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Abstract

Foreigners in Japan fall into distinct groups in terms of the eligibility of the allowed scope of economic activities in the light of immigration control. Some are legally entitled to work, while others are limited in the scope of activities to particular qualified jobs, or in the total amount of weekly work hours. Others are absolutely not allowed to work. When the visa a foreigner holds has expired, residence itself is illegal. Resident status basically determines foreigners' working as well as living conditions. Besides these institutional determinants, there are many factors which affect foreigners' working conditions. This paper aims to analyze the working and living conditions by category of foreigners in Japan.

1. Working Conditions of Ethnic Koreans and Chinese

The term "old-comers" is often used with a special social connotation referring to Koreans and Chinese who have resided since the Second World War and who form, together with their offspring, peculiar ethnic groups in Japan as a historical legacy. However, most analytical work as well as discussions on contemporary policy issues on migrant workers have tended to focus on the various social and economic problems which have derived from the recent rapid accumulation of new-comers.

A gradual decrease in the old-comer population, due both to ageing of the first generation and naturalization among younger generation in recent decades, together with a dramatic increase of new-comers, has created a significant decline in the ratio of old-comers to total foreign residents. Notwithstanding, they still accounted for 46 per cent of registered foreigners at the end of 1992. They are of remarkable importance, not only because of their significant proportion in the foreign population, but also because of their special resident situation. An anecdotal policy dispute illustrates this. The labour permit system, proposed in a report by the committee established to formulate measures to deal with the increase of illegal migrant workers, was seriously criticized by groups of ethnic Korean residents and their supporters who cited the possibility of imposing additional restrictive burdens on their work.

The foreign population being comprised of these two segments renders the issue of

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foreign workers and corresponding policy more complex in nature than in other labour-importing countries without such a dichotomy. The following analysis is greatly indebted to a comprehensive survey on ethnic Korean and Chinese residents carried out in 1984 by the Kanagawa Prefectural Office (the Kanagawa survey),^(*) which provides extensive information on their working conditions.

1.1 Characteristics of Korean and Chinese Self-employed Firms

(1) General Characteristics

Old-comers are distinct from other categories of foreigners in their remarkably high involvement in the self-employment sector. According to the 1985 Population Census, the self-employed sector accounts for 24.8 per cent of the Korean and Chinese working population, which is by 9 points higher than that for the total population. The Kanagawa survey gives 1/1.4 as the ratio of self-employed to employees, whereas the corresponding ratio for the prefecture is 1/8.5 [Kanagawa, 1986, p.28]. These results confirm old-comers' higher involvement in this sector.

Compared with the 1981 Business Survey results, the Kanagawa survey reveals a relatively small involvement in manufacturing industries among Korean and Chinese self-employed firms in this prefecture. They are substantially over-represented in the wholesale and retail trades. Among 271 proprietors responding in the survey, food-dispensing businesses numbered 104, followed by construction 28, scrap material dealers 22, real estate agents 16 [Kanagawa, 1986, p.47].

These self-employed firms are mostly small in size, with 11.8 per cent consisting only of the self-employed person and 49.1 per cent with only one to three employees, including family members. Korean and Chinese firms show a marked difference in size. While 12.9 per cent of Korean firms are run with no other employees, the corresponding figure for Chinese firms is considerably lower at 5.3 per cent. Despite the overwhelming preponderance of small-size companies, the average number of employed is 9.4 persons in Korean companies compared with 5.7 persons in Chinese ones. This seeming contradiction suggests that Korean companies are more varied in size than those of Chinese.

The Kanagawa survey shows that 75.6 per cent of self-employed firms enjoy no durable trade relations with other companies [Kanagawa, 1986, p.58], which suggests that Korean and Chinese firms are likely to be segregated in terms of economic transactions. One can assume that the relatively small share of manufacturing may contribute to lowering their subcontracting ratio, which remains at a level of 8.5 per cent of responding firms. The construction industry, however, is a single exception; the high dependency demonstrates that Korean and Chinese self-employed construction firms are mostly incorporated in affiliated firms in a totally hierarchical system led by construction giants.

(*) Kanagawa prefecture together with Tokyo is known as one of the largest habitation region of ethnic Korean and Chinese residents in eastern Japan. According to registration statistics, the prefecture stands sixth in Japan with about 48,000 of them at the end of 1984.

(2) Discrimination in Business Activities

Korean and Chinese companies with self-employed proprietors face various constraints in their activities stemming from institutional and informal discrimination. According to the survey, 30.7 per cent of proprietors have in some way or other experienced various kinds of discrimination in business, and an additional 7.7 per cent witnessed similar experiences [Kanagawa, 1986, p.57]. However, the magnitude of discrimination differs according to the type of business activities.

Raising funds for establishing firms and for their current operations is of crucial importance for self-employed proprietors. As for finance, banks are reluctant to accommodate a Korean with money [Park, 1957, p.94]. The Kanagawa survey gives only 27.7 per cent of responding proprietors as having no experience of discrimination in procuring funds from official financial institutions, where "official" denotes all financial institutions but Korean and Chinese compatriot institutions and corporations. 31 per cent of proprietors referred to their own experiences of discrimination in finance. Anticipating a discriminatory atmosphere, 22.1 per cent of respondents reported that they had abandoned any attempt at access to official finance from the outset [Kanagawa, 1986, pp.52,53]. According to a survey carried out in 1987, only 31 per cent of Korean proprietors procure funds from non-compatriot financial institutions [Min, 1994, p.309]. It is also reported that the reaction varies from refusing finance on account of being a non-national to requiring additional guarantors who were not required for national borrowers.

As a consequence of such discriminatory constraints, Korean and Chinese self-employed firms are forced to be self-contained in terms of finance. That is, besides raising the necessary funds by self-finance, they rely more on their compatriot or unofficial financial resources. Among possible external creditors for finance, compatriot financial institutions are of primary importance, providing 28.8 per cent of responding firms with financial opportunities which slightly exceeds finance given by credit unions or guilds at 24.7 per cent and commercial banks at 22.1 per cent. It is worth noting that, while the share of public finance stays at only 10.7 per cent, borrowing from relatives and friends or mutual benefit societies accounts for 19.9 and 5.9 per cent, respectively [Kanagawa, 1986, p.50].

Among Korean and Chinese old-comers many possess, besides a name in their own native language, a Japanese one which is commonly used in their daily life. The Kanagawa survey documented that 83 per cent of Korean and Chinese self-employed proprietors use their Japanese name in some way or other in doing their current business activities. Among them, 32.9 per cent mostly and 38.2 per cent more often than not use their Japanese names [Kanagawa, 1986, p.58]. Old-comers are forced to abandon one of the most integral features of their national and ethnic identity in order to adapt to conventional practice in business activities.

1.2 Characteristics of Korean and Chinese Employees

(1) General Characteristics

As table 1 shows, they concentrate in the wholesale and retail trades as well as in

Table 1 Industrial and Occupational Profiles of Old-comer Employees

(in per cent:1985)

	Total population	Koreans & Chinese	Koreans	Chinese
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	1.0	0.3	0.2	1.2
Construction	9.5	14.0	15.2	3.6
Manufacturing	27.6	22.8	22.8	21.1
Transport and communications	7.7	6.1	6.4	3.6
Wholesale/retail trade and restaurants	21.8	26.6	25.0	40.3
Finance and insurance	3.8	5.0	5.5	1.4
Real estate	0.8	2.4	2.4	2.3
Service	22.1	20.7	20.2	24.8
Government	4.6	0.8	0.9	0.3
Others ^a	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5

Professional and technicians	10.5	7.6	6.5	17.1
Managers	4.7	9.4	9.5	8.8
Clerical workers	22.1	16.4	16.7	14.0
Sales clerks	13.5	12.5	12.6	11.0
Workers in transport and communications	4.9	7.0	7.6	1.5
Craftsmen, production process workers, labourers	35.2	32.8	33.8	24.3
Service workers ^b	7.9	12.8	11.9	20.7
Agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0.9	0.3	0.2	1.3
Other workers ^c	0.1	1.2	1.2	1.3

Note: a:Includes mining, electricity, gas, heat and water supply and industries not else where classified

b: Includes protective service workers.

c: Includes mining workers.

