospects of creating care work visas for special economic zones and 2020 Tokyo Olympics, organization leaders mentioned that there was a need to talk face to face more often than every five years. One

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3 Pseudonym
of the organizations which represented NGOs at national level and engaged directly with negotiations with the government officials in particular expressed the need to discuss the issues within the NGO community to address the questions that came up during the negotiations and at the end of each of the conferences get recommendations from each specialty group.

I attended two conferences, first in proximity to Sendai in 2014 and second located close to Kitakyushu in 2015. Both conferences had a plenary session, followed by breakout group sessions. In case of Sendai conference, there was a session reflecting on the years after Great East Japan Earthquake as a first order of the day. This was followed by interest group sessions that were consistent during both conferences. Interests groups were divided into: Labor Rights and Technical Intern Training Program, Migrant Women, Immigration Act and Basic Resident Registration Law, as well as Migrant Children, Poverty, then Refugees and Detention, in addition to Medical Care, and Hate Speech interest groups.

Labor Rights and Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) session was attended mostly by NGOs and labor unions which advocate workers’ rights in Japan. Unions view the TITP visa as a way to disenfranchise workers and strip them of their rights. In general, the session’s participants argued that in addition to the troubles created by the TITP, the category of ‘migrant’ in itself was problematic since it obscured the class category of ‘worker’ and thus diminished the process of unionizing and reduced the ability of workers to fight against increasing deregulation and neo-liberalization in Japan. They advocate for one single work visa with opportunity for workers to quit jobs without fear of being deported. In addition, large part of the session was devoted to the amnesty proposal that
would allow undocumented workers to gain legal status and protections in Japan. This view is in keeping with Salzinger’s (1991) valuation of the migrant-worker categories.

Another migrant interest group was formed around the theme of Migrant Women. However, I quickly discovered that “Migrant Women” sessions, with a couple of exceptions, were mainly focused on Filipino women, and more specifically on Filipino sex trafficking victims. The same themes were repeated more or less the next year. While I was wondering if the discussions will expand beyond the topic of sex trafficking with regards to Filipino women, as this discourse was not encompassing other contexts of migration and gender, a leader of a Filipino migrant organization, stated,

Human trafficking is a very important issue. Please forgive me if I don’t speak Japanese very well. But, there are other issues that concern Filipino women, such as low factory wages, why we never talk about that?

This indicated that there is an issue related to the majority of NGOs’ sessions playing into the discourse of Filipino women as sex trafficking victims, without considerations to other problems faced by the complex Filipino community that consisted of people of different classes and educational backgrounds including, English teachers, factory workers, care workers, students. Furthermore, ignoring these differences seemingly contributes to the problematic discourses of migrant women as universally oppressed (Mohanty 1988).

The sessions on Immigration Act and Basic Resident Registration Law were formed around a series of discussions regarding the law requiring foreign residents to carry their residency card with them at all time. A number of speakers sought to form a strategy that would end this requirement. In addition, the sessions considered problems of permanent residents, in this case, Zainichi Koreans being forced to apply for reentry visas before traveling abroad. Zainichi Koreans are the permanent ethnic residents of Korean descent.
Because Japan does not follow *jus sanguinis* principle, a number of individuals who were born and raised in Japan do not carry Japanese citizenship. Thus, if they wish to travel abroad they need to request a passport from an embassy and with their foreign passport apply for a Japanese reentry visa. The speakers argued that the requirement to apply for reentry visas should be abolished for *Zainichi* Koreans.

Group interested in topics related to Migrant Children and Poverty discussed the need for career guidance for migrant high school students, and developing broader opportunities for after school activities. In addition, the speakers talked about high poverty levels among the children of migrants and related to that issues of school affordability. The participants urged the reform of university entrance examination to include considerations for foreign born students, who had lower passing rates than their Japanese peers.

The participants of Refugees and Detention session discussed human rights violations of migrants held in detention centers. In addition, interest group was concerned with the Ministry of Justice refusals of Refugee status to applicants. In 2014, only 11 people in total were granted refugee status in Japan. In 2015 this number rose to 27 people. Many people maintain their Permissions for Provisional Stay, but the majority of applicants does not receive Refugee visa. The priest from the Christian organization helping migrants explained it to me in the following way,

When Japan refused boat people, on big oil transporters, some captains, kind people from the Middle East, would scoop up the boat people from the sea, take them on their ship and bring them to Yokohama. But Japan would refuse to help. United States and Australia pressured Japan, why should they be taking so many refugees, and Japan their close neighbor doesn’t? It is a rich country. So there was a case of [organization] that had institutions for children, but since the population has declined, many of these places became empty, so [organization] offered the places for the boat people and the government agreed as long as it is for temporary stay. We had this family with a three children, from Nigeria. Wife was pregnant. Originally, they weren’t planning on coming to Japan, they were on their way
somewhere else. But she started having contractions while they were at the Narita airport. She asked to stay here, in Japan, until the delivery. But the immigration did not offer any help to the family, to those small children. They decided to apply for refugee status. A protestant minister offered them a place to stay for a night. But they came here as well, to look for food bank, to get rice. We actually advise them to give themselves up to the immigration, because then the immigration would have no choice but to give them a place to sleep, heating in the winter, and food. They decided to do it and immigration had to take care of them. The case worked out for them well in the end. But in some other cases, it doesn’t work well. This one Filipino woman with three small children. Her children were sent to three different institutions, one with the mother in the detention center, the two others in an institute. Also a drama. She spent eight months in a detention center. Could not see the other two children. We went to the immigration talked with the immigration employees. They were really insensitive to her, telling her everyday “go back”, but they require her to pay for the ticket, for her and the children, and she doesn’t have money, they still tell her “go back.” Eight months like that. We decided to ask for donations, to raise the money, to buy her a ticket, but [another organization] got money first and they bought her and her children flight tickets. This is a terrible situation, when an adult person being under the provisional release is not being able to work. And it is difficult to find a job. You see, to get here, people sell their land, get into debt. The salaries for the foreigners are low compared to the Japanese standard, but to number of these immigrants the salaries are higher than what they would get back home.

Thus, the informant pointed to a number of issues related to the Refugee visa. First has to do with Japanese government refusing to accept larger numbers of refugees as compared to other developed countries. Second, that the government lacks facilities for refugee migrants. Third, he criticized the poor conditions at the detentions centers, especially for migrants with children. Fourth, he considered that migrants seeking refugee visa do not get a work permit while the government does not provide any help in terms of food or shelter.

The differentiation in the interest groups during the migrant NGOs meeting is indicative of the broader variations in terms of the goals of these organizations this section sheds light on some of these dissimilarities. The data for this section comes from a part of a survey administered at the conference, aimed to shed light on the types of tasks these organizations pursue. The section of the survey described in this chapter asked questions about participants’ gender, country of birth and citizenship, regional reach of
organization’s work, and the type of work the organization sought to pursue to help migrant workers.

Table 6. NGOs’ Participants’ characteristics Source: Author

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<tr>
<th>Participants’ characteristics</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2.0</td>
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<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Religious Organization</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government representative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant attorney office representative / Human rights lawyer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty out of fifty one survey participants identified themselves as male and twenty one as female (Table 6). Overwhelming the majority (forty seven) were born in Japan, but only
forty three considered themselves to be Japanese citizens. Japan follows *jus sanguinis* principle that is, by parent’s citizenship. Japan does not grant citizenship by the circumstances of person’s birth in the country. For example, *Zainichi* Koreans, whose families have been in Japan for generations may have permanent residence status instead of Japanese citizenship, unless they undergo naturalization process. The conference was located in a town with large Korean community. I identify both as either South Korean and North Korean nationalities as Korean - *zainichi chosenjin*, since old Korean communities in Japan trace their migration to Japan to the colonial times under Imperial Japanese rule. During the conference, there were few delegates who arrived later and who introduced themselves as members of South Korean migrant NGO. In case of the survey, three of the questionnaires were filled out by migrants who were originally born in other countries, but are now naturalized Japanese citizens.

While this does not reflect the general situation of the migrant organizations in Japan, the majority of migrant organizations that were visited during this study employed female staffers, but only two women were in leadership positions. Most migrant organization leadership positions, including unions, non-governmental organizations, and government sponsored organizations were occupied by Japanese men.

Majority of participants categorized their organizations as regional or municipal. Nine of the organizations, saw themselves as acting on national level and six marked that they were present on prefectural scale. This seems to confirm the encounters with migrant organizations. Few participating organizations acted on national scale, by coordinating their advocacy efforts with other organizations and lobbying the representatives of the National Diet. This coordinated interaction between different organizations was not limited
to annual conference. A number of organizations had scheduled their meetings once a month. Meetings were attended in person and through Skype.

Table 7. Scale of organization’s operations, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale of organization’s operations</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active on the Municipal level / City Union / NGO sponsored by the Municipal Government</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a participant during those meetings, I observed organizations’ leaders, including labor union and lawyer associations’ representatives, spoke in turns about the newest developments in their prefecture or region, related issues reported to them by foreign nationals, and discussed the type of legal cases they were pursuing.

The national leaders reported the types of topics under discussion with government officials and whether there were any upcoming National Diet debates or votes related to immigration policy and seek opinions of the other leaders on the appropriate action or response. Other organizations were working with migrants who were residents of the same prefecture or region. Workers unions that were active on a city scale or a ward (in case of Tokyo) usually engaged in negotiations with companies located in proximity to the union. In addition, some of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were acting on municipal scale. While NGOs name implies separation from the government their sources of income were mixed, and in fact a number of them received funds from the municipal government.
Table 8. Organization’s Tasks and Goals, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization’s tasks and goals</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To give monetary support to migrants</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To give monetary support to migrant NGO’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor trafficking victim rescue efforts</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide information about work opportunities</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To give religious support</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To give food/clothing to migrants and or refugees</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publish information regarding migration issues in Japan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide help to the victims of sex trafficking</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide information about preparing and coping with disasters</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language classes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural activities (dinners, karaoke, tea)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide immigration lawyer services</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combating hate crime/hate speech</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide information about available social welfare</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide information about family laws</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting victims of domestic abuse</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide information about labor laws</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protect workers from slave labor/abuse/trafficking</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiate with employers on behalf of workers / compensation/wages/hours/insurance etc</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobbying government to improve the situation of migrants</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other sources of income included sales of publications. Labor unions relied on the contributions from members. The participants were asked to mark the types of activities that applied to their organizations (Table 8). Structured questionnaire was applied where participants could write down their own answers. These included remarks from the
participants that they would like to “advocate for immigration reform” and “to learn how to provide better opportunities for migrants.”

The table highlights the differences in how migrant organizations provided help to migrants. Their scope of activities varied, from national efforts that included advocating for change of the legislative changes to actions such as helping the victims of labor or sex trafficking and organizing rescue efforts.

In this case study, Christian and Muslim faith-based organizations offered religious services, food and shelter, as well as connecting migrants with legal representatives. Other organizations aimed to provide information about living in Japan, provide multicultural activities, or offer language classes. These organizations were often associated with prefectural or municipal governments.

During the fieldwork I signed up for e-mail alerts of one of the prefectural organizations. I had a choice of signing up for alerts in six languages; specifically, Japanese, Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese, Tagalog and English. The emails I have received concerned topics ranging from advertising of cultural events, such as cherry blossom viewing, to alerts regarding outbreaks of a flu. A number of e-mails conveyed information on how to obtain driver license, get legal help, or educational scholarships. For example, one of the e-mails alerted migrants of the new “My Number” system,

In October 2015, notification of the individual’s 12-digit Social Security and Tax Number, called “My Number,” will be sent to all people with a certificate of residence (juminhyo). You will need to present your Individual Number to go through procedures at the municipal office, starting January 2016. Please handle your Individual Number carefully.

The e-mails were short, usually contained two or three sentences followed by links to online resources.
Another way in which organizations partner with local government to help migrants was to offer the Japanese language classes, either for free or for a nominal fee. I visited two different organizations which offered such classes. One was located in a municipal building, the other in a community center that was located next to the municipal government building. However, the employee of the first organization pointed out that while migrants who attended to the language classes came from all over the world, they were primarily white collar workers,

Yes, we help the foreigners here. We offer them language classes. So this is our municipal government building, for our ward. And we have a designated floor for us, and couple of staff members that organize volunteers to lead Japanese conversation classes, for a nominal fee of ¥100 ($1) and we also offer cultural activities here. The volunteers are mostly retirees. The participants are mostly professionals, not factory workers, because the majority of foreigners in this ward work as teachers, bankers, investors, artists and so on

The classes here were held at night to accommodate migrants work hours. I visited a language lessons in another ward where the organization is working together with the library research community outreach program. For instance, the NGO receives books and audio materials to help migrants learn Japanese. The library researchers are seeking to broaden their “community outreach to include ethnic minorities” and therefore the materials supplied to the class came directly from the research center. In this case, the majority of migrants who benefit from this service are blue collar workers.

Based on the ethnographic observation and interviews it seems that some of the tasks identified in the survey are shared by different types of organizations. For instance, members of attorney associations, among other legal advice, provided information about labor laws in Japan. Similarly, labor unions which negotiated with companies on behalf of workers and would provide information about labor laws to migrants. In addition, organizations often cooperated with each other to provide better help for migrants. For
example, if labor union was contacted about possible case of labor trafficking, they will rely on help from other organizations in order to assist victims of labor trafficking. One of the participants described,

It is not easy to reach out to workers that are held in isolation, on a factory premises. Workers phones and documents are confiscated by their employers. We bought a number of prepaid cell phones that are delivered to the people who need to contact us. They call from that phone and we arrange a way to help them escape. They are often afraid to contact the government officials, the police, because here they are likely to get detained. The person needs to be transferred to a shelter. Some organizations can help us secure food and clothing for that person. Others, can help with translation, for instance we can contact Chinese nongovernmental organization to send someone to translate from Chinese to Japanese. Then we need to contact lawyers association to ask for someone to legally represent this person.

Thus, in such cases organization that usually specializes in particular form of advocacy creates alliances with other groups to succeed in helping migrant workers. At the same time, breaking of these alliances negatively impact outcomes for workers. When two of the organizations I came across stopped collaborating with each other, a migrant worker was forced to choose one organization over the other. Thus, the services of one of the organizations became unavailable. Still, I came across such situation only once. In other cases organizations seemed to pool resources together and rely on each other’s help.

In other cases, while the organizations may have no direct linkages, they knew about each other and passed that knowledge to migrants who then were able to utilize their resources. For instance, this came up in my conversation with a priest from a Christian organization, which provides legal help. I asked about his cases involving migrants applying for refugee status. He describes,

One Vietnamese person that we have been representing here, it took seven years before the court made the decision, overall, it takes years. During that time, every month a person goes to immigration office for a stamp, to receive provisional release. Some people give up after many years of waiting and just go back. However, sometimes it does not work. In recent case, […], he went to immigration to receive his stamp, but they sent him to jail. That was his second time in jail. This
was his fourth time to apply for refugee visa in Japan. You can apply for appeal within two weeks. So he applies for a refugee visa, gets denied, asks for appeal, applies again, send for appeal and so on. Each time in order to be released from jail a person needs a guarantor. The guarantor needs to pay a fee. At this time I am a guarantor for 30 people, you know. Usually, the guarantor fee is about 100,000 yuan. But this time it was 700,000 yuan. However, I have been successful for many times with the immigration, because I am not a guarantor as an organization, but as a person. I go to their office and I say that I personally guarantee for this person, but I cannot pay the fee, because I do not have personal income. It has worked many times; however now, the system has become more sophisticated, in fact the second time it was 500,000 yuan. The fees are determined on person to person, case by case basis. They are not the same. Usually, after that the refugee will start over, go to immigration every month, until the court reaches the decision, and the decision is usually against granting the refugee status. However, the cases that actually get the hearing are rare. In cases when we do win, immigration tries to change the status of the person or does something so not to appear defeated. We won, as a group, a case for a person from Laos, immigration stepped in and negotiated just before the verdict, they offered her a visa in exchange of dropping the case. Usually, people just go for an interview with the immigration officer, but it rarely reaches the court. You see, if there is a case, then there are several complication, the lawyer will always request the case’s paperwork from the immigration. It all will take a long time. Another problem is that everything is in Japanese. We have a case now, a person is from Burundi, doesn’t know Japanese language, nothing at all. The person has papers in French. The immigration request they bring everything translated into Japanese. How is a person who is involved in a legal case supposed to navigate this, you need to know precisely what are you asked, you need to know the exact words. Every word has a legal meaning. Everything has to match. If one word is translated differently, a person can get into trouble, someone can accuse a person of misleading the immigration officer, but many of the interpreters are not aware of the ramifications, and the specific legal language. That always plays against the immigrant. So this is the case, like two weeks ago, a case of a person from Nigeria.

How do people know how to seek your help?

The Nigerian man had to navigate the broker system. There is a broker in Nigeria and a broker in Japan. They are in contact. They both receive commission. The Japanese broker will supply a contract with an employer. They negotiate the price. They find him a place to stay overnight and introduce him to the boss. But there is no real guarantee for the job to last. Imagine this person, alone here, with no friends, the only contact is the brokers who demands money for services. But this person may meet someone at work, who will say “there is a very kind organization called […] try to go there”. There the person will learn about our organization, and another one. So the pilgrimage starts with […] and go to us, and so one. They know, if they go to […] organization, they will receive transportation money for two weeks. There is another one, a food bank, another one for clothing, and here you get a free legal consultation.
This conversation highlights the ways in which migrant organizations complement each other as evident in the ways in which they assist migrants who obtained the Permission for Provisional Stay permit to survive without income or on insufficient income in Japan. In addition, this narrative exemplifies that often migrants rely on their social networks to find out where they can receive help from NGO’s. Moreover, ethnographic data suggests that going to NGO’s events enables migrants to extend their contacts and find access to more information regarding available amenities and resources. Migrants who have Permission for Provisional Stay permit are not the only ones who rely on NGOs for help.

Migrants who hold long term residency visas, but who work for factories, often live in relative poverty because some of them earn less than half the national median income. One of the informants pointed out that the resulting poverty experienced by parents affect their children’s ability to succeed in school. However, when asked about the types of help migrant children receive in Japan she responds,

We have a scholarship for children of foreign residents. We call it a scholarship, but the name is misleading, it is a loan that we give and that has to be paid off after they graduate. So these are sponsored by private banks and organizations. But we have a lot of problems with poverty among the migrant community, not many young people decide to go for higher education, I believe there should be more support from the local schools. The kids are born and raised in Japan, they speak Japanese fluently. but the problem is that the parents do not understand how the Japanese educational system works, so even though the children’s Japanese is fluent, there is not much investment into their education, helping them with their schoolwork, to prepare for the exams. Many migrant children struggle academically, despite their language ability. In Japan, elementary school and junior high school are compulsory. But then for high school you have to pass entrance exams. And the majority of students of Japanese descent are able to pass these, but migrant children, in our community anyway, only about 70 percent of them passes the exam. But without the high school diploma in Japan it is difficult to get a decent job. I am worried about these kids, who are born and raised in Japan, speak perfect Japanese but do not get into high school and end up getting factory jobs, just like their parents. There is some assistants given to migrant kids but it is not enough.

What type of assistance?
Schools who have migrant children get funding to hire additional teachers to teach Japanese. But you see I went to one elementary school yesterday in [...] town and they have one teacher that is hired to teach Japanese to foreign students, but you see these two teachers and they are responsible for 100 students. How can you manage? To be more precise the rule is, if you have 5 or more students you get one additional teacher, with 20 or more students you get two teachers. But there is no more funding and 20 and above can mean anything, 100, or even 200 and you still get the same funding. There is no third teacher added, even if the number of students that need additional help is high. So these teachers just help with Japanese, maybe homework, but there are no social workers. If one kid is suffering because of situation at home, or if the parents need help because they do not know Japanese school rules, there is no one to go and check up on the situation, offer advice, to go and give support or information. We do have school counselors but their tasks are different and they are not trained to know different cultures and languages. We actually provide training that comprises of six classes during a year, to social workers on how they can relate to foreign residents and the issues that foreign residents are facing.

How do you think this affects the community?

I am worried, because see many kids who are at the same kind of risk, because of lack of schooling, even those that get to high school, some of them drop out, so what is the future going to hold for them? It has been over twenty five years since we started receiving people from South America, and still opportunities for them are really limited. But this is not enough. You know, for this, in part we use government resources, and the government, they don’t care, and the prime minister just wants labor force, workers. So we can add one person maybe, but these issues are so complex, there are so many things that need to be addressed that this is simply not enough. There need to be a whole system of support. Japanese government is thinking that the Tokyo Olympics are coming, that they need to build a lot of buildings, they need workers, not to invest in their futures, but just labor force. This migrant policy is not policy, it is a mess.

Thus, in part the informant liked the lack of help for migrant children to government policies that are interested in promoting migration only to the extent in which it supplies cheap labor, but not to widen the opportunities of migrants in Japan. To this end, some migrant organizations advocate on behalf of workers by lobbying government to improve immigration legislation.
Ethnographic Experience: Accompanying Activist from Migrant Organization

Ms. Miyagi, a leader of the organizations with which I was affiliated, is also a lobbyist and frequently visited the government officials at the National Diet. The National Diet main complex consists of a number of buildings, including, the National Diet Building (国会議事堂) hosts the formal sessions of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors as well as the Press Center, National Diet Library, and Museum. The sessions of both Houses are held in separate wings. There is also a public gallery where visitors can observe the sessions. In addition, the main complex includes the Official Residence of the President of the House of Councillors and the Official Residence of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. These residences are a bit smaller than the Official Residence of the Prime Minister. The entrance to the Prime Minister’s residence is often picked as a demonstration sight. I visited the other part of the main complex, namely, the Members’ Office Building of the House of Councillors, and the two Members’ Office Buildings of the House of Representatives. These buildings housed workplaces of the Diet representatives. Usually, an office has a small meeting room, a work area for the assistants, and the Councillor or Representative’s office.

At the office Ms. Miyagi talks to the politician and her aids about the press conference that she would like to organize in order to raise awareness about the problems associated with TITP scheme and bilateral treaties. Ms. Miyagi wants to create a large interest in the meeting: gather NGO representatives, press, local politicians, delegates from foreign embassies, academics, and encourage some migrants to come as well. She would like to convince politicians to vote against the expansion of the TITP scheme in its current form. The politician agrees to come and speak at the meeting. But the politician would like
to address the Diet regarding the proposal for a new program that would encourage care
customers to come and work in special economic zones. They agree that while Ms. Miyagi’s
assistant and I distribute the information and talk to the Diet members about the press
conference, Ms. Miyagi will write a statement on behalf of the politician that will be
distributed to the Diet members. The politician wants to be sure that the statement will
highlight all the important points and asks Ms. Miyagi to help with her writing skills in
exchange for the politician’s presence at the press conference. Ms. Miyagi’s statement
raises two points. The first point, that the burdens of care work in Japan are discussed only
in terms of female work. The second point, that the proposed law does not make any
provisions to assure that care workers’ rights are going to be respected while working in
private homes. Later during that day I asked Ms. Miyagi about the Diet visit on that day
and about the letter,

You know, what is happening now is that there is a proposal to start up a new visa
program for care workers. The care workers are to be employed in special economic
zones. The problem with this program is twofold. First, it has to do with the
conditions of care labor, and the second with the patriarchal culture in Japan. Do
you remember the recent case of the Hong Kong woman found guilty of abusing
Indonesian maid, it was on the news?

Yes, I do recall it.

See, this new proposal does not include any protections for the domestic care
workers. There is nothing in the proposal regarding their work hours and ensuring
proper compensation, there is nothing in terms of how would the workers seek help
in case of abuse. We also do not know how would the families check that the worker
is qualified for this kind of a job, but you see the Japanese family can request
someone else, or change their mind. But what about the worker? Who is going to
monitor if the worker is not abused? For example, you know with the domestic
labor there is always a problem in terms of monitoring work hours. Domestic
workers live where they work and their free time often becomes their work time.
Also, you know we want to avoid repeating the same arrangement that the
government has with JITCO. That is allowing for JITCO to monitor the safety of
their own workers. This should be done by an impartial organization. Second, I
don’t know why it is that in Japan we always talk about women as caregivers? Men
should be sharing the burdens of care work at home. But that is never discussed. So the government is proposing that more Japanese women should go to work outside of home, but instead of trying to encourage men to contribute to homemaking and care work, apparently we just need to replace Japanese women with other women, and men do not have to change their attitudes at all, they do not have to contribute to housework. Yes, if care workers want to come here, they should be able to do so, but we need to make sure that there is a provision that requires that there will be an independent monitoring body. However, the current government is reluctant to consider this. So this is what the letter was about.

Thus, it seems that issues of migrant women workers enter into the broader debates of feminism in Japan. However, I did not see any evidence of female migrants voicing their opinions directly on the national forums. Still, to an extent migrant voices are included in the policy debates through migrant organizations. Ms. Miyagi primary objective is to lobby the government officials on behalf of the advocacy groups in Japan. Her organization coordinates a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), faith-based groups and labor unions who in turn have many Japanese and foreign members. During the virtual and face to face meeting leaders of associated organization express their concerns regarding existing or proposed legislation. Ms. Miyagi follows these recommendations and presents them to the government officials. The government officials gain the knowledge of the current debates regarding migration and can use that knowledge to develop their platform. In addition, migrant organization leaders frequently ask migrant members to participate as audience and speakers in major meetings and press conferences, to which national media as well as government officials are invited.

**Conclusion**

The non-governmental organizations (NGOs), faith-based groups, and labor unions encountered in this study play a number of roles in terms of helping migrants in Japan.
Prefectural organizations relate vital information regarding living arrangements in Japan. Smaller organizations associated with municipal government offered Japanese language classes. Faith based organizations provided religious services, material and legal support to migrants. Labor unions carried out negotiations on behalf of workers. Lawyer associations represented migrants in court cases regarding their immigration status, but also where the labor unions failed in their negotiations with employers, they would ask lawyers to take over the case. Thus, migrant organizations sought to complement each other and to create linkages with each other. Moreover, migrants are able receive information regarding amenities and resources provided by NGOs through their social networks.

In addition, a number of migrant organizations used their social networks to inform the decisions of the national scale NGO that played a role in conveying the needs of migrant communities to Japanese government officials. This is consistent with Kremers’ (2014) assessment that

[these groups have established networks (social capital) in which they accumulate knowledge and expertise (cultural capital) on social and political matters through their daily work with migrants, employers and public institutions, which they disseminate to the media, academics and policy makers (advocacy).]

This study confirms that NGOs maintain close ties through which they are able to secure different types of help for migrants on an everyday basis as well as come together to advocate on behalf of migrants within the public discourse as well as through lobbying of government officials. Moreover, the participation of migrants in the workings of the non-governmental organizations indicates that migrants are seeking to be directly involved in the internal debates over the future of migration in Japan and the ways in which migrants are portrayed within society. Thus, this research argues that while migrant organizations are by large closed off to migrants in terms of leadership positions, some migrants choose
to actively partake in migrant organizations and unions. These activities include involvement in public protests. The next section elaborates on the issues faced by migrants in Japan in terms of work access.
CHAPTER FIVE
EMPLOYMENT AND RECRUITMENT IN ADVERTISEMENTS

Traditionally, the view that a woman's role should be limited to childrearing and household duties are still propagated in popular discourse in Japan (Kimura 2008). Employed women continue to be paid less than their male counterparts in similar positions. The issues related to work access and gender are hotly debated in the context of Japan. Yet, employment of women is seen as one of the ways to increase the output of the Japanese economy. Migrant labor is portrayed in the similar way. One of measures aimed at creating surplus labor is extending visas to migrants of Japanese descent. These migrants, called Nikkei, can seek employment in Japan under the Long Term resident visa. The majority of Nikkei migrants come from South America, especially Brazil and Peru.

This chapter aims to include migrant women workers in the discussions on the Japanese economy by showing how gender discriminations are revealed in employment advertisements available for Nikkei women. In addition, this chapter draws on the interviews conducted during the fieldwork with leaders of migrant organizations and their representatives, as well as migrants themselves. However, the majority of the data comes the content and textual analysis of three migrant publications featuring work advertisements and is supplemented with interview data pertaining to issues of migrant and more specifically, migrant women access.
Looking at the job advertisements targeted at migrant community highlights some of the challenges related to the labor market fragmentation. A female NGO staff member underlines this issue while browsing through one of migrant magazines and explains,

This is in Portuguese, these advertisements for jobs, maybe you do not understand, but from the pictures you can see what jobs are available for Brazilians. Usually hourly salary is different, depending on which shift you work. Here the work is advertised at this hospital for a women, usually as you can see here, the salary for man is higher. This advertisement for bento factory is mostly for women. Many migrant women work cleaning factories, or in obento factories, or as care workers, as helpers for hospitals, all this manual labor. But now women also get into this hard labor, the 3K, have you heard of 3K work? Kitanai, kiken, kitsui [dirty, dangerous and demanding]? So they are working in the same condition, but even though women work in the same conditions [as men] they get less money. Often one broker company sends a group of women to work for the company, and then another broker company sends a group of men and their wages are different. I don’t know exactly how this system works. I don’t know nationwide statistics.

Considering the companies budgets, decisions are made in regards to renting the space on the page and including a particular number of words, as well as graphics. This analysis is borrowing from behavioral and gender sciences to shed light on the ways in which employers reveal their specific expectations of job seekers and competitors who make up the possible audience of these adverts.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section, Employment and Visa Programs in Japan, considers the regulations relevant to manual labor immigration in Japan. The second section, Narratives of Migrant Organizations and Migrants on Labor Inequalities begins with interviews describing ways in which migrants’ found themselves working and living in Japan. In addition, the section depicts how migrant advocates and migrants themselves view the work opportunities in Japan. The third section, Recruitment in Advertisements – Evident and Hidden Division of Labor, contributes to understanding the types of work incentives companies advertise. Moreover, it delves into the overt and
covert messages of work expectations in terms of gender and age, as well as language proficiency comprehension skill. Furthermore, this section adds spatial form of inquiry to studies on work advertisements by considering the locations of workplaces and the brokerage firms.

**Employment and Visa Programs in Japan**

During the 1980s and 1990s, manufacturers increased their demand for foreign labor (Zell and Skop 2011, 470). Since then the number of migrants has been increasing. This section explains the immigration procedures relevant to the study participants. Currently immigration regulations come from three main legislations and their amendments; namely, (1) the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act and (2) Alien Registration Law (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2016, 2015), as well as (3) Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2014). There are twenty seven types of visa in Japan. Each visa has attached specific conditions in terms of eligibility as well of the scope of activities that are allowed. Officially, foreign nationals entering Japan for work, can do so under the designated status of Skilled Labor, Engineer, Intra-company Transferee, Instructor, Specialist in Humanities/International Services, or Entertainer. However, this does not entirely reflect the ways in which migrants find work in Japan. I asked the leader of the Christian based migrant organization about migration in Japan. He replied,

This […] organization, and its purpose was to be a testimony to what we hold dear, the respect for each person, the respect for human rights, and respect for the poor. We work and serve the poor. […]we are not only over here but all over the world and as Catholics, […] we ought to work to ensure respect for each person, especially poor. Our main goal is to identify and prevent the causes of poverty. In addition, we need to address the degradation of the environment. You see, the
burdens of the environmental degradation are mainly carried by the poor. The rich
countries, people who are rich have the means to escape the dangers that are brought
by the environmental degradation. This center was build 30 years ago. I taught
about the development at the university. I was a part of the team that set up the
center. In the beginning we worked with people from Indochina, Vietnam, Laos,
and Cambodia. That was in the late 1970s. Hundreds of people flew their countries,
because of the Vietnam War. We used to discuss, me and other people, how
different countries reacted to this situation, how Canada, United States, France and
other countries accepted refugees; however, not Japan. Still, there was a pressure
created by a convention that Japan has signed, and in the end Japan was forced to
accept a number of refugees. Around 1978, 1979 Japanese companies started to
invest in Thailand and other South East Asian countries and so at that time, many
other organizations started working with migrants. We became worried about the
conditions under which migrants were brought to Japan, the so called brokers, with
whom migrants would sign the contracts. Even Japanese mafia was interested in
investing in Philippines and Thailand, specifically, being involved in human
trafficking of young women. Then, because of the industrial development, Japan
needed more unskilled labor. The policy seems to draw only the highly skilled
workers, workers that are supposed to contribute. But, because of the economy was
growing, in reality, businesses were seeking cheap labor. A number of people came
here seeking work. However; you know there is a difference in terms of what the
politicians are advocating publically and what the business elites, *Keidanren* [Japan
Business Federation] seek. *Keidanren* seem to have more pragmatic approach, they
want cheap labor to run their factories, maintain and build their *shinkansen*, build
skyscrapers and gain more profit. Japanese are not attracted to these types of jobs,
and anyway more workers are needed. But the Ministry of Justice seems to be
against the idea of bringing more workers. One of the ways these business worked
out how to bring new workers to Japan, is through the *Nikkei* visa. People from
Latin America, also some Filipinos are eligible for this type of visa. Despite being
unskilled these migrants are being able to come here, because of their Japanese
roots. In fact, a number of them are unskilled. But the Ministry of Justice feels that
the policy is merited, they maintain that they are not accepting the unskilled
workers, they are accepting Japanese diaspora. That has been the case since the
beginning of Abe economics. Since the financial crisis until now. Especially now,
since Japan won the 2020 Olympics, the Tokyo Olympics. Now, more unskilled
workers are needed.