Source: Statistics Bureau, Prime Minister's Office, *The 1985 Population Census*.

restaurants. As regards old-comers' occupational profiles, the relatively high percentage in management is partly accounted for by the prevalent self-employed sector. Workers in transport and communications as well as service workers are also highly over-represented.

Korean and Chinese old-comer employees markedly differ from each other in industrial and occupational profiles. Koreans are more likely to specialize in industries and occupations such as construction, transport, communications, craftsmen, production process workers and labourers, whereas Chinese take jobs in the wholesale and retail trades, restaurants, and in professional and technical work and services.

The Kanagawa survey documents that Korean and Chinese employees tend to be employed in smaller-size companies. The proportion of persons working for companies with more than 100 employees are remarkably lower, accounting for only 13.0 per cent, whereas the corresponding figure for the prefectural population is 24.2 per cent [Kanagawa, 1986, p.63]. The employment profile by firm size differs

significantly by gender and ethnic origin. While 9.0 per cent of men and 12.9 per cent of Chinese workers are employed in companies with more than 500 employees, women and Koreans remain at only 2.4 and 5.2 per cent, respectively. Interestingly, irrespective of gender and ethnic origin, young labour market entrants in the 25-29 age segment tend more to be hired by larger companies [Kanagawa, 1986, p.64], which suggests a gradual transition from the traditional pattern where employment in the small-size self-employed sector was dominant.

(2) Working Conditions of Korean and Chinese Employees

Korean and Chinese old-comers display a marked contrast with Japanese employees in channels for finding jobs. Public Employment Security Offices provide public job placement services in Japan, and educational institutions are authorized in providing the service exclusively for new school graduates. Along with public institutions, a number of weekly recruitment journals and appointment columns provide job seekers with vacancy information. Informal channels such as personal connections also play a certain role in job placement.

The Kanagawa survey offers remarkable results regarding channels for finding jobs. Although educational institutions generally play a substantial role in offering jobs for newly graduated students in Japan, employment through public channels, including Public Employment Security Offices, amounts to no more than 30 per cent among Korean and Chinese employees with higher education standing at less than one-third of the general average in Japan. Unofficial channels such as parents, relatives and friends are the predominant means of finding jobs, including succession in a parents' business [Kanagawa, 1986, p.319]. 57 per cent still find their jobs through personal connections [Kanagawa, 1986, p.76]. In particular, food-dispensing businesses, the wholesale and retail trades and other service industries where compatriot companies are prevalent, tend to rely on unofficial channels.

The Kanagawa survey evidences that various forms of discrimination in job finding on account of nationality exist. Nine persons out of 33 referred to the experience of being rejected due to being a non-national. Furthermore, 46 out of 83 respondents demanded that discrimination be abolished in job finding and a further 16 that the door be opened to public work schemes [Kanagawa, 1986, pp.358, 359]. Senior-high school graduates face more severe discrimination than college graduates in their search for employment [Kim and Lee (ed.), 1985, p.102]. They, consequently, stay aloof from public channels. However, the survey results also show a new tendency among the younger generation to rely more on public channels [Kim and Lee (ed.), 1985, p. 77].

Although 68.5 per cent of Korean and Chinese employees are hired as regular employees, their relative proportion given in the survey is substantially lower than that for nationals; the corresponding prefectural average came to 78.1 per cent. These figures demonstrate the fact that old-comer employees are hired under comparatively less stable conditions than nationals [Kim and Lee (ed.), 1985, p.72].

While 49.5 per cent of old-comers are hired in companies run only by Japanese, 43.4 per cent work for compatriot companies, including those jointly managed with Japanese. Korean and Chinese employees do not show a pronounced difference in this regard. It is rather among Koreans themselves that one notices substantial

differences. 51.5 per cent of employees of North Korean origin work for compatriot companies, whereas the corresponding figure is only 38.5 per cent among South Koreans [Kim and Lee (ed.), 1985, p.66]. North Koreans are generally characterized by stronger ethnic identity and much intense ties among themselves [Hiatt, 1990, Stalker, 1994, p.253]. Such remarkable discrepancies seem to stem from the differences in the social, economic and political determinants of their settlement.

Korean and Chinese regular employees are characterized by long working hours. According to the Kanagawa survey, their weekly work hours come up to 48.5 hours on average, exceeding by about 20 per cent the prefectural average of the total hours worked in companies with more than 30 employees. The survey also demonstrates that longer work hours are especially prevalent in food-dispensing businesses, service industries, transport and communications where many employing companies are run by compatriots [Kanagawa, 1986, p.82].

Despite such long work hours, Korean and Chinese employees are markedly underpaid. As the survey documents, the average annual income for Korean and Chinese regular employees was ¥3.1 million, which is by ¥0.7 million below the prefectural average given by companies with more than 30 employees in 1983 [Kanagawa, 1986, pp.83,84]. Furthermore, wages are distinctive among old-comer employees. Chinese are generally more favourably paid than Koreans [Kanagawa, 1986, p.84]. While employees in Japanese-run companies earn ¥2.8 million annually, those working in compatriot companies are paid less by about 10 per cent. It is interesting that those who found jobs through public channels earn a higher income than any other category of employees [Kanagawa, 1986, p.85], which stems from the fact that job offers under unfavourable working conditions and marginal wage payment is not accepted by the Public Employment Security Offices. One can assume that placement through unofficial channels, which are prevalent among old-comers, provides low-paid jobs.

(3) Discrimination at Work

The higher propensity of old-comer employees to work in low-paid jobs in small-size compatriot firms is a natural outcome of discriminatory response by Japanese employers. Foreigners are excluded from many jobs in the public sector. Besides, as the Kanagawa survey report concludes, the majority of Japanese, mostly large firms, totally close the door to employing Koreans and Chinese [Kanagawa, 1986, p.94]. Furthermore, even if they could succeed in finding jobs, they are more likely to be greeted currently by the discriminatory attitudes at work. Here lies the primary motive among offspring of old-comers for naturalization to avoid such unjust treatment. Alternatively, they tend to look for other jobs in less discriminatory companies, which are frequently run by compatriots and where they can share work with other compatriots. The most discriminatory segment of economic bodies do not employ foreigners. In this regard, the survey inevitably underestimates the actual degree of discrimination at work. According to the survey, the percentage of persons who have suffered from a discriminatory experience in companies is 3.7 per cent, of which dissatisfaction with superiors' attitudes and placement on jobs account for the main part [Kanagawa, 1986, p.326].

Many employees are obliged to work under a Japanese name seemingly as a

Japanese. Employees in this category fall largely into occupations which require manual work such as drivers, workers at construction sites and waitresses [Kanagawa, 1986, p.97]. Japanese names are mostly used by those employed in Japanese firms (59.9 per cent), while among compatriot ones the use of a Japanese name is much lower (37.8 per cent). The Kanagawa survey reports that, among employees who found their jobs through personal connections, the ratio of Japanese name users remains at 40-50 per cent, whereas among those finding jobs in the newspapers or weekly recruitment journals it reaches 65.6 per cent [Kanagawa, 1986, p.97]. These results suggest that those who use names of ethnic origin are more likely to find jobs in the compatriot firms through personal recruitment channels, whereas those who intend to work in Japanese firms, which often recruit employees through job columns or other official channels, are forced to use a Japanese name.

Employees using names of ethnic origin can naturally be found most often in workshops where all other colleagues are compatriots. The ratio decreases from 39.6 per cent in workshops employing only compatriots to 6.8 per cent in workshops with only Japanese colleagues [Kanagawa, 1986, p.97]. The survey also indicates serious apprehension among employees working under a Japanese name of being exposed as a non-national at work, with 37.0 per cent of them professing anxiety of worsening human relationships with Japanese colleagues. A further 13.0 per cent of them acknowledged the possibility of even being forced to quit their job [Kanagawa, 1986, p.93].

The Kanagawa survey indicated a substantially lower ratio of Koreans and Chinese employed in clerical work [Kanagawa, 1986, p.36]. However, if the conditions which govern Korean and Chinese employees, especially in Japanese companies, are considered, it is likely that there are quite a few in such occupations who refused to participate in the survey for fear of disclosure of their ethnic origin. Discrimination at work is widespread, from harmful backbiting by colleagues and customers to disadvantageous treatment in companies such as delayed promotion, discriminatory job placements, low pay and so on. It goes without saying that the use of a Japanese name represents only one aspect of broad discrimination which old-comer employees face in their daily activities at work. However, this integral aspect, inseparably connected with their ethnic identity, specifically reflects the discrimination against them in Japan.

Based on statistical documentation, the Kanagawa survey crystallized two distinct types of old-comer employment patterns: employees working in compatriot companies under native ethnic names, and employees working in Japanese companies under Japanese names [Kanagawa, 1986, p.67]. Employees who belong to the former category work longer hours in the same company in spite of less favourable working conditions. Meanwhile, the latter type of employees earn more than the former, but are obliged to change jobs more often.

Korean and Chinese old-comers in Japan have a relatively longer settlement history compared with migrant workers who arrived in European labour-importing countries in the 1960s. Despite settlement over more than five decades, old-comers are still exposed to serious discrimination not only at work but also in their daily lives. This fact suggests that many policy tasks are left unsolved in terms of their social integration. Japanese government and society at large seem to have so far learned very little from the experience of dealing with old-comers.

2 Nikkei Working and Living Conditions

The inflow of Nikkei workers dates back to the beginning of the 1980s [Mori, Hiromasa, 1994, p.49]. However, their U-turn migration to Japan was a rather sporadic phenomenon at first. The migration flow changed trend by the mid-1980s. An article headlined "The Age of U-turn Emigration to Japan" which appeared in a Japanese newspaper distributed among settlers in Brazil in 1985 symbolizes the turnaround corresponding to the initiation of the organized recruiting activities by Japan's recruitment agents [Kanagawa, 1992, p.247].

Since emigrants of the first generation retain Japanese nationality, they were treated as Japanese returnees upon landing. Nikkei of the second generation were admitted to reside under the pre-1990 system for up to 3 years as a child of a Japanese. Third generation Nikkei with extensive documentation on their Japanese ancestry could apply for a special status of residence, the so-called "4-1-16-3". However, conditions on applying for this status were rather restrictive and required a lengthy approval process.

The 1990 immigration policy reform opened the door not only to Nikkei of the third generation but even to non-Nikkei married to a second generation emigrant enabling them to reside under the newly introduced long term resident status for one to three years. Japanese immigration policy prohibits, in principle, foreigners from engaging in unskilled work. However, since Nikkei can reside under statuses of "permissible establishment" category, they are legally permitted to work in unskilled jobs.

The initiation of the new system seems to have brought about significant modifications in the employment of foreign workers. Penalty provisions for the employment of clandestine workers introduced by the reform, urged employers to replace illegal workers with legal ones. The enforcement of the new system created an expanded demand for legal workers. Nikkei with unrestricted work possibilities were one major supply source of legal unskilled workers. Large-size firms, which had been hesitant in hiring illegal foreign workers, started filling emerging vacancies with Nikkei. Many employers who had employed clandestine workers, replaced them with Nikkei for fear of legal punishment. However, they are unlikely to be employed in small-size firms. Interviews carried out in a local Labour Standards Inspection Office in a region with an outstandingly high concentration of foreign workers evidenced distinct employment patterns of legal and illegal foreign workers by firm size. In small-scale companies with less than ten employees the major part of foreign employees were non-Nikkei, whereas in firms with 10-49 employees Nikkei account for the dominant part, and companies with more than 50 employees hire Nikkei exclusively [Chiba, 1994, p.18].

Nikkei were recruited en masse through various channels to meet emerging labour needs. The largest suppliers were the South American countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated the population of Japanese ancestry in South American countries to be approximately 1.4 million in 1989. Brazil has the largest Nikkei population with 1.28 million, followed by Peru (80,000), Argentina (50,000), Paraguay (7,000) and Bolivia (6,000). They differ not only in the size of Nikkei population, but

also in many other aspects. The emigration flow to Peru and Brazil has a longer history than the rest. A major emigration flow to Argentina occurred in the postwar period. Paraguay and Bolivia were the latest destination countries. The difference in emigration history influences the characteristics of U-turn migrants through the advance in generation and thus through expanding cultural distance, including proficiency in Japanese. These countries are also different in terms of economic fortunes. The more serious the economic conditions they face, the stronger is the magnitude of emigration pressure and migrants' settlement desire in Japan. The following section will examine various issues concerning working and living conditions of Nikkei in Japan together with possible economic and social consequences of the move to Nikkei society in home countries.

2.1 Nikkei U-turn Migration

(1) U-turn Migrants' Demographic Attributes

Male workers accounted for the major part of Nikkei U-turn migrants throughout the 1980s. A dramatic change occurred in the gender composition around 1990. Among Brazilian arrivals, for example, the percentage of women increased from 36.6 per cent in 1989 to 39.3 in 1990 and then to 43.8 per cent in 1991. Peruvians, who are the second largest U-turn migrant group after Brazilians, having first been exclusively men, have also gradually seen the women's ratio grow from 25.6 per cent in 1989 to 37.4 in 1990 and to 39.1 per cent in 1991.

Several factors seem to be responsible for this change. First, conditions discriminating in favour of Nikkei introduced under the new institutional framework paved the way for their massive introduction as a legal work force. Since the total size of the Nikkei population in supplying countries is not large enough to meet the ever expanding labour needs in Japan, it was not long before the Japanese labour market had exhausted the supply of male workers of the first and second generations. Thanks to the reform, employers could effectively mobilize women or younger workers of third or further generations to fill the enormous numbers of existing vacancies.

Second, it is entirely rational behaviour that a migrant worker who intends to return to his or her home country after achieving work objectives, tries to make maximum use of the period of stay for the employment purposes. Even a slight difference in the wage rate among firms is enough of an inducement to switch jobs. The frequent job hopping prevalent among Nikkei is a reflection of their remittance- or saving-oriented employment behaviour. Recruiting agents, who raised enormous sums in charges upon their recruitment, also induce Nikkei to change jobs. They usually take a cut from the contract workers' gross income. Thus, with the diminishing supply of additional workers they attempted to make takings not through expanding the number but through raising the per capita profitability. Moreover, mediation charges provide agents with an additional profit. Under these circumstances, employers suffering from Nikkei voluntary or induced job hopping were forced to defend themselves from losing essential workers. It was in this context that employers invited Nikkei families as a work force, expected to be less mobile in terms of job changes than single workers.