There is a new development. The undocumented workers, who come here on tourist
visa and overstay, they apply to acquire a refugee visa. Because, refugee visa
requires a long process, people wait six months, one year, maybe longer for a
hearing, and during that time you can stay in Japan, they get a provisional release
papers from immigration.

The interview suggest that increase in migration to Japan is driven by the Japanese
businesses, but mitigated due to conservative rhetoric. The conservative politicians argue
against opening borders to migrants. Still, Japanese companies seek low wage labor. To
appease the conservative faction and simultaneously secure the economy’s labor needs, the government came out with schemes that bring the labor force, but not qualifying them as labor. For example, Nikkei migrants are granted visas as Japanese descendants, not workers, even though they fill the needs of Japanese companies for low skilled labor. Technical Trainees are granted visas under the premise that they are going to be learning new skills, when in fact they work as manual labor.

The following section describes four types of visas that were applicable to the participants of this research, namely, Refugee, Student, Technical Intern Trainee Program, and Child or Spouse of a Japanese National visas. Thus, while Technical Intern Trainees are not considered workers and Refugees are not allowed to work, both of these categories are included in the analysis.

**Permission for Provisional Stay: Applicants for the Refugee Status**

People who ask for Refugee visa are given Provisional Stay status. While persons who are given provisional stay are not eligible to work, I met two types of migrants, those who applied for a refugee status and relied on help from migrant organizations in terms of their living arrangements, and those who worked in construction, senior care centers, and restaurants. These participants secured their papers on a month to month basis.

The Immigration Bureau and Ministry of Justice (2012) explains that,

> With the Permission for Provisional Stay, deportation procedures are suspended temporarily. An alien may legally stay in Japan until the permission period elapses due to the expiration of the period of Provisional Stay or other reasons.[…] The place of residence and the range of activities of a person who is permitted to temporarily stay in Japan are subject to restrictions. Regarding activities in Japan, he/she will be subject to various conditions such as that he/she is prohibited from being employed, and he/she is obliged to appear at a specified place on a designated
date to cooperate for refugee recognition procedures when requested by the refugee inquirer (n.p.).

Thus, the law stipulates that the migrants who had been granted the Permission for Provisional Stay are in legal limbo. The number of participants of this study revealed that in order to maintain their permit they have to visit the Immigration Office once a month and stand in a long line before seeing an officer who would give them an extension of their documents. Despite the provision that they are “prohibited from being employed (ibid.)” some of the participants maintained their employment. While employing undocumented workers can result in monetary fines or jail time, Japanese businesses usually go unpunished (Weiner 2003, 57). This seemed to be common knowledge among the staff of migrant organizations. I asked the leader of a faith based organization about his work with migrants on Provisional Stay status. He answered,

We had a case recently. Twelve Filipinos were held up in jail for immigration violation, and they sent a letter to us for help, claiming refugee status.

From what I see, you help the refugees here in legal matters, but does their status allows them to work? How do they survive?

No, they are not allowed to work.

Some of the foreign residents on provisional release seem to work.

Some? All of them work. The companies do not care for their papers. On paper, there is a penalty. The workers are penalized if they are caught, but the companies are not. The law states that a company has to report to the government if they are hiring a foreign person. Theoretically, there are penalties for the companies that do not. I mean according to the law the employers should be penalized, but I never heard of any company being penalized, only the workers. The workers are send to jail, their provisional release papers are suspended, and they are not renewed for two or three months, depending on the appeal. As long as there are the proceedings regarding their case, the migrants claiming the refugee status are allowed to stay here.
Thus, while migrants on Provisional Stay do not receive work permit, some of them work. Not all of the foreigners trying to gain refugee status work and not all of them came to Japan to work. Some refugees I met did not leave their safe houses and the stories of their arrival in Japan were tied to conflict and war. Still, for other migrants application for Refugee status seemed as a viable option to secure their stay in Japan and a better income.

**Language Schools**

Students enrolled in the school are eligible for part time work. The Immigration Bureau and Ministry of Justice (2012) stipulates that,

A foreign national who is granted a status of residence according to the activities in which he or she is engaged must receive permission to engage in an activity other than those permitted by the status of residence previously granted in advance if he or she wishes to engage in activities “related to the management of business involving income or activities for which he or she receives remuneration, which are not included in those activities under his or her category of status of residence”. A typical example is that of an international student who wishes to have a part-time job. The Minister of Justice will give the permission to the extent that the extra activity does not interfere with the original activity that is the main purpose of residence (Article 19, paragraph (2) of the Immigration Control Act). Since July 9, 2012, it has become possible for any person who has been granted the status of residence of “Student” (except for foreign nationals who have been granted a period of stay of three months and foreign nationals who entered Japan with re-entry permission) at landing examination to apply for permission to engage in an activity other than that permitted under the status of residence previously granted immediately after the status is granted to him or her on the spot (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2015, 140-1).

Thus, students are allowed to work as long as their primary objective of studying is fulfilled. However, one issue that is associated with the Student visa permit is that some Japanese companies are bypassing restrictions on immigration by enrolling their workers at phony language schools. Thus, these schools are set up in order to secure Student visa for de facto migrant workers. Another way in which companies manipulate the system is by forcing foreign employees to work long hours and afterwards to take language class.
While some workers understand that they are coming to Japan for work despite their student status, others are unaware that instead of studying they will have to primarily work.

**Brokers, JITCO, and Bilateral Treaties**

The Japan International Training Cooperation Organization (JITCO) is a public interest incorporated foundation, authorized by the Prime Minister and Ministers of State who form the Cabinet of Japan to supervise the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) (JITCO 2016a, b). The office traces its history to 1991 legislation authorizing its operation, when initially it

was under the joint jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, and the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transportation. (ibid.).

The scope of its operations includes the supervision of labor broker programs, in this case called Accredited Sending Organizations. JITCO states that a number of these organizations are involved with “dealing with businesses including trading and contracts of foreign construction work (JITCO 2016c).” The trainees who enter Japan under Technical Intern Training (I) program, change their status to Technical Intern Training (ii) with Designated Activities Status which extends their stay for another two years. The trainees have to be minimum eighteen years old and the visa should allow them to come back to their countries of origin and “be employed in work which makes use of the Skills acquired in Japan after he/she returns to his/her home country (JITCO 2016d)”. Currently JITCO has Accredited Sending Organizations in China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand, Peru, Laos, Sri Lanka, India, Myanmar, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Workers hired by these offices are usually sent to work for small
and medium sized enterprises and farms. While the program states that trainees should perform work that teaches them “not simple tasks (ibid.)”, the majority of the companies in Japan employ the workers for 3 K jobs [kitanai, kiken, kitsui, きたない, きけん, きつしい], that is jobs that are considered dirty, dangerous, and demanding (Connell and University of Sydney 1993).

Currently, the government is preparing to expand the TITP. The proposed amendments involve adding two job categories that can qualify for TITP visa, namely, care workers and convenience store workers. It also allows longer stays for construction workers. The Immigration Bureau of Japan (2015) released a statement in which it claims that the reasoning behind the increase of the stay is that workers cannot manage to gain all the sophisticated knowledge in a short period of three years. The Bureau states,

The period of the technical intern training under the current system is a maximum of three years and, in principle, further training is not permitted. However, there have been calls for an extension of the training period on the grounds that three years is not enough to acquire more advanced skills. In light of the intent of the system, which is to make an international contribution through transferring Japanese skills, etc. to the developing countries, it is necessary to respond to such demands, and it is deemed rational to permit this as long as proper training is being conducted. [...] In addition, revisions are to be made to the categories for the numbers for acceptance (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2015, 29)

However, taking into consideration that a majority of trainees are employed in places such as factories, where they at the conveyor belt, doing repetitive work, or doing construction work it remains unclear what types of technological transfer gains could result from prolonging the “training” period.

In addition to the trainee program, there are other ways of facilitating a low skill labor force including bilateral treaties. While the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) seem to be concerned primarily with trade, they contain clauses that regulate the “movement of
natural persons (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2014)”. For instance, in case of
Philippines, Section 6 of “Annex 8 referred to in Chapter 9” titled “Specific Commitments
for the Movement of Natural Persons”, identifies

Natural Persons of the Philippines who Engage in Supplying Services as Nurses or
Certified Care workers or Related Activities, on the Basis of a Contract with Public
or Private Organizations in Japan, or on the Basis of Admission to Public or Private
Training Facilities in Japan (ibid.)

This particular treaty allows nurses to stay for three years and care workers to stay for four
years. Other bilateral arrangements have been made with Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand,
Brunei, Indonesia, Vietnam as well as Switzerland, although the agreement was connected
to “nationality requirements on directors of Japanese subsidiaries in Switzerland (Ministry
of Economy, Trade and Industry 2010).” Thus, Japan’s government is seeking to create
surplus labor by care workers under the Trainee and Technical Internship Program in order
to promote economic growth.

Long Term Resident and Permanent Resident Visas: Family Members of
Japanese Nationals

Immigrants who can prove their Japanese ancestry (Nikkei) may qualify for Japanese Long
Term Resident visa. According to the Ministry of Justice This type of visa is related to
other types of family based status, such as Child or Spouse of a Japanese National visa.
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2015) explains that the Long Term Resident visa
is awarded for the periods of “5 years, 3 years, 1 year, 6 months or a designated period of
less than 5 years (n.p.).” This is different from Permanent Resident visa that does not have
any time limits. Still the Long Term Resident visa can be renewed (Tsuda 2003, 93). Mori
(1995) argues that awarding visas allowing employment to Nikkei migrants while limiting
these visas to migrants without Japanese ancestry is a discriminatory practice (415). Further, Tsuda (2003) posits that there is an ethnic bias, even between Nikkei migrants and that Nisei and Sansei (second and third generation Japanese descendants) from Europe usually get awarded three year visa status, whereas Latin American migrants get shorter visa permits. In order to receive a visa, Nikkeijin need to prove their ancestries by showing the family registry forms of their parents or grandparents - koseki [戸籍]. Nikkeijin come from a number of countries, including, Philippines, Mexico, and Peru. There was an increase in a movement of Japanese settlers between the beginning of the colonization period (Taiwan 1895 – 1945, Korea 1905-1945 and the end of WWII, when Japan was forced to give up its colonies and protectorates (Borthwick 1998).

A number of Nikkei residents who participated in the study carried Long Term Resident visa. However, both Nikkei and non-Nikkei migrants in this study were Permanent Resident visa holders, usually through marriage. As Immigration Bureau of Japan (2015) informs,

In order to receive permission for permanent residence, the following requirements must be met: (i) the applicant’s behavior and conduct must be good; and (ii) the applicant must have sufficient assets or skills to make an independent living, and (iii) the permanent residence of the foreign national must be deemed to be in accordance with the interests of Japan. However, a spouse or child of a Japanese national, permanent resident or special permanent resident does not need to satisfy requirements (i) and (ii) (140).

While Nikkei migrants qualify for the visa as Japanese descendants, when they married Japanese national they could qualify for the permanent resident status that did not carry any time restrictions. Some migrants followed this trajectory. Other participants who were permanent residents often arrived in Japan on tourist, business, trainee, or student visas first and then married Japanese national and received permanent resident status.
Narratives of Migrant Organizations and Migrants on Labor Inequalities

Migrant organizations leaders usually linked the increase in the numbers of low wage migrant labor to the neoliberal processes of deregulation combined with demographic changes in Japan. Our conversations regarding migrant labor and labor market segmentation also touched on the subject of work requirements for migrants. In some cases, participants mentioned language barriers, cultural differences, as well as issues related to age and gender.

A leader of a faith based organization also links the issue of Japanese aging society to those facing migrant workers. Highlighting the cultural differences, he notes,

Another thing about the Japanese society that you need to know is that the society is getting old. A lot of people like me, I am seventy eight, you know. So, there are many seniors here. Do you know what is ofuro? Ofuro is a Japanese bath and Japanese people really need it, they are accustomed to it. They want to get into their forty degrees Celsius and sit there for at least 40 minutes or an hour. They want to sit and maybe sing, relax for a bit. But for an old person it is not easy to get into the bath. Someone needs to help them get into the sit. And not many young people here want to do that, because it is not easy to care for an older person. You have to be careful and maybe during the daytime it is alright but you may have to be there during the nighttime, like 11 at night or so. Japanese young people know what they want – they want a job when they come in at 8 in the morning and at a quarter to 5 they are ready to leave. Japanese young people are really selfish these days, but young Filipino women or Thai women they are nice and they take these jobs caring for elderly people here. But they do not know about ofuro you see, because in Thailand shower would be alright, it would be enough, but here in Japan seniors are accustomed to their ofuro. Another thing is that you see the seniors can be very particular about how they want things to be done and if something isn’t done exactly to their liking, they complain and they can be mean and especially when it is someone foreign they will make it seem as if this person cannot do anything right and so they often fire foreign workers.

In addition to describing differences in customs, this leader also mentioned the issue of age difference between younger migrant workers and Japanese seniors.
Moreover, some of the migrant organization leaders mentioned the distinctions between migrant men and women in terms of job access. Gender discrimination appeared to be one of the most identified forms of discrimination, mentioned by both male and female migrant organization staff. A national NGO leader identified this with the general situation of women in Japan,

There is discrimination for Japanese women as well. Did you just see what happened to assembly member Ayaka Shiomura, how Akihiro Suzuki talked to her publically? The majority of the Diet are men. Women are discriminated against, cannot get full time positions, and get paid less. The same applies to migrant women.

Thus, the distinctions between migrant men and women in terms of job access were connected to broader unequal work opportunities in Japan.

Other interviews focused on the differences in terms of pay and access to the pension scheme. For instance, a women employee of one of the provincial NGOs talked about the new efforts to enable Brazilian migrants to benefit from the pension plan regardless if they decide to leave or stay in Japan.

If you work for twenty five years and pay pension fees you will get pension, but it also depends on how much you contribute. Many Brazilians pay so little that later on them cannot live off the pension alone. There is a national pension system where everyone pays, the company pays to the government. But there is also private system. Japanese and Brazilian government signed a bilateral treaty that if you pay to this fund and later decide to go back to Brazil, you will get the money from this fund.

The caveats of the plan include the small contributions to the fund, since many of the workers have low paying jobs. In addition, since the population in Japan is the pension system will likely face financial challenges in the future. While these issues are discussed in other developed economies, Japan’s declining fertility rates and aging population are especially stark (Statistics Bureau 2016).
Migrant Workers’ Perspectives

Migrant participants revealed different ways in which they were able to secure their stay in Japan. The interview evidence suggests that some used tourist or business visas to gain initial entry, followed by a strategy of marrying a Japanese citizen. These marriages were not necessarily artificial. Generally, participants who acquired their residency through marriage continued to live with their spouses after receiving their visas. Only one man who used this strategy was divorced. E.W. is a construction worker, originally from Peru, but in the first interview he revealed that he was not a Nikkei. I asked him during the second interview how he was able to secure his stay in Japan despite the lack of eligibly for the Long Term Resident visa.

Yes, you remember correctly, I am no Nikkei. Because, O.K., are you asking how come I am here? How did I get here? There are many ways in which non-Nikkei like me can come here. Some people are married to Nikkei so they can get visa for a spouse. Other people fake papers. But if someone fakes that they are Nikkei they will be found, I mean eventually. They will not be able to apply for the visa again, but until then, in the beginning you can work, and it also depends if they [Immigration officials] are strict and check carefully, if they see that the papers are fake they can deport. In the past they didn’t check carefully, but now they do. But there are so many ways in which you can become legal here. Like this one guy, lived here for twenty years got three or four kids, I forgot how many, in school, and they didn’t deport him. Because the kids were doing well in school, he was considered to have done well over this whole time he was here, making life for himself, and he argued that he doesn’t want to go back, he has family over here so he doesn’t want to go back. Another one, a Filipino women, similar situation, kids in school, the parents of the kids from the same school collected signatures for the government to allow her to stay. Immigration caved in. But you see so many foreigners over here, because the bottom line is that Japan wants to hire people. The Japanese government talks to other governments, we want to bring your people here, it will benefit your people to work here in Japan. But they give restrictions as well, they give visas only for few years, like three years. You have so many countries that take advantage of that like Indonesia, Myanmar. But Japanese companies give them lower salaries, they include the food and apartment in the salary, but the salary is already low for the work. It is only for three years. But if they meet a Japanese men or women they can marry, then they can stay. There are so many cases like that. Also, if people can get a good lawyer.

I was 24 when I came here, I started college, and Peru has different types of agreements for short term types of visas. For students who go during the summer
to work for a company, to learn a skill. That was my intention when I came here. But it was in 2001. Economic crisis hit Japan. Every few years Japan goes through economic crisis. I came here, I found out that my job is not waiting for me, and I borrowed money at home to come here. I needed to find work and I found work, I got hired. You can get here a visa for three years, for trainee. Then I got married.

Thus, E.W. initially secured his stay in Japan through a job broker in Peru, and later received Permanent Resident status as a family members of a Japanese national. Another participant, C.H., a thirty six years old man from Mali, also got his visa through his wife. However, he initially came to Japan on the Investor/Business Manager visa.

It is not easy in Mali, some of my family works but not everyone. I came here because in 2005 a company from Japan was in Mali and I thought that I will set up a business here, but it was tough, it is a completely different country, completely different, it is tough to do business here, it didn’t work out. Importantly, I got here and I met my wife. But then I married my wife and I started working in construction. We are both very tired, we both work hard. My wife works, we are both busy, sometimes we come back home, watch a bit of TV then just go to sleep, that is all. I want to go to visit my family in Mali, because besides my wife, I don’t have my family here, I am by myself. It is hard for me. I am the only black guy here, in my company. But it is expensive to go back. But maybe next year.

Thus some migrants enter Japan on a short term visa or business visa, and stay here after they get married to a Japanese national.

Other participants came to Japan under the TITP. One of the informants, V.K., a twenty six years old man from Philippines recalled how he secured his visa,

I got recruited in Philippines, I work in construction, as a trainee, under the Technical Intern Training visa. I got my current visa for one year. After a year, if I pass the exam, not an exam but a skills test, my visa will get extended for another two years. I don’t have any formal training, any vocational training in construction work. But you know, in Philippines I did some work in construction as well, I have some experience already, so my current work is related to what I was doing before. It is difficult to get a job in Philippines and a number of my family members are unemployed, including my parents, so I send them money every month.

K.S. originally came to Japan on short term visa that she and her husband secured from a labor broker in Ghana. While now she works as a care worker, for many years she worked in a factory,
My older children are cared for by relatives. My youngest daughter is school. It is very tough back at home, in Ghana. Very tough. I came here, because you can’t just go to any country, in Europe or America, you have to have connections. We don’t have direct connections, but we paid people who knew someone, who got us visas, and then we came here, started to work in the factory and then it was just work and work. Somebody in Ghana connects with people here, so you pay and you wait for your chance. The company produces plastic containers, we sort the recycled materials that are later put into the mold. At first there were many foreigners. Pakistanis, Nigerian, Bangladeshi, Ghanaians. But after three month the company fired everyone. Then three days later they called back, they asked us to come back. I didn’t understand the language. But I went to check and they showed us that we can start working again. We worked there for 17 years. The company paid our visa fees. We took lot of overtime [...]. It seems that it is not easy, not even for Japanese person. We overlooked some things, but the company overlooked some things as well, and came to our help when we need it. They allowed us to live in the factory accommodations free of charge, even when we couldn’t work for a while. These are simple accommodations, too small, but still, they did that for us.

Overall, there was a number of ways in which participants entered Japan to seek jobs. Some entered on short term visas and then sought to change their status. Others were able to secure their stay through family visas. Migrants who had Japanese ancestry could apply for Long Term Resident visas that allowed them to legally work in Japan. Few participant came to Japan on TITP visa. While the visa stipulates that it is issued for training purposes, in reality, it is used by companies to hire foreign workers.

One of the issues mentioned by the participants was their inability to gain opportunities for advancement at work. For example, V.T., originally from Burma (Myanmar), hoped that after five years of working at the restaurant he would be prompted, yet a new hire, who is a Japanese national got the promotion instead,

You see me here, this is me [shows me a video on his smart phone]. I can cut the fish very skillfully. The fish is alive when I start cutting it into pieces. The restaurant chef trained me every day. Every day I talk in Japanese to my Japanese coworkers, seems easy. I am used to work and working together. They are nice to work with, but not always, it is complicated. Every day, everyone is friendly. I am busy every day, I put a lot of effort into my work. We chat, we share the work. But then our boss even if someone is mistreated he will not do anything to help. Some people are swearing, calling each other names. Not at me. But I witnessed this happened
Thus, migrants linked their inability to secure advancement to discrimination and the lack of Japanese communication skills, including reading and writing. Still, female migrants pointed out that inequalities at work extended beyond nationality to other categories, such as gender. For example, one of the themes was the difference in pay for women. B.T., a married full time factory worker, originally from Ghana, discussed the wage difference between men and women in her factory,

I work in a plastic company. We make plastic bottles, shampoo bottles. I work exclusively during the night shift. No day shift. Actually in Japan here, they have their own system. Where I work they pay me the same as day time man worker. Women are paid less. Night work is different from daytime, but I get paid less than men. Men salary is different from women, the factory doesn’t pay the same. Every company is like that, whether you are working day or night. Even you are doing the same tasks, they pay men higher, and that is the system here. Even though women are going to do the same exact job. They hire people separately, but to do the same work.

J. D. pointed out that there are differences in policies between the companies in Japan. J.D. is a twenty six years old woman, originally from Peru. She is married, has a son and works at the factory part-time.

I am treated well at my work, I don’t have any problems with my boss, or with my colleagues. I make ¥850 per hour. But it depends on the factory. Normally, there is a difference, there are different salaries for men and for women. In previous work it wasn’t, but now we have the same wages in the factory that I work now, the same for Japanese and foreigners and for men and women. In Peru, there is a difference, usually male workers have higher salaries. It depends on a type of work. Situation of women is different, for example, clearly, women who work in a factory make
less money compared to men, but there are women who make a lot of money, for example women who are lawyers. But factory workers, here in Japan or in Peru, women get less money than men for the same work.

Thus, while in general men’s hourly wage was higher than women, J.D. highlighted some of the complexities in terms of the work inequalities. Wages are not standard for workers, they vary between prefectures, depending on the minimum. In addition, while some companies pay women less, not all the companies do that. Moreover, there is a difference between women with regards to the types of jobs and wages they can secure. This relates to the dissimilarity in women’s experiences related to issues linked to categories of class, race, and age.

**Recruitment in Advertisements – Evident and Hidden Division of Labor**

Qualitative researchers engage with text and visual materials (Denzin and Lincoln 2008, 56-7) which are considered to be “mute evidence,” that is words without attachments to the physical presence of the author and the context in which they were written (Hodder 2003, 155). The researcher reviews documents to search for ideas and meanings. Literature originating from social and behavioral disciplines as well as communication science and marketing (for example, Gaucher et al. 2011; Gillaerts 2012; Tang et al 2013) adds to understanding of the complexity of messages contained within work advertisements in several ways, namely, proposed different scales of the advertisement distribution, introduced a diverse range of information consumers, as well as provided longitudinal studies tracing cultural transformations of work advertising. This section of the chapter highlights some of the issues related to job inequalities experienced by migrant workers through the analysis of work advertisements.
Textual and Content Analysis

Rafaeli and Oliver (1998) offer one of the most comprehensive analyses of employment advertisements that go beyond simple employer/potential employee communication regarding a job vacancy. Instead they suggest that advertisements are read by a number of viewers that are not directly involved in the process of providing or receiving a job offer and therefore should be effectively analyzed on different levels, such as individual, occupational, organizational, industrial, and societal. Thus, advertisements should not be viewed as rational statements that intend to delineate skill sets required from potential employees. Conversely, they posit that advertisements convey additional messages (349). Accordingly, businesses modify their communication strategy depending on their marketing objectives. Size of the advertisement, spacing and size of text elements play an important role in capturing reader’s attention (Pieters and Wedel 2004). In addition, individuals are less likely to read advertisements that have an increased number of words. The design of advertisements through choices of number of words, size of text and images impacts the effectiveness of the message (Tang et al. 2013; Diamond 1968). Businesses include promotion of an image and text that entices individuals, retains the current employees, or deters targeted readers from becoming a part of the company. The images also serve as reminders of the companies’ existence within the broader economic and political system and its power to make hiring decisions (352). Thus, despite the budget and spatial constraints, these announcements contain a plethora of information directed at a range of readers. Asides from listing job openings and looking for employment, employment advertisements serve as sources of information to individuals, providing them with up-to-date knowledge about what skills they need to present or acquire in order to
gain employment, as well as learn about different opportunities available to job-seekers (Rafaeli 2006 748, 749). In addition, human resource managers, headhunters, supervisors read employment advertisements to find out what other firms, their competitors, are offering to and require from potential employees (757). Moreover, Rafaeli et al. (2005) posit that there is a spatial component to employment advertisement. Specifically, that hiring managers who make conscious choices in terms of choosing the scale (such as national or local) of advertisement placement in order to maximize their recruitment outcomes and minimize advertisement costs (358). They have also suggested that the greatest yields came from the employee referral program, that didn’t involve an advertising budget (did not require any costs) and brought the largest number of new hires (361).

Walters and Fage-Butler (2014) postulate that elements of job advertisements vary with the temporal and spatial context. Utilizing longitudinal studies they trace a number of advertisements. For example, they pointed out that during the 1950s and 1960s job advertisements in Denmark contained stipulations regarding candidates’ gender, age, as well as required appearance and hobbies that are no longer considered pertinent or proper and are no longer published (46). In a similar vein, Deeken and Thomas (2006) engage with temporal changes in advertising, especially, they point out that advertising has changed during the information age and currently printed advertisements offer only preface to the full information about the complete job advertisements posted online (138). Similarly, Reeves and Hahn (2010) found that increasingly job advertisements are posted online instead of hardcopy newspapers and magazines. A study by Tyner (1999) used textual analysis of newspapers to look for job advertisements for Filipino women in Hong Kong. Tyner (1999) reported that “Typical requests printed in Hong Kong newspaper read:
‘Cheerful, live-in Fillipina maid/cook wanted’ or ‘temporary Fillipina maid wanted…clean, tidy, appearance’ (681).” In this case, newspaper content provided evidence to suggest that Filipina migrant workers are steered towards domestic work in Hong Kong. Gaucher et al. (2011) utilized content analysis to evaluate the advertisements in the United States for presence or absence of vocabulary associated with masculine or feminine characteristics. They argued that words such as “competitive” are used to encourage male job seekers, while words such as “support” are used to encourage female job seekers.

**Access to Job Classifieds**

One day while visiting Mr. Matsumoto’s union, one of the union workers pointed out to a large box and asked if I would like a copy of just delivered, newest issue of Alternativa. I agreed. He took out the box cutter, opened the box and gave me a fresh issue of the publication. After I took the magazine everyone in the room reached for one. This was not the only place I had seen Alternativa. The magazine was available free of charge in ethnic stores of Oizumi town, in Gunma prefecture and other towns with large migrant communities as well as the migrant organizations’ offices.

Job advertisements targeting migrants were posted in variety of magazines throughout the country. Some of magazines were delivered to NGOs helping migrants. The magazines that were delivered to the two workers unions and one NGO with which the study was affiliated during the summer of 2014 were Alternativa and Acha Fácil. In 2015, Mr. Matsumoto’s union started receiving Mercado Latino. Thus, an issue of Mercado Latino was added to the investigation. All of the magazines offered different types of advertising, such as promotion of shipping companies, shops, and realty; however, this research focuses on job advertisements. While the content of articles was changed, some
of the classifieds repeated the same companies in every issue. In addition, a few labor brokers sent out their advertisements to all three magazines; however, the content of these advertisements was different, it listed vacancies in different workplaces. All of the magazines have an online presence; however, this study takes into consideration only the content of printed media.

Table 9 Descriptive Statistics: Word Count for *Alternativa*, *Acha Fácil*, and *Mercado Latino*’s Job Advertisements, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of words</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>94.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Alternativa* [Alternative] is a quarterly magazine. Online it features daily news relevant to the South American community in Japan, but the magazine has articles related to Brazilian and Japanese culture, beauty and fashion tips, as well as editorials about healthy living. Work advertisements in the magazine use between thirty and 293 words. The average word count is 97.1. Their size varies between 1.625 high by 3.125 inches long and a two page spread. *Alternativa* features 108 work announcements.

*Acha Fácil* [Think Easy] is a monthly guide publication. It is distributed all over Japan to the stores and other subscribers. It mostly consist of advertisements with an editorial about healthy living and pictures from social gatherings and events submitted by South American businesses and clubs. The advertisements’ word count was the shortest at twenty five words, and the longest at two hundred sixty one. The average is 76.8. The
smallest ad dimensions was 1.625 high and 2 inches long and the largest was spread over one page. Acha Fácil has sixty three job classifieds.

*Mercado Latino* [Latin Market] is a monthly publication. During the 1990s, the magazine published only advertisements placed by and offered to the South American community in Japan. However, later the content of the magazine has changed and now it carries articles and editorials. While it prints a number of classifieds, the issue contains only eight job advertisements in total. The shortest advertisement has fifty seven words and the longest 391 words. The average word count is 141.8. The smallest advertisement is 2.1 high by 3.7 inches long and the largest takes an entire page.

Combined, the issues of *Alternativa*, *Acha Fácil* and *Mercado Latino* that are included in this study feature 179 job advertisements (Table 9). Their average word count is 94.87 with a median of seventy six words. The shortest advertisement was twenty five words and the longest 391 words.

The text of the advertisements was manually typed and submitted to an online textual analysis tool, Voyant (Voyant Tools 2016), to determine the highest word frequencies and visualize the most recurrent terms. This tool was used only to guide the choice of categories. The occurrences of meanings in the text were manually counted and analyzed for frequency. In addition, the study engaged with qualitative reading of the advertisements and aimed to connect them with the context of the migrant experiences in Japan. The locations of jobs and labor brokers were entered into IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows to count their frequency in each province. In turn, these frequencies were entered into ArcGis (ESRI 2014) to visualize the locations of jobs and labor brokers. The following
section examines in detail the presence of content related to job requirements in advertisements directed towards the *Nikkei* community in Japan.

**Considering Social Categories in Job Advertisements**

Gender categories were mentioned in 90 of 179 employment advertisements (Table 9). Specific listings in advertisements used words “*feminino* [feminine]” 42 times, “*masculino* [masculine]” 24 times, abbreviation “*Masc.* [masculine]” was used twice, “*homens* [men]” 40 times, *mulheres* (women) 33 times and “*casais* [couples]” 25 times (implying heterosexual relationship), *moças* [girls] was used twice, “*dançarina* [dancing girl]” was used twice in the context of advertisement for work in a club. Specifically, in nine instances advertisers called for men only, and eighteen times women only. Gender categories were not mentioned in eighty six advertisements (Table 9).