As for the characteristics of Nikkei by age, a survey carried out by the Ministry of Justice in 1989 shows that, disregarding those in their teens, 48.2 per cent are in their 20s [MOJ, 1990, p.73]. A survey conducted in 1991 by the Japan International Cooperation Association (the JICA survey) and a survey by the Japan Statistics Research Institute in 1992 (the JSRI survey) gave similar results with regard to the relative importance of those in their 20s, 50.2 and 53.6 per cent, respectively [JICA, 1992, JSRI, 1993]. Although respondents in the JSRI survey is confined only to Nikkei Brazilians, the results document that the main part of migrants are from the younger generation. Together with these results, medical inspection records for visa applicants in São Paulo showed a considerable shift to the younger generation, namely workers in their teens and 20s, as migrants have increased in number especially after the latter half of 1989 [Kanagawa, 1992, p.250].

The biased age distribution is the other side of the coin in the aforementioned change-over of generations among Nikkei U-turn migrants. The application records for visas accepted in the Consulate General in São Paulo indicates a gradual diminution of the first generation in the relative share as a result of the extensive involvement of the second and then third generations.

As for the educational background of migrants, the JSRI survey gives 23.1 per cent of the total respondents as possessing a high educational attainment [JSRI, 1993, p.8]. As returns in the survey cover almost all Nikkei employed in the firms studied, the results are expected to be less dependent upon the survey bias than, for example, surveys based on voluntary response which tend to over-represent those highly educated. One can safely assess the percentage of Nikkei Brazilians with a high educational background to be around 25 per cent, which contrasts with the gross enrollment rate for higher level education among persons of 20-24 years old in Brazil which was 11.2 per cent in 1989 [UN, 1992, p.57]. The results shown in the JSRI survey indicate that the educational background of U-turn migrants is outstandingly high.

Nikkei U-turn migrants are also distinctive in terms of their occupational profile. Table 2 throws light on their profiles of former occupations in Brazil, together with the distribution pattern of the working population and that for central and western regions where Nikkei overwhelmingly settle.

Nikkei U-turn migrants are heavily under-represented in agriculture in terms of former occupations. Even in comparison with the central and western regions, Nikkei workers in Japan with former occupations in agriculture now account for only one-third of the regional average. This may be partly attributed to the fact that Nikkei society in Brazil has been less and less dependent upon this sector over the decades of settlement. Occupations such as professionals, technical and sales workers are, by contrast, over-represented in the survey results. It has been reported that an expanding flow of U-turn migrants has included even managers or managerial personnel in Brazil. The survey, however, did not necessarily prove this notion.

(2) Incentives of U-turn Migration

Their visiting incentives or objectives are varied among nationalities, reflecting the current economic conditions in each country and the degree of assimilation into the emigrated society. Table 3 carries survey results on the main inducement for

Table 2 Occupational Profiles of U-turn Migrants in Brazil

(in per cent)

Occupations	Migrants' former occupations	National average	Central & western
Professionals and technicians	10.7	7.6 ^a	7.1 ^a
Administrative staff and managers	3.6	14.8 ^a	18.5 ^a
Clerical workers	19.8		
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers		24.0 ^a	19.9 ^a
	8.3		
Sales workers	18.5	10.0 ^a	10.5 ^a
Service workers	8.4	10.0 ^a	12.5 ^a
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers	5.8	21.4 ^a	17.4 ^a
Occupations not elsewhere classified	24.9 ^b	12.2 ^a	14.6 ^a

Note: a: 1989 data.

b: Includes students and housewives.

Source: Japan Statistics Research Institute (1993), *A Survey of Japanese Brazilians' Working and Living Conditions in Japan*; Statistical Survey Series No.1, p.9, *Anuario Estatístico do Brasil 1991*, p.263.**Table 3 Main Reason for Visiting Japan**

(in per cent)

	Brazilians	Peruvians	Argentineans	Bolivians	Paraguayans
Saving money	58.0	45.2	37.2	21.7	39.4
Settle permanently	2.0	4.8	5.3	17.4	18.2
Unfavourable conditions of economy	25.9	43.4	44.7	30.4	9.1

Source: Japan International Cooperation Association (JICA) (1992), *A Report on Nikkei Working in Japan (Nikkeijin honpo syuro jittai chosa)*.

their visit by nationality.

Although the sample size is not large enough to draw any definite conclusions for Bolivians and Paraguayans, the above results seem to illustrate many characteristic aspects of the migration flow from South American countries. The relatively high percentage of those saving among Brazilians and possibly Paraguayans indicates that their movement is mainly induced by the existing huge wage differentials. Migrants from Argentina and probably from Bolivia as well are distinguished from those from Brazil and Paraguay by a relatively high percentage mentioning unfavourable conditions in the home economy. Savings and unfavourable conditions at home are also important for Peruvians. It is said that recession first hit Argentina and then Peru and finally Brazil. The first two countries were more seriously afflicted than Brazil. Furthermore, Nikkei in Argentina have mainly been engaged in production of non-essential goods and services such as flower growing or maketing and cleaning, which became the first things to be curtailed [JICA, 1992, p.17]. Brazilians recorded the lowest level of intent for permanent settlement. In comparison, Bolivians and Paraguayans revealed themselves as having a stronger intention of settlement in Japan, which reflects the relative weakness of their identity with their home country

[JICA, 1992, pp.126, 127]. The emigration flow to these countries has a shorter history in these countries than in others. The first generation still comprises the main segment of U-turn migrants. They are culturally the least distant from Japan among Nikkei South Americans.

With regard to Nikkei desire for settlement, the JICA survey provides interesting results. While only 1.6 per cent of Brazilians replied as having permanent settlement intentions after having experienced life in Japan, Peruvians' and Argentineans' figures more than doubled compared with figures before visiting [JICA, 1992, p.104]. As the latter two do not expect any favourable changes in the desperate conditions of the home economy, they are induced to entertain settlement intentions. Although Bolivians and Paraguayans on the one hand, and Peruvians and Argentineans on the other, demonstrate a strong desire to settle in Japan, the determinants are quite different. The factor of lesser cultural distance is dominant among the first two, whereas collapse of the home economy seems to be the major reason for Peruvian and Argentinean decisions to remain in Japan.

2.2 Employment of U-turn Migrants in Japan

(1) Channels for Getting Jobs

Three out of four respondents in the JSRI survey indicated that they had relatives in Japan. Kinship sometimes plays an important role among Koreans and Chinese in accepting migrants. In contrast, it is quite seldom that Japanese relatives in Japan play any active role in inviting Nikkei. Nikkei usually find jobs in Japan in regions totally different from their parents' or grandparents' hometown [Mori, Hiromi, 1993, p.6].

According to the JSRI survey, 44.4 per cent of total respondents found jobs through recruitment agents, followed by family or relatives and friends who have already been working in Japan [JSRI, 1993, p.13]. Moreover, the JICA survey showed that 62.9 per cent of total respondents made a contract with recruitment agents [JICA, 1992, 108]. Even among persons who indicated in the survey that they worked under direct contract with employers, there are many Nikkei actually hired by agents [JICA, 1992, p.23]. These results indicate the active role played by agents in recruiting Nikkei workers, a role that has grown rapidly with the expansion of the U-turn migration to Japan. Travel agents in sending countries with rich experience have extended their services to recruiting activities. Hundreds of newly-born agencies, many of which are run by Nikkei themselves, are said to participate in this new business. In close contact with Japanese counterparts, they play a crucial role in recruitment.

Recruiters, who work also as labour dispatching agents, allocate workers among contracted employers, securing employers a designated number of workers by contract. Moreover, they often prepare dwellings for recruited workers. Since foreigners encounter difficulties in renting dwellings in Japan, accommodation can work as an effective inducement in keeping recruited workers under control. The fact that many Nikkei workers rely on such agents for job finding as well as arranging travel, including the advancement of travel expenses, often renders Nikkei totally dependent upon them.