Table 10: Presence of Gendered Wording in Advertisements, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presence of Gendered Wording in Advertisements</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job Offered Only To Men</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Offered Only To Women</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Was Not Mentioned</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone Was Encouraged To Apply</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broker Has Separate Advertisements For Men/Women/Men And Women, Couples</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty four advertisements specifically advertised for men, women, and couples. Labor broker advertisements had separate listings within one advertisements. Labor brokers are
the middlemen or recruitment intermediaries who facilitate employment for migrant workers. In thirty two instances within the broker’s advertisements, there were multiple job listings where the companies indicated preference for either female or male employees. Fifty two advertisements specifically requested either male or female applicants as discrete categories (Table 10). In other cases, gender preferences were ambiguous or expressed indirectly.

Figure 10. Komatsu Job Center’s Advertisement

For example, in the third job advertisement in Alternativa, one of the job brokers, Komatsu Job Center, announced five employment opportunities (Figure 10). The advertisement is 3.875 inches high, 6.75 inches long, and contains 170 words. Komatsu’s logo is predominant and duplicated. It is located on the left and audience accustomed to reading left to right (in this instance, Brazilian migrant workers) would be potentially drawn first to the logo. One of the listings appeals for workers in production of auto parts
in Okazaki town. The most noticeable part of the listing is the wage per hour highlighted in bold green.

The name of the town is written in a slightly lower, yellow font, followed by the category of the occupation in black bold font. The advertisement does not directly describe the job as for men only. Instead it uses a phrase “Amb. [ambiente] predominante masculino [predominantly male environment].” Listing directly below it is an announcement for an auto part workers in Obu town. The largest part of the listing is the wage. Obu town listing uses phrase “Ambiente predominante feminino, [predominantly female environment].” The classifieds did not indicate that only women can apply, but they suggest a preference for female applicants. Both listings for jobs in Okazaki and Obu limited the information to the work location, type of work, and wage as well as indicated a preference for male or female applicants. The two listings have the least number of words compared to other listings within the advertisements. The emphasis is placed on the compensation which in case of men is listed ¥ 1300 to ¥1500 per hour, and in case of women at ¥ 1000 per hour. Women’s wage of ¥ 1000 is printed in a larger font in comparison to men’s wage of ¥ 1300 to ¥1500. Job titles are understated in comparison to the wages. Thus, it seems that the companies are making a judgement that they will be able to entice workers with wages rather than type of work. The ad mentions other opportunities in Saitama and Kanagawa. However, the specific openings are not listed. Instead, readers are encouraged to contact the office to find out about available opportunities.

The advertisement from Alternativa posted by Advance broker corporation (Figure 11) is approximately 3.875 inches high, 6.75 inches long and contains 200 words. For a small advertisement it contains text which is presented in a small font.
The advertisement is void of any illustrations or pictures. It lists job openings in two prefectures: Aichi and Shizuoka. It appears that the most visible, highlighted in bold, tall letters, is the information regarding wages per hour.

Table 11. Income Range, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range Mentioned</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, 102 advertisements gave approximations of income, instead of a fixed hourly wage (Table 11). The advertisement for Aichi prefecture mentions ten vacancies and that workers could potentially earn between ¥180,000 and ¥300,000 a month and this is computed using hourly wages of between ¥950 and ¥1,100 per hour and overtime. The openings are for work related to manufacturing and inspection of auto parts. Inspection is
listed using Romanized Japanese word *kensa* [*検査*], instead of Brazilian Portuguese. The advertisement for jobs in Aichi prefecture specifically list the towns where the factories are located. The applicants are required to have their own residence, transportation and driver’s license. The company also requires that applicants agree to the two shift schedule. This is signaled using Romanized Japanese word *nikotai* [*二交替*], meaning two alternating shifts. It is usual for the factories in Japan to hire workers for two alternating schedules; namely daytime - *nikkin* [*日勤*] and *yakin* [*夜勤*] night.

Still, the hours set within the daytime and nighttime shift vary by factory and can also include two daytime and nighttime schedules. For instance, part time employee’s shift could start from six o’clock in the morning and last until noon. Another employee would start work at noon in the afternoon and finish at eight o’clock in the evening. Both of these schedules could be potentially listed as daytime schedule. In addition, factories alternate the schedules for workers. A person may work twice a week during the night and four time a week during the day and then reversing the schedule during the following week. In case of this listing, the shifts are between hours of 6:30 in the morning and 15 minutes past 3, as well as from 4:30 in the afternoon to 15 minutes past 1 in the morning. This broker company specified its mailing address, phone, website, and Facebook page. The right side of the advertisement detailed listings in Shizuoka prefecture. The top section lists jobs in automotive factory, in a line of work that has “predominantly female environment.” The wages are ¥ 900 per hour and the factory offers apartments for workers. It is unclear from the advertisement whether the rent is withdrawn from the paycheck. However, based on conducted interviews, it is often the case that the factories subtract living expenses from wages. Next listing, also for female workers, is at a vegetable processing factory. It requires
indeterminate skills in the Japanese language and the workers need to secure their own transportation. The factory offers apartments. The following listings are for jobs in “predominantly male environment”. First listing is for work in aluminum welding. The company requires applicants to have experience, secure their own transportation, and have unspecified Japanese language skill. Male workers’ wages for this work as well as lathe operator and forklift driver are listed at ¥ 1,200 per hour. The last entry announces openings for foundry, metal casting, and inspection jobs. Applicants are expected to work in two shifts and take two to four hours of overtime. The jobs requires conversational Japanese language. Workers are expected to secure their own transportation. In addition it asks for the applicants to show their intention to stay with the company for a long time [intenção trabalhar por longo periodo]. These jobs also pay ¥ 1,200 per hour.

Overall, this particular advertisement can be divided into three general listings. First that it has jobs available for men and women and the wages range between ¥950 and ¥1,100 per hour plus overtime. Second that it has work available in “predominantly female environment” and pays ¥ 900 per hour. The third is that it has employment opportunities in “predominantly male environment” and pays ¥ 1,200 per hour. It is unclear why the first set of listings shows a range instead of set hourly income. Potentially, it could be related to the type of shift, or the individual work performance, such as a number of units produced per hour. Still, based on the interview data it seems more likely that the lower income will be given to female workers, while higher income will be given to male workers.

The Acha Fácil advertisement by the Nazca Corporation (Figure 12) is 3.875 inches high, 6.75 inches long. It contains sixty one words and the content is easy to read. The most attention is given to the text “now hiring” [start immediately], which is printed in the
largest, bold yellow font. The text is placed over a black background. This may signal that the company was able to afford an extra charge that customarily newspapers, magazines and other classified publications include for an attention-getting graphic or bold text.

Figure 12 Nazca Corporation’s Advertisement

The advertisement includes jobs in inspection, baking, as well as press operation and assembly line. Inspection and assembly are listed in Romanized Japanese, *kensa* [検査] and *kumitate* [組み立て], respectively. Overtime is written in Romanized Japanese (*zangyo* [残業]). The wages for men range between ¥ 1,100 per hour and ¥ 1,350 per hour plus overtime. Both, the daytime and nighttime shift is available for men; however, in case of female workers shifts are not mentioned. This does not mean that women seldom work nightshifts. Conversely, a number of advertisements expected all applicants to take up both daytime and nighttime shifts. The wages for women range between ¥ 900 per hour and ¥ 1,000 per hour plus overtime. Thus, the highest hourly income for women is still lower
than that designated for men. The ad states that monthly wages of an auto parts assembly worker can be between ¥300,000 and ¥350,000. The advertisement does not explain why there is a difference between the monthly incomes. The broker company posted its name (in Japanese and Portuguese), logo, phone number (enumerated in bold font), and mailing address. In addition, the company specifies the towns in Gunma Prefecture, where the jobs are located.

The above examples show three different ways in which wages for men and women are listed in advertisements. Some advertisements simply connect higher wages to male worker hires. However, the companies are not including any justifications for the unequal wages between men and women. In popular discourse, companies often justify lower wages for women by arguing that women’s health insurance is higher, that women may take more days off due to health issues or pregnancy, and that women may not be able to work at the same pace as men, or carry heavy loads. The practice normalizes unequal incomes. Still, attempts to justify discriminatory treatment are not explicit in this group of advertisements. In terms of job availability and wages, some advertisements declared that the vacancies are open to everyone: men, women, and couples. However, the fact that the company feels the need to announce that they are opening their door to everyone, implies that in other places not everyone is welcomed. While employees may not require to be specifically men or women, why is gender mentioned at all? Thus, it reveals popular expectation of such a requirement.

Another way of differentiation between men and women in terms of the job access, was signaled by the set of ads seeking to hire masseuses and hostesses. Just one listing was for a masseur or masseuse, targeting both genders. Only Acha Fácil and Alternativa
included these types of job advertisements. There were seven such advertisements in total. Both publications featured the advertisements at the end of the job advertising section, following all the other advertisements.

Figure 13. Kusatsu Hot Springs’ Advertisement.

The *Acha Fácil* advertisement (Figure 13) posted by Kusatsu Hot Springs (Onsen) Hotels and Ryokans is 3.6 inches high and 6.7 inches wide. It announced job opening for a banquet hostess with a salary of ¥3,000 per hour. This is a high hourly wage, higher than the average of ¥1300 for the male factory workers. The traditional hot springs in Japan often feature hotel entertainment that includes traditional and modern performances, plays, gaming salons, pools and spas. In addition, a number of them hires hostesses and geishas that are supposed to entertain the guests during banquets and dinners, or at the bar. Usually, hostesses are seeking to engage the hotel guests with conversation and singing, or playing an instrument, as well as serving tea and alcohol. The hotel income is generated from the alcohol sales, and hostesses are expected to encourage guest to buy liquor. This is in part
reflected in the advertisement. One of the requirements stated in the advertisement include advanced Japanese language level. Thus, emphasizing the need for the employee to communicate with customers and hold their interest with conversation. The advertisement requires applicants to be between 25 and 35 years old and to be able to fit in up to Japanese size 11 elegant clothes (up to U.S. size 8). The hotel offers social security and furnished apartment for “only ¥20,000 a month.”

In terms of the content of the advertisement it has a picture of a young women with light hair and light skin pigmentation. While Figures 13 and 14 both contain pictures of light skinned women, this is not representative of the women pictured in all the reviewed advertisements. However, in all the advertisement women are thin. The woman is wearing a white dress, reminiscent of a wedding gown. The visuals of the advertisement are subdued, with soft gray background and elegant fonts. There is a minimum of words and they are organized to provide symmetry to the picture of the women and form a balanced composition. The whiteness of the dress and the soft, sophisticated tones of the picture are reminiscent of a wedding invitation. While the advertisement is placed in Japan, it is worth noting that many Japanese and Brazilian couples have western style weddings, with the bride wearing a white dress. The women is gazing down. It is indicative that the work of the hostess is targeted at specific body type women, the picture of men would not be represented in the same way. Goffman (1976) posits that a picture may show that

[…] the individual can withdraw his gaze from the scene at large (with the dependency and trust that this implies ) and lock it in such a way as to give the impression of having only minor dissociated concern (64)”[and] “[i]n advertisements women are shown mentally drifting from the physical scene around them (65).

Following Goffman’s (1976) analysis the pose could be interpreted as a submissive performance of femininity. The advertisement is trying to portray the ideal candidate,
slender, young, submissive, western looking women. This includes both, a particular way in which an ideal candidate should look, but even more so at being able to fit in the upscale setting of the job, suggested by the use of words, such as "banquet," advanced language skills, and manner of behavior possibly suggested by the picture.

Figure 14. Delijob’s Advertisement.

Another advertisement placed in Acha Fácil by Delijob (Figure 14), similarly includes a picture of a young women; however, the advertisement sets a different tone. The advertisement is 3.6 inches high and 6.7 inches wide, just as Kusatsu Hot Springs’ Advertisement. However, the fonts are set in an attention grabbing pink and yellow tones. The text is divided into two columns and the organization appears to be less neat compared to the previous advertisement. Instead of advertising for a hostess at a traditional hot spring resort, this classified does not list the work title.

The advertisement opens with a proclamation "Work only on the days you want!!!" In pink bold font. Further, the advert states that this a "[s]imple work" and that "no
experience is required." The company provides housing. Monthly wages for the advertised job are between ¥ 30,000 ~ ¥ 50,000. Wages are highlighted in bold, yellow lettering with a pink border. Font’s color is more eye-catching than in the previous advertisement.

Applicants are directed to contact the company by phone. The resume, including applicant's photograph should be send via e-mail. Including a personal photograph in a job application is still a common practice in Japan, especially within higher paying positions. While the practice is an expression of widely spread discriminatory hiring practices and the request to include the photograph with a resume is not seldom, within this data set, it is unusual. There were only two other advertisements that asked the applicants to submit a photograph. One, was for the Alternativa's own work advertisement and the other for a work in a factory producing automotive parts.

The broker advertises that their work "system has advantages" over others, because: "everyone can make money," as well as "health checkup" and "hygiene control". The company's list of advantages creates more questions than answers. It is unclear who the “Everyone” who can make money is. Does it mean all men and women, transgender? Just women? Women of all body types? Women who look like the women on the picture? The advertisement does not explain if this work is related to a heterosexual or non-heterosexual setting. For example, one way of reading this advertisement is that it is seeking women who will be working with male customers. However, nowhere does the advertisement actually states that it is looking for people of a specific gender. In case of a few advertisements for hostesses, only a couple mentioned that they are specifically looking for women. Two of these advertisements used words “meninas” and “moças” [girls]. These words were absent in other advertisements. One of the ways in which the interested
applicants could possibly read who is encouraged to apply, may come from the included picture of a female model and the pink colored letters. This could be understood as targeting women, who presumably would identify as targets of the ad through the visual clues. The women on the picture is standing in what Goffman (1976) would identify as a posture representing shyness (59). The model has her hand close to her mouth, which indicates an infantile pose (ibid.). She is wearing a white and gold dress, with an open back, partially obscured by her blonde, long hair. This representation is gendered; seldom would a man be portrayed in this pose.

In addition, what does the health checkup and hygiene control entail? Presumably it may mean a clean bill of health and negative Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) results. However, it could also mean pregnancy check-ups. Why would any of these medical examinations be needed for a hostess work? One way of reading these statements, is that this is an advertisement for sex work, not hostess work. Similar questions are related to the company statements that it provides "alibi", "strict confidentiality" and that "In case of problems? We take care to protect you and resolve any issues with the client." The company does not explain why the job applicant would need an alibi or protection from a customer. The company also reassures the potential applicant that "You can stop when you want", suggesting that quitting is not always possible. The final clue is offered when the company states that it is "not necessary to ‘Dohan’ or ‘After’ - The house does not allow!"

In case of dating-bars in Japan host/hostesses have to entertain female or male customers so that they would stay longer and buy drinks for themselves and the host/hostess and thus increase the profit for the establishment. Customers usually pick their host/hostess from a 'menu'. Overtime, the host/hostess may acquire a regular customer and s/he may request a
date with the host/hostess outside of the establishment, which may include sexual intercourse. The advertisement states that their bar or 'house' does not allow outside dates. However, why then are the host/hostesses required to undergo health checkups? Another reading of this would be that the company allows the hiring of those workers who have a clean bill of health, so that they can advertise it to customers.

Overall, while the majority of advertisements did not mention their preference for either men or women, there were other, indirect ways in which potential applicants could read the advertisements as gendered. For example, advertisement for hostesses did not necessarily ask for women, but they feature pictures of sexualized female bodies. Women, with ideal body image were targeted to work as hostesses and companies offered them higher incomes than average advertised men’s salary. Advertisements targeting women for factory work offered wages that were lower than those of men. In addition, based on interviews with NGOs’ representatives and migrants it seems that whenever advertisements listed wages in terms of range instead of a set amount, it indicated that the lower wages are designated towards women and higher wages are assigned to men.

Still, there were advertisements that stated that the company is looking specifically for men or women, or that the work environment was predominantly feminine or masculine. Conversely, some advertisements stated that the employer intents to hire men and women. However, the occurrence of such a statement indicates that this is not an expected practice, otherwise the company would not feel the need to mention it at all. The majority of jobs for women were in food processing and automobile factories. Job responsibilities included assembly and inspection. There were seven advertisements seeking female applicants to work as hostesses. The majority of men were encouraged to
apply for jobs in automotive production. Work duties included assembly, inspection, and operation of machinery, such as a lathe. Men were also encouraged to apply for jobs in construction. Still, a number of companies advertised vacancies in food processing and construction to both men and women. However, it seemed that men could expect higher wages in both of these types of work.

Another way in which advertisements distinguished between the applicants was in terms of the job seekers’ age. Specifically, twenty four out of 179 advertisements mentioned preferred the age of the applicants (Table 12). Specifically, fifteen advertisements declared that they are willing to hire middle age persons. However, they did not specify what constitutes “middle age”. Two said that persons of “any age [are] welcomed.” Two state that the companies are looking for individuals over fifty years old.

![Fast Food Nagoya’s Advertisement](image)
In terms of the advertisements for hostesses, two specified that individuals should be at least eighteen years old. One indicated nineteen years as a minimum. Two indicated that the maximum age of applicants may not exceed thirty five years.

A Fast Food Nagoya advertisement (Figure 15) published in Alternativa is 3.6 inches high and 6.5 inches wide. It is publicized directly by the food processing factory. The most visible part of the advertisement is the sign held by a drawn onigiri [rice ball] character. The cartoon onigiri is holding a stationary phone in one hand and a sign in the other hand. The sign proclaims that the company has vacancies for immediate hire and possible monthly wages between ¥200,000 and ¥280,000. Under the sign, we read that workers will get “direct contract with the factory.” Thus, the brokers are excluded from the hiring process, which could translate into better wages for workers. The next most visible part of the advertisement, is the e-mail address. The word “curriculum” included in the address suggests that the company would prefer to receive the applicant’s resume via e-mail. The phone numbers are listed in slightly lower font, and the mailing address listed in between the e-mail address and the phone numbers has an inferior lettering size compared to the other two. The green and brown logo is situated to the left. The logo is repeated three times. First, on its own and twice on the animated onigiri characters. The second onigiri character is located in the upper right corner, above the list of the job conditions and incentives. These include the base salary of between ¥ 850 and ¥ 900 an hour plus twenty five percent of the hourly wage for overtime and night shift. The company states that it offers “Job security and “Paid vacations”, working five to six days a week, during Sundays and public holidays an additional ¥50 per hour, allowance for transportation, possibility of requesting accommodations. The company will pay for shakai hoken [Japanese Social
Insurance. The factory is looking for employees who are available for work during weekends. Further, the ad states that “middle-aged people are welcome.” Still, this advertisement has to be understood in a context of a job market where working for bentoya is less desirable. Bentoya is a Romanized Japanese word that refers to an obento [lunch box] preparing shop or a factory. Traditionally, bentoya is a respected establishment; however, work for bentoya factory is hard, especially since it involves fast pace while wearing uncomfortable uniforms. For example, workers have to wear coveralls, face masks, hair covers, and rubber gloves and boots. Although the attire is uncomfortable, everyone is expected to keep up with the fast pace of working with the conveyor belt. A number of brokers who advertise vacancies in food processing factories entice applicants by proclaiming in advertisements that the factory is “not a bentoya!” For instance, in the advertisement from Global Group (Figure 16) placed in Alternativa all listings are for the food processing factories and three of these entries include the “Not a Bentoya!” message. However, other listings were also for food processing and they hardly advertise that it is a conveyor belt job. Thus trying to frame working at other factories as superior to bentoya to lure in migrant workers seems deceptive because it still involves work at the factory.

The advertisement is seven inches wide and ten inches high, and takes up the whole page of the magazine. The company’s advertisements have four listings that encourage both men and women to apply and three that state that the environment is “predominantly feminine,” and one seeking men. The type of work include food production, separation, and wrapping of food goods as well as stacking. The advertisement for factory work in food sector sometimes appeal to specific gender. For example, the bottom entry for Osaka based manufacturer has separate entries for men and women. Advertisement for supply
line work involving stacking or product delivery are targeted specifically at men. This underscores the fact that the workers will be expected not only to work hard, but to do repetitive lifting and moving of food and equipment that requires strength and endurance.

Figure 16 Global Group’s Advertisement
For lighter factory work such as food arrangement packing are often targeted women. Overall wages range between ¥900 and ¥1250 per hour. Twenty seven advertisements mentioned age (Table 11). In this advertisement age is not mentioned; however, the ad could be potentially directed towards the younger cohort of job seekers due to the company notice that the interviews are going to be carried over Skype.

Table 12. Age Requirement, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Requirement</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Provided</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>84.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five companies provided their Skype address and twenty companies included Facebook information in their advertisement (Table 13). Often, this was done by including a Facebook logo instead of spelling it out. This carries an assumption that the applicants can recognize the logo and will know how to access social media. Some employers are using new technologies to entice the millennial migrant worker. Eight companies incorporated a bar code in the advertisement content to make it easier for young migrant worker to scan the barcode with his/her smart phone to receive more information about the job. In addition, seventy one of advertisements had listed their e-mail address and thirty five indicated their web page address. This reveals broker’s expectations about workers capacities to use certain technologies such as a smart phone, or a personal computer, or to have know-how regarding Internet access and use. Workers could potentially access the company web site while visiting an Internet café.
Table 13. Skype, email, webpage, and barcode information, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skype, Email, Webpage, and Barcode Information</th>
<th>E-mail address provided</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>60.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facebook address provided</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>88.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Web page address provided</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar code provided</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>95.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skype address provided</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of these communication methods could be understood in generational terms. The advertisements are directed towards a younger generation of workers familiar with social media and the use of smart phone technologies. Conversely, participants of this study who were fifty years and older often talked about how they use communication technologies to stay in touch with their families. For instance, one of the respondents, a
fifty one year old man from Peru, indicated that he communicated with his family including his wife and two sons, every day using various technologies. Daily he goes to a combini store or the train station, and he stands outside to get free Wi-Fi connection. He uses free texting and video chat services on his telephone: Skype, Viber, and Facebook. One of the implications of such advertising is that it is subtly disciplining migrants in the use of new technologies. Increasing number of advertisement targeting migrant workers in Japan show use of technology.

**Work Incentives and Requirements**

Some advertisements explicitly included messages that listed the expectations of the workplace that had to do with character expectations. For instance, some advertisements stress that they want to hire only serious applicants, committed to long term contracts. Other advertisements express the need for employees willing to work longer shifts and take overtime regularly. For example, Motion (Figure 17), an elevator producing company, posted a small, two by two inches advertisement in Acha Fácil targeted at people with five years of experience, “patience (strict boss) and strong will power.” This advertisement is indicative of fast paced, stressful work environment, explicitly warns about employment expectations. This contrasts with the advertisements that try to entice workers into the food processing factories in which advertisers’ state that the work place is “not a bentoya”. This suggest that employers try to frame the factory work as less stressful, repetitive or irritating than work at a bentoya. Nonetheless, jobs at a food processing factory, regardless of the end product, such as obento or bread, may involve conveyor belt work. Therefore, some advertisements for food processing suggest a level of deception in presenting work stress
levels, while the advertisement posted by Motion unambiguously cautions about stressful work environment.

Figure 17. Motion’s Advertisement.

Eighty advertisements enticed potential job seekers by providing that accommodations (Table 14). In addition, twenty seven advertisements mention that the workers have to have their own accommodations secured. Seventy two classifieds did not specify whether the company will provide the living arrangements for the workers. Of those advertisements that indicate that employees will get accommodations, few provided any detail of the type of accommodation, such as *kitnet* (a studio apartment), and whether it would be furnished or not.

Table 14. Accommodations, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodations</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers Have To Have Their Own</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodations Are Provided</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodations Are Not Mentioned</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For instance, one of the advertisements states that the apartment is air-conditioned and one even went as far to show pictures of company’s rooms. The advertisements did not reveal the cost of the apartment or the way that the cost will be deducted from the paycheck. In addition, advertisements did not specify if living in company’s quarters was optional or required.

Based on the fieldwork experiences and visits to workers dormitories, companies provide small rooms, or even shared rooms with commonly shared bathrooms. These are frequently located above the factory, or next to it. In most cases the payment for accommodation is subtracted from paychecks.

Figure 18 Example of Workers’ Accommodations in a Small Town

This is indicative of companies’ desire to control workers mobility as well as gain additional income from workers who already earn low wages.

However, the majority of migrant workers were able to choose their own lodgings. The above picture is an illustration (Figure 18) of worker accommodations located at a
short distance from the factory. Compared to the apartments in the U.S.A. Japanese counterparts are on average smaller. However, the migrant apartments are even smaller. The proximity of the lodging quarters to the factories made it easier for migrants to walk or cycle to the factory. Around factories there were a number of restaurants and shops.

Figure 19. Example of Work Spaces and Living Quarters in the Countryside.

Figure 19 shows the offices, work spaces as well as living quarters of construction company workers. While the majority of participants secured their own living arrangements, some of the workers lived in company’s quarters above the workshop floor, in separate rooms, next to the kitchen and lunch rooms.

While the majority of advertisements (120) did not itemize help with transportation as one of the incentives, twenty nine classifieds mention that they offer transportation to work (Table 15). In the context of Japan, the company usually has a minivan driver who
pick-ups and drops off workers. Still twenty one specified that workers need to secure their own transportation to work. Four advertisements indicate that they will offer reimbursement for transportation expenses. Five advertisements mention help with transportation; however, they did not offer further details.

Table 15. Transportation, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transportation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employee Needs Own Transport</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Mentioned</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money for Gas, Train</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified Help with Transportation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>179</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another incentive mentioned in advertisements was covering of the moving expenses (Table 16). Thirteen advertisements specified that they will cover moving expenses, while six stated that workers need to cover their own moving expenses. This indicates that a small number of companies anticipated that workers may have to move from another town or prefecture.

Table 16. Coverage of Moving Expenses, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coverage of Moving Expenses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers Needs to Cover Moving Costs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company Will Cover Moving Costs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving Costs Were Not Mentioned</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>179</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four of the advertisements announced access to a Brazilian school or childcare. In the context of Japan, availability of childcare is limited and the topic of childcare is strongly debated in popular discourse. Recently, the conservative Diet leadership introduced new reforms, aimed at increasing childcare facilities to encourage women to work outside of the home. Thus, factories that desire to hire female workers may want to include childcare as an incentive. In addition, offering access to school that teaches Portuguese and/or Spanish can draw South American workers who are looking to keep their children connected to the educational system and culture of their countries of origin.

Thirty three advertisements include access to social security or/and insurance. By law all employers are required to provide shakai hoken 社会保険 Employees’ Health and Pension Insurance for full time employees, meaning those who work forty or more hours a week. The companies are not obligated to provide insurance to part time workers or those who are hired on a temporary basis. Both employer and employee pay to the Social Insurance Office for the insurance, therefore, the contribution is shared. The monthly premium is based on the estimated monthly salary. The medical insurance rate is based on a percentage of salary and these rates vary between prefectures. In addition, workers who are over forty years old pay one percent more in premiums for Medical and Nursing Insurance 健康保険 介護保険 [kenko hoken and kaigo hoken] (Nagoya International Center).

The most mentioned work specifications were those related to the timing of work. Seventy seven companies specified the type of shift schedule (Table 17). Eighty three companies advertise overtime work (Table 17). Overall, it seems that the overtime, was portrayed as a work incentive and an opportunity to earn more money.
Table 17. Shift work and Overtime, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different Shifts Mentioned</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overtime Mentioned</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This can be illustrated by the advertisement by Fujiarte (Figure 20). Fujiarte advertisement is placed on the entire page (7 inches wide and 10 inches high). At the top of the advertisement space, the company compels pre-registration for job opportunities on its website. The company declares that for the advertised positions in injection molding, assembly and inspection of auto parts an employee will earn between ¥ 230.00 and ¥ 280,000 a month. At the time of writing this dissertation, the average wages in Japan are ¥ 292,430 a month (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2016). Although ethnographic data suggest that in Japan, ¥300,000 is considered as a sound living wage, migrant workers under automobile assembly line are able to reach such high wage only by putting on voluntary work shift.

This kind of exploitation of migrant workers was confirmed by one of this study participants. As this thirty eight years old Japanese woman participant pointed out, You know many migrants actually get regular Japanese monthly wages, about 300,000 yen a month. That is a good wage for our standards. But, Japanese person does not need to work as hard to earn this salary. That is the main difference. The difference is that the foreigners have to take all of this overtime to get the same paycheck as we do.
The possibility of topping pay through voluntary overtime is all too evident in advertisements and can enable some migrant to reach average monthly national income.

![Fujiarte’s Advertisement](image)

Figure 20 Fujiarte’s Advertisement

The Fujiarte advertisement illustrates this well (Figure 20). The advertisement states that hourly salary is between ¥ 900 and 1,100 per hour. Thus, for forty hours an
employee would make only ¥44,000. However, employees get twenty five percent more for overtime and the ad states that there is a lot of overtime offered: “50 ~ 60 hours / month” (between fifty to sixty hours a month). Migrant workers are also enticed through job advertisements with the opportunity to work nightshift with opportunity to boost income. As the above advert shows the prospective applicant the dayshift is from eight o’clock in the morning to five o’clock. The nightshift is from eleven o’clock at night to eight o’clock in the morning. As evident from ethnographic data another way of increasing the pay for migrant is to take the double shift. The classified brushes over the exploitative nature of shift work by framing it as “stable work” with generous weekend including “Saturday and Sunday off.”

Table 18. Holidays and Days Off, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holidays Mentioned</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>74.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the add gives a lot of detail in terms of work expectations compared to others. For instance, only forty six companies mentioned arrangements for days off in their advertisements (Table 18). The company requires comprehension of Japanese language, although it does not specify the level (basic, intermediary, fluent). The company list its phone number and mailing address. It also asks the applicants to “Like our page on Facebook.”
Language

There are three Japanese writing systems. First is the *kanji* system comprised of Chinese characters. However, while Chinese and Japanese share many characters, some of them have a different meaning. Second and third are the *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries belong to *kana* system. Japanese can be written in a combination of the three. Kanji is usually considered the most difficult out of the three Japanese writing systems. In addition, there is a Romanized version of Japanese written language, *Romanji* that utilizes the Latin script to transcribe Japanese pronunciation. *Romanji* is often used by foreigners who are familiar with the spoken language, but are unfamiliar with Japanese characters. The lack of the appropriate language skill is impacts wages and job mobility.

Ninety five advertisements mention Japanese language skills (Table 19). Out of these eight stated that Japanese language comprehension was not necessary. Thirty advertisements pointed out that basic Japanese language competence was a hiring prerequisite. Seven classifieds expressed that the desired candidates should have intermediate Japanese language skills and twenty advertisements stated that the applicants should have fluent language proficiency and be able to read Kanji characters. Four advertisements declared that the Japanese language was required, without specifying either the level (basic, intermediate, fluent) or the proficiency in any of the writing systems. This advertisement is typical in manufacturing and suggests that migrant experience the more total exploitation in the manufacturing and food manufacturing line, low pay, taking added shifts, longer hours.

One aspect that transpired from advertisements seems that employers recognized the limitations in language skill and as a result some companies help to mitigate the limitations with the help of posted pictures to give indication for job seekers of what
expected work and Romanized Japanese expressions - Romanji. Romanji is often used in this particular set of job advertisements. For example, the abbreviation K.K. [kabushiki kaisha 株式会社], that stands for joint stock corporation, was used often in the names of the companies. Taiyo Corporation (Figure 21) uses a number of Romanji words in its advertisement. The advertisement takes up the entire page of the Alternativa magazine (seven inches wide and ten inch high). It begins with a proclamation: “More than 15 years of tradition! Always offering the best for you!!!”. The company states that they offer a safe and stable job for the whole year. The factory is in the food processing industry, but the company reassures that it is “Not a bentoya.” The company list wages ranging between ¥900 and ¥1,050 per hour and encourages men, women and couples to apply. The company requires “people who can take overtime” and prefers people who will work in “predominantly female environment and couples”.

In total, excluding the K.K. (Co., Ltd) abbreviation, there are six Romanized Japanese expressions used in the advertisement: bentoya [prepared lunch box shop], yuku [paid sick days or personal leave days], hirukin [dayshift], yakin [nightshift], nikoutai [two alternating shifts], and shakai hoken [社会保険 Employees’ Health and Pension Insurance for full time employees].

The company offers:

“Yuku (paid time off)
25% additional overtime and the days that exceed the normal days of month
25% additional night shift
35% additional Sunday
50% additional night shift on top of 25% additional overtime or vice versa
Furnished apartment
Free transportation to the factory
Hirukin or Yakin (and not nikoutai)
Unemployment [benefits] + Shakai hoken
School is recognized by MEC [Ministério da Educação – Brazilian Ministry of Education]

Table 19. Required Japanese Language Proficiency Levels, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Required Japanese Language Proficiency Levels</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluent, Kanji, or Hiragana and Katakana, Reading and Writing</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified level</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not needed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Mentioned</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>179</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the term *yukyu* was explained in parenthesis as “paid time off”. One of the ways of reading the inclusion of *Romanji* words, is that companies presume that workers are familiar with these particular words and phrases, even though they may not know Japanese well, as words such as *hirukin* (dayshift) may be frequently spoken at work. Most companies limited their use of *kanji* or *hiragana* in the advertisements; however, use of *Romanji* was more frequent.

The company lists its website, e-mail, and phone numbers with clearly stated operators. In Japan, calling within the same cell phone company is free of charge, but calling between different companies includes charges. Listing the phone number and clearly stating the provider gives the applicant an option to call to the least expensive number. In this case, in addition to Japanese phone numbers, the company listed a contact
in Brazil as well. The companies are trying to entice migrants who do not have money and listing the phone numbers that are easier to access.

Figure 21 Taiyo Corporation’s Advertisement
**Space in Advertisements**

One seventy one out of 179 of advertisements included job locations (Table 20). From the data it seems that job location is one of the most prominent features of the job advertisements directed to migrants. For example, *Alternativa* organized table of contents by prefectures (Figure 22). In other parts of the publication, the directions would be listed by content, such as “shopping” and “transportation.” Thus, it would make sense that jobs would be organized in the table of contents by, for instance, industries. However, instead the table of contents listed the prefectures as subheadings (Figure 22).

Table 20. Job’s Location, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertisement List Job’s Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>95.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>180</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regardless of industry, workers seemed to be making similar wages and the job title does not seem to carry as much meaning as the location of work. Median hourly wages for women presented in advertisements was ¥925 and for men ¥1,225. This is illustration of gender disparity of migrant workers in Japan.

Table 21. Inclusion of a Map, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertisement Includes a Map</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Twelve companies used maps as one of the contents of the advertisements (Table 21). The maps served to explain where the labor broker offices were located, where the job interviews are going to be held, and sometimes where the job was located.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G-USES CO., LTD.</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAISHI</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKY WORKS K.K.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSI K.K. – NISHIO</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE WORLD DE MIE.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORLD KOSYO</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIYAGI</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOWA CO., LTD.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGANO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOMTEC K.K.</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSMOS WORK CORPORATION</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANKYO GROUP</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAKUE S/A</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARU</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOYO K.K. – NISHIO</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAYAMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVANCE</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUJITA-JI</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIKI K.K. FILIAL NAJOYA</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUN-FAMILY</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHIMANE</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVANCE</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHIZUOKA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC K.K.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVANCE K.K.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVANCE</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREATE CO., LTD.</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMUZU K.K.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUJITA-JI</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIRSEI MANAGEMENT K.K.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAITAMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALIAN CORPORATION</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIATIVE</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMUZU K.K.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORTE CORPORATION</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOBAL GROUP</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUBI K.K.</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOY WORK-SUIMA</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-LINE</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOWA CO., LTD.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB STAFF CO., LTD.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAZ KOSYO</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANKYO GROUP</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICE ACT YOKOH nursery</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHINKO K.K.</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAIYO EIKAKU</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 22 Altrenativa’s Advertisements’ Table of Contents
This was the case of Dream Works Co., Ltd. Advertisement (Figure 23). The advertisement is posted in *Mercado Latino* and it is 3.5 inches high and 4.5 inches wide. The company used a map to show where the work place was located in the context of the radioactive damage that occurred in the aftermath of the Fukushima disaster (Figure 23). The map shows Fukushima prefecture divided into circular buffer zones originating from Fukushima Daiichi. The buffer immediately next to the nuclear plant is in a dark orange color. This zone extends twenty kilometers from the plant. The next buffer extend to thirty kilometers. The red sign labeled “Place of Work” has an arrow pointing towards a red dot indicating the location. Surrounding areas are marked in yellow. The map suggests that the township is safe.

![Dream Works Co.’s Advertisement](image)

Figure 23 Dream Works Co.’s Advertisement.
Most of the advertisements were in Portuguese and Spanish reflecting the nationalities of most migrants’ counties of origin. This advertisement is published in Spanish to appeal to South American migrants who come from Spanish speaking countries. First the company lists the daily wage, namely, ¥18,000 and for the machinery operator ¥16,000. The type of work includes soil removal and tree cutting. The company offers apartments, pays the moving expenses and arranges for the transportation to the workplace. The company is looking for “skilled people who are capable of serious work [gente capacitada para trabajar for seriedad].” This suggest that the company is trying to appeal to the migrants’ sense of pride and frame it as a job for respectful and hardworking people.

One disturbing observation was the tendency to use migrant labor for the cleanup in the area affected by the Fukushima disaster. In this instance, advert targeted at migrant specifically to involve them in work in the area. This inclusion of migrant workers participating in cleanup, restoration, and other work in post Fukushima areas is not accidental. Since 2014, the government was proposing that one of the ways to find labor that would work in this area was to give those jobs to migrant workers. The subject was debated as one aspect of the migrant visa expansion program. The workers were supposed to come by means of the TITP scheme and bilateral agreements. In general, migrant workers became designated prospective workers in terms of the area cleanup. The potential responsibility for health issues are shifted to migrant workers who are expected to return to their country of origin. A number of NGOs have objected to this scheme, arguing that some of migrant workers may not know the potential health risks associated with working in an area with increased radiation, or not be able to object to their work destination. Still, it seems that migrant populations were already targeted in terms of drawing them to jobs
located in Fukushima prefecture. Despite the objections of NGOs working with migrants, this arduous types of jobs are targeting foreign nationals

**Labor Brokers**

Labor brokers play an important role in migrant recruitment in Japan. Xiang (2012) explains the operations of the labor brokers in China in the following way,

> Companies in major cities with international connections outsource the task of labour recruitment to mid-level agents in prefectures, who in turn subcontract the task to unlicensed sub-agents in local districts or rural townships—colloquially referred to as “legs” (50).

Thus, labor brokers are commonly a part of the migration process of Chinese blue-collar migrants. The impact of labor brokerage is contradictory. Xiang (2012) argues that both Japanese and Chinese governments are responsible for the growth of the labor broker companies by seeking to “transform unpredictable individual mobility into legible, aggregate flows (51).” At the same time, “legitimate brokers […] may assist or obstruct the intentions of the laws that they help migrants negotiate (McKeown 2012, 42)”.

For example, the Japanese government put JITCO in charge of licensing the recruitment, training and monitoring of the trainee workers in Japan. As a result, a number of Chinese migrant workers are brought to Japan by companies authorized by JITCO as participants of TITP. Brokers play a role in securing other visa types in Japan, including securing documents for students and spouses, as well as domestic, agricultural and sex workers (8). In addition, labor brokers may include “state officials or migrants themselves, thus highlighting the uneasy distinctions between state and market, formal and informal, regular and irregular […] and embody varying forms of expertise (ibid.).” Yet, even though Nikkei migrants are allowed to stay in Japan through a Child or a Spouse of Japanese National visa that has no restriction in the type of their activities, the Nikkei workers still deal with
brokerage companies (Roth 2003). Some of these companies operate directly as labor brokers and other operate under the guise of ‘travel agencies’.

Table 22. Advertisement Placed by Brokers, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertisement is Placed by a Broker</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is reflected in the job advertisements posted in the three reviewed publications. One hundred fifty seven out of 179 advertisements were paid for by labor brokers. Only twenty two advertisements, 12.3 percent, were placed directly by hiring companies (Table 22). Accordingly, the majority of workers do not deal with actual workplaces during the hiring process which effectively puts them at the mercy of the labor brokerage agencies.

There is a power imbalance between the labor broker and the worker. The labor broker arrangements consistently benefit brokers who effectively control migrants’ access to work and incorporation into particular industries in Japan. This translates into immense profits for labor brokerage firms.

Labor brokers typically advertise jobs as illustrated in the following, second advertisement by Fujiarte (Figure 24), a major labor broker company in Japan, which encourages workers to come to an itinerant interview site. The company travels to different towns that have migrant residents to hire them. This broker company frames itself as “always by your side.” The company encourages migrants to come over “to kill your appetite ... and ensure the job!” by offering ¥1,000 McDonalds card. The company states “Registered? Attended? You win!!” Applicants are encouraged to register for the interview
on the company’s website. The advertisement offers a map of the interview area including the nearest train station.

Figure 24 Fujiarte’s Itinerant Interview Site Advertisement.

In total, the 179 advertisements contained 308 separate job listings (Table 23). This is because (1) the majority of classifieds were provided by labor brokers who included job openings offered by a number of companies; and (2) the classifieds presented directly by the company prepare to offer multiple contracts.
### Job Location and Broker Office Locations by Prefecture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefecture</th>
<th>Number of job locations identified in advertisement</th>
<th>Number of labor broker office locations</th>
<th>Number of job locations advertised directly by the employer/direct employer locations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Niigata-ken</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Okinawa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hokkaido</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kagawa-ken</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nara-ken</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Okayama-ken</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Shimane-ken</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ehime-ken</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Fukuoka-ken</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Fukushima-ken</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Hyōgo-ken</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Kyoto-fu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Hiroshima-ken</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Fukui-ken</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Ishikawa-ken</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Nagano-ken</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Osaka-fu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Shiga-ken</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Tokyo-to</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Mie-ken</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Gifu-ken</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Chiba-ken</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Ibaraki-ken</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Kanagawa-ken</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Tochigi-ken</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Shizuoka-ken</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Gunma-ken</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Aichi-ken</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Saitama-ken</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | 283 | 162 | 22
Advertisements seldom included information about how many actual vacancies were available. Consequently only listings are counted.

As the table reveals, some of the broker companies were located in prefectures where advertisements did not offer any jobs, in this case Niigata and Okinawa. Twenty two of the advertised job listings were located in prefectures lacking the representation of the broker companies’ offices from this study group. Tokyo metropolitan area which has the largest number of foreign residents in Japan (Statistics Bureau 2015), was represented by three broker companies and had only eight job listings. Aichi, second in terms of foreign residents was represented by thirty three companies and had forty two job listings placed by brokers.

The lack of an overwhelming number of job listings in Tokyo metropolitan area and Osaka is especially surprising considering that these two cities have large migrant population and are the most densely populated metropolitan areas. One possible explanation could be that migrants are likely to look for other sources of information about jobs and thus, brokers do not advertise jobs in these particular areas. Shizuoka, Gunma, and Saitama prefectures, which have a high South American migrant population, had a high number of advertised jobs, as well as the brokerage firms.

The map (Figure 25) reveals that labor broker companies were centrally concentrated within Honshu Island (the main island), especially within Kanto and Kansai regions. The companies were often located in prefectures surrounding Tokyo and Osaka cities. This could be a result of (1) an increased availability of foreign residents who could be enlisted by the broker companies; and (2) greater costs of running a company in Tokyo
and Osaka linked to the high property prices. Moving out to surrounding prefectures could minimize the expenses related to factors of production, such as labor cost and rent.

Figure 25 Labor Broker’s Offices
Figure 26 Job Locations

One hundred fifty seven out of 179 advertisements were paid for by labor brokers. Only twenty two advertisements, 12.3 percent, were placed directly by the hiring
companies. Conversely, the workers are largely at the mercy of the labor brokerage agencies. Thus even though Nikkei migrants have better visa allowances than Chinese migrants who are brought to Japan by JITCO as participants of the TITP, the Nikkei workers still deal with brokerage companies. Accordingly, the majority of workers do not deal with the actual workplaces during the hiring process. Thus, the labor broker arrangements are consistently present in terms of migrants’ access to work and incorporation into particular industries in Japan. This translates into immense profits for labor brokerage firms. It could be surprising that these middlemen between the job seekers and companies enjoy such a powerful presence on the job markets. For example, the Japanese government put JITCO in charge of giving licenses for recruitment, training and monitoring of the trainee workers in Japan. Yet, while broker companies contribute to the ability of the government to monitor migration flows, they also facilitate migrants’ ability to negotiate entry at the border and job access.

The job locations posted by the broker companies were situated in a slightly different pattern than the broker companies’ locations (Figure 26). The job sites were located as far as the island of Kyushu and Hokkaido. Fukuoka prefecture on Kyushu Island is highly populated (ranking eighth) followed by Hokkaido (ninth). Hokkaido is the largest prefecture and it has the lowest population density in Japan and its population has been declining (Statistics Bureau 2015b). Consequently, it seems that these prefectures could be opening up to hiring more migrant workers.

Still, twenty two of the advertisements were placed directly by companies (Figure 27). This includes five postings from Aichi prefecture, four postings from Shizuoka and Gunma prefectures, three postings from Kanagawa prefectures, two from Saitama and
Hyogo prefectures, and one listing from both Tokyo and Osaka. Thus, the majority of these listings were located in Chubu, Kanto, and Kansai regions.

Figure 27 Direct Employment Locations
The highest number of listings came from Aichi prefecture, which is the second largest recipient of migrants in Japan (Statistics Bureau 2015c). It has a large heavy and manufacturing industries, including auto manufacturing. In addition, it has economic activities encompassing farming and fishing (Statistics Bureau 2015c). This suggests that some companies are able to bypass labor brokers’ services and hire migrant labor directly. Those companies often used services of migrants working with them, who in turn acted as translators and recruiters. Four out of 179 job listings sought to hire a translator. For instance, Acty Corporation’s advertisement states “[p]recisamos de tradutor(a) / interprete para trabalho em Fábrica [we need translator (e) / interpreter to work in factory]. Interpreters and translators may help with every day running of the factory and also help hiring new workers.

While many participants expressed the opinion in the interviews that the best job opportunities are in Tokyo and the Osaka-Kobe metropolitan areas, increasingly migrants are finding opportunities outside of these two mega cities. Towns with dwindling populations offer jobs for migrants, in factories, in tourism, and in senior care. Thus, the Japanese is countryside increasingly becoming a home to migrant workers (Figure 27).

Still, the migrants are moving to Japan to find better economic opportunities. A review of the job advertisements indicates the employment prospects are unequal. One of the employees of the prefectural level migrant organizations summarized it this way,

We are still haunted by this idea that all of us belong to the middle class [she laughs], you know. We are all poor but we believe that if we make enough effort, then our lives can be better, that everyone’s social status can go up, and that our lives can improve. So this myth prevents us from seeing that there are poor people who are poor because of the economic structure, and this legend that you will study hard, you will get into university, you get into a big company and you are forever happy. But realistically there is a small number of people who can accomplish that. And then so what, so you got into the big company, but if you have to work until
you die, if you have to sacrifice everything for your work to get this salary are you going to be happy? So it is difficult to find happy people in Japan, because everyone is stressed out with hard work. On one hand, this path is limited to those who had financial resources to keep studying, few people. On the other hand, we have many people who dream about this path but who are never going to be able to participate in this path. So this notion that everyone belongs to the middle class is an illusion.

Thus, it seems that the unequal prospects of migrants are the reflection of the broader labor market fragmentation in the context of globalization and push for labor market flexibility. This adds to wealth inequality and decreased prospect for migrants in Japan.

**Conclusion**

In general, gender roles are often constructed differently in countries of origin and destination. However, the majority of advertisement provide indirect ways in which differences are framed, including gender differences and wage range. The review of job announcements in this study shows that there were multiple ways in which labor brokers signaled gender preferences for applicants. In some advertisements, hourly wage differences for men and women are overtly stated. In addition, companies signal their preferences to hire men or women by using phrases, such as ‘predominantly female environment.’ However, the majority of advertisements provide an indirect way in which wage differences are conveyed, for instance, by giving wage estimates and range. While the majority of advertisements do not explicitly explain whether wage is affected by gender, type of work, or type of shift, the interviews reveal that male workers were expected to take night shift that came with a better pay or the upper limit of the salary range.

Advertisements reveal that workers may have questions regarding the availability of accommodations and transportation and thus some companies choose to inform job
seekers about their particular incentives. However, the interview and ethnographic data suggests that while it may be convenient for some workers to secure their living arrangements close to the company, for most of the companies, this creates another source of income as they are able to withdraw rent from workers’ salaries. In addition, advertisements reveal migrant preferences for types of services/industries in which they may want to work, for instance, some of the advertisements added specific information regarding food processing factories that signified that it was not a bentoya. Recently the Womenomics policies presented by the Abe’s government are pressing for greater inclusion of female and migrant employment. Yet, the incorporation of migrants occurs through values attached to their intersectional identities and seemingly these opportunities are limited to low wage work (Menjívar 2016). Some advertisements use a mixture of Spanish and Romanji vocabulary to target a specific labor market sector such as in auto production and food processing. For instance, for migrant with limited language skill employers found it easier to use Romanji and pictures to explain job expectations to potential migrant job seekers.

Work advertisements also highlighted the prominent role played by brokers in securing work in Japan. In fact, the majority of advertisements are paid for by labor brokers. This labor broker, some of whom operate inside and outside of Japan, control the recruitment process. Meaning that many workers do not enter directly into the contract with the company. The involvement of labor brokerage put the worker in further disadvantage to the extent that the responsibility for health, wages, and the workers’ wellbeing was shifted between as the companies and brokers negotiating their contact. In
other cases companies hired workers directly, putting the control for hiring in the company’s hand and enabling the worker to negotiate more favorable contact.

Moreover, this chapter draws attention to the importance of space and content in work searches, focusing on where the jobs were located, and workers expectations of the companies to provide that information, as well as the location of the labor brokerage companies. The next chapter discusses migrant rural and urban experiences of living, their daily routines as well as reflects on the spatial context of their intersectional identities.
CHAPTER SIX

RURAL AND URBAN EXPERIENCES OF LIVING

In general, in many parts of the world, there is an increasing trend towards urbanization, as more people move towards cities. In Japan as well, people prefer to move to Tokyo or Osaka, where it is easier to secure high paying jobs. However, a growing number of manufacturers have moved their plants to the countryside, where the cost of operations are cheaper and factory workers, including migrants, follow.

This chapter describes the problems associated with creating idealized urban/rural categories. Next it describes how the immigrant rural and urban spaces are constructed to profit from the tourist industry. The following section describes how migrants found themselves negotiating urban and rural spaces. In addition, this section depicts migrant routines. Moreover, this section highlight the way in which the transportation system in Japan plays role in facilitating migrants’ familiarity with places of work and neighborhoods.

Interviewing Methods
This part of the chapter discusses the interview methods and techniques involved in selection of participants and data saturation. While statistical research considers variety of factors in selecting the sample, such as population size, “the level of precision, the level of confidence or risk, and the degree of variability in the attributes being measured (Israel
qualitative researchers take into account different criteria. Non-probability sampling techniques include a number of different ways in which a researcher can approach participants. In general, research can be conducted using convenience, snowballing, and purposive sampling (Baxter and Eyles 1997). This study utilizes convenience sampling, a technique that enables the researcher easy access to interviews participants. In the case of purposive sampling, a researcher selects participants “according to predetermined criteria relevant to a particular research objective (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2006, 61).” In other words, the researcher will pick participants whose experiences are the most relevant to the study, and as the study progresses, and major themes are developed, the selection of participants can become more focused. The number of participants, interviews are usually conducted until the point of data saturation, when additional cases cannot add new information beyond what was collected from previous participants. Currently, saturation is used most commonly as a marker determining sample size in qualitative research. However, some qualitative researchers consider that there is a need for a numerical standard in terms of the number of required interviews. For instance, Guest, Bunce, Johnson (2006) argue that “Individuals designing research lay and experts alike need to know how many interviews they should budget for and write into their protocol, before they enter the field (60)”. While in general methodological suggestions regarding the number of participants were put forth earlier, Guest, Bunce, Johnson (2006) provide evidence to support their recommendations. They conducted a study based on semi-structured and open ended interviews asking women in Ghana and Nigeria to identify ways in which participants would report self-assessment surveys more accurately. When interviews were completed data were coded with the use of a codebook. Coding
discrepancies were resolved in three ways: first, the team discussed and resolved the problem; second, the codebook was rewritten, third, researchers recoded the data (64).

The overall purpose of their study was to find at which number of interviews data became repetitive and did not contribute any new information. To this end they “documented the progression of theme identification that is, the codebook structure after each set of six interviews, for a total of ten analysis rounds (Guest, Bunce, Johnson 2006, 65).” They observed each round and checked for possibility of either developing an entirely new code or adding to the existing code. After analysis of the first set of transcripts, they implemented an audit trial of the interviews. They repeated the first six interviews, then another six until, they completed all sixty interviews. After completing the review they found that after the first six interviews, the need to revise the code or add to it diminished considerably. In this case, Guest, Bunce, Johnson (2006) prioritized the number of individuals articulating the same information over the number of times certain expression was repeated in absolute terms.

To check for reliability of the test for the sample of informants, they used Cronbach's $\alpha$, a coefficient of internal consistency of a test or a scale. In this case, the consistency of application frequency was above .70 for between 1 and 12 interviews and it increased the most with the third round of interviews to .79, and then steadily climbed up to .93 at the last of the interviews. Thus, Guest, Bunce, Johnson (2006) conclude that “in retrospect, looking at the metathemes and their constituent code frequencies, enough data existed after six interviews to support these […] themes (78)”.

Because the Cronbach's $\alpha$ value for the first round of interviews was considered high and satisfied the requirements for internal consistency, six interviews among a comparatively homogeneous population
are regarded as enough in order to answer research questions and not to neglect substantial amount of new information. Adding another group of individuals requires another set of minimum six individuals.

This research was conducted using convenience sampling to interview migrants. The surveys and interviews were administered at a migrant community center. Overall, the study enrolled ninety four participants, including, sixty two migrant workers, twenty NGO's representatives, four government officials and eight Japanese nationals. The number of migrant participants was determined by the need to include different groups of workers, for example, men and women workers, construction and service industry workers, until the point of reaching the data saturation. NGO’s representatives helped to shed light on the situation of foreign nationals in Japan and the ways in which NGOs help migrant workers. All of the workers participating in the study were participating in NGO’s activities. The government officials were included in the study, to better understand how migrant NGO’s seek to better the situation of migrants through lobbying. Furthermore, Japanese born participants who work at companies employing migrants were included to complement the migrants’ perspectives on residential experiences in Japan.

**Rural and Urban Categories**

In migration studies, the movement of people is often contextualized along the urban and rural differences. However, these differences are not easily defined. Ways of looking at rural urban divisions in geography differ in respect of quantitative and qualitative methods. For instance, within the quantitative literature, one of the ways of defining urban is through utilizing definitions employed by individual countries. Countries have their own, singular
ways of defining what numerically constitutes the administrative urban or rural area that is not applicable in other countries. Classifying population cluster as urban often stems from the analysis of population density with fluctuating minimum population requirements, depending on the country. There are other methods that approach the definition of urban areas from the standpoint of more pronounced human environmental change using the spatial evidence originated from satellite data to discern the percentage of impervious surface in order to generate urban and rural division patterns. Impervious surface in this case refers to “materials that do not absorb water or moisture, and most urban infrastructures, such as rooftops, streets, highways, parking lots, and sidewalks, are impervious (Yuan, Wu, and Bauer 2008, 1045).” Thus, defining rural – urban land cover types may be utilized towards general understanding of temporal change in countryside.

Current trends in urbanization in Japan seem to be contested (see Bagan and Yamagata 2012, Gu and Yasushi 2012). It is stipulated that the land cover will change to more urban uses, reflecting current trends in higher urbanization levels, especially around the Tokyo Bay area. Yet, many small towns in Japan are decreasing in size, for instance, Gu and Yasushi (2012) report that “[a]ccording to the census data, from 2000 to 2005, among 2217 municipalities in Japan, about 27% municipalities lose over 10% of population in just five years, and the populations of over 93% of the municipalities are decreasing (216).” However, the trend seems to be different for those towns that are closer to Tokyo Bay. For example, Bagan and Yamagata (2012) note

“large changes in land-use and land-cover have occurred along with the rapid suburban growth that accompanied the concentration of population into the Tokyo metropolitan area during 1972–2011. The dominant changes that took place in the study area during this period were urban expansion over a wide area along transportation systems and large areas of cropland transformed into urban/built-up
area, while such changes were accompanied by residents migrating to the outlying suburban areas (221).”

In addition, researchers point out that mixed use areas are increasingly avoided in urban planning, even though they could be advantageous for the environment, and instead increased divisions between the urban and rural areas are being promoted (Kogi et al 2010).

While in these types of studies, satellite imagery is often utilized to discern percentage of impervious surface as a marker of human environmental change, Dorélien et al. (2013) use nighttime satellite imagery and analyze it for presence (or absence) of lights as indicators of access to electricity and density of the build environment. In addition, the study sought to satellite data with survey data. Survey data reveals access to electricity and amenities. It also includes political urban-rural classification (414). While the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data was very closely linked with the national survey characteristics, Global Rural-Urban Mapping Project (GRUMP) data identified many peri-urban clusters as rural (432), thus pointing out limitations of divisions based on arbitrary population numbers.

Barnes (1998) critically engages with challenges related to modeling of urban – rural areas. Specifically, he states that

“[s]uch maps appear to be naïve disclosing of things seen as they are: the pattern of agricultural land use, the location of factories, the arrangement of cities. As such, these maps appear to portray a complete world that is clear, rational and under control (99).”

Barnes reveals the historical context in which some of the most prominent models in geography, namely, Von Thunen’s (1966), Weber’s (1929) and Christaller’s (1967) models became popularized. In particular, Barnes postulates that while these models were constructed under specific spatial – historical circumstances that may not be applied across
all contexts, these models also reflect an ideal, imagined, abstract world and thus the ideal of the model should not be carelessly applied to messy, contextualized everyday materiality.

In qualitative studies, urban rural differences are often approached from different perspectives. One, they emphasize urbanization as a phenomenon connected to the capitalist system. Second, they look at experiences of living in the urban – rural areas. Third, they seek the linkages between the urban and rural and the disruption of their distinct categories.

Modern preoccupation with urbanization within the literature and increasing recommendations to urbanize as a remedy to poverty miss the complexity of what is understood as “urban” and “rural” and conceal the mechanisms of the very processes under the capitalist system that create uneven distribution of development.

Brenner et al. (2013) critically examines current discourses on urbanization by unpacking the term and setting it within a historical context of changing capitalist processes. While issues pertaining to urbanization are gaining more popularity, they should not be analyzed without addressing who formulates the dichotomy between what constitutes “rural” and “urban.” Specifically, within the current economic context, accelerated processes of becoming “urban” are tantamount with becoming closer to the neo-capitalist economic model.

Similarly, Williams (1985) argues that there is a need to engage with the meaning of the “urban,” yet, he does not limit it to a discussion of structure, but expands the discussion to include culture and individual experience. He argues that,

we have to look, in country and city alike, at the real social processes of alienation, separation, externality, abstraction. And we have to do this not only critically,
the necessary history of rural and urban capitalism, but substantially, by affirming the experiences which many millions of lives are discovered, very often under pressure […] (298).

Individual accounts of what it means to experience “rural” and “urban” should be included in the discussion of the capitalist process, especially since they may take different disguises in the various parts of the world and in the places that engage in dissimilar types of production. As we struggle to define ”urban”, “rural” and “suburban” and “post-suburban” there is merit in reflecting on what makes us identify these categories without creating static definitions.

Williams (1985) sees unknown possibilities of the capitalist process and he argues that “it is still the case that the future of agriculture is seen, here and in the third world, in mainly capitalist form, and especially as involving massive social displacement (300).” However, he gives a place for personal experience and possibility of agency of the urban and rural workers that can disrupt capitalist process (301). Williams (1985) offers a possibility of uniting urban and rural interests in struggle against capitalism, and eventually overturning it (ibid.).

The struggle over the urban - rural categories carries out the capitalist economic agenda, whereby the process is concealed by the absence of theoretical framework. In addition, discussions concerned with examples of urbanization models, transit patterns and regional differences often miss the bigger picture of the increased neo liberalization. However, while urbanization is inevitably connected to the economic structure, individual experiences can provide important insight to the working of the process and the creation of these categories.
Positionality: Imagining Rural and Urban Spaces

During the research process, the complexity of rural – urban categories became apparent.

Agriculture is highly mechanized and a number of jobs in the countryside are in factories, such as chicken factories. During the interviews it transpired that migrants had experiences of living in both countryside and the city, and both experiences had to be taken into account. Looking at the urban and rural divide was guided by some degree of differentiation, as Phelps et al. (201) posit “appearance of form, such as that we know one when we see one (372).” I spend part of my time in Tokyo (Figure 28), where it could take me up to two hours to get across the metropolitan area – comprising of the twenty three wards. Tokyo is
vast. It is the largest city in the word and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government informs us that “[t]he overall population of Tokyo is about 13.49 million (as of October 1, 2015), and the area is about 2,191 square kilometers (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2016b)”.

Figure 29 Chiba Prefecture, in a small town, near the train station

By comparison, smaller towns I have visited in Kanagawa, Saitama, Gunma, Chiba, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefectures have less build environment (Figure 29). Even if the place that I visited had a train, I still felt compelled to qualify it as a countryside. However, a number of the study participants felt otherwise.
This Is Not Cho Inaka [超 田舎 – Real Countryside]

The majority of participants outside of Tokyo did not qualify the area where they lived as countryside. In their narratives, availability of transportation, specifically a train, was the most important factor in determining whether the place was urban or rural. A similar sentiment was reflected in some of the television programs where reporters talked to residents in rural areas and visited closed down train stations. One of the participants, a Japanese woman from Kanagawa Prefecture explained to me,

You may think that this is countryside, but this is not cho inaka [a real countryside]. I live here for a long time now, it used to be just fields here about, ohh I don’t know, ten years ago? There are still fields here but many are gone now, we have lots of new building – look at this one and this one – these are all new buildings, new houses, new factories, about three to five years old. One reason is, you see, the housing is cheap here. You pay over ¥100,000 for a tiny apartment on the outskirts in Tokyo and here is maybe half of the price maybe ¥20,000 and you get a bigger place. The land is cheap, so factories can move here. There are apartments for the workers. And they build these factories over there, there are two big chicken, egg factories here, but also camera equipment factory, so if people live here, by the train station, they can be at work in a factory in twenty minutes or so, taking the highway by car, and you can go on bicycle as well. Now a lot of people moved here. Foreigners as well. We have a school right here. See, we are passing the train station here, ten years ago there was one train that passed the station but now we have four trains! We have a store, couple of restaurants, and the train station here, so this is not a real countryside. People farm here different things, we have a number of soy fields, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, sunflowers, corn, and people have peanuts, chickens, but no cows, just chickens. I work at a plant nursery.

Thus, work in the countryside is diversified, in terms of crops that the farmers plant, as well as various types of employment, including factories. This interview provides evidence that some countryside areas seemed to be gaining population related to the presence factories. The town was experiencing growth due to the migrant population moving in. The school mentioned by the informant enrolled a number of migrant children.

Migrants came from various parts of the world, Asia, Africa and South America. They worked in factories, in construction, and at the local restaurants. Second, the
participant talked about what made her qualify it as “not real countryside”, namely, availability of shopping, restaurants, a train station and an apartment building. Another participant, F.T., a thirty two years old married woman originally from Peru presented similar view of her town in Chiba.

I am from Lima, I am used to living in the city, so I prefer to live in the city. Now, I live in Chiba, and it is something in between. It is a smaller town, but it is not a countryside. For example, we have paved streets, and the majority of houses are just small houses, but there is also an apartment building. It is half-way.

Similarly to the Japanese participant mentioned above, it seems that most migrant described their rural environment as urban because they associate the apartments and roads with urban environment. Thus they see it as a transition between urban and rural. F.T. also highlighted that there is an apartment building. In addition she mentioned a paved street. Not all of the streets in her town were paved, including in the Kanagawa study location. Although, not all of the streets were paved the participant still view her locality as a peri-urban location.