Although the so-called dispatching of unskilled workers has been forbidden by

law, brokers not only send them to contract companies upon request of employers but often subcontract a certain part of production-line work. They take a portion of the contract wage paid as a kickback. Some Nikkei already quite well acquainted with Japan and, occasionally, gangster organizations also take a hand.

Having been exposed to malignant brokers, some employers have changed their policy to direct employment and others to direct recruitment, although this forces them deal with many related issues themselves, from recruiting in the sending countries and lengthy immigration application procedures to preparing dwellings for employees, which brokers would have otherwise taken care of. Direct recruitment, however, is often too costly and bothersome for employers. The JSRI survey documents that direct recruitment by company remains at only 9.6 per cent [JSRI,1993,p.13]. Large-scale firms are also dependent upon dispatched workers but for other reasons. These firms generally employ foreign workers on a massive scale, which often exceeds the scope of their recruiting capability. Consequently in many cases they tend to rely on dispatched workers sent from agents under contract.

As wage rates and work hours are of utmost concern for emigrants, recruiters focus on these particular issues at the time of recruitment. Other information given to Nikkei in advance is quite limited. Due to insufficient information being offered, most Nikkei find their actual working conditions in Japan more or less unrelated to those expected in advance. In the JICA survey only 30.0 per cent answered that conditions they enjoyed were as expected. However, the survey also showed that only 3.1 per cent complained of being unable to stand conditions and 6.1 per cent had experienced or intended changing jobs [JICA, 1992, p.110]. These results indicate that, despite dissatisfaction in existing working conditions, Nikkei tend somehow to put up with them, which may be ascribed to their subordination to agents and partly to unfamiliarity with the state of affairs in Japan. However, this dissatisfaction at the same time, seems to foster among them a widespread latent motive for changing jobs, although they move less frequently than clandestine workers.

(2) Nikkei Workers' Sectoral and Occupational Profiles

According to the JICA survey, 79.7 per cent of Nikkei work in factories, whereas construction sites and shops provide only 5.3 and 0.7 per cent of employment, respectively [JICA, 1992, p.113]. Nikkei are distinguishable from others in their substantially higher ratio of craftsmen and production process workers in the manufacturing industry. The geographical distribution pattern shows a notable concentration in regions where manufacturing, particularly automobile or electrical appliance assembly plants, are located, associated with numberless affiliated factories. However, as Nikkei working in Japan increase in number, the work they engage in begins to spill over, for example, to service providing jobs such as caddies in golf courses, sales clerks and private sitters attending patients [Kanagawa, 1992, p.252].

In spite of relevant skills and qualifications or previous qualified work in their home countries, Nikkei mainly engage in unskilled jobs in Japan [JICA, 1992, pp.29, 30]. As the JICA survey documents in the occupational breakdown of Nikkei workers, unskilled jobs account for more than half, followed by semi-skilled workers and office workers. Those persons who work as professional technicians are limited to 2.0 per cent. It is rather unrealistic to expect that they can master skills or knowledge at

work which will be help to them in future employment back home [JSRI, 1993, p.21].

2.3 Nikkei Working Conditions

(1) Work hours

The 1990 immigration policy reform has paved the way for massive Nikkei employment in large business enterprises. Employment there does not necessarily promise attractive employment conditions because Nikkei usually share jobs as non-regular native employees such as temporary or part-time workers [Kanagawa, 1992, p.21]. A survey carried out by the Ministry of Justice in November 1989, when the Japanese economy was about to reach the final stage of expansion, documented that 51.6 per cent of Nikkei worked more than ten hours a day [MOJ, 1990, p.73]. The JSRI survey conducted in November-December 1992, when the economy had already entered the downturn phase, gave shorter labour hours. The ratio of workers with more than ten hour work days was 37.8 per cent [JSRI, 1993, p.17]. Japan's economy experienced a turnaround in the business cycle in mid-1991. Growing employment was replaced by the shrinking labour needs. According to the Monthly Labour Survey by the Ministry of Labour, total monthly hours worked in the automobile industry were reduced by 8.5 per cent during 3 years since 1989. Non-scheduled hours worked recorded a striking decrease by more than 35 per cent over the corresponding years. Nikkei workers could not but be affected by such a dramatic change in Japan's labour market.

The JSRI survey shows that 69.8 per cent of total respondents work overtime on workdays. The average length of overtime is 2.3 hours, which is more than twice as much as the average overtime recorded in the automobile industry. About 70 per cent of Nikkei workers answered to have experienced work during holidays [JSRI, 1993, pp.17,18]. Longer work days, including work on holidays, however, is not necessarily unwelcome to Nikkei, who rather complain about the scarcity of work. They sometimes change jobs for longer work hours and holiday work. Relative tolerance to the longer work hours among Nikkei can be attributed to their strong orientation to earning money. To make the maximum use of their limited period of stay to repay travel debts and realize their original objectives, Nikkei prefer high income jobs with long work hours to decent income jobs with short work hours. However, jobs being promised with large amounts of savings or remittances in a relatively short period of time have become a myth. Furthermore, many companies were forced to reduce labour costs. Retrenchment has pushed out Nikkei at the first stages of employment adjustment, because they are most expensive among unskilled foreign workers.

(2) Earnings

As a survey conducted in 1989-1990 by the Tokyo Metropolitan Institute of Labour (the TMIL survey) showed, foreign workers employed in small-size firms in the Tokyo metropolitan area were paid a little higher or almost at a comparable rate with national part-time workers [TMIL, 1991, p.189]. Another survey carried out by the People's Finance Corporation Research Institute (the PFCRI survey) in 1991 has

evidenced a similar fact.

As for Nikkei, the JICA survey gives an average hourly wage rate for male day-workers of ¥1,332 and ¥924 for female workers. Night work gives a corresponding figures of ¥1,622 and ¥1,250 with overtime work at ¥1,637 and ¥1,162, respectively [JICA, 1992, p.120]. Monthly earnings before tax and social security payments are estimated at ¥336,600 for men and ¥204,400 for women workers [JICA, 1992, p.120]. The PFCRI survey gives an hourly average wage rate paid to Brazilians under direct employment and for dispatched workers of ¥1,198 and ¥1,621, respectively [Inagami, et al., 1992, p.209].

Since the wage system is often different between national and Nikkei workers, the above wage gaps do not always make Nikkei come out at the top because, while seasonal bonuses constitute a structural part of wage payment for nationals, foreign workers are less likely to benefit from them. If actually paid, the amount is usually marginal. They are, more often than not, not covered by various fringe benefits and other gratuities. Although due to their legitimacy Nikkei are comparatively costlier than clandestine workers or foreign students, they are still less costly than nationals in terms of total labour costs.

As the PFCRI survey demonstrates, dispatched workers were about 35 per cent more highly paid than directly employed Nikkei [Inagami, et al., 1992, p.209]. However, dispatched workers finally receive an almost comparable amount in wages with directly employed ones, which is far smaller than the original payment arranged by contract firms. Because of agents' interposition, actual employment costs of Nikkei workers become greater than the above survey result shows, by the amount of their margins. At the same time it often occurs that not only taxes and social security deductions, but dispatcher's margins are subtracted before final payment. These unclear deductions, which sometimes include a considerable amount of margins, cause dissatisfaction among Nikkei.

(3) Discrimination at Work

When foreign workers maintain their work and life style in host countries, they more or less expose themselves to various kinds of harassment by employers and national workers. Nikkei workers are not an exception. One out of four Nikkei in the JSRI survey has experienced some sort of harassment by Japanese [JSRI, 1993, p.22]. The JICA survey offers more detailed information on forms of discriminatory treatment. Among persons with such experience, more than half complain of being forced to do harder work than Japanese colleagues, followed by less bonus received than Japanese, lower wages than Japanese and unfavourable housing conditions [JICA, 1992, p.119].