I spoke with one of the countryside restaurant workers, N.C., a twenty five years old Chinese man who has lived in Japan for seven years. I asked him how he compared living in Shanghai to living in the countryside in Japan. He told me that he did not move to the countryside right away,

For three years I lived in Shinjuku. Now I live here, in the countryside, but I have a convenient transportation to school and I get dropped off at work. Yes, I used to live in a big city, but this can get boring. It is fun to live in a countryside. First, sometimes my friends and I get to drive a car here and have fun. There is a place to go camping here, you can go camping near the river. In Tokyo, living is so expensive over there. You get a tiny apartment and it is still expensive. Here, for the same amount of money you get much larger space. Tokyo is so overcrowded and noisy. Continuous noise, even at night, from ambulances, the police, there is always some sort of scuffle. I much more prefer to live here.
His view was shared by a number of migrants who in their country of origin lived in the city. Living in Tokyo was considered noisy and busy, as well as expensive by many participants. Despite these characteristics the transportation and the availability of jobs make Tokyo an attractive city for migrants. During the course of the study, transportation emerged as an often mentioned topic. A number of migrants did not feel overwhelmed by the traffic in Tokyo, Saitama or Yokohama because of easy access to public transportation. Similarly, migrants living in peri-urban and countryside areas did not feel disconnected from other places because of access to trains and buses. The next section highlights the issues concerning transportation and daily routines of migrants.

**Cognitive Mapping of the Daily Routines**

Participants were also queried about mapping their daily routines to gauge how the timing and location of their work affected their lived experiences in Japan. The maps were drawn by the participants on paper during the interviews and later scanned into digital images. Cognitive maps allowed a glimpse at participants’ understanding of space. When participants were asked only about their routines, the timing of their jobs was highlighted. However, the information about spaces they visited and ways in which they negotiated their travel was understated, or omitted. Thus, cognitive mapping was utilized to call attention to migrant’s everyday experiences of space and interpretations of mobility (Soja 2005, 261) and as well shed light on use of transportation as “[p]atterns of mobility [that] are effects of lived social logics, complexly intertwined with economic, spatial and other calculable forms of logic (Büscher et al. 2009, 141)”
Table 24 Featured Cognitive Map’s Locations by Gender, Source: Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location Type</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male N=26</th>
<th>Female N=11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residential</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Home or Apartment</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company’s Accommodations</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worksite location</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transport</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway or Subway station</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Stop</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Public Transport</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Transportation, Company Driver</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commercial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supermarket or Combini</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mall</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recreational</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Park</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gym</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club / Karaoke Club</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Stadium</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Café or Restaurant</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NGO or Union’s Office</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Facility</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child’s Preschool or School</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant’s Language or License School / Educational Institution / NGO Led Language Tutoring</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital, Clinic, Dentist</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Worship</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During interviews thirty seven participants drew a map while they talked about their daily activities, including twenty six men and eleven women. Out of these thirty seven participants, only four omitted public means of transportation, such as a train station on their maps (Table 24). However, during the interview three of these female participants said that they walk or cycle to their places of work and one male participant was picked up to work by a driver. Four migrants included company’s or their own means of transportation. One person used a bus stop as a mean of transportation. Out of the thirty seven participants who drew a map, three mentioned that they live in a lodging provided by their company.

Figure 30 Cognitive map 1
Overall, four men and one women talked about their schooling and training as part of their routine (Table 24). Therefore more men than women seemed to be able to take time for improving their skills, which in the future could translate into better incomes and social mobility. This is exemplified by S.K.’s cognitive map.

S.K, a forty one year old, married woman, originally from Burma, told me about her daily routine which included working for a major fast food restaurant (Figure 30). Her work at the fast food restaurant is not unusual, a number of foreign workers are employed at combini stores and fast food restaurants. To get ready for work she wakes up at 7 in the morning and prepares breakfast. Her shift starts at 9 o’clock in the morning. S.K. uses the subway to get to work. Her first shift last until 3 o’clock in the afternoon. At 3 o’clock, she is forced to take a two hour break until 5 o’clock, when her next shift starts. The second shift lasts until 11 o’clock at night. After work she heads back to the subway station and takes the train back home. At home she briefly cleans up, eats, and then she goes to sleep at 1 o’clock in the morning. This is her schedule Monday through Friday. This highlights the exploitative schedule of many migrant workers. She has weekends off and on Saturday she goes to a free class to study Japanese. From the map it seems that her daily routine includes only home and Japanese class. There are no shops or parks on her map. She has a husband, but he also works long hours, especially during the weekends. She has a daughter who lives with relatives in Burma.

In addition to work, most women talked about housework and or care work in descriptions of their daily routines (Table 24). During the interviews, only three men discussed their performing daily housework activities. However, eleven men mentioned
proximity to a *combi* store. For example, R.K. included both a market and a *combi* on her cognitive map.

![Cognitive Map 2](image)

**Figure 31 Cognitive map 2**

R.K., a fifty two years old married woman, originally from Peru described her daily routine of factory work (Figure 31). She has twenty eight years old daughter who lives in Japan. She wakes up at half past five in the morning to get ready for work. She uses her bicycle to get to work. She starts work at quarter to eight. R.K. lives close to the factory and it takes her only 15 minutes to cycle from her home to the factory. She has a lunch break at noon until 1 o’clock in the afternoon. After lunch she works until half past four in the afternoon. After work she walks to the grocery store to buy food for dinner. She prepares dinner. They eat dinner at 7 o’clock in the evening. She cleans up and rests. She
goes to sleep at 11 at night. On her map she included her company [kaisha 会社], her home [uchi うち], convenience store [kombin コンビニ] and a supermarket [supa スーパー].

V.K., a twenty six years old single man, originally from Philippines works in construction (Figure 32) and starts his routine at 5 am. He prepares his breakfast ahead of time, the day before, so that when he wakes up the meal is ready. His travel to work involves walking, taking a train, and being picked up by the company’s car that drives him to the construction site. He starts work at 8 o’clock in the morning. He has a lunch break at noon, for an hour. He has a 30 minute break at 3 o’clock in the afternoon. He finishes work at 5 in the afternoon and he gets back home at half past 6 or 7 o’clock in the evening.

Figure 32 Cognitive map 3
He prepares his own food at home, after dinner he showers and then watches TV and rests. By midnight, he is usually asleep. He usually walks to train station, he included two close train stations. Sometimes, he travels to visit other towns. Since he cooks for himself and buys his groceries, he included supermarket and a convenience store on his map.

Four men and one women included a health center, such as a hospital, a clinic or a dentist (Table 24). In particular, three of these participants frequently visited doctor’s office due to their workplace injury. Others included healthcare facilities for routine visits, including their children’s health checkups. This is suggested by example of I.K.’s map.

![Cognitive map 4](image)

**Figure 33 Cognitive map 4**

I.K., a thirty three years old man, originally from Paraguay works as a motorcycle mechanic (Figure 33). He is married and has four children. His daily routine starts at 5:30
o’clock in the morning, when he wakes up and he leaves for work around 7 o’clock. He prefers to walk to work since he has less than a mile away. However, he included a train station in his drawing which he uses occasionally to run errands. I.K. works from 8 o’clock in the morning until 8 o’clock at night, and he has an hour long break at noon for lunch. He helps out his wife and sometimes picks up groceries at the supermarket. He included a park, supermarket and a hospital in his drawing. The hospital is on the drawing for several reasons. He was injured at work and he has routinely visit a doctor. He also has four children that sometimes may need a doctor’s attention, including his youngest – a one year old baby.

Three men and three women drew a park located in proximity to their home (Table 24). One man’s daily routine included a visit to a gym. When asked how he can manage to go to the gym after finishing work in the evening he answered that a number of fitness center in the city are open for twenty four hours. Three male participants incorporated clubs on their maps, and one female participant drew a karaoke club, which she regularly visits. Two female participants included visiting sports stadium in their routines because their young children’s school training and competitions took place there. However, one participant, F.H. drew a soccer stadium because he enjoys playing and watching soccer.

F.H., a twenty two year old single man from Peru, (Figure 34) talked about his daily routine working at the factory. He wakes up at 6 o’clock in the morning and without breakfast leaves for work. He walks to the station to travel close to his work. There is no train station in the immediate proximity of work, but a driver picks him up from the station. Overall, it takes him about 50 minutes to get to work which starts at 7 o’clock in the morning. At 10 in the morning he has a 10 minute break [休憩]. Then there is another one
hour break at noon for lunch. F.H. has also two small breaks at 3 o’clock in the afternoon and 5 o’clock. He leaves work at 6 in the evening. When he gets back to his train station he takes Tobu line back home. F.H. has included a number of different places on his cognitive map. Saitama city has two soccer teams and he likes to watch soccer at the stadium. Sometimes he visits his friends in Tokyo, near Meguro ward. In Meguro, in the company of his friends, he goes to cinema and the department stores.

Figure 34 Cognitive map 5
One man and five women included their child’s school in the map of their daily routine (Table 24). This suggest that women took more responsibilities for children. F.T. is one of the participants who included her child’s school on the map.

F.T., a thirty two years old woman, told me about her daily routine that includes working part time at the factory (Figure 35). In addition to her work, her daily routine includes taking care of her family. She is married and has a son. She wakes up at 6 o’clock in the morning, takes a shower and dresses up. At 7 in the morning she prepares breakfast for herself and family. At 8 o’clock she takes her child to school. From her son’s school, she heads directly to work. F.T starts work at 9 in the morning. At noon she has a lunch break.

Figure 35 Cognitive map 6
F.T. leaves work at 5 in the afternoon, and picks up her son from school. She arrives at home at 6 o’clock in the evening and starts cleaning up. At 7 o’clock in the evening, she cooks and helps her son with homework. The family has dinner at 8 o’clock, when her husband comes back home. They watch TV after dinner. She goes to sleep usually at 11 o’clock. On her map we can see the location on 100 Yuen store. The factory where she works is 15 minutes away from her home. F.T. passes a park on her way to work. Her son’s school is about 3 blocks away. She walks or cycles everywhere. There is no train station on this map.

Despite the fact that many of these interviews took place at the union’s office only one female and two male participants included the union’s location on the map. This suggests that union premises were seldom visited. Some participants went to the union once or twice a month to pay their dues or to participate in a protest. Participants who had an ongoing labor dispute or immigration case which required help from the NGO came to the office frequently to check on the progress. Only one male participant drew a church on his map. However, many migrants, men and women, mentioned going to a place of worship during the interviews.

Overall, the interviews and cognitive maps revealed that the majority of the participants who had children did not include many activities outside their work and home routines. Their schedules were busy between working outside of the home and taking care of children. Women migrants suggested that they undertook more household responsibilities than men migrants, while men took on less household work. A review of cognitive maps also reveals that young male migrants had more diversified daily routine
including social and leisure activities. A limited number of migrants took Japanese lessons. For example, one female participant included Japanese language classes in her schedule.

In general, it seemed that public transportation, especially the availability of trains, was appreciated by migrant workers and facilitated their daily routines. During the interview many migrants praised the access and reliability of Japanese public transportation system.

**Transportation – There is an App for That**

A number of participants reflected on the ease of using the public transportation system in Japan. They compared their experience of living in Japan to their country of origin. This reflection centered on the rural – urban difference and their daily routines. For example, one of the respondents, J.P, originally from Philippines, talked about the convenience of living in Kawasaki. She is married to a Japanese man and has three children. Her youngest child, a boy is six years old, and she has two daughters, one is eight years old and one is nineteen years old. She discusses living in the city in the following way,

I prefer to live in the city, it is so convenient, Kawasaki is a big city, my kids go swimming, and do other after school activities, and I usually come with them, because if they go swimming I help the young ones to change. There are restaurants and shopping. When we are with the whole family I drive but if I am by myself and want to get somewhere fast I hop on a bike leave it near the subway station and then take the train, because it is fast you don’t have to spend time looking for parking and it is convenient.

Her daily responsibilities include part time job and taking care of her children and she found it convenient that she can rely on the subway system. She has a car, but it is more practical to use the subway. This was typical of the Japanese lifestyle in areas with access to the train station. Although most people in Japan who own a car they prefer to use public
transport in their daily routine. I asked J.P. if she found it difficult or easy to find the correct train and connect to her destination. She took out her cell phone,

This is very easy. I will show you how this works, very easy. Just download this app and see: now it already knows where you are. You just have to type in to which station you need to get to. Don’t type the town or anything like that, just the name of the station. See now it will tell you everything, which station, when the train arrives, the price of the ticket.

Her reaction to my question was not isolated. A number of migrant participant explained to me how to use the smart phone application to find information on how to connect between different destinations, usually listed as train stations, to search transfer information, train arrival time, platform numbers, the closest exit, a landmarks near the station, and even the price of the ticket. Another participant, F.H., a twenty two years old man from Peru who works for an automotive factory, asked me,

Do you have a phone? Do you not know how to use these apps? Let me show you, because this is very useful. I understand that you are new here, but this is essential to know these apps. You have a couple of choices here. This Japanese program is better than [...]. This way you will know exactly which train will arrive at what precise time and you will never get lost. Well, maybe if there is a delay, because sometimes something happens, like an earthquake or suicide. Actually, this happens often. But this is useful most of the time. You will never get lost.

Overall, the participants seemed to be tech savvy and gladly relied on their smart phones and car navigation units. For example, when I asked a twenty three years old man from Peru about his work he started talking about his company’s site and how he travels to different locations. While he talks about driving to his company, he wanted to tell me the name of the street he drove every day, but he forgot it,

I don’t remember the street name, but who now needs to know street names? Honestly, you just put in the destination in your car. Because you see I am the driver at my company. And I have navigation in my car. I do not need to know exactly. It will tell me where I need to go. I do remember approximately where to turn and so on, but the street names? No.
The majority of the participants increasingly rely technology, smart phones, and GPS devices as tools to access public transportation system. During interviews, migrants were also able to make use of printed maps available at the migrant organizations. Thus, contrary to Bauzon’s (2006) findings the participants of this study seem mobile, know their neighborhoods, and are not afraid of commuting, including the participants of this study who are staying in Japan under the Permission for Provisional stay status.

**Urban - Rural Intersectionalities**

Migrant experiences of moving from their country of origin to the receiving country were often discussed in terms degree of differences rather than of shock, because most of the participants already had experience of moving between rural and urban area, and experienced both. Nowadays, with increasing globalization and neo-liberalization in both developed and developing countries the rural urban differences are shifting. Urbanization is no longer unique to the developed countries. The difference can be experienced in intensification of the urban built environment, for example, in the number of high-rises, paved roads, the types of cars and public transport that enter into the traffic. Similarly, the move of factories to rural areas is increasingly visible in Japan and in migrants’ countries of origin.

A number of interview participants noted a difference between the city and countryside in terms of job opportunities. Thus, some of participants expressed sentiments similar to that of a Chinese woman respondent who stated that ‘It is expensive in Tokyo. But, I like living here, because it is easy to find jobs here.’ Connected with the growing availability of jobs in Tokyo is the process of moving away of young people. Thus, the
current changes in the countryside are shaped by the kinds of populations and the industry that have stayed behind. For example, one of the participants, A.M., a forty four years old Filipino woman, describes the changes in her town before and after March 11, 2011 (hereinafter “3/11”) as follows,

Before the tsunami we had these discussions, should we merge with the other town? Because the young people are moving out. What would be our new name? Which kanji characters will go first? The other towns or our towns?

But there is a school here?

Yes, yes, there is. But when the kids finish the school parents pack up and move out. Or before the kids start the school. I know, I work at the restaurant but I tutor English on the side. Parents sent their kids to me so when they get out they can get to a better school. There are no opportunities here. I am not even talking about my town, but in Miyagi, you know. There are only opportunities in Tokyo. Maybe Kawasaki and Saitama. That’s where jobs are. We are going to be soon a town of old people, just like the other small towns. The only reason my daughter came back here is that after the tsunami she was worried about us. Now she helps us at the restaurant. You see this container [homes and businesses are still located in temporary containers after 3/11] is where we have restaurant, the other container is where I tutor English. But this town is becoming empty. Yes, some people were forced to leave after the tsunami, that is why they are coming on the busses here today, when we have our festival, we are busing them over here, and so they can feel connected. But overall, even without the tsunami and all the devastation, we are just becoming one of the many empty, old towns. That is what I worry about, not about the tsunami in the past, but about our future. There is no future here.

She demonstrates that out-migration of younger people has meant that sustaining small towns has fallen to a large extent on elderly members of the town and that in the long run it would be unlikely for the towns to be able to maintain the town population despite improvements provided by the government in the aftermath of the tsunami.

A number of informants, perceive the urban and rural divide as link to the social status and the demonstration of success through clothing (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003). For instance I asked one of the respondents, a Pakistani man, if he thought that there is a difference between people from rural and urban areas. He said,
You know yes you can tell. In the city people look beautiful, men and women take care of themselves, wear make-up, nice clothes. I mean people here in the countryside are also pretty, nice looking, handsome men, girls are beautiful here too but they don’t wear make-up you know, that is a major difference and they don’t wear fashionable clothes, just like I don’t.

Many migrants discussed perception of rural urban difference as artificial and pointed out the complexities of trying to identify themselves as country or city dwellers. A number of migrants lived in both rural and urban areas in their country of origin and/or in Japan. D.W., a fifty eight years old man originally from Tanzania, pointed to these complexities in the following way,

Even if you are born in the village you may live your whole life in the city. My guess is that it must be the same way in the United States, here in Japan, anywhere. Japanese people must be the same. For instance, you could be born in Kansas countryside but then be raised in Washington D.C. I was born in the countryside but I grew up in Dar [es Salaam]. As a result I was in the city most of my life.

So you are a person from the city then?

No, not at all! Of course I am not, I am not a city person at all! See, I used to go back to my native village every year. For Christmas I used to go back, sometimes for other occasions. I think it is the same everywhere, here in Japan I am sure people go back to where they were born, to their native town. You always identify with a place you came from, I am from the countryside and look I live in a countryside now.

This participant connected the urban-rural identity as partially linked with experiences of everyday life. The divide is meaningful only as a memory of place. However, the experience is shifting.

D.H. talks about the similarity between his country of origin and Japan most of the characteristic of urban life he experienced in Cameroon while migrating from rural to urban city Douala mitigated his experienced of moving from Douala to Tokyo. D.H, a twenty six years old Cameroonian man described his experience in the following way,
For me Douala has the same characteristics as Tokyo, because you have lots of people, congestion, and noise. Is not as developed as Tokyo, but it is as annoying. I was born in rural area but my parents moved later to Douala. I prefer the countryside. I lived in rural area here, in Akita, I spend three years there. These were the most enjoyable years. It was really good for me. Tokyo does not represent Japan, a lot of people who live in Tokyo come from many parts of the world. Countryside is not the same everywhere. I don’t know if I would call Chiba a countryside. Too many factories moved to Chiba. So it is also meant for work. People don’t live in Tokyo. People work in Tokyo. And they sleep in Chiba or Saitama. That is why you have different people in Tokyo during the day and during the night. There is this lack of human connection that is so typical in living in the city. In the rural area everyone knows everyone – I like that. Everyone greets everyone.

To this participant moving between Douala and Tokyo has less meaning than moving between Douala and rural Akita. Accordingly, the majority of the migrants noted how their rural or urban identities were emphasized or reduced during the migration process. Prior experiences of migration in their country of origin influenced their current experiences. For example, one of the participants, B.W., a thirty years old Chinese woman, explained that,

When I was in China, I was a villager, there was a distinction between me from the countryside and people from the city. But now, we all are Chinese here in Japan. In doesn’t matter where we originally came from. Now, I am a Chinese migrant living in a city together with other Chinese migrants.

Some migrants viewed urban-rural identity through the prism of their current situation in Japan and experienced their identities becoming urban or rural again, as part of the communities where they lived. For instance, N.K. observed that,

In Peru, I speak two languages. There are many languages, but I speak Spanish and Quechua. People can immediately identify when someone is from the countryside. But here everyone is the same. In Peru you can tell by the way a person is speaking that they come from the countryside. I used to live in a countryside in the interior part of Peru. But here people can’t tell if I am from the countryside or the city. But there is a difference between Japanese people as well, how people talk in Tokyo. We don’t say certain words [in Shizuoka] as they do in Tokyo, I know immediately where they come from.
In this case, the participant linked the perceived difference between rural and urban identity with a way in which people use language. Previously, in Peru he was able to identify a person from the countryside because of the language. Now, that he can fluently speak Japanese, he recognizes similar differences in Japan. Moreover, he identifies himself with people from Shizuoka, where he lives and because of the way he is accustomed to speak in Japanese.

**Conclusion**

This inquiry has considered the ways in which migrants construct places as urban and/or rural. The majority of participants identified rural–urban areas in terms of access to transportation. Participants considered access to work opportunities as well as an increase in the number of young residents as key components of the future survival of their rural hometowns. Urban residents saw their cities as characterized by access to employment linked to economic growth.

Cognitive maps revealed that the majority of migrants predominantly revolved around work, with little time for homemaking or leisure. However, the availability of public transportation added positive impact on their daily experiences.

Rural areas seemingly do not offer the economic opportunities found in cities and yet become attractive migration destinations (Marrow 2011, 3). Rural areas lure new migrants because of their lower cost of living and less social pressure to succeed materially; similarity to rural areas of origin; appreciation of landscapes and places; and are perceived to be in sync with their religious and family values (ibid. 24, 38). Marrow (2011) argues that despite this romantic portrayal of rural areas, the experiences of migrants ranged from abuse by local law enforcement to feeling welcomed and respected, for instance, while
shopping at local stores. The experience and appreciation of countryside is marred by the heavy work load in the farming industry (Marrow 2011, 33-34).

This study adds to the changing perception of what it means to live in a rural area for international migrants in the of context Japanese countryside. What once described as rural Japan is undergoing a modernization process as evidenced the past as rural setting. As illustrated by the growing presence of paved roads and factories and railroad connections to cities As a result most migrants perceive this countryside as not ‘real’. The participants felt that the presence of factories connected their towns to industrial processes and away from the direct use of natural resources associated with their meaning of the countryside. Similarly to Marrow’s (2011) findings, rural areas seemed attractive to migrant participants because of inexpensive housing. Many companies moving to rural areas bring with low skilled, low wage migrants workers.

Another contribution of this chapter is that spatial identities should be considered alongside other intersectional identities. One of the key findings is that what could have constructed as rural area what not perceived by migrants as such. Migrants working and living in small towns in Kanagawa prefecture, perceived themselves as urban because of the presence of factories and railroad that have characteristic of industrialized urban setting. Migrants framed their understanding of the area in terms of the increasing penetration of industrial plants brought about by the neoliberal expansion.

Migrants recalled their experience of migrating to Japan not only in terms of moving to a different country, but also moving between rural and urban spaces. Migrants are not a homogenous group, but have complex intersectional identities. Categories of race, gender, nationality, age, ability, religion, communication skills, urban and rural identities
from their countries of origin as well those as those acquired in Japan, their identities as low skilled blue collar workers employed in the rural and urban setting are lived and factored into formulating migrants’ identities. In relation to the urban and rural difference migrants noticed that their urban-rural identity categories have changed with their arrival in Japan, where their foreign identity was emphasized by other migrants and Japanese nationals. This confirms the notion that intersectional identities are spatial, and they could include complex urban and rural categories. The process of migration deemphasized newly arrived migrant’ urban – rural identities developed from their country of origin. Yet, long time migrants, who had settled in Japan and developed more nuanced understanding of the Japanese rural–urban communities, either reemphasized their past spatial identities or formed new ones, consistent with their current place of living.
CHAPTER SEVEN
EXPERIENCES OF SAFETY

While conducting interviews with migrant workers in Japan, one issue that seemed to constantly emerge was that of safety. Specifically, participants discussed the links made between migrants and crime in the Japanese media, and how migrants situated themselves within such representations. In addition, safety and order on the streets, safety at work, safety in the context of technological and natural disasters. This chapter seeks to connect this urban-rural difference about notions of safety to differing conditions of migrants across the two settings. This chapter is divided into four sections. First section, Stop and Frisk, delves into government, NGOs and migrant reflections on discourses on Japan as a safe country and portrayals of migrants as dangerous. Second section, National Origin and Work Safety discusses migrants’ experiences of safety culture at work. Third section, Living in an Earthquake Zone, relates how migrants view their safety in terms of residing in areas prone to natural disasters.

Positionality: Safety

Initially, based on a review of the literature I believed that my positionality as a western woman researcher in Japan would be the most influential factor in my understandings of the gendered and racialized experiences of migrants. In addition, based on my relationships with participants from my previous studies, I expected that perceptions of my age will be an especially powerful aspect in my interactions with respondents. For instance, during my
prior research, women who perceived me as younger were less forthcoming in their
interviews. Yet, younger women approached me without hesitation and treated me as their
fellow colleague with similar interests. During this research, my experience of staying in
Japan as a teenager played a major role in shaping my positionality as it related to my
understandings of Japan as a place of order and safety, as well as perception of hazards
such as earthquakes and tsunamis.

A review of interview notes suggest that migrants discussed safety as
a lived, complex issue. Migrants’ narratives related to safety included: safety and order on
the streets (perception of risk of crime), safety at work (perception of risk of occupational
hazards), and safety in the context of technological and natural disasters (risk of
environmental hazards). Research on portrayals of migrants in popular discourse reveals
that framing migrants as problem making foreigners in fact normalizes their otherness and
vulnerability. The issue of migration and safety was often shaped by the discourse that
implicates race, ethnicity, nationality, gender and religion.

In terms of the work safety, the initial field work related to the issue begun after
partaking in a local hospital’s medical staff visit to a local company. During the visit
uninsured workers received the annual routine health exam. A number of workers were
migrants and while they could communicate well in Japanese and English, many workers
did not know how to read and write. Similarly to volunteer interpreters who provide
assistance for patients and staff in translating language and written communication in the
hospitals in the U.S., my role was to fill out physical examination forms based on the
information provided by migrant workers. While the information from annual health
checkup is not a part of research data, the volunteering experience suggested that in some
work places safety regulations were unavailable in migrant’s native language. In addition, it pointed to the issues associated with the lack of health insurance among migrant workers.

**Stop and Frisk**

The control over space is an expression of power (Foucault 2010). Douglass (2008) observes that throughout history, public space created ways in which civil society could participate in debates in protests (3). However, he notes that public spaces do not escape control, as both state and private companies seek to control public space and try to limit the ability to express agency (ibid.). Thus, Mitchell (1995a) posits that corporate and state interests set the limit in terms of who is welcomed in the public and pseudo public areas (120). For instance, McDowell (1993) points out how migrants may participate in “the public/private distinction and its influence on urban land-use patterns in the towns and cities (165).” Yet, it does not mean a complete absence of organized or individualized forms of protests. Yeoh and Huang (1998) found that female migrant workers may not necessarily engage in “deliberate strategies of resistance” but their presence in public space is not passive. On the contrary, they “[f]ind greater degrees of freedom in impressing their own cultural ’style’ on the public landscape through dressing, speech (599).” Similarly, Bagheri (2014) describes ways in which women “have been actively participating in public spaces by reappropriating the existing places. This refers to the concept of the unfinished and ever-changing characteristic of public spaces and their symbolic meanings (1294 -5).” Similarly, Schmidt (2012) argues that “[…] civic engagement has served to create a public space and a presence – a sense of cultural citizenship (204).” Thus public spaces create a possibility of contesting private interests as well as seek to engender inclusion.
The portrayal of migrants as potentially dangerous was clearly visible in documents produced by governmental organizations responsible for regulating migration (Yamamoto 2007, Vogt and Lersch 2007). Costelloe (2008) used textual analysis to assess how media portrays migrants in the U.S. Through the review of media materials he concludes that migrants are usually portrayed as dangerous. In turn, these descriptions shape public opinion, to the extent that Americans are willing to pass legislation that puts migrants into disadvantaged position. Menjívar (2016) posits that migrants are not oblivious to such portrayals and migrants resist such discourses by disassociating themselves from media discourse and by constructing themselves as productive workers (3).

In its online publication, the Ministry of Justice (2014) lays out its plan in terms of securing the safety of Japan,

In order to deal effectively with the frequently occurring atrocious crimes committed by foreign nationals and the increase in the number of transnational crimes, it is necessary to gather evidence from abroad more effectively and to enhance cooperation between the investigative authorities of foreign countries and Japan. Along with measures at the border, it is also important to reduce the number of foreigners who are now residing illegally in Japan for the restoration of security. The Immigration Bureau is striving to reduce the number of illegal foreign residents by reinforcing the detection of illegal residents, performing safe and reliable forced repatriation, and implementing public relations activities for prevention of illegal employment (n.p).

It suggests that the Ministry Of Justice feels that they need to “deal” with the crimes committed by foreign residents. These are not ordinary crimes, on the contrary they are “frequently occurring” and “atrocious.” The ministry suggest that one of the ways of dealing with the “increase in the number of international crimes” is to decrease the number of undocumented migrants. The measures are aimed at the “restoration” of security in Japan (Ministry Of Justice 2013). This would suggest that security has been lost and needs to be reestablished. Further, the Ministry informs us that
[...] the existence of fraudulent foreign residents, who work illegally disguising themselves as legal residents, has recently become a problem; they falsify their identities as well as the purpose of their activities and obtain residence permission by using falsified or altered documents. Thus, the bureau will promote the analysis of information on foreign residents whose information can be obtained from the new residence management system introduced in July 2012. Through the analysis the bureau will endeavor to build a society where there is no illegal foreign resident-made possible by assembling pictures about foreign residents and by taking active measures against fraudulent foreign residents by accurately performing procedures to revoke their status of residence (n.p).

The Ministry describes migrants as “fraudulent” and “illegally disguising themselves as legal residents.” Thus, it adds to the image of migrants as deceitful and untrustworthy. This discourses in turn inform specific policies that identify migrants as potential suspects. As a result migrants are required to carry their residency card at all times in case they are stopped by the police. The “stop and frisk [shokumu shitsumon 職務質問]” policy is ambiguous. The Police Execution of Duties Law it designed as a measure of crime prevention and the National Police Agency maintains that it does not specifically targets migrants (Osaki 2014). Still, press reports suggest that migrants feel particularly targeted by the policy (Ishizuka 2014). In addition, migrant media reports seem to suggest that migrants are viewed as possible crime suspects. For example, on May 11th, 2016, Alternativa Online reported that a store in Hikone, Shiga Prefecture posted a handwritten note in imperfect Portuguese “Do not rob convenience store, for calling the police”. One of the Nikkei residents spotted the sign and posted about it on Facebook and alerted the magazine. The warning was posted only in Portuguese. A number of residents expressed their outrage (Ramos 2016).

These issues were reflected during the fieldwork and the matter was brought up by politicians, members of migrant organizations, and migrants themselves. At one of the
meetings devoted to the current state of migrant policy, opposition leader shared the opinion of his party,

We all know what stop and frisk is all about. The police is actually officially trained to stop foreigners that “look suspicious”, but how do we know who is suspicious? They are trained to stop especially those who are black, or who wear Middle Eastern attire. This is racial discrimination.

Thus, while the National Police Agency maintains that it is neutral, the practice suggests the contrary. Similar opinion was communicated by a leader of a migrant NGO,

You know, last year we had this young girl come here, she is still a teenager, and she got into trouble because the undercover police attempted to stop her and ask for documents. But they did not identify themselves. She was wearing abaya and walking down the street and she sees there four men approaching, surrounding her, so she started to run, and they run after her. She was terrified. They are targeting anyone that does not look Japanese or white. Although, actually, they target even Japanese people who do not look Japanese enough. My friend from Okinawa gets stopped sometimes.

Thus, one of the way of not looking suspicious would be to look Japanese, however, it remains unclear how exactly should a Japanese person should look. This seems to confirm the Arudou’s (2013) argument that Japanese-ness as the indicator of social status is understood in terms of a degree to which a person can classify himself/herself as Wajin. Thus, excluding foreigners and Japanese ethnic minorities, such as Ainu or Okinawan people.

Another leader of a migrant religious organization links the reduction of civil liberties, the current discourse on migrants and particularly the Muslim community to the War on Terror started in the aftermath of September 11th by the United States. Since then, a number of countries, including Japan, engaged in their own War on Terror. The conversation with a Muslim cleric revealed that the Muslim migrant community is worried about the current popular discourse regarding Islam,
The reason why I have been so active, going to visit the Diet, and you saw me during these different events, is because we need to advocate for the rights of migrants and we need to educate the public about the foreigners. We have a responsibility to take care of the migrant community here. After the attack on the Twin Towers in the United States, Japanese government started treating Muslim people with suspicion. People are being harassed by the police. There is not enough education about our religion, the government does not understand the difference between a religious, peaceful person and a terrorist. No one who truly believes in Allah would ever commit such crimes. It may seem that more people are willing to learn about Islam, that there is more coverage in the media. Perhaps. However, this discourse about ‘dangerous foreigners’ is really worrisome.

Thus, the discourse related to Muslim residents in Japan seems to mirror the one produced in the United States. Similar to discussions in the popular media in the United States (for example, Prothero 2014), the narrative highlighted the distinctions between terrorism and Muslim religion, and the lack of knowledge about Islam in Japan. Later, the young cleric described his countryside community,

There are also Japanese people who are Muslim, who have converted to become Muslim. I have a great respect for them. They know Quran often better than people who were raised as Muslims. For many of the Muslim people here, Ramadan is hard, they are working in jobs that require them to work long hours from dawn to dusk. We do not expect them to exactly observe Ramadan, they do drink some water, and especially we have to care about the construction workers, who work outside in the sun.

You seem busy today.

Now, see all these people walking on the road, they are going to our Mosque. We have been very busy now, since this is Ramadan. The Imam is going to lead a prayer tonight, then we have our iftaar, we have food prepared for everyone. During the Ramadan the Mosque is very busy, we have lots of people coming, mostly migrants, but also Japanese people. This is a small countryside Mosque, not like those mosques in Tokyo, but actually there are many migrants living in a countryside, working in construction, working in factories, and they come to us. For instance, this company [we are standing outside a company’s building] hires migrants, and a number of them are Muslim. Not all of them, some are Christian, some are Hindu, but a lot of them are Muslim.

How do the workers of different backgrounds get along here?
You know, here, we are in Japan, people who would otherwise fight with each other, now work with each other, in the same company. People who are from Pakistan and India, and many other countries work together and get along.

The mosque is small and simple in comparison to the large mosques in Tokyo (Figure 34). Still, the cleric travels to Tokyo at least once a month to partake in the meetings and events planned by migrant organizations. In addition, he participates in the annual conferences of migrant organizations.

Figure 36. Countryside Mosque

There are a number of other small, countryside Muslim communities in Japan. Increasingly, Japanese companies are trying to cut the costs and while some of them move their operations overseas, others relocate their manufacturing and construction businesses to the countryside. In addition, companies try to seek migrant labor from Southeast Asia, where Islam is a widely practiced religion. This influences how companies operate, for instance, by scheduling breaks during the work-day to accommodate the prayer times of their workers (Figure 37).
While the businesses look to increase profits and pressure the government to allow for an intensification in hiring of migrant labor, the discourse on migrants as dangerous remains resilient. In addition, migrants themselves seem to accept it as true. This seems to confirm Maira’s (2009) discussion of ways in which Muslim Americans try to challenge representations of Muslims as terrorists. She suggests that Muslim communities try to avoid the stigma of suspicion towards Muslims is though publically demonstrating affiliation with what Puar and Rai (2002) identify as “heteronormative character of American nationalism (124).” In case of the foreign workers in Japan, they dissociate themselves from other foreigners and emphasize their contributions to Japanese society through work. The next section considers migrant narratives on migrant crime and safety in Japan.

**Migrant Narratives on Crime and Safety**

Five migrants talked about their encounters with police in Japan. One has a positive contact with police after reporting an assault. He explained that he was hit by a Japanese coworker...
in the face. The police apprehended the perpetrator, who apparently admitted to hitting the migrant worker. This migrant participant felt that the police offered him justice. In contrast another participant after a traffic accident. He was held for questioning at the police station, followed by a visit to his house where an interrogation took place with his Japanese wife to establish whether the marriage was authentic and his presence in Japan was documented. Three other participants recalled being stopped by the police and asked to present their residency card.

I asked D.H., originally from Cameroon, if he felt any forms of discrimination in Japan. He replied,

Where I work I don’t feel discrimination. I have my work, I am focused on my job, and everyone there does the same. In my post I am the only one who is foreign. The way people treat you depends on your understanding of the language. The more you understand, the more capable you are deemed to be, and they put more responsibility on you. Otherwise they will give you something easy. My colleagues at work trust me that I will do a good job.

I got stopped by the police couple of times at Ueno. When I spoke English they were curious about everything and wanted to hear my entire life story, how do I speak Japanese so well? If I speak French then they will just check my paper and I am on my way. Because chance of them knowing French is small. And if they did, I would be the one asking, instead of them, “You speak such a good French, where did you study?”

I decided to ask him about what happened at Ueno station, since other migrants brought up that they are getting harassed there by the police. He responded,

I don’t really go there often, to the Ueno station, but the type of situations that have happened there, the police certainly has reasons. There are good reasons why the police is asking foreigners for their documents and so on. For me, I understand it in a particular context, of one specific area in Kanto region, the part that I don’t like. I don’t like Saitama. Saitama for me is a very dangerous place. I have friends there that have been affected by the crimes there. Saitama is residential, it is not like Tokyo, Saitama is spread out. There is a lot of crime going on there. On the news, every time a gruesome crime is reported or theft, it is usually in Saitama. And a lot of that has to do with the car dealings, I know about a lot of foreigners that deal with car parts. They ship the car parts abroad, make lots of money. Illegally. People steal cars. And if you report your car stolen, by the time the police recovers it, it is already chopped to pieces. Rather, I mean, they carefully take the car apart and ship
it in pieces, so that they can claim to customs that they are shipping scrap metal. But it is not a scrap metal. You see they put the parts back together when it reaches its destination. And Saitama is the place where this is going on. And police tried to crack on crime there, but I don’t think the intention was genuine, because there is such a connection between these criminals and the actual Japanese business, which want for these cars to get out of the country. I mean you can buy a car here, an old 2002 car and sell it for twice the price in Africa, it is a huge profit. Outside, Japanese cars are recognized as reliable, well taken care of by their owners, parts are readily available, and they have a high mileage that is all. Other than that you know you are buying comfort, they are Japanese cars. With other brands like GM you will not get spare parts that easy. When I traveled to Madagascar, my friend has a Volkswagen, but she had to replace the engine and it cost her twice as much as she would pay for engine replacement on Japanese cars. And local people know how to fix Japanese cars. It is a big business. But it is not buying and selling the car, think about the whole supply chain, about transportation, shipping. You can ship up to six cars in one container if you strip them to parts and stack them up.

Have a friend, had a car for four years, after five years of savings, and he modifying, tuning it, he went on a trip and he discovered car was stolen. He was devastated.

Did he claim it on his insurance?

Well no, how? Only accidents are covered. Coverage against theft is optional. No one takes it.

How so? I thought every insurance included coverage against theft.

Maybe in your country, here stealing cars is too rare.

Thus, while D.H recalled being stopped and asked for the documents, his annoyance did not translate into identifying the police actions as unjust or racist. Instead, he was trying to justify the police actions by stating that it was reasonable to suspect foreigners of criminal intent in the context of an area that is frequented by foreigners. This understanding of police treatment by migrants illustrates their assimilation of Japanese discourse of migrants as criminals presented in popular media. The popular media portrayed areas patronized by migrants and foreign visitors are locations of crime, and it would be logical to treat foreigners who visit such neighborhoods as potential crime suspects (Ishizuka, 2014). Moreover, D.H. identifies Japan as a country where theft is uncommon. Yet, in the same narrative, he argues that there is “a connection between these criminals and the actual
Japanese business” thus leaving a possibility, that after all, Japanese people are not completely innocent. Still, the majority of interviewed migrants, forty nine out of sixty two, distinguished Japan as a safe country. Some of the migrants supported their ideas by contrasting Japanese safety with crime in their countries of origin. Others constructed Japan as safe by differentiating the behavior of Japanese people from that of foreigners. For example, I asked J.P., originally from Philippines, about her experience of migration. She replied,

I love living here. You know, there is so much violence in Manila and Mindanao. Because of the violence and disorder I wouldn’t take all my family there. Only my oldest, she is nineteen went there once with me. I feel like a foreigner now that I visit, I mean how people look at me, they look strangely at me. Because of my hair color [she dyes her hair] and my jewelry. When you travel you become open minded, you learn to appreciate other cultures. I want to go to other places. But you know [she whispers] Chinese people broken a window in London where my daughter visited during a high school trip. And, here in Japan, you hear stories. But not all Chinese migrants are like that, maybe some steal. But walking at night is safe. There is order here. I love to live here, in Japan.

This narratives reveals participants admiration for Japanese lawfulness. Simultaneously, J.P. exposes her views of other migrant group in Japan, namely, Chinese people, and identifies them as possible crime suspects.

In a similar way, A.W., a twenty four years old woman, who came from China, talked about the presence of North Korean people in her country of origin. At the outset, I asked her how she imagined Japan before migration. She said,

I learned about Japan in China, in Harbin. When I was in school we had a Japanese language instructors for two years. I imagined it must be nice here. Now that I am here, I feel very safe here. I am very satisfied living here.

Didn’t you feel safe in China?

Maybe you felt safe in Wuhan, but where I am from, it is up north, close to North Korea and Russia and it is not safe. There were criminals, thieves living close to train station, people were robbed, their wallets stolen. Here this is safe. There are
many North Koreans and Russians that are in Harbin. Many foreigners. Not so many Russians, but many people from North Korea.

How do you know that there were many North Koreans where you used to live?

I can hear them speaking Korean, so it is easy to tell.

Thus, she felt that Harbin was unsafe to the presence of migrants, mainly from Russia and North Korea. Now, that she is in Japan, she feels safe. Still she did not talk about how North Koreans living in Japan affected her perception of safety and similarly to J.P., she did not reflect on how being a foreigner in Japan could potentially represent her as suspect.

The issue of safety was also important to male participants. In fact they seemed to care more about safety. For example, J.E., who is originally from India, thought about the economic development in his country of origin and added,

Yes, so New Delhi has been developing lately, even during the last 5 years there have been so many changes there. But, I prefer to live here, it is secure here, it is safe here. In New Delhi... theft, rapes, all sorts of terrible crimes happen, on the contrary here it is safe. You can go out two o'clock, three o'clock at night no one will touch you, no one will rob you.

The understanding of safety was associated with a lack of crime and sometimes linked with general order and cleanliness. For instance, one of the informants, H.E., a woman from Peru, talked about living in Japan in the following way,

What I like about Japan is order. Some people I suppose could think that this is boring, but I like it. I like that there is no trash on the streets that things aren’t in disarray or destroyed, like they would be in Peru. Also, it is safe here. I like safety and order.

She perceives the difference between Japan and her country of origin as laying in the regulations and rules that contribute towards street cleanliness. However, she also mentions that another person could find it “boring.” Some migrants thought that the potential downside of safety and order could create uninteresting experience of everyday living and lack of freedom. E.H., also originally from Peru, explained to me that,
The problem is that migrants from Peru are trying to act and live here like they used to in Peru. Japan is more restrictive, in public areas, in Peru there weren’t such restrictions, you finish your work or study, you had more flexibility, and you could drink outside in the street, barbeque in a park. Here, if a person gets drunk and does something stupid, or just drive a bicycle while they are drunk, they can go to jail for that, or messing with an electric post, or skipping the line because they got in front of someone. I am not saying that either way is better I am just saying that it is different that there are rules here, that people here maintain order, even when it comes to small things.

Here Peru is portrayed as a country of personal freedom and enjoyment, whereas living in Japan seems more restrictive.

Another theme that has been mentioned in relation to safety was that of the comparison of urban–rural settings. I asked one of the informants, K.P., a thirty year old man from Brazil, how he imagined Japan before coming here. He responded in the following way,

My hometown is Sao Paulo, in Brazil. In Brazil, I used to stay at home a lot. My wife’s relatives worked in Japan for five years. They came back to Brazil for a short time, bought a home, talked about their success, and went back to Japan. Initially, that was that, that is why we decided to come here, just to come for three years and then come back. But then we lived here for few years, we got accustomed to living here. I love living here in Japan, not only because of the standard of living, I like how people behave, the culture, everything, including movies. The way I imagined Japan was through the Brazilian TV. But the TV would show only a little information, only about big cities, like Tokyo, Osaka, but not the whole Japan. But it wasn’t my intention to go to Tokyo or Osaka. When I came here initially, I arrived at the northern part of Japan, Iwate prefecture. Here on the map I show you, here is Saitama, Ibaraki further north, and up here Miyagi, and here is Iwate. I arrived and I looked at this small town and that is not how I imagined Japan. But it was O.K., the town in which I lived was more or less a big town, because we had a train station and shinkansen passed through the train station. Then I went to Tochigi. Initially, I went with my wife to visit her relatives there and I thought that that is even less developed than where I live. They didn’t even have shinkansen. Back then I think I preferred to live in the city, but not anymore.

Why?

I think it is more peaceful in the countryside. I am a foreigner in Japan, but I don’t like living with a lot of other foreigners here. I am sincere, but not everyone is. Not everyone, but a lot of foreigners do wrong things. I don’t like that. In Saitama, where I live now there are many foreigners in Saitama city. Brazilians, Peruvians,
Filipinos, Americans, all of them, not one specific country for sure, all of them are suspect, because all of them can be good and bad people. Japanese people too, of course. Japanese people can do wrong things as well, but not so much. In this culture, people value responsibility, they carry guilt. There are some people from Iran, Pakistan living somewhere close to my town, but where I live, in the countryside, it is only me and my family that are foreign. I don’t have to worry about garbage or crime.

This sentiment of wanting to live away from other foreigners was repeated in other interviews. This was combined with the view that it is less likely to encounter foreign people in the countryside, and thus living in the countryside is superior to urban living.

E.W, a thirty nine years old man from Peru, who works at a factory explained, 

I prefer to live in the city, but I like countryside. My grandparents, who were Japanese, lived on a hacienda in Peru. I had no idea how Japan looked like I didn’t know the language. It was an adventure. My grandparents told me about a country where people work really hard, different culture, but also discrimination against foreigners. Initially when I came it was hard, but now I am used to this system, to the rules here, I don’t miss Peru. Here I live in a city. In Peru, for work city is better than the countryside. But I prefer countryside, it is peaceful People are friendly, everyone knows each other, because it is a small place. People work together, in the city, people do not know each other. There are many people, traffic, girls and everyone goes shopping, there is rush. If I go back to Peru I will live in the countryside. But here is the thing, here, it is safe everywhere, not dangerous, if you go to Peru, in the city it is dangerous, you constantly look who is going to steal from you, who is wandering. It is dangerous, it is very dangerous. I like the customs here.

Do you have any friends here?

I have friends here in the factory, we talk a lot and I feel I am treated well. And where I live, I am the only foreigner, all the people in my factory are Japanese. And, I am not sure how to say this, but I prefer to live where there aren’t many foreigners, where it is peaceful and I know everyone.

On the one hand, migrant organization leaders, as well as migrants, pointed out that being a foreigner in Japan seemed to be tantamount to being a crime suspect. On the other hand, migrants seemed to accept and perpetuate this discourse. Yet, participants sought to highlight their hard work and ethical behavior to elevate their status among other migrants,
to present themselves as valuable members of Japanese society and thus oppose the narratives of foreigners as suspects. K.S., originally from Ghana, remarked that

We are foreigners and we couldn’t compare our work customs to Japanese customs, but we are Christian and everything we do, our customs are different, but we know in our hearts if something bad happens at work, a bad day, just to forgive and try to make it better and work hard. We don’t want to instigate problems.

Within this group of participants, some migrants distanced themselves from other foreigners in two ways: (1) in their narratives, by portraying themselves as different from other foreigners; and (2) by choosing to live in neighborhoods occupied predominantly by Japanese born residents. In addition, K.S’s valuation exemplifies that some migrants resist the valuation of foreigners as suspects of crime by framing themselves as hard workers with high moral standards.

Moreover, portrayal of Japan as safe was contradicted by Japanese participants who depicted their neighborhoods as dangerous and Japanese culture as violent. For example, one Japanese informant, who works for a construction company located in the countryside and lives in a small town nearby, commented on my conversation with her migrant coworkers,

I overheard you talking to the foreigners about how you all think it is safe here. I don’t know what are you talking about. It is not safe here. I don’t go out by myself at night. And I always lock my door. Japan is not safe. Cities are more dangerous, but it doesn’t matter, even the countryside is not safe, especially at night.

This attitude was shared by a number of the Japanese participants. A couple of people apologized to me for living in an unsafe area. One Japanese man declared that he should install better locks on the door to his home, just in case. Japan ranks high in public safety and has one of the lowest numbers of intentional homicides, recorded rape cases and
robbery in the world (OECD 2016; UNODC 2016). Yet, the Japanese participants of this study did not feel safe. Only migrants felt safe.

Japanese participants evoked one often left out aspect of discourse of Japanese people as orderly and peaceful. One of the informants, a twenty eight years old Japanese man comments,

Japanese people are very violent. No, you think Japanese people are nice? They are violent. Look at our culture, our history. What we did during colonial times, during the war. Now we ratified the new interpretation of the constitution. And harakiri [pretends to commit harakiri]. Japanese culture is crazy. Japan is a very dangerous country, we have Yakuza here, have you heard of Yakuza?

The participant portrayed Japanese society as “dangerous” because of the colonial past as well as current military aspirations. Still, while Abe’s administration announced reinterpretation of the Article 9 of the Constitution, which pertains to renouncing war and the right to self-defense, this was done against a background of controversy and protests by the Japanese people.

Another participant also pointed out the violence inflicted by Japanese employers on migrant workers. The human rights attorney, a Japanese man, observed,

You know, I have so many cases of violence against migrant workers. Did you see the pictures I brought to the office? Awful. Honestly, the workers are treated in the worst way. Covered with bruises, broken bones. Women are treated worse than men. In my opinion Chinese women are treated the worst. The last case I had, this woman’s boss struck her on the head. He was kicking her violently in the stomach, many times, here [he shows where on his stomach]. I don’t know why is it that my Chinese clients, women, they are treated the worst.

Thus, while some of the migrants thought of Japanese people as friendly and peaceful, Japanese participants felt on the contrary. The link the issue of safety and order with militarized culture. These examples serve to highlight the complexities and contradictions in narratives of Japanese and foreign nationals regarding the discourse of Japan as a safe place.
Viewing Fujisan: Agency, Organized, Small Forms of Resistance

TITP program draws a lot of criticism for two main reasons. One has to do with not affording trainees the same rights as workers. Second is because the program is run by broker companies that increase the cost of hiring and passes these costs to migrants as well as hiring companies. In addition TITP constrains the rights of migrant workers. There has been an increase of interest the literature in studying the processes related to operations of labor brokering companies and labor control (see Xiang 2012). This section seeks to add to this analysis by highlighting the ways in which workers challenge these processes and open the economic process to the possibility of agency.

Migrant workers often express their agency through their narratives of protest. This For example, workers expressed their decisive disproval of work conditions through their decision to leave. Under the regulation workers under the TITP visa are not allowed to quit without risking being deported, since their visa was tied to their place of work. However, four of the participants I met run away from their factories. For instance, B.W., a thirty years old Chinese woman, told me her story in the following way,

I have been married for 3 years, this July we will have our anniversary. We get along but it is nothing special. I have been here for 5 years, 1 year as a trainee, then I escaped from the company, from Niigata I wasn’t finished yet for training, for two year I stayed with Ally, I met my husband later, Chinese husband. My husband came here with his mother when he was fifteen years old, his mother got divorced from his father. Father stayed in China. His mother got married later to a Japanese man. I worked for a company that has a connection to a company in Shanghai, a textile company. A subsidiary company make a contact with Japanese companies, and then they sent workers here. Workers like me could decide where they wanted to go. My husband is from Saitama, but I live in Tokyo here now. In Saitama, that was a rural area, it only had a factory, no stores. I was there with seven other Chinese girls, but you know only one of them. We escaped together. There were hardly any days off. There was this one day off. But they would get only 15 minute break, then 30 minute break for lunch and then again one more 15 minutes. Now I work for internet shopping company, I package things people ordered online. But
now, I am pregnant and I am taking a break. My husband worked at a factory, but sometimes he gets tired, because of the different shifts, often works at night.

Do you get to go on vacation? To go sightseeing here?

I went to Hakone and Izu. I went to view Fujisan, from the foot of the mountain. I went to view Fujisan back when I worked at that factory I escaped from, back when I was a trainee.

How did you manage to go to the foot of Fujisan while you worked as a trainee?

We had one day of rest during a month. On that day in the morning, I was standing outside of the dormitory, when an older Japanese man that worked there as a driver approached me. He asked if we had a holiday. I told him that yes, we did. He said that if I and my coworkers want, he can take us on the day trip to the foot of the mountain in his car. To be honest I wasn’t sure what to do. I have seen this man before, coming and going, but I didn’t know him. I thought it was dangerous to get into a car with a stranger. But then I thought that I have been stuck there, in the factory for months, always working. I talked to other girls and four of us decided to go. He drove us to the viewing spot and we saw Fujisan. You know, later I escaped from the factory, but this day I remember fondly.

Why did you escape?

The salary was low, about 600 yuan, but we were supposed to earn more. So I escaped with the help of [...] organization. They gave me a place to stay and with the help of the organization I was able to stay here.

Despite the way in which the broker system alienates workers and the production process which actively restrict workers’ mobility in order to gain greater productivity, in the case of the participants in this study, workers showed the capacity to act against the companies and seek help.

Participation in protests was another way in which migrants displayed their agency. On a number of occasions I accompanied Japanese nationals and migrants during the protests. Protests were held by both nongovernmental organizations and unions. At first I was unsure how migrants felt about participating in “Going to a demo” or “Action”. One day, while visiting one of the unions I overheard the following conversation between the Nikkei union leaders and a Nikkei female union member,
Have you ever went to an action with us?

No.

But why not, you don’t want to come?

No, I am busy, I have work and a child, I don’t think I can take the whole day off to go to a protest.

At first I thought that the union leaders put a bit of pressure on the workers to participate in action. However, migrants often take initiative to participate in protests as evidenced in next conversation I witnessed later that afternoon between the same Nikkei union leader and a different union member. This time it was the union member asking if he can participate in the protest,

Sure, everyone is welcome, but before you commit yourself to it please consider, can you walk a long distance? Because we will be walking for few hours.

Yes, I can walk, no problem

There is also another matter. Sometimes there is some violence at the demo, are you going to be prepared that this may happen?

…hmm I think yes, I think

Maybe just in case go to a small protest first, and then if this goes well, you can join a larger protest?

Thus, in fact some migrants were eager to partake in protests. Unions always supplied train tickets or reimbursed members for travel expenses if travel was needed, so that union members would carry the financial burden of participating in protest, or other events organized by unions, such as press conferences, or meetings.

The protest were organized to support a number of various causes. One of the major reasons for protests had to with legislative changes to the labor law. For example, when Japanese government decided to put forward an amendment to the Labor Standards Act
that was to get rid of overtime pay for office workers, a number of unions decided to participate in protests. Even though the issue was pertaining to white-collar workers different labor unions got together to organize a larger demonstration. Some of the migrant union member participated in this protest as well.

Another reason for the NPOs and unions to participate in protests is to highlight issues related directly to migrations, for instance to advocate to opening borders to war refugees. These events draw high numbers of migrant participants. Other forms of drawing attention to migrant and labor issues was through organizing press conferences. In one of the press conferences organized at a local university, Chinese migrant workers spoke to the media about their experiences of working under the TITP and to protests labor discrimination. This was supported by the migrant organization leaders speech regarding the issues associated with the TITP visa program.

However, unions and other migrant organizations also participated in larger protest that were unrelated to migrant/labor issues. For example, many of the organizations I have visited during the field work partook in protests against the new interpretation of Article 9 of the Constitution. The large protests usually would bring in media but also presence of Public Security Intelligence agents.

The majority of the protests I have witnessed were peaceful. In these instances the protesters stood outside of the government buildings or corporate buildings and handed out the information to passersby. The protesters also carried banners and spoke through speakers or sung songs. Sometimes the police or security used to the protesters coming every week would greet the protesters and say “Otsukaresamadeshita [good work]” when the protest was over. At the same time some protesters would try to protect the police from
attacks by groups seeking confrontation. One of the participants, twenty seven years old Japanese man commented,

These youngsters, they fight with the security, the police, this is not what we want, our protests should be peaceful.

Another concern of the migrant workers was the possibility of being arrested if the violence took place during the protest. A.H, a fifty seven year old man from Togo, who spend fifteen years in Japan, explained,

You see they fight here, but in Japan you can go to jail for this or at least get a fine ¥500,000 or more, so no one wants to fight because if you fight the police will come and then you have to pay the fine.

Still, not all the union members are seeking a peaceful protest. J.P., thirty nine years old Filipino women seems to be excited at the prospect of observing a fight, and explains to me what is happening,

Look, see what is going on there? This is exciting. Maybe there is going to be a fight? These guys on the stairs, they are provoking the security, yelling at them, and coming close to the entrance of the building. The security will feel pressured to protect the building. In Japan you are not supposed to touch anyone, if you don’t want to get a fine. Because some people don’t want to see you get a fine, they just want to see you in jail. But this fight is because some members wanted to go inside and the guards is not letting them. Then this guard starts taking pictures and the union member says “why are you taking those pictures, it is not going to change anything, you cannot threaten us with your pictures because we are legally protesting”. Don’t worry if you don’t understand everything what is going on, just breathe in the atmosphere, the kanji [感じ feeling].

Does your husband complain that you go to these protests?

No my husband is open-minded. And I don’t have to worry about children being by themselves, because when I go protesting I leave them at their grandmothers. Today my mother in law is making dinner. I will not be at the dinner, because after the protest some of the union members are getting together for dinner. But my husband doesn’t mind, he says that I should have an opportunity to familiarize yourself with dos and don’ts in Japan, to be part of it.

Urban and rural spaces can be understood as sites of participation and resistance to identity politics as well as creating alternatives to neo-liberal agenda. Thus, for the migrant workers
participating in protest created space of partaking in the experiences of everyday life in Japan that is life that sanctions displaying people’s agency through protests.

While participating in protests was a part of the unions’ weekly activities, another important way in which unions were valuable to migrant workers was by acting as intermediaries between the workers and employers to resolve issues concerning hospital payments, compensation, and leave.

On July 8th, during my visit to one of the labor unions office, I observed two union members preparing the migrant worker who came from Shizuoka for the hearing regarding compensation for work related injury. The hearing will be in Japanese and the union reps need to ask the worker about the details to make sure that the document that they are submitting are correct in terms of what happened, and what kind of grievances he may have. One of the union reps asks,

What exactly were you doing when the accident happened?

I was putting the big roll on the machine, on the conveyer but the machine malfunctioned and the latch didn’t grab it, it was supposed to just grab it, so it just dropped, I attempted to get it out of the conveyer

So were you suppose to latch it yourself and you just made a mistake?

No because it is automatic, it should just do it by itself I was just supposed to get it on there, but it didn’t work that is why it dropped.

The second union rep nods, ‘Alright – make note of this’ he tells the other union rep. he turns to the worker,

Now, tell us, how long is the roll you carried?

While he is thinking, the union rep brings the tape to get the approximate dimensions of the latch. The union rep asks,

And what about the latch? How big is it? As big as this stapler, is it as big as this match box?
Worker answers their questions. They ask about the injury. They determined that the workers’ fingers were torn apart, but they want to make sure that their terminology is correct so they bring Japanese –Spanish dictionary to make sure that it is all described correctly. They ask how much blood was lost. The workers answers,

A lot, but it looked worse than it was. I wasn’t alone, it was me and my colleague who were carrying the roll. One on each side. After the thing dropped Japanese coworker started to say *Gomen Gomen* [sorry, sorry ごめん ごめん] and took me to the female supervisor upstairs. Actually, he was is not exactly a coworker, he is also my senior. While he is my senior he wanted to get a witness, another person who could testify about what happened, that is why he took me to her. Female supervisor took me to the hospital after the accident.

How long did it take?

It was very fast.

But an hour? Half an hour?

20 minutes maybe.

So that is not bad, so we will not be contesting that, they got you help quickly, they didn’t hesitate.

Next point, because we forgot, which two fingers were torn, in the statement here I think the information is incorrect

The *Nikkei* worker ask the Japanese union representative to change the information. Japanese man accidentally repeats the wrong information and the union leader shouts the correct data from another room. The worker and the union representatives laugh thinking that the union leader was sleeping on the couch, while in fact he was listening on the conversation. However, he listening to the conversation and reading the case file. One of the union representatives asks,

Do you want to contest one day and a half of the hospital charges? Do you want for the company to pay? Tell me, when you got the first treatment, did you eat or drink anything? It is important for us to establish that you didn’t include any additional charges.
No I didn’t eat or drink.

What did you do after you left the hospital?

I went to work.

But then you went to the hospital again and you want for the company to cover that charge as well, why did you go the second time, and a different hospital?

I went because I was still in pain and it was a clinic near me, the other hospital was closer to work.

Injuries such as this are not unusual among the migrant workers. However, many foreign employee do not receive proper insurance at work.

A number of studies focus on the risks of occupational injuries includes factors such as age, gender, level of education, income, location, family size and access to health insurance, as well as union representation (Sinclair et al 2006). Arcury et al. (2015) posit that migrants are more often involved in occupational injuries than native workers due to dangerousness of jobs, language barrier, increased overtime and lack of skills (69). Another way in which research approaches susceptibility to work injuries among migrants, is through putting an emphasis on cultural and gender social norms of the countries of origin as an explanation for risk taking behaviors. Namely, that workers performances of masculinity prevent them from adhering to the safety rules are further encouraged by profit seeking employers (Saucedo and Morales 2010).

Migrants and Work Safety

Companies are required to pay towards Employees’ Health & Pension Insurance for full time workers. The medical insurance rate is based on a percentage of salary and these charges are different in each prefecture (Nagoya International Center). However, not all of
the companies pay for the insurance. First the companies do not pay the insurance to save money. Second, they limit the worker’s access to the insurance by limiting workers’ wages. Worker who are already receiving low salaries are afraid that the health insurance fees will prompt the companies to lower the wages even more. However, the responsibility for migrants’ care is passed from private companies onto hospitals, taxpayers, and volunteers. Many types of jobs in which migrant workers engage require manual labor and pose unique issues related to the maintenance of safety culture. For example, one of the informants, a Dr. Akita from one of the occupational hazards prevention centers explained,

There are many providers of such service, like we did the other day when we visited the construction company and performed the annual health checkup. The company asks the clinic or service provider, to provide checkup for workers. That is the Japanese way. The business initiates it, can find out from the municipal government where to reach a clinic. This applies to every company, whether they employ Japanese or foreign workers, or both. Many low wage workers do not have the health insurance. So the companies ask the clinic for the visit at the site of a job.

In one of the research sites, a construction company located in the countryside work starts around seven o’clock in the morning. The workers are supposed to gather their equipment and the parts that are needed at the construction site [Genba 現場] and then the drivers get the keys (usually they get assigned the same truck). If it is a new site then the driver grabs a printed map. At half past six in the morning I walked around the area where workers equipment is located. The hard hats are stuck on a shelf with everyone’s names on them, below neatly folded overalls, boots, and face masks, and gloves. The equipment, with the exception of gloves, was still there when the workers left at half past seven. I talked about these issues with Dr. Akita. He described the situation of migrant workers and work safety in the following way,

We have a governmental inspectors. Normally, there are too many companies, factories, especially for those small enterprises, there are not enough people to
cover it, not enough time, resources. JITCO may allow sometimes to make an exception for academic researchers to visit work sites where technical trainees are employed. Possibly. They are checking up on their own workers.

You and your colleagues conduct your own research here, would you please tell me about it?

We went to the trade unions and I looked at the types of work injuries that were reported by their members. I looked at the union records and ninety three occupational injury cases were sampled from there. Specifically I was focused on occupational injury cases. They don’t handle occupational hazard cases, they give it to the lawyer.

How do they deal with these cases, for instance, is hard to link respiratory problems directly to exposure at work?

In some cases we already established the causality, like in case of mesothelioma linked to the exposure to asbestos. We just have to prove that there was asbestos present at the work site. But in some cases of lung cancer there could be a possibility of exposure to pollutants from work, but it could be from smoking, so we have to consult epidemiological data, to make that call.

And regarding your data on occupational injuries among Japanese and migrant workers?