Nikkei generally enjoy more favourable working conditions than, for instance, clandestine workers. However, working conditions are often distinct even among the Nikkei themselves due to peculiar factors inherent in Japanese ancestry. In Peru, where Japanese emigration has the longest history in South America, there are quite a few Japanese Peruvians who lost their documents proving Japanese ancestry. Family registers certifying Japanese ancestry had sometimes been a transacted in the market. Even medical operations which enable one to pretend to be a Nikkei are said to have acquired a certain popularity among people intending to work in Japan.

Due to the possible inclusion of fake Nikkei, the government authorities became more wary of Peruvians than of other nationalities in giving permission for change of status or extension of period of stay. In order to avoid trouble related to the immigration application, Peruvians are more likely to be shunned by employers. Diverse treatments in immigration practice replaced Peruvians with Brazilians in many firms.

3. Nikkei Living Conditions

3.1 Some Aspects of Nikkei Life in Japan

(1) Accommodation

Finding a place to live is of crucial importance for migrant workers in Japan. It is well known that extremely high housing costs are prevalent in urban areas where most migrants find jobs. In addition to the high housing costs, owners, or local real estate agents as their proxy, usually require a national counterpart to stand as security for renting a dwelling. They often close the door totally to foreign tenants. According to a survey carried out by the Tokyo Metropolitan Office, only 11 per cent of owners attach no conditions to foreign tenants [Min, 1994, pp.175, 176]. These restrictive practices lead foreign new-comers to share accommodation in dwellings where their friends or predecessors have already settled or to those made available by recruiters or employers. With the exception of the small number of qualified foreigners, it does not make a substantial difference whether tenants are legal or illegal workers.

Only 4.3 per cent of Nikkei found a dwelling through a real estate agency. They live mostly in houses or flats provided by employers or by recruiting agents [JSRI, 1993, p.25]. Consequently, the overwhelming part of Nikkei workers take a lease on accommodation with a company, which may include a dispatching company [JICA, 1992, p.132]. Since organized recruitment either by agents or by employing companies are prevalent among Nikkei, they are more dependent upon accommodation provided by these organizations than any other category of foreign workers.

These two surveys reveal almost identical results in terms of Nikkei residential profile. 20 per cent live in a company dormitory, 60 per cent in a rented apartment or condominium and 13-14 per cent in a detached house [JICA, 1992, p.132, JSRI, 1993, p.25]. Accommodation is usually furnished with one or two bedrooms and a private kitchen, bathroom and toilet. More than 40 per cent of Nikkei live with their own family, whereas 32.7 per cent share accommodation with Nikkei co-workers and 16.6 per cent with non-Japanese friends. Among those who live with their family, the average number of residents who share a dwelling are about 4.5 [JICA, 1992, p.25]. Nikkei families are sometimes obliged to share dwellings with other co-workers. Dissatisfaction with accommodation may induce them to change jobs.

As for monthly rent, the JSRI survey showed a typical distribution pattern with two peaks under ¥20,000 and ¥50,000-60,000 [JSRI, 1993, p.28]. Since the survey

method did not specify either household or per-capita rent, these two peaks correspond to the average household and per-capita rent. The interviews implemented along with the JSRI survey document that employers charge Nikkei tenants ¥15,000 per person as monthly rent, while a Ministry of Justice survey carried out in 1989 gives ¥5,000-10,000 [MOJ, 1990, p.70]. Supposing this survey covers nearly the same regions as the JSRI survey with different period of time, increasing rent on housing due to the massive settlement of Nikkei in the surveyed region may account for this discrepancy.

(2) Nikkei Proficiency in Japanese

Unless the migrant population is large enough to form its own ethnic society, proficiency in the indigenous language is of crucial importance for foreigners to adapt to the culture and customs of the host country. Nikkei working in Japan are not always proficient in Japanese. A survey conducted by the People's Finance Corporation Research Institute (the PFCRI survey) documents that among newcomers Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are most proficient. Brazilians together with Chinese stand in the middle in terms of proficiency [Inagami, et al., 1992, p.210].

Proficiency in Japanese also differs remarkably among Nikkei. The JICA survey highlights marked differences in the linguistic ability in Japanese by nationality. While more than 70 per cent of Paraguayans and Bolivians could speak Japanese fluently, corresponding figures for Argentineans and Brazilians were about 30 per cent. Peruvians demonstrated an exceptionally small percentage, 5.7 per cent. Nikkei from the former two countries also far exceeded others in reading, oral comprehension and writing abilities [JICA, 1992, pp.14,15].

The existing obviously different levels of proficiency among Nikkei reflect their different historical backgrounds of emigration as well as diverse conditions in their home countries. The history of Japanese emigration to Bolivia and Paraguay is short when compared with other main recipient countries in South America. Moreover, in these two countries Japanese emigrants formed geographically concentrated ethnic colonies [JICA, 1992, p.13]. Japanese is still widely used in their daily lives among people of second generation migrants. In contrast, among Japanese Peruvians, who have a centenary history of emigration, Japanese is used little.

In the earlier stages of U-turn migration from Brazil, Nikkei of the second generation comprised the main component. Since they were brought up by first generation parents usually speaking Japanese at home, they were to some extent accustomed to Japanese. As the expansion in dimensions of U-turn migration brought in a younger generation of Nikkei Brazilians, one can safely assume that the later arrivals were less proficient.

Obtaining information not only about daily life but also on the current economic and political situation in the host and home countries is of notable importance for Nikkei U-turn migrants. Friends and close habitation provides information on various pleasures and conveniences in daily life such as national foods and music cassettes on which all seem keen. Association at Brazilian restaurants and tea-rooms also works as an effective information source on concerns such as working conditions, including wage rates paid and emergency assistance. However, for information of a much wider dimension such as the current economic and political situation of Japan

as well as their home countries, they can only rely on the mass media. According to the JSRI survey, 71.1 per cent of Brazilians obtain news about Japan through television. Portuguese newspapers popular among Nikkei Brazilians work as a news source for 39.3 per cent, followed by friends [JSRI, 1993, p.31]. As for the means to obtain current news about Brazil, they overwhelmingly depend on Portuguese newspapers, followed by friends and television. Several Portuguese newspapers are published in Japan, subscribed to mainly by Nikkei. Since Japan's media seldom covers news about Brazil, Nikkei Brazilians are obliged to obtain information through Portuguese newspapers. The readership of Japanese newspapers is quite negligible. Insufficient literacy in Japanese renders Nikkei access to current information quite limited.

(3) Leisure time

The JSRI survey lists several possibilities for how Nikkei spend their day off. Respondents were requested to mark the top two. Going shopping and doing house work are the two major activities on days off. Among women the extent of these two pursuits reaches 60-70 per cent. The long work hours, including overtime, which used to be prevalent around the period when these surveys were conducted, confine their use of days off exclusively to necessary household affairs. Apart from them, Nikkei Brazilians spend their leisure time in going out with friends and dining out, followed by being idle [JSRI, 1993, p.31]. However, they seldom associate with Japanese outside their work. Being isolated from neighbouring Japanese society, Nikkei keep company chiefly among themselves.

Dining out is one of the few amusing ways of spending their spare time. The survey provided an interesting dichotomy. Whereas 46.4 per cent of total respondents answered that they seldom visited Brazilian restaurants and discos, 38.3 per cent responded several times a week [JSRI, 1993, p.22]. Married workers of middle-age accompanied by families on the one hand, and young single workers on the other, account for this.

The survey results highlight two heterogeneous subgroups of Nikkei, revealing different behaviour in terms of spending time off. Brazilian workers accompanied by families or married workers who left their family back home in Brazil generally enjoy dining out quite often and spend their leisure time visiting friends (mostly non-Japanese) or simply kill time by being idle. Periodical dispatch of remittances or saving for some distinct objectives forces on them a frugal life. Meanwhile, the JSRI survey documents another group of Nikkei workers who demonstrated a totally different way of spending time off. Among young single workers there are quite a few who are not necessarily remittance oriented. They frequently visit restaurants, tea-rooms and discos with friends and enjoy the consumer life in Japan.

(4) Difficulties in Life and Counselling

Nikkei workers often face various sorts of problems or difficulties in their daily life covering a wide range of subjects. The largest problem among them is homesickness, followed by Japanese language [JSRI, 1993, p.32]. Beside these, separation from family, puzzled by Japan's different customs and no possibility of improving their

abilities recorded a relatively high score [JICA, 1992, p.129]. While the Japanese language and Japan's different customs are more or less ubiquitous among Nikkei, homesickness and separation from family are troubling issues inherent in migrants unaccompanied by family. Young qualified Nikkei with high educational backgrounds show intense dissatisfaction with no possibility of improving their abilities.

Superiors in the company, Japanese co-workers and recruiters seem not to be helpful as advisors in coping with these problems raised by Nikkei workers. They mostly consult with family and relatives, Brazilian co-workers, friends and acquaintances on these issues [JSRI, 1993, p.33]. Official institutions such as government offices and the Brazilian Consulate do not work effectively for consultation. Since NGOs are still little developed in Japan, Nikkei Brazilians can seldom consult volunteer aid. The lack of official as well as informal consulting channels compel Nikkei workers to tackle the problems among themselves.

(5) Ethnic or National Identity and Integration

About one out of three Nikkei stated that they adapted quickly to life in Japan, 22.3 per cent adapted but required a certain time. Only 3.7 per cent of respondents found difficulty in adjusting to life in Japan [JICA, 1992, p.122]. However, Nikkei, especially descendants who had grown up in a totally different cultural background, sometimes come across unexpected embarrassment in Japan caused by various misunderstandings based on their physical resemblance on the one hand, and cultural, mental and other differences on the other.

Various unexpected reaction by nationals and unfamiliar experiences in Japan make them aware that they are foreigners, similar to the regard cast upon them in their home countries as non-nationals. The long-established identity of Nikkei in their home country restricts their adaptation in the host country. Nikkei in Japan often deflect their daily discontent with Japanese food by preparing traditional national dishes at parties at home. Ethnic music tapes and videos are widely utilized to alleviate homesickness and feelings of isolation in the host country.

Ethnic identity among Nikkei considerably differs by nationality. While those Peruvians and Brazilians who feel themselves to be Japanese both before as well as after coming to Japan are limited to only 9.7 and 12.5 per cent, among Bolivians and Paraguayans these figures reach 30.4 and 48.5 per cent, respectively. The feeling of identity towards their home country is strongest among Brazilians, followed by Bolivians. Interestingly, in spite of the longer history of immigration, a feeling of identity towards their home country is not so strong among Peruvians and Argentineans [JICA, 1992, p.127]. The more severe economic situations in the latter two countries seem to keep them not only economically, but also mentally distant from their home countries.

3.2 Influence of U-Turn Migration on Home Countries

(1) Remittance and its Future Use

It is estimated that annual remittances by Nikkei Brazilians amount to 2 billion US dollars, which corresponds to twice the amount of Brazil's coffee exports.

According to the JSRI survey, 33.2 per cent of Brazilians save ¥100,000-200,000 per month, followed by 27.9 per cent with ¥50,000-100,000 [JSRI, 1993, p.14]. The estimated average monthly savings of Nikkei workers is ¥104,000. However, the saving ratio differs depending on whether a worker came alone or was accompanied by family members. While among those who were unaccompanied the average monthly saving is ¥116,000, that of the accompanied counterparts is ¥99,000. Taking into account young single Nikkei workers' consumer behaviour, the saving propensity of those married who left families in the home countries would be much higher than the survey result demonstrates. In cases where Nikkei are accompanied by family, the household is more likely to have two or more working members. Notwithstanding, the comparatively smaller amount of savings than for singles seems to result from the greater living expenses on the one hand, and smaller incentives for sending remittances on the other.

According to a survey implemented in November 1989 by the Ministry of Justice on the aggregate amount of remittances by Nikkei working in Japan, only 4.3 per cent of total respondents sent more than 1 million yen during their stay and 88.0 per cent sent less than ¥500,000, including 63.9 per cent with no remittance at all [MOJ, 1990, p.73]. These figures indicate that actual remittances are not as large as generally accepted in spite of the many visual success stories.

With regard to the future use of earnings, more than half of the Brazilians and Peruvians in the JICA survey pointed to investment after return. Although among other Nikkei the corresponding figures are slightly less, this constitutes the primary objective of saving among Nikkei workers. Governments' efforts to channel remittances into productive investments, however, have been unsuccessful due largely to the lack of viable investment opportunities in most emigration countries [Arnold, 1992, p.210]. Money use such as sending portions to family back home and buying a home scored high [JICA, 1992, p.104]. Furthermore, the JSRI survey records 25.4 per cent of Brazilians as intending to use earned money for funds for future, followed by funds to start a new business, buying land for home and buying a new home [JSRI, 1993, p.15].

These survey results express desires on the use of money earned. It is highly possible that Nikkei change their mind after return under the disrupted home economies. Assuming that hyper-inflation will continue to prevail in their home countries, keeping money for the future makes almost no sense. One out of two respondents in the JICA survey has the intention of starting or resuming some undertakings after their return [JICA, 1992, p.50]. Economic conditions in the home countries, however, are serious enough to force them to reconsider their plans. It is quite reasonable for Nikkei to invest earned money in real estate as a practical measure to hedge against inflation. Many success stories with visible effects have encouraged more and more Nikkei to U-turn in order to realize their desire of owning a home. Such a consumption-oriented use of their remittances would not only contribute little in the development of their home economy, but even fuel the accelerated appreciation of real estate.

Economic conditions in the home countries, characterized by a high unemployment rate and progressive inflation, rarely promise appropriate jobs for returnees. Moreover, returnees may be reluctant to pick up low-wage jobs since they have grown accustomed to a entirely different wage rate while abroad [Arnold, 1992,

p.214]. Even among those who attained their expected objectives, there are quite a few who return again to Japan. Limited employment chance in the home country is not sufficient to cover the elevated living standard by migration's earnings. Their life style causes them to become more and more dependent upon moving between countries.

(2) Possible Influence of U-turn Migration on Home Country

The massive U-turn migration and related policy of the Japan's government has had many significant influences upon the economy and society in the home country as well as in Nikkei society. For example, the Constitution of Brazil prohibits discriminatory treatment in employment on account of colour and ethnic origin. The Japan's immigration policy reform partially opened the door to non-Nikkei workers. However, those who enjoy favourable treatment by being admitted as legal workers are limited only to the spouse of Nikkei of second generation. The discriminatory treatment by the Japan's government caused discontent among non-Nikkei who cannot benefit from the employment.

It is estimated that approximately 150,000 Nikkei were working in Japan in 1992, which constitutes 10-25 per cent of the Nikkei population in South America. The U-turn migration flow seized the core generation of the Nikkei working population, who had played a substantial role not only in Nikkei society but in the whole economy in their home countries. In each country, Nikkei had not been fully integrated but had covered particular fields of economic activity such as production and distribution of vegetables, fruits and flowers in suburban areas and laundry services in cities. The expanding magnitude of the migration of Nikkei began to seize the younger generations. Many posts in Japanese companies abroad or Nikkei-run firms had been assigned *de facto* to Nikkei. The vacancies created by the outflow of Nikkei became more and more difficult to fill with workers of Japanese descent. Some companies were forced to close due to the emigration of managers and the owners themselves.