This is not a valid study, because of the way we accessed migrant workers data, ideally, we would have used a random sampling method. But, regarding the injuries among migrant workers. There is nothing special regarding their injuries. In the sense that the patterns are similar for Japanese workers. We have developed a simple method of occupational safety training and it can succeed, regardless of whether the workers are migrants or not. The way we learn how to do the job is basically through mimicking what other people are doing, learning by example. This is why I personally believe that language is not as important as some people argue. For instance, if your supervisor wears protective gear, migrant workers will follow. If the company, if the factory, will take measures to make sure everyone is following safety instructions, of course migrant workers will as well. In fact, we had hypothesis that perhaps the workers will not follow Japanese customs at the workplace, as some people suggest cultural differences, gender differences, but in reality, the factories I visited, the workers do follow instructions. In particular if the rules are explained, if the senior workers explain why we follow certain rules, why we keep the workplace clean, and so on.

Do you think it is the same for factories, construction sites, and agricultural fields? Would the level of supervision be different?
On many construction sites, even Japanese people don’t follow the rule. Senior carpenters, they don’t like using masks. However, if the company has good work culture for preventing occupational injuries, then Japanese and migrant people will adhere to those rules. If the boss will direct everyone to wear masks and explain why, they will wear masks. I would like it more with the size of the company. Workers are more likely to experience injury in small size companies.

During the conversations with NGO and labor union representatives it transpired that work related injuries among migrant workers were understood in terms of workers’ poor Japanese language skills. Yet, discussion with Dr. Akita revealed that migrant workers who are employed by small companies are more likely to be injured. This is consistent with literature that links occupational safety with the company size. Small size companies have little oversight as the government resources are inadequate to visit all work sites (Yoshikawa et. al. 2013). This evaluation seemed to match the experiences of some of migrant workers I have met, who have suffered work related injury. For example, E.H., from Peru, who works in construction had hand injury. He recalled,

I work in construction. It few month back, I broke my hand at work. It got crushed. It was the golden week [when a number of public holidays are grouped and many businesses and institutions are closed] and it took four days for me to see the doctor. But the company didn’t help at all. I had to look for the doctor myself.

Another informant, W.K., a forty years old woman from Peru, works at bentoya but has an injury,

I worked at my factory, bentoya for so many years. I am proud of how hard I work. I gave so many years to the company. But after so many years of repetitive work at the bentoya my hand is no longer working, I cannot move it. What am I going to do? I cannot do the same work I used to. The company is not giving me anything else to do and they don’t want to pay the injury compensation. I have to work, but I cannot do the same task anymore.

In this case, W.K. does not have enough money from workers’ compensation to quit working. At the same time, she cannot engage in work at the bentoya’s conveyor belt. The company provided a little bit of help and offered her a break; however, only as a short term
solution. This case illustrates intensification of vulnerability of low skill migrant workers, particularly when they lack health insurance and are paid minimum wage as they face injury at work. In fact in some cases companies do not provide any insurance or help. For example, C.H., a thirty six years old man from Mali, tells me about his sickness,

I work in construction, but I have been to a number of doctors and they don't know what happened they cannot tell whether my problems are related to work or not. I work in the recycling section. There is so much dust.

Did you wear a mask?

No I did not, we didn’t have masks. You know it is a tough work, and dangerous work, but we don’t get insurance.

Thus, migrant workers who presented work related injuries, often were not required to wear safety equipment and some of them did not have insurance due to lack of implementation safety regulation at work. A number of recent studies on occupational safety link risk of injuries with work in small companies, especially those that have less than 50 employees (Legg et al. 2015, Holte, et. al. J. 2015).

Everyday Living in an Earthquake Zone

One of the themes that have emerged during the interviews was that of feeling of safety in terms of natural hazards. Paul (2011) defines hazards as geophysical events that significantly differs from a trend and “may transform into disasters and thus become sequential events (2).” In turn,

Disasters are generally conceived as adverse events, the negative impacts of which cannot be overcome without outside assistance, or support from many outside sources, including state and national governments, and even governments from other countries (ibid. 7).
The ways in which community may be a susceptible of a disaster is characterized in terms of vulnerability that Cutter et al. (2003) define as “potential for loss (242)”. Fothergill and Peek (2004) posit that here is spatial and structural inequality in relation to vulnerability to hazards, “including age, gender, race and ethnicity, religion, and social class (105)” as well as poverty levels and education (92).” Some of the other aspects that influence vulnerability involve lack of access to resources (including information, knowledge, and technology); limited access to political power and representation; social capital, including social networks and connections; beliefs and customs; building stock and age; frail and physically limited individuals; and type and density of infrastructure and lifelines (Cutter et al. 2003, 245)

Migrant’s vulnerability to hazards can be linked to the ability to speak the local language as well as cultural barriers (ibid. 246). Migrant face a variety of challenges as related to evacuation Challenges include language problem and the limited access to resources. In addition, Cutter et al. (2003) posit that vulnerability may be different between urban and rural locations and migrant vulnerability would take shape different in these settings. Masuda and Garvin (2006) posit that in addition to social characteristics, such as migrant or native born, gender, age, race and class, the context of place also plays a role in determining susceptibility to hazards. Namely, power relations revealed in the ways in which places are constructed affect people’s response to hazards (438, 439).

Research has demonstrated that socioeconomic indicators appear to be related to preparedness levels. Fothergill and Peek (2004) delineate “[p]reparedness behavior” as “a variety of actions taken by families, households, and communities to get ready for a disaster. Preparedness activities may include devising disaster plans, gathering emergency
supplies, training response teams,” as well as dissemination of relevant information to residents (92).

Slovic (1987) examination of factors influencing judgments about hazards reveal that familiarity with a particular hazard as well as a level of a perceived personal/technical involvement affect individual’s perceptions of risk to hazard. Risk can be understood as a “chance or probability that a person will be harmed or experience an adverse health effect if exposed to a hazard (Canadian Centre for Occupational Health & Safety 2016)”. Non-expert individuals tend to be fearful of a risk that they qualify as uncontrollable (involuntary), unknown, and prolonged. Conversely, specialists evaluate risks based on statistical risk of deaths, injuries, and economic damage (Slovic 1987, 280-81). Similarly, Cutter (1993) examination of perception, cognition, and the expert attitudes regarding risk perception reveal that risk-benefit and cost-benefit calculations as well as risk estimates, can easily become biased by availability of information and representativeness. Additionally, she demonstrates that over-confidence due to familiarity of risks leads to complacency, and under-confidence related to new or unknown risks lead to over-estimating efforts to mitigate them. Similarly, well-known hazards create result in little public notice, whereas unfamiliar hazards cause widespread concern.

Concern over hazards and resulting levels of preparedness are tied to socioeconomic indicators. Thus, Turner et al. (1986) reveal that education, income, and ethnicity are related to earthquake preparedness. For instance, “preparedness increases steadily with income levels. Further, they reported that education combats fatalism and thereby fosters preparedness, but only up to the level of entering college (Fothergill and
Peek 2004, 92). These factors are relevant to migrant working class population, because of possibility of less income, living in high hazard zones (Heinz Center 2002).

Japan is located along the Pacific Ring of Fire and Japan Meteorological Agency (2016) informs that “Japan is one of the world’s most earthquake- and volcano-prone countries, and has suffered repeated damage from such disasters as well as tsunamis (10).” Every year the agency reports hundreds of earthquakes (Table 25). While, recently there has been an increase in literature on disasters linked to 2011 9.0 magnitude Tohoku earthquake and the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear catastrophe, as well as recent, 2016 Kumamoto magnitude 7.0 earthquake; earthquakes in Japan are a part of everyday living experience.

Table 25. Earthquake Numbers by District and Magnitude January to December 2014, Source: Japan Meteorological Agency. 2015.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>M&gt;6</th>
<th>6&gt;M&gt;5</th>
<th>5&gt;M&gt;4</th>
<th>4&gt;M&gt;3</th>
<th>M&lt;3</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>9044</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>9985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohoku</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>23861</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>25660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>17265</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>18046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chubu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>18072</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>18355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinki, Chugoku,</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>13538</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>13930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikoku, Kyushu,</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7506</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>7686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, Ryukyu Islands.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>35083</td>
<td>2390</td>
<td>38629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Japan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>3055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>5225</td>
<td>125627</td>
<td>3468</td>
<td>135346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While usually earthquake of a smaller that 6.0 magnitude are not reported in media, those of level 6.0 and above usually get attention of the media. The data from the study seems to confirm that larger size of an earthquake usually resulted in comments from Japanese residents among friends or coworkers. For example, on May 30, 2015 high magnitude quake struck Japan's coast. Japan Today (2015) reported that,

The strong quake shook buildings in Tokyo for about a minute. Both runways at Narita Airport were temporarily closed while inspections were carried out. Trains in Tokyo were also temporarily halted and shinkansen train services between Tokyo and Osaka were halted due to a power outage, NHK said. A soccer match in Tokyo was also briefly suspended (n.p.).

The event that day was a subject of small talk during lunch, at one of the visited NGOs,

There was an earthquake today
Yes, the news said it was over 8.0 magnitude
No, initially they reported it incorrectly, I heard it was around 5.0 magnitude.
I didn’t feel it shaking, did you?
Yes, I felt it.
But you live in an old building, so that is why. I live in a new apartment.

Thus, the danger of earthquake seemed to be normalized. However, I decided to mention the subject during the interviews with migrants to check how they perceived living in an earthquake zone. In response, the topic brought up by migrants included their memories of March 11, their worries about the disasters in Japan in relation to safety of their children, and their confidence regarding their safety.

In addition, I asked some of the migrant organization staff if they offered any information about earthquakes to the migrant community. Ms. Honami, a female employee of one of the non-governmental organizations located in the Kanto region, responds,
We did try to set up a consultation hotline after Tohoku in various languages so that foreigners can call this number and find out what to do, but we have also two very active NGOs originating from the Nepalese and Brazilian community and they were honestly more successful in reaching out to migrants in Tohoku area. Because they have their own personal networks to find out who to seek out. We have specific set of emergency procedures when the earthquake hits. There are designated shelters for each community, if you live in this particular neighborhood then you would go to this elementary school where there is food and water and shelter. Foreign residents would be expected to arrive at their designated shelter but without information in different languages this would be difficult. So one of these pamphlets [she shows me a brochure] was developed by a by different international foundation and provided to us, we used it as an example to make similar pamphlets in various languages. We encourage our staff to carry them to the community meeting to hand it to people who attend these meetings. But you know this is not enough. We can’t reach to everyone. Not all the migrants come to these community centers, to the migrant community meetings. Also, there are migrants who avoid going out because they are out of status. We cannot reach everyone with this information. But it is better than before. We weren’t ready during 3/11, but 10 days later we managed to set up this up and now we have a lot of different sources of information. What happened is we applied for funding from international foundation and we won the grant. And so this is one of the ways in which used this money. We have these pamphlets printed out, we have information on our website, we set up e-mail alerts and migrants can subscribe for our text message warnings. At least in the most spoken languages here, Chinese, Korean, Tagalog, Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Thai.

While some of the migrant participants came from earthquake-prone countries, such Nepal, others did not. Thus their level of knowledge on what to do during the earthquake varied. The majority of information about what to do during the earthquake, before 3/11 was available primarily in Japanese language.

As the NGO worker revealed, only after the major earthquake and tsunami had struck, it was that the government and migrant organizations started to look for ways in which they could distribute information related to disaster preparedness. This is consistent with the recommendations made by the United Nations Environment Programme (2008) which called for greater coordination of governmental and non-governmental organizations and development of plan that would include help for foreign visitors since they “may not be fluent in the prevalent local language 70).” Still, usually, the embassies
are considered to be the ones that will take care of their nationals, this includes both tourists and foreign residents. For instance, Bureau of Consular Affairs (2016) identifies natural disasters as one of the instances whereby “the consular officers assist American citizens with transportation, evacuation, and in keeping them safe (n.p.). However, in order to do that the nationals need to register with their Embassies. This was mentioned by few participants who said that in the aftermath of 3/11 their embassies has send them pamphlets about safety procedures during the earthquake. Nevertheless, there has been an increased interest in extending the information about disaster preparedness to migrant residents and the topic was mentioned during each of my visits to the national conferences for migrant organizations. Still, migrants may have less access to such information because of the language barriers Fothergill and Peek (2004). In addition, this data points out that, in case of undocumented migrants, there is a decreased possibility of access to information relevant to disaster preparedness. This is because of reduced possibility of the organizations that can share this types of information to access undocumented migrants. Moreover, undocumented migrants may not wish to contact governmental or nongovernmental organizations to seek information and help.

**Matsuri [Festival 祭り]**

A number of migrant participants recalled the events of 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami that have affected the areas between Sanriku on the northeastern side and the Boso Peninsula of the island of Honshu in Japan. While the damage mainly occurred Tohoku area, disaster extended beyond the region and many people in northeastern Japan experienced the earthquake shocks that day as well as the chaos and uncertainty following
the earthquake. Generally, the majority of people in Japan refer to the earthquake as a big Tohoku earthquake or 3/11. [東日本大震災 Great East Japan Earthquake].

This case study included a small town in Miyagi Prefecture affected by the Tohoku disaster. The town is located on the bay and surrounded by hills. The community draws a majority of its income from fishing and tourists industry. While the majority of the town was swept away by the tsunami, things slowly are starting to change. Recently the town reopened a hotel overlooking beautiful bay and the fish processing factory operates at the full speed. I was drawn to the town because of its migrant population. A number of residents come from Philippines and China. Many of these migrants are women. Filipino women whom I met during the fieldwork were employed as care workers, and they secured their stay in Japan through marriage. Chinese women, predominantly TITP visa holders, work at the fish processing factory.

The town has three restaurants, also operated by migrants. There is a shopping complex located in the middle of the town. Number of small grocery shops, hairdresser and a bar were located there. Since the disaster, all the shops are still located in trailers. Colorful banners and advertisements encouraged visitors to stop by. Some stores had benches set outside.

While few of the residents live in their own homes, including mobile homes, the majority of the housing is located near the school positioned on the top of the hill. These temporary homes were built in the aftermath of the Tohoku disaster, and as an employee of the migrant organization tells me, are divided into the better and lower quality houses. He remarks,

You see how these temporary homes in the back are different from the temporary homes here? These ones here are better quality, the materials are much better. You
know, it was supposed to be random which family will get the better or worse type of housing, but somehow the families that were better off before the 3/11 ended up in better houses. I am not sure how long people are going to live here. I heard a rumor that maybe new homes are going to start to be build this year [2015].

Figure 38 Front of the Picture: “Better Quality” Temporary Houses, School Visible in the Back.

While the community is remain located in temporary houses, the infrastructure is largely rebuild, the roads are paved down, even in places where asphalt roads did not exist before. In addition a brand new bus line connects the town to the outside. The town is constructing new levees.

During my visit in July of 2015, the town celebrated its festival [matsuri]. There is myriad local festivals in Japan, each place has its own traditions and often its own song. Migrant residents are part of this event as vendors, customers, and performers. On that they the young women from the factory got to leave the factory early. At half past four in the
afternoon they run out of factory doors and started practicing the local traditional dance. Later they will perform the towns’ folk dance at the makeshift stage near the seashore. The festivities had partially have started already. There are many tents where merchants sell shaved ice, drinks, and *takoyaki* [たこ焼き] made from dough stuffed with octopus. A.M., a Filipino woman selling snacks talks about the community,

Now, after the disaster we have a much closer community. Everyone went through the same things, so it doesn’t matter if someone is Japanese or Filipino, we all had the same experience.

However, talking to people in town revealed a strong sense of community between foreign and Japanese born residents, conversations with participants outside of town complicated this valuation. On separate occasions I met with an opinion that the only migrants who were part of Japanese society were Filipino women. For example, one of the migrant organization employees, a Japanese women questioned my choice of migrant participants,

I am not sure why do you want to talk to Chinese migrants. You see, Filipino women are the real residents here. They are the ones who will stay here and have children. Chinese migrants are just temporary, why talk to them?

The common experience of the disaster added to the sense of closer community ties. Another element that transpired through the conversations with participants was that some of them considered Filipino migrants, and more specifically Filipino women as a part of the community, because of the possibility that Filipino women they will deliver future Japanese children.

Most of the migrant participants regardless of their national background and gender felt closer to their Japanese communities after the common experience of the Tohoku disaster. Moreover, some participants felt that the event led them to a resolution to stay in
Japan, despite the tragedy. This transpired in the interview with D.H., the twenty six years old man originally from Cameroon who recalled the 3/11 in the following way,

I was in Akita Prefecture. The lights were out, the lights went out and that never happens in Japan and it was still winter. It was cold. I was trying to call and I guess everyone was trying to call. My phone was dying. I just wanted to get a message to my family that I am OK but I don’t know when I will be able to talk to them. And I managed to send a message. And there are always aftershocks and after an immense tremor like that you become scarred of even the tiniest shock and wonder what is happening. Later on, I was listening to the radio for the news about what was happening. But you don’t have images, and there was not much information at first. And then I found out about Fukushima. It was horrible.

Was the news in other languages than Japanese? Or just Japanese?

It was only in Japanese. Later when the TV was back up, if you had NHK International station then yes, later they started broadcasting and it is set up for international audiences abroad as well. But I know Japanese. We gathered in a local school, it was in March during a holiday time, a lot of people I knew went to Tokyo. I don’t know if you saw the images but the roof just blew up. The whole section was devastated. How many people had died? And not only there, a lot of areas became cut off, there was a food shortage. For three days stores were empty. No food was coming through. A lot of food was actually delivered by American navy, regular boats couldn’t get through, there was lots of debris, the coast was devastated, people leaving near the coast, where the majority of deliveries were made through the sea transport were cut off. I was lucky to be on the other side, if I wasn’t, I wouldn’t be talking to you right now. Akita is flat. It is on sea level my town is a coastal town so if a tsunami would come to us the town would be wiped out. So we were thinking, before it happened if it is coming from the east or from the west. If from the west then we would be doomed. We didn’t know how big of a tsunami it was, no one realized. After the warning I wanted to get back home by train, I walked to the station but there was no train. I went to the bus. And the bus picked us up initially, but then it stopped and the driver said that he cannot take us anymore and has to drop us all on a hill, where we were. He dropped everyone there in a middle of nowhere and took off. And one villager came to me and said, don’t worry come with me and tomorrow we can all go to the public school. He invited me to his home. The family and him, they made me food and hot drink. I was so cold, I was freezing. He brought me to the public school where my sensei and I found each other after the earthquake. We went to the store to get batteries for the radio back then. The heater runs on oil but you need electricity to start it. So we didn’t have heating at the school. It was a terrible night. Terrible, terrible night. When I finally was able to talk to my family, my dad actually called, after he heard about Fukushima, he said, “Get back here, take a plane tomorrow and get back, don’t worry about anything, just get back tomorrow.” But at that time I thought “no, why would I leave now, people here need me, why should I run away, it is not
like when everything is fine you stay but once something goes wrong you go back.” So I told my father “no”. He was so pissed off. I felt under pressure, I was already stressed out because of what happened and he was yelling at me to get back, I thought to myself “I don’t need this right now” and I just hung up the phone. Later they were calling and calling. I finally picked up and it was my mom and she said “listen, we are really worried” And I said “I understand but I am not leaving here”. During the next two weeks there were a lot of search and rescue efforts. I was trying to sign up. But the sensei I met asked me to help on the sidelines and not go on the other side, he said that he is responsible for me if something happens and that I would be more of a liability than help. And that people would try to be extra careful so I wouldn’t get hurt since I am a foreigner. He was not going to go himself to leave it to people who know what they are doing, to the professionals. But I was organizing the supplies with others, I especially thought about warm blankets and supplies that people can use to warm themselves. It was so cold during that time. I got them some blankets.

While the participant faced fear the event also reinforced his feeling of belonging within the Japanese, despite his sensei’s bringing to the attention that the participant is a migrant, what the participant highlighted was the experience of sympathy from the family in the village. Similar feelings of belonging within the community were shared by N.C., twenty five years old man, originally from China

At the time of 3/11 I worked at Shinjuku. It was just across the subway station and I lived very close to the combini store. I did not runaway when it happened, a lot of people did. After the earthquake, My iPhone was charged and I was able to go on Facebook and immediately let my family know that I was alright. People who couldn’t get in touch with their family would asked me to go on Facebook and post messages from them that they were alright. After the earthquake hit I stayed at the combini, even for 20 hours every day for a week, with the owner, just the two of us, helping him with the store. Why did I work for such long hours? In the beginning I didn’t know anything, I didn’t know anybody. But I had a neighbor, oba-chan [middle aged, or older women – it is not a respectful way of calling someone, but sometimes if there is a greater familiarity people use obachan, ojichan]. Oba—chan took care of me when I arrived to Japan, she would bring me food and talk to me. I will always be grateful for that. In a way, I wanted to do the same.

Some migrant organizations extended help to people affected by the Tsunami and they have involved migrant members in these efforts. For example one Nikkeijin organization helped with clearing of the debris and providing clean water supplies. The organization
leader pointed out that many of the communities in the small towns were more likely to have difficulties of dealing with the aftermath of the disaster because the majority of the residents were seniors.

Despite the tragedy most of the respondents did not take any precautions. Some migrants explained that if their Japanese friends and colleagues did not do anything to prepare, then why should they, even if they were afraid. For example a twenty two year old man from Peru recalled the event,

The shaking, it was the most terrible shaking. Electricity went out. The shaking was really bad. It was the worst day in my life, I thought I will die for sure.

So, since then, do you have an emergency kit, just in case?

No. Why?

Four of the migrants said that they were unafraid of the earthquakes. For instance, forty years old married man from Nepal explained,

I am not afraid of earthquakes, you know because we have earthquakes in Nepal. It is normal.

Similar sentiment was expressed by thirty seven years old man from Peru,

I am not afraid of earthquakes, because the buildings here are constructed in a way to withstand earthquakes. But it was bad, especially when people got caught by the earthquake in an elevator, the lights were out. Everyone is used to earthquakes here. But normally earthquakes are small and I don’t buy anything in case of a disaster.

It seems that a number of migrants mirrored normalized attitudes towards earthquakes. The participants did not want to appear unreasonably fearful compared to the Japanese nationals. Another reason for not having an emergency kit had to do with religious believers of migrants. In particular a forty two years old married man from Nigeria, who has been in Japan for twenty one years argued,
In February, company I work for finished a construction of the small stadium at the Disneyland, where people will watch Mickey and so on. It took us a year because we had to set it up deeply in the ground. In Japan I have been here for a long time in construction, and the way here is that people think that as human beings they can construct solid buildings that will withstand the earthquakes, but I never believe that because God is a creator of everything, of all the human beings, and can create and destruct, and decide if something happens. So those of us who believe in God we can only put our trust in him and pray that he doesn’t take lives and just destroys the property. But these people don’t believe in God and they think that O.K. we will just create these earthquakes resistant buildings and if the earthquake happens it will withstand it, but you are not a God not a creator not the finisher just a human being, so don’t put your trust in this thing. I don’t rely on my cellphone for earthquake warnings, what will happen, will happen.

This speaks to possibility of fatalistic attitudes resulting in neglecting preparedness (Fothergill and Peek 2004).

Yet the event seemed to affect the informants who have children the most. The participants were worried about what happened, because they were concerned about their children’s safety. One respondent, C.K., a thirty six years old Filipino woman, described 3/11 in the following way,

I tried working so hard, for my family, for them [points to her children playing nearby] but the tsunami swept everything away. You know, our house, our car was swept away. I had no clothes. But from some of the clothes I had I gave some to other people, because they were so cold. But then I was cold as well. All I had was ¥1,000 in my wallet. No shower for so many days. I could smell myself, my hair was in disarray. We were so hungry. But what really broke my heart was that my children were hungry, they said to me that they were hungry you know. I used to store canned food in my pantry in the house. And I know that everything turned into debris but I decided to go to where my home used to be and search the debris. I went down from the evacuation zone. I snuck out at night. I went all the way down to where the town used to be. By myself. I stood where my house used to stand and I prayed that I could find something there. And then I started tearing the rubble apart. And I did find some cans of food. I took some up to my children, I woke them up at night. And I did that for three days until help got here. [She is sobbing]

Would you like to take a break?

No, you need to hear this. I know I am so sad. I used to cry and have panic attacks and I still cry. I take medication now, but I still worry so much. These two [points to her children] were in a kindergarten, but they were crying about what happened
to their favorite backpack, that is what they were crying about. Later I bought a backpack in a store, but they cried “what happened to my favorite bento box”? You know, now I take care of senior men and women. They can be a little funny. Anyway, we spent four years in temporary housing. I hope next year it will change. I hope things will get better.

The experience of another participant, thirty nine years old Filipino woman demonstrates how thinking about her child changed the meaning of the event,

I am not worried about myself, but about my children, I think my daughter was the most traumatized. My youngest boy is 6, I have two daughters, one is 8 years old and one is 19 years old. My oldest daughter has a boyfriend. She is so pretty [she shows me the picture]. I am not worried about the two youngest ones, because they don’t even remember what happened, they were at their grandmother’s at the time. But my oldest daughter was at home and when the shaking started the bookcase almost fell on her, I mean the bookcase started to swing back and forth and my daughter ended up holding the bookcase the entire time, like this [she shows me how her daughter was pushing the bookcase]. And this bookcase, it should have been secured to the wall, which my husband fixed since then, but it could have collapsed on my daughter. And she remembers it.

Thus some of the participants acknowledged having an emergency kit because of their worry about children. For example, S.J., thirty years old married man from Tanzania remarked that,

I didn’t care about having supplies in case of an earthquake, my wife didn’t either. But now, we have a son, and we have some supplies just in case.

Another participant, a thirty seven years old, divorced man from Peru, said,

No I don’t have anything like that for myself. But actually, my ex-wife does for our child. For myself, just in case, I have documents in plastic bag near the door. That is it. But yes, for my son, that is different.

The broader literature related to hazards has already included the family make up as one of the factors affecting preparedness. Cutter et al. (2003) point out that

[f]amilies with large numbers of dependents or single-parent households often have limited finances to outsource care for dependents, and thus must juggle work
responsibilities and care for family members. All affect the resilience to and recovery from hazards. (248)

There is also a possibility that families with children may feel more inclined to prepare for hazards. In this particular group, migrants’ perception of risk seemed to be different than their peers, giving more consideration of the impact of hazards on their children. While the majority of migrants did not have an emergency kit, everyone relied on their cell phones for emergency warning. For example, twenty eight years old married man from Myanmar (Burma). He is in Japan on the TITP visa and works in construction,

We don’t have any information on disasters or anything like instructions on what to do. If someone works at a senior care center or hospital then, yes, it probably has instructions for where to evacuate, because I would imagine it must be part of their obligations, even in English. But the local government sent out evacuation maps to each resident. I am not sure if they have an English version. But definitely there is not enough information on the TV.

What about on the cell phone?

Yes. There is a cell phone warning.

This is the case of many small companies that do not post information regarding evacuation plans. Another respondent, a thirty four years old married woman from Peru explains,

Now everyone has cellphones. It automatically alerts you when there is an earthquake. You don’t have to pay for it, it doesn’t matter who is your provider, it will automatically buzz.

Therefore, accessibility to cell phones, seemed to be one of the ways in which migrants’ in this particular group were able to increase their hazards preparedness.

Experience of migration: Looking to Go Back or to Stay

While literature points out to the possibility of a temporary character of migration to Japan, including Nikkei migrants (for example, Tsuda 2003, 379), only three of the participants
mentioned that they plan to leave Japan. The majority of the informants revealed that they wish to stay in Japan. An interview with a female NGO staff member seems to confirm this. She describes,

We are an organization that helps migrants and you are not the first one who came here, a number of researchers from Japanese universities contacts us to gain access to the migrant community here. Every year we have a group of university students trying to, you know, finish up their thesis, coming up with these questionnaires that they give out to migrants, including questions such as “Do you want to go back to your country of origin?” and “How long do you want to stay in Japan?” and many residents say “I will go back to Brazil in three years”. They say what they think researchers want to hear. But then twenty years has passed and they are still here.

So is there discrepancy?

Yes, the plan is to come to Japan to make money, then go back, maybe start a business, but that is not what happens. And especially once their kids are born and raised here and speak only Japanese.

T.J. is one of the migrants that would like to open a business in Japan. He looks forward to the future, he has saved up some money and is looking to open a construction company with his coworker,

Here all I do is work. Sometimes when I am tired I take a day off. My work partner over there, we work together you know, when I need to rest he takes over. I am foreign and my boss is foreign so he understands. But I not planning to stay here, in this company, much longer. My partner and I, we will open our own business soon, just like this one. We will have a company together. Just don’t tell anyone. You see if you work for someone else you don’t make any money. I don’t want to get old here and have nothing to show for.

Thus, he considers possibility of staying in Japan. However, this tied to a condition of creating a better opportunities for himself and having a successful business.

Six of the participants left their children behind when they moved to Japan. The interviews revealed that while these informants wanted to stay in Japan, they hoped to be
able to bring their children from overseas. For example, A.J., a 54 years old man originally from Pakistan, described his situation in the following way,

You know, in the past I used to work in Korea. That’s right. I was there for ten years working in a metal casting factory. See the watch you wear? Or this (a cell phone) – I made metal things like that. Nothing to do with cooking. But I had visa only for 2 months, a tourist visa, but then I overstayed for 3 years. And then they deported me. But then this opportunity came. I got a work visa here, through my job, for one year, then an extension for another year, then another extension for three years. But my visa will expire in November this year. I applied for 5 year working visa. If I get it I will bring my children, my family here. They are in Pakistan now, they are almost grown up. I have three children, a daughter and two boys. Seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years old. I visit Pakistan once a year, but this year if everything works out I will bring them here.

Migrants who left their children behind would like an opportunity to either visit their family or bring their children to Japan; however, the costs of travel are high, and they choose to stay here. For example, J.S. is 51 years old and has two sons who live in Peru. J.S. has two jobs. He came here because he was able to get a visa through his wife who is a second generation Nikkei. He works he has a full time job car parts plant, but in the summer he supplements his income by working part time as a maintenance worker at a resort. This is his third year in Japan and he misses his family. However he doesn’t think that he can travel back to Peru, if he receives ¥ 330, 000 a month. He decides to stay in Japan so he can send the majority of his income to the family. “You may think that ¥ 330, 000 a month is a lot, but with the large family to support it isn’t.” During the summer season between his job at the factory and the resort, he does not have any days off. However, during the rest of the year he has days off.

However, one of the participants, E.H., wants to leave despite his child residing in Japan,
You know, I do not want to stay here forever. Japanese people, especially men, all they do is work. I don’t want to be like that. They leave their homes in the morning and they come back at night and there is nothing but work. They work, work, work. They do not enjoy their lives. They do not even love their wives I think. I don’t even think they talk to them. Just work. Why work so hard if you cannot enjoy the money? I mean, what are you going to do with all the money, if you do not have a time on your own? I like the outdoors, I like sports. Not only the gym, but I love rafting and playing football [soccer]. I like to spend time with my friends, go to a bar drink beer. I want to have time to date. But in Japan, all you do is work. So I want to go somewhere else, before I get old.

E.H. hopes that in another country he could work to enjoy his life. In his view, Japan is a country where people are driven by profit and do not enjoy social life. The life is structured around work and does not leave any space for gratification. However, E.H. did not perceive his own yearnings for outdoor recreation as consumption, and did not reflect on how, similarly, incomes earned by his Japanese counterparts could be potentially consumed in a social setting, and how the public consumption may drive Japanese workers to seek higher incomes. Similarly, another participant, I.K. from Paraguay linked his desire to leave Japan with profit driven, fast paced lifestyle. At the same time, he mentioned feelings of nostalgia.

You have a wife, is this correct? Is your wife Japanese or Peruvian, or…

[She is ] second generation, Paraguay.

Nikkeijin? Where were your children born, in Japan or Paraguay?

One of my kids was born in Japan, three were born in Paraguay.

How old are they?

Twelve, ten, four, and one.

Do you have brothers or sisters in Paraguay?

I have one brother and one sister.

Do you contact your family through Skype or call them?
Online. I e-mail them. I haven’t been back. My family doesn’t visit here. My mom is afraid to fly planes. It makes visiting here difficult.

Did you ever go sight-seeing with your family here, in Japan.

In Japan? Overall, I lived in different places, Fukui, Niigata, Shizuoka and Ibaraki Prefectures. But as a tourist, no. On pasantía [internship]. There is no appeal to visit for me, there is no difference, once you saw one place. And I really like fishing, so I prefer to go fishing when I have time off. I liked fishing in Fukui and Niigata. Here in Shizuoka じゃない [janai - not]. I also love to barbeque. I mostly barbeque by myself for my family, sometimes there are friends, but mostly just for myself. When I was in Paraguay, in my free time I would watch TV, I don’t like playing sports.

How did you migrate here?

My wife is a Nikkeijin. So we obtained the visa through her. I am from Paraguay one hundred percent.

How do you feel about Japan?

Stress. A lot of stress.

Why?

Become we live here so fast, everything is accelerated. There is no time for nothing. I don’t have time for anything. But also, see my family is in Paraguay, my mom, my brother, my sister is in Paraguay. I have been for three years already. At first we were here for two years by ourselves without kids. And so first years with my kids in Paraguay were especially stressful.

Who took care of your kids?

My mother. Now my kids are here. But before they were in Paraguay.

What work did you do in Paraguay?

In Paraguay [he laughs], there was no work. Now, I had a few jobs here.

What about training?

I didn’t get any training in Japan or in Paraguay. It is very difficult here. In Japan I didn’t know anything.

But now you are very skilled in Japanese.

But your wife is Nikkeijin?

That’s right. How to say this. I am interested in understanding Japanese, but my wife is not interested in Japanese. My wife is interested only in Facebook, and videogames. Every day. I mean each day all she does is go on Facebook and play games. Do you understand? [He sighs] But I have my fishing.

Do I want to live here for the rest of my life? No. I want to come back. Simply, if I decide to go back to Paraguay, we all go, with my children. I never thought about if my kids want to stay here or not. My kids maybe like it here. But people here are so cold. And I am not. Not cold, what is the word I am looking for.

Affectionate [afectuoso]?

No, not this, ….not as open [No tiene la mente abierta]. But my kids, why would they want to stay? They do not have any difficulties here. They are doing well. They don’t have problems at school. To be honest this is not about them, I just don’t want to stay here. I don’t have much free time here. I also I feel nostalgic about the past, about living in Paraguay. I don’t know about my kids. I never thought to ask them.

Thus, I.K. felt homesick and hopes to go back to Paraguay. Still, he thought that his children well adjusting well.

Still, C.E., originally from Nigeria, who has been in Japan for twenty one years, views the possibility of educating his children in Japan differently.

I go to visit my family for Christmas every year. My wife and children are in Nigeria. My boy will have to be 16 years old before coming here. I don’t want for them to study here. Schools in Nigeria are better, education in Nigeria is better. I don’t see any future for my children here. No one speaks Japanese anyway. Only people in Japan speak Japanese. It is better if they go to England and at least learn how to speak proper Queen’s English. Because you see I hear these stories about how the foreigners marry Japanese people and then their children get bullied in school and are called foreigners, I wouldn’t want for my children to go through this. It is better if they stay in Nigeria. I will go back to Nigeria, I am not an immigrant here, because I am planning to go back.

At first, the interview seems to point that the reason why C.E does not wish for his children to study in Japan, is because he feels that Nigerian culture is superior to Japanese. Yet, there is another issue that he reveals, namely, that he heard a rumor that foreign children are subjected to bullying in Japanese schools and he wants to protect his children from
mistreatment. I asked migrant parents about how they felt their children were treated at school, an in this particular group, parents whose children attend Japanese school, have positive experiences with the school system. For K.S., who is currently employed as a care worker, leaving back to Ghana would mean giving up on her daughters’ education. She explains,

We used to live in a countryside. We don’t want to go back. We want to stay in the city, and specifically here, in Japan, because of my daughter. Her access to school and for jobs. My husband and I grew up in the countryside, but we shouldn’t look back, here we have electricity and water. But the school for my daughter is the most important. I brought pictures and newspaper articles with me. Her picture is in the paper again – look! Her school team won a game. The school loves my daughter. She has many friends, and I know her classmate’s parents. I myself get so much emotional support from the school. My daughter is so successful here, has really good grades. I want her to be able to continue. The other week she got an award and the school paid for the whole family’s trip, so we could accompany my daughter to pick up the award. I am determined to stay here.

K.S. and her husband regularly go to school to walk with their daughter home and chat with other parents. K.S. fell out of status a year ago, but she remains active in her daughter life, including interactions with her daughter’s teachers and other parents from school.

Conclusion

Participants related their everyday experience in Japan to safety. Yet safety was understood in different ways, as a safety from crime, as a work safety culture, and as safety related to living in an earthquake prone area.

In terms of crime and safety, national policies construct migrants as potentially dangerous and requiring control within the legal frameworks. For example, controversies related to the ‘stop and frisk’ policy, albeit its design towards everyone living in Japan, is debated with regard to migrants and minorities. Migrants’ narratives concerning crime and
safety, pointed to living in Japan as desirable because of low crime rates as well as order, which in this case referred to two concepts that migrants linked together, that of customary social practices, as well as “a situation in which everything is arranged in its correct place (Cambridge University Press 2016).” Migrants revealed that they felt safer in the countryside, because of the decreased presence of other foreigners.

Interviews with migrants and Japanese occupational safety officials revealed that migrant exposure to occupational injuries may be linked with the employment for small sized companies. In addition, companies did not pay required insurance for their migrant workers. Some of participants disclosed that they had experienced injury at work and expressed their frustration with companies that wanted to avoid paying for hospital bills. Some migrants pointed toward feeling that their hard work and loyalty to the companies had little effect on companies’ willingness to take responsibility for workers’ injury or disability compensation.

A number of interviewed migrants recalled 3/11 earthquake and tsunami in their narratives, even though some of them lived in areas located further from the epicenter, for instance, Tokyo or Yokohama. Some of migrants brought up issues of safety in relation to their children and they linked their own preparedness towards a possibility of tsunami or earthquake with presence or absence of children. Yet, many of participants chose not to prepare in case of a disaster. This could be explained in two ways. First, migrants wanted to match the behavior of their Japanese colleagues. Second, the threat of earthquakes was normalized due to frequent occurrences of shocks, and thus earthquake and tsunami hazards seemed less threatening.
Overall, this chapter discusses narratives related to everyday experience of safety in Japan. Migrants linked their narratives of safety to lowered vulnerability to crime, decrease in safety climate at work and increased risk of injury, as well as increased vulnerability to natural hazards.

According to Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2014), Japan currently is a top ranking country in terms of public safety, it has one of the of the lowest rates of assaults. The study demonstrates that among this group of migrants perception of safety in Japan is similarly shared by men and women, however, migrants reported feeling protected in the rural setting where the numbers of other migrants were lower. Overall, the majority of migrants considered Japan to be safe in comparison to their place of origin and cited order and security as major factors contributing to their decision to stay in Japan.

Within the literature on occupational safety, there has been an increased interest in the conditions of work of migrant communities (Walter, et al. 2002). Some studies point out to construction of masculinities and socialization into dangerous behaviors within the sending countries as contributing factors to poor work safety habits. However, with a few Mori, Yoshikawa & Sakai (2013) as well as Yoshikawa (2013) posit that the company size has greater implications in terms of risk of injury than the language barrier or cultural differences. This paper reflects on the particular realities of working for a small company, accountability and inspections in Japan. Based on ethnographic data gathered in Kanagawa prefecture in a small size company employing foreign workers, and interviews with migrant organizations and local hospital staff on occupational safety, this research reflects on work safety procedures and promotion of migrant worker health .The overall aim of this
inquiry is to shift the discourse of responsibility for work safety to the companies which currently cut costs on workers safety training and insurance.

Further studies could be carried out to compare how civil society and governments approach preparedness for hazards in migrant communities. In addition, studies are needed to address the complexities of disaster preparedness and family structures.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

At the time of writing of this dissertation Japanese society is undergoing dramatic population changes. This year the Statistics Bureau (2016) reported that,

During the 2010-2015 period, the population of Japan declined by 947 thousand (0.7%), or by 189 thousand (0.15%) per year. It declined for the first time since the Population Census was begun in 1920.

In addition to pressures presented by the global competitive market, Japanese public debates include the decrease in population and aging of the society (Yamada 2010). While in the past, literature pointed out that the Japanese government will keep limiting the entrance of migrant workers because of its presumed state led capitalism and pressuring of the private companies to mechanize in order to mitigate labor shortages, it seems that these arguments are no longer viable and that more migrants will be entering Japan (Castles 2011). For example, mechanization and robotics did not alleviate labor market pains connected with construction for Tokyo 2020 Olympics. In the future, demographic transitions in Japan as well as increased neo-liberalization of the market are likely to intensify the role of migration in economic development. Still, it is unclear if migrants will have better opportunities in Japan, because the government is likely to expand visa programs to increase the availability of cheap labor and avoid investing in the future of migrant workers and their children.

This research follows the ways in which neoliberal globalization accelerated the incorporation of migrants due to a clustering of demographic changes and economic
demands (Castles 2011, 313). Increase in migration in Japan is not haphazard, but tied to broader desires of economic success in globally and locally competing urban and rural areas. Through the particular spaces of Tokyo and rural areas in surrounding prefectures, this research demonstrates three ways in which migrants are incorporated into Japanese economy. (1) The study reveals how migrants participate in the latest scheme of Tokyo 2020 that is supposed to bring profit to local developers and real estate. Previous and current growth strategies drove up the prices of real estate in Tokyo and other large cities in Japan. (2) While there are still many factories in the urban areas, gradually companies seeking to cut costs move out or set up their operations in cheaper locations, either outside of Japan, or in the countryside. In turn, many of the factories located in Japanese countryside hire cheap migrant labor to increase profits. Other industries outside of construction and manufacturing, also seek to hire migrants. The hospitality industry as well as health care and social assistance sectors in Japan secured migrant labor through bilateral trade agreements that include clauses on the “movement of natural persons” between individual countries. In some cases migrant enclaves form in proximities to places that hire foreign workers. (3) Recently, local governments learned how to capitalize on formation of migrant communities through advertising their areas to Japanese tourists. Thus, migrant enclaves become are marketed as exotic tourist sites (Lin 2008). Japanese tourists no longer have to travel to Brazil or China. Instead they may visit Oizumi or Ikebukuro.

The specific case study explored by this dissertation sheds light on gendered migrant experiences. Based on evidence from ethnographic and interview data as well as content and textual analysis of job advertisement this research adds to understanding of the processes of labor segmentation in Japan. Blue collar migrants have little opportunity to
work outside of undesirable work: *kitanai, kiken, kitsui*. In addition, men and women are directed towards different types of employment, for example, women towards food processing, men towards construction work. Still, even those factories that hire men and women for the same work type position, assign them different wages. In general job advertisements did not mention any opportunities for advancement. Conversations with participants seem to confirm that and show that only couple of them mentioned that they were offered better position by their companies. Moreover, both men and women have to work longer hours in order to achieve incomes similar to their Japanese counterparts. Thus, chances of social mobility for blue collar migrants, especially women are limited. Still, as Collins (2000) argues, in addition to the individual incomes it is important to consider the “collectively held, historical family assets to contemporary patterns of affluence and poverty (51)”.

Moreover, similarly to Xiang’s (2012) study this research finds that labor brokers play substantial role in terms of connecting migrants to jobs. The power of labor brokers differed by the type of visa. Yet, the labor brokers were present even outside of the Technical Intern Training Program, as demonstrated in case of *Nikkei* migrants. While *Nikkei* migrants do not have the same visa restrictions in regards to their work place as the trainees, a number of jobs that are available to them are enabled by brokers. Therefore, while labor brokers decreased the accountability of the hiring companies and increased the cost of the hiring process, they served as facilitators in terms of hiring of foreign workers, including those who are already in Japan.

In addition to low wages migrants working for small companies face increased risk of work related injury and have less chances of having proper insurance. Namely, migrant
work safety is undermined by companies seeking to cut costs and pass on the responsibility of the care for their employees to the broader public. The popular discourse links the migrant occupational safety to workers gender, culture and language abilities. Conversely this study argues that migrant workers susceptibility to work place injuries is related to the poor safety culture of the companies as well as seeking profit. This also adds to the financial burdens faced by migrants and affects their social mobility. Similarly to Onoue et al. (2013) this research brings attention to narratives concerned with work safety climate within the context in which companies are aiming to maximize their profits within a broader neoliberal setting. This type of discourse emphasizes the workplace as an origin of safety culture, where occupational safety rules and behaviors are taught, promoted, and implemented.

Migrant NGOs in Japan aim to advocate on behalf of migrants and solve issues related to participants’ migration status, labor discrimination, increased risk of occupational injuries, or increased vulnerability to environmental hazards. Some migrants rely on their social networks to learn about the amenities and resources available through NGOs as well as broadened migrants’ social networks. In addition, migrants in this particular group expressed their desire to actively involve themselves in these organizations through various activities, such as participation in meetings and protests. This way the participants feel as a part of a broader effort in Japan aimed at limiting nationalist discourse and controlling the power of the state.

Migrant jobs seemed to be available in variety of locations, including urban and rural setting. Previous studies identified multiple levels of spatialized labor control and specifically related them to restrict workers’ mobility in order to advance production
processes (Lee 1998; Kelly 2002; Wright 2003; Xiang’s 2012). This research revealed that in case of TITP workers, companies limited their mobility through work schedules, isolated locations, or limiting them to stay in dormitories. Still, couple of migrant workers in this group of participants were able to travel during the day off, for instance V.K. came to the labor union on his day off to pay monthly dues. Conversely, some of the TITP workers’ movements were restricted and they were prohibited from contacting any migrant organization until the time of their escape from the company.

This study utilized cognitive mapping and interviews to gauge migrants everyday lived experience, mobility and daily routines. Büscher et al. (2009) argue that “People actually rarely ‘transport’ anything – they deliver, shop, dispose of waste, meet, visit, commute, travel […] [i]ndividualized time-space-speed rationalities often assumed by transport research are embedded in changing, dynamically coordinated social logics (140)”. Most of this study’s participants on other types of visas and permits seemed to be mobile, and traveled for work over longer distances. For example, C.Z. traveled over an hour to work from his apartment that he shared with a roommate. Yet, some workers slept in the dormitories and apartments provided by their work places. This was especially true of migrants who did not yet establish themselves in Japan. Overall, the workers in this study did not necessarily remained in proximity to their place of work. A number of participants pointed to the increased mobility in Japan due to availability of transportation system and to their experience of using various technologies to access public transport and coordinate their daily routines.

This study delves into migrant’s own interpretations of living in urban and rural areas. Some of the respondents prefer city life in order to gain a better access to
transportation, educational opportunities for their children as well as jobs. This situates the choice of urban living vis-à-vis possibilities brought by the economic development. Moreover, this research sheds light on how place-specific rural-urban migrant identity is connected to the global economy, and how this opens up new possibilities of (re)creating urban-rural identities. This dissertation traces how rural-urban identities are perceived and (re)constructed by migrants.

Bastia (2014) argues that “As migrants move from one place to another, they also destabilize fixed borders and boundaries, whether geographic or intercategorical (238).” This research brings forth migrants’ spatial identities and underscores the complexities of urban and rural location within global economies. Intersectional studies posit that we can trace how categories are variously accepted within the power structures by challenging identities, and recognizing that our identities are problematized by age, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, ability, religion, social class, education, and other social categories (Haraway 1991; Valentine 2007). This dissertation adds spatial intersectionalities, such as ‘urban-rural’ and ‘country of origin,’ to existing discussions of social intersectionalities.

There are many economic and social factors that informed migrants’ decision to stay in Japan or seek to return to their countries of origin. Some of the factors that shape migrants experiences of living in Japan have to do with safety. A number of migrants based their decision to stay on Japan’s low crime rates. Japan is considered a safe country and the informants in this study valued the experience of safety. Yet the portrayals of migrants in Japan are often associated with misconduct and lawbreaking. Some of the migrants seem to adopt these discourses and seek to live in areas with low migrant population, especially countryside. Therefore, the analysis of data brings to light that there is a disconnect
between migrants’ experiences of safety and their perception as potential criminals within broader Japanese society.

While participants’ perception of risk of being a victim of crime is low, they did not seem to prioritize issues related to possible risk of environmental hazards in Japan. Due to the lower incomes as well as language barriers working class migrants’ vulnerability to environmental hazards may be amplified. This is especially important in case of Japan where hazards such as earthquakes are understood as everyday events. This research argues that migrants are influenced in their decision to plan for events such as tsunamis and earthquakes by their religious believes, having children, and observed behaviors of their Japanese peers. Thus, in part, the narratives on perception of hazards related to how migrants understood being Japanese and fitting into the society in terms of treating the risk of earthquakes and tsunamis.

Taken as a whole, this study approaches migration at different scales namely, government, nongovernmental organizations, and individual experiences of migrants. This research sheds light on the inclusion of migrants into receiving countries as a creative process, in which places are understood as dynamic and formed by migrants’ own interpretations of their part in shaping of Japanese places, in relation to economy and culture. Thus, this research posits that shaping of Japanese future in terms of migration is connected to a number of actors, such as government, big business, civil society, nationalistic movements, and migrants. In this light Japan as a place becomes a meeting point between these narratives and the changes it experiences create a unique sense of place.

The unique contributions of this study have to do with the ways in which it seeks
the connections between the migrant experiences across national groups. While the literature presents a number of studies on specific migrant groups in Japan (Tyner 1996; Tsuboya 2000; Faier 2008; Lie 2008; Parreñas 2010; Tsuda 2012; Agyeman 2013), this research engages with migrants from different backgrounds, from Africa, South America, and Asia and based upon the ethnographic and interview data identifies themes that emerged across these various backgrounds. Thus, this research adds to the broader literature on migration in geography as well as other social sciences in terms of finding commonalities in themes that emerged from migrants’ intimate accounts of the experiences of living in Japan, including topics related to the perception of natural hazards, risk of crime, and the occupational hazards that involve migrants.

The characteristics of the sample can be considered an outcome of deliberate strategies of recruitment. The sample for this study could have been different if the participants were recruited through snowballing, or if they were initially contacted through a workplace, or an ethnic NGO. The study recruited ninety four participants, including, sixty two migrant workers, twenty NGO's representatives, four government officials and eight Japanese nationals based on convenience sampling. This study attempts to understand how migrants view their residential experiences in Japan, their construction as foreign workers, and ways in which the migrants actively engage in the public and political space. The number of interviews was guided by the need to reach the saturation (Guest et al. 2006) and not by the statistical methods. Since the sampling was not based on the percent of migrant population and was not randomized, generalizations cannot be drawn from the results of this inquiry. The migrant participants have been recruited with the help of NGOs, including workers unions, and this method of sampling may have led to an
overrepresentation of migrants who actively participate in protests and NGO meetings. For example, this inquiry has been restricted to the participants from the Global South. There are a number of workers who come to Japan from the Global North; however, many of these migrants work in white collar occupations and did not belong to the selected NGOs. This includes general labor unions that accept workers with various employment backgrounds. At the time of the research, only migrants from the Global South came to the NGOs offices and were approached for an interview.

The limitations of this qualitative study also include the time constrains, namely the two summers of 2014 and 2015. This short time limited the access to the broader range of respondents. In addition, the timing of the research played part in some of the themes, such as discussing earthquakes in Japan as everyday lived experience. This theme should be understood in the context of the Tohoku disaster that is still fresh in the memory of some of the participants. For example, other forms of technological hazards, such as pollution did not emerge as a migrant narrative at the time of the study. It would be beneficial to consider ways in which migrants perceive pollution in Japan, and reflect on it in the context of their countries of origin, as well as urban and rural difference.

In addition, the results of this inquiry be considered an outcome of the fieldwork sites, namely, Tokyo and the surrounding prefectures in the Kanto region, as well as the Tohoku region. Tokyo is the main recipient of migrants in Japan, as well as the largest economy, and the fastest growing city in Japan. The massive expansion of construction work in preparations for Tokyo 2020 and the accompanying expansion of visa program for construction workers greatly inform the timing and location of fieldwork.

However, the interviews and ethnographic observation provided rich data regarding
the migrants’ understandings of living in Japan and the social construction of their gender, ethnic and spatial identities. Still, this account is largely concerned with presence of migrants within urban and rural landscape and everyday lived experience and thus ignores other subjects of inquiry, such as issues concerning Zainichi Koreans and nationalist movements in Japan, tracing international labor agreements, sex trafficking, labor broker operations, labor control regimes, factory floor production processes, spaces of care work, or experiences of marriage of Filipino women. In addition, in terms of migrant participants, this study was focused on migrant blue collar and pink collar workers in Japan. Namely, those who are involved in work that may involve skilled or unskilled manufacturing, construction, mechanical maintenance, technical installation or service work and thus excluded entertainment workers, educators, managers and other professionals. In addition, the study excluded interviews with persons applying for a refugee status who did not engage in work.

While the study was conducted in Japan, some of the themes that have emerged in migrant’s narratives could be used to formulate comparative studies with other developed economies, for instance the United States and European Union. The United States, European Union, and Japan are ranking high in terms of the gross domestic product. However, Japanese public discourse points out to uncertainty in terms of further economic growth due to the shrinking population. At the same time, the United States has the third largest population in the world and the growth rate is above one percent a year, with the majority of the growth attributed to the migrant population and their children (U.S. Department of Commerce 2016). Still, in Japan, the United States, and European Union the limitation or increase of migration and its relation to the economy remain ardently
debated topics, as illustrated by Brexit vote. Yet, work related to low wage labor is linked to migrant labor in the majority of developed countries including United States, European Union, and Japan. However, some issues are specific to the spatial context. For instance, while low wage labor is facilitated by labor brokers in Japan, in the United States intermediaries often play a role in respect to white collar workers, as exemplified by IT workers.

Some of the themes related to migration that emerged during this study are unique to the situation of Japan. For example, particularly insidious way in which the government is condoning and openly discussing as possibility of facilitating the use of migrant labor in areas covered by radioactive material that was discharged by the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear reactor. This discussion is enabled by presumed temporality of migrant workers, such as TTIP migrants. It is possible that the government would not publically reveal an idea of using migrant labor if migrants would be considered as permanent. Yet other themes, such as experience of work safety culture by migrant workers, in the neoliberal setting (Saucedo and Morales 2010; Arcury et al. 2015; Onoue et al. 2013) seem to emerge across contexts of developed countries, including the United States and Japan.

There is a need for more migration studies that would engage with meanings of spatial aspects of intersectional identities on a theoretical level. For example, studies conducted with the same group of migrants in place of origin and destination could lead to gaining a more complete understanding of spatial intersectionality. In addition, research in rural areas is needed to delve further into mobility of migrants. Furthermore, long-term biographical research, which can be committed to rural areas could look into the socio-economic changes that over time are presented by migration.
In addition, more research is needed to compare the findings from Japan and understand what kinds of jobs are available to men and women migrants in their countries of origin. For instance, this type of research could seek opinions of migrants in terms of what kinds of employment migrants seek or avoid. In addition, it would be useful to determine how migrants respond to and reflect on the advertisements placed in the migrant magazines. While advertisements are targeted at millennials, increasingly workers of all ages are disciplined to be computer savvy to get a job. Generational differences in terms of use of commutation technologies among migrant workers seem to be complex and may need to be further examined.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Table of Participants: Migrant Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Date(s) of the Interview</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>06/06/2014</td>
<td>H.G.</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting</td>
<td>Widower</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>06/22/2014</td>
<td>M.G.</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>Single</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>China</td>
<td>06/22/2014</td>
<td>N.G.</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>06/22/2014</td>
<td>R.J.</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>05/31/2015</td>
<td>S.J.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>05/31/2015</td>
<td>T.J.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>05/31/2015</td>
<td>A.J.</td>
<td>Accommodation and Food Services</td>
<td>Married</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>06/08/2015</td>
<td>C.H.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>06/10/2015</td>
<td>A.H.</td>
<td>Administrative and Support and Waste Management</td>
<td>Single</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>06/10/2015</td>
<td>B.H.</td>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>Married</td>
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<td>06/19/2015</td>
<td>D.H.</td>
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<td>Single</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>06/25/2015</td>
<td>E.H.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Peru</td>
<td>06/25/2015</td>
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<td>Single</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<td>Retail Trade</td>
<td>Married</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>06/08/2015</td>
<td>H.P.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>06/04/2015</td>
<td>A.W.</td>
<td>Administrative Assistant</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>06/04/2015</td>
<td>B.W.</td>
<td>Transportation and Warehousing</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>07/08/2015</td>
<td>E.W.</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
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62 Total
Appendix B:

Table of Participants: NGO Workers

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<th>Date(s) of the Interview</th>
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<td>Japan</td>
<td>05/15/2014</td>
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<td>05/20/2014</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
<td>06/18/2015</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
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Total 20
Appendix C

Table of Participants: NGO Workers

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Total 4

Table of Participants: Government Officials

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<td>06/22/2015</td>
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Total 4
Appendix D

Table of Participants: Employers

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Total 2
### Appendix E

**Table of Participants: Japanese Workers**

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<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Construction</td>
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<td>06/15/2015</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
<td>05/25/2014</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
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*Total 7*
Appendix F

Map: Participants’ Countries of Origin
Appendix G

Table: The Number of Foreign Registered Residents by Prefecture

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<td>Shiga</td>
<td>24,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td>25,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagano</td>
<td>31,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tochigi</td>
<td>34,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>42,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mie</td>
<td>43,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifu</td>
<td>45,923</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gunma</td>
<td>46,401</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyoto</td>
<td>53,575</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibaraki</td>
<td>54,095</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fukuoka</td>
<td>60,417</td>
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<td>Shizuoka</td>
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<td>Hyogo</td>
<td>98,625</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chiba</td>
<td>122,479</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saitama</td>
<td>139,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanagawa</td>
<td>180,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aichi</td>
<td>209,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>210,148</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>4,62,732</td>
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<td>Undecided, unknown</td>
<td>1,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,232,189</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

307
Appendix H

Map: Foreign Registered Residents by Prefecture

Legend

The Number of Foreign Registered Residents by Prefecture

Migrants
- 3616 - 7222
- 7223 - 17708
- 17709 - 34402
- 34403 - 76081
- 76082 - 139656
- 139657 - 210148
- 210149 - 462732
Appendix I


INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Milena Urszula Janiec Grygo  Date: 06/17/2016

Class or Project: Situating Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences


### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Educational</td>
<td>- Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use)</td>
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<td>- Bad-faith behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment</td>
<td>- Denying credit to original author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work)</td>
<td>- Non-transformative or exact copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group)</td>
<td>- Made accessible on Web or to public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nonprofit</td>
<td>- Profit-generating use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the purpose and character of your use supports fair use or does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Factual or nonfiction</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Important to favored educational objectives</td>
<td>- Consumable (workbooks, tests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Published work</td>
<td>- Unpublished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material supports fair use or does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALLY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole  ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

**EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the effect on the market for the original  ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

**CONCLUSION**

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original  ■ likely supports fair use or □ likely does not support fair use.

*Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to contact your Copyright Librarian.*

This worksheet has been adapted from:

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Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem. Retrieved from:  
[https://d3s6a3cc5dor-ciudafront.net/ceo/Readings%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20Any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf](https://d3s6a3cc5dor-ciudafront.net/ceo/Readings%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20Any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf)

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith, dsmith@usf.edu  
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Appendix J


INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Milena Urszula Janiec Grygo  Date: 06/17/2016
Class or Project: Situating Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>□ Profit-generating use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the purpose and character of your use supports fair use or does not support fair use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL</th>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
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AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

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</tbody>
</table>

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole supports fair use or does not support fair use.

**EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL**

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<thead>
<tr>
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**CONCLUSION**

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original supports fair use or does not support fair use.

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LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Appendix K

USF Fair Use Worksheet: Ikebukuro Ward. n.d. 池袋駅北口周辺中国 [Ikebukuro Station North Entrance near Chinese Neighborhood] Map

INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Milena Urszula Janiec Grygo Date: 06/17/2016

Class or Project: Situating Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences

Title of Copyrighted Work:

PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Nonprofit</td>
<td>□ Profit-generating use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>□ Consumable (workbooks, tests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Published work</td>
<td>□ Unpublished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ■ supports fair use or □ does not support fair use.

AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIANCE OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>■ Similar or exact quality of original work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole [supports fair use or does not support fair use.

**EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL**

<table>
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</table>

Overall, the effect on the market for the original [supports fair use or does not support fair use.

**CONCLUSION**

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original [likely supports fair use or likely does not support fair use.

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This worksheet has been adapted from:


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Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Appendix L


INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Milena Urszula Janiec Grygo Date: 06/17/2016

Class or Project: Situating Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences


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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>Entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH OR SCHOLARSHIP</td>
<td>BAD-FAITH BEHAVIOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>MADE ACCESSIBLE ON WEB OR TO PUBLIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONPROFIT</td>
<td>PROFIT-GENERATING USE</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<tbody>
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</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SMALL AMOUNT (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose)</td>
<td>LARGE PORTION OR WHOLE WORK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT IS IMPORTANT TO FAVORED SOCIALLY BENEFICIAL OBJECTIVE (I.E. EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES)</td>
<td>PORTION USED IS QUALITATIVELY SUBSTANTIAL (I.E. IT IS THE ‘HEART OF THE WORK’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOWER QUALITY FROM ORIGINAL (EX. LOWER RESOLUTION OR BITRATE PHOTOS, VIDEO, AND AUDIO)</td>
<td>SIMILAR OR EXACT QUALITY OF ORIGINAL WORK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
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**EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL**

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LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmit@usf.edu

Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Appendix M

USF Fair Use Worksheet: Oizumi Town. n.d. 西小泉駅周辺拡大図 [Nishi Koizumi Station Enlarged View] Map

INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Milena Urszula Janiec Grygo Date: 06/17/2016

Situating Migrants in Contemporary Japan: From Public Spaces to Personal Experiences

Class or Project: Oizumi Town. n.d. 西小泉駅周辺拡大図 Nishi Koizumi Station Enlarged View Mapp

Title of Copyrighted Work: 西小泉駅周辺拡大図 Nishi Koizumi Station Enlarged View Map

PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factual or nonfiction</td>
<td>Creative or fiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important to favored educational objectives</td>
<td>Consumable (workbooks, tests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published work</td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material supports fair use or does not support fair use.

AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALLY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose)</td>
<td>Large portion or whole work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)</td>
<td>Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the ‘heart of the work’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bit rate photos, video, and audio)</td>
<td>Similar or exact quality of original work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmit@usf.edu

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole supports fair use or does not support fair use.

**EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely Supports Fair Use</th>
<th>Likely Does Not Support Fair Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original</td>
<td>□ Replaces sale of copyrighted work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ No similar product marketed by the copyright holder</td>
<td>□ Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material</td>
<td>□ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ The copyright holder is unidentifiable</td>
<td>□ Made accessible on Web or to public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Lack of licensing mechanism for the material</td>
<td>□ Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the effect on the market for the original supports fair use or does not support fair use.

**CONCLUSION**

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original likely supports fair use or likely does not support fair use.

*Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to contact your Copyright Librarian.*

This worksheet has been adapted from:

Cornell University’s Checklist for Conducting A Fair Use Analysis Before Using Copyrighted Materials: [https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair-Use_Checklist.pdf](https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair-Use_Checklist.pdf)


LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu

Reviewed by USF General Counsel 08/11/2015
Appendix N

IRB#: Pro00017226

May 28, 2014

Milena Janiec Grygo
School of Geosciences
4202 E. Fowler Avenue, NES
107 Tampa, FL   33620

RE: Expedited Approval for Initial Review
IRB#: Pro00017226
Title: Migrant Mobility in Contemporary Japan

Study Approval Period: 5/28/2014 to 5/28/2015

Dear Ms. Janiec Grygo:

On 5/28/2014, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and APPROVED the above application and all documents outlined below.

Approved Item(s):
Protocol Document(s):
Study Protocol

Consent/Assent Document(s)*:
Information about Research to Obtain Consent for Participation (**granted a waiver of documentation)

*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are only valid during the approval period indicated at the top of the form(s). **Waivers are not stamped.

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below.
The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirements for the documentation of informed consent as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.117(c) which states that an IRB may waive the requirement for the investigator to obtain a signed consent form for some or all subjects if it finds either: (1) That the only record linking the subject and the research would be the consent document and the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality. Each subject will be asked whether the subject wants documentation linking the subject with the research, and the subject's wishes will govern; or (2) That the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

Kristen Salomon, Ph.D., Vice Chairperson
USF Institutional Review Board