The effects of massive departures by Nikkei are not necessarily confined to economic activities. Due to the absence of core and younger generations who are the supporters and the driving force of future Nikkei society, it is losing its vigour. Some Nikkei communities were forced to cancel traditional events inherited through generations in fostering and maintaining ethnic ties among Nikkei. Furthermore, it is reported that Japanese newspapers published by Nikkei are faced with difficulties due to the rapid decrease of subscribers and absence of Japanese typesetters. Some of them were obliged to suspend or cease publication. Some hospitals and clinics had provided Nikkei with medical services in Japanese. Having been divested not only of Nikkei nurses but even of medical doctors, some of them terminated services. A survey carried out by the Kanagawa Prefectural Office on the outcome of U-turn migration pointed out the suspension in activities of various social institutions, including Nikkei associations and Japanese language schools [Kanagawa, 1992, p.262].

4. Working and Living Conditions of Foreign Students

The second half of the 1980s was distinguished from preceding years not only by

the initiation of a full-scale inflow of migrant workers and their appearance spreading to various sectors but also as an era in which foreign students (college and pre-college students)" especially from Asian countries showed a notable increase. These two developments overlap each other in some respects.

Apart from a group of students who are awarded scholarships or receive a sufficient allowance from home, most meet expenses by their own efforts. Under the existing immigration Law foreign students can work within the authorized daily work hours.^(*) The majority of students work more or less to pay their enrollment fees, rent, board and other expenses. Since the legal limit of work hours does not yield sufficient income, some work additional hours in violation of the Law [Yamanaka, 1993, p.81]. In some sectors they have already been incorporated as a structural segment of the labour force.

The colleges or schools they attend are located mostly in urban areas, where they settle and tend to find jobs close either to their schools or dwellings. Their work is obviously of an urban nature, which renders them significantly different from other categories of foreign workers. When one attempts to analyze the state of foreign employment one should not disregard the work of foreign students. The following discussion will highlight their life in Japan with special regard to their work.

4.1 Background

Japan had not been an attractive destination country for foreign students to study for many reasons. Students are poorly covered by scholarships. Obtaining a Ph. D degree, especially in the social sciences, is more difficult and generally requires more years than, for example, it may in the United States. Degrees acquired in Japan are often less appreciated than those from other developed countries when searching for jobs in their home countries. In addition, limited employment chances in Japan after finishing school discourages them from choosing this country as an option.

The previous trend of foreign student inflow drastically changed in the mid-1980s. They have shown a striking increase since then. The immigration policy changes in sending countries as well as in Japan are responsible for this development, i.e. the

(*) The immigration Law in force stipulates the categories of college and pre-college students as follows:

[College students]: Applicants are to study at a college or equivalent educational institution, in a specialized course of study at an advanced vocational school ("*Senshu-gakko*"), an educational institution designated for those who have completed 12 years of education at schools in foreign countries to prepare for entering college or "*Koto-senmongakko*".

[Pre-college students]: The applicant is to study at a high school, its equivalent for the blind or other handicapped persons, a higher or general course of study at an advanced vocational school ("*Senshu-gakko*") or a vocational school ("*Kakushu-gakko*") or other educational institutions equivalent to a vocational school in its facilities and curriculum.

Source: The Ministry of Justice Ordinance, No.16 of May 24,1990.

(**) Authorized daily work hours for foreign students:

categories of courses	maximum working hours
post-graduate course, under-graduate course	4 hours(#)
seminar attendants, auditors	2 hours
(advanced) vocational schools	4 hours

Note: (#): 8 hours during summer holidays in July and August.

liberalization of departures on the part of sending countries such as the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea together with the simplification of acceptance procedures being practiced in Japan in accordance with "the programme to invite 100,000 students".

As table 4 documents, the year 1988 marks the onset of a particular trend of the inflow of pre-college students with massive arrivals from the People's Republic of China making up the main component. Interestingly, they were heavily over-represented as middle-age men, as recruiting agents had improperly used the pre-college student status as an effective channel for labour introduction. Stricter examination standards practiced shortly afterwards prevented further increases.

Among the 103,000 foreign college and pre-college students registered in 1992 the overwhelming part were of Asian origin (94.1 per cent). Chinese students, including those from Taiwan and other countries and regions, accounted for almost two-thirds of total foreign students, followed by Koreans (19.3 per cent). Besides these, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines sent relatively large numbers.

Chinese students from the People's Republic of China and Taiwan display interesting contrasts. Although college students from the People's Republic of China have shown a striking increase in recent years, especially in post-graduate courses, the major part of them are pre-college students attending Japanese language schools, whereas Taiwanese are mostly college students. Although Koreans basically carry similar attributes to Taiwanese, pre-college students have been increasing remarkably in recent years. Among other nationalities with relatively large numbers of students in Japan are Malaysians, Thais and Indonesians, characterized by a comparatively higher share of college students in their component.

With regard to the geographical distribution of foreign students, they are highly concentrated in urban areas. Registration data show that Tokyo accounts for 44.6 per cent of college students with its share of pre-college students at 60.4 per cent in 1992. Considering students who commute from neighbouring regions to schools in Tokyo, one can assume that the relative share of students enrolled in educational institutions in Tokyo may exceed 60 per cent.

Table 4 Number of Foreign Students in Japan

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
<new entrants>									
College students	4,797	5,419	5,812	6,435	7,777	9,528	9,620	10,368	10,722
Pre-college students	8,942	12,637	13,915	35,107	18,183	20,851	20,654	27,367	18,127
<enrolled college students>									
<i>Kokuhi</i>	2,380	2,955	3,303	3,922	4,250	4,726	4,790	5,286	6,158
<i>Shihi</i>	10,062	12,005	14,338	16,451	19,566	23,791	27,287	30,608	33,769

Note: "*Kokuhi*" denotes students on Japanese Government Scholarships. "*Shihi*" includes students who are awarded scholarships by Japanese local governments or from their home countries, from private foundations, in addition to self-paying students.

Source: Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Justice, *Annual Report of Statistics on Legal Migrants*, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Education, *School Basic Survey*.

4.2. Foreign Students' Work and Lives

(1) Profiles of Sending Households

A survey implemented by the Tokyo Metropolitan Institute of Labour in 1991 (the TMIL survey) provided interesting results on characteristics of student-sending households. Almost half of students from the People's Republic of China were from homes with parents in managerial or professional occupations, followed by clerical or technical occupations. For students from Taiwan, the Republic of Korea and Hong Kong, householders' occupations such as self-employed traders or entrepreneurs are prevalent. Farmers and labourers rarely send children abroad [TMIL, 1991, p.129]. About two-thirds of foreign students regard their household in their home country as average in terms of income level and one-third as relatively high. Only 1 per cent claimed to be from a low income level household [TMIL, 1991, p.129]. Foreign students studying in Japan are presumably from relatively well-off households in terms of living standards in their home countries. Economically less favoured households cannot afford to send children abroad. This particular attribute inherent in students' households makes students' work less remittance-oriented.

(2) Foreign Students' Work

Surveys conducted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Office (the TMO survey) in 1988 and 1991 give almost identical figures for foreign students' labour force participation rate; about 55 per cent of college students and 65 per cent of pre-college students work. The participation rates are significantly different between *kokuhi* and *shihi* college students. While the rate remains at 21 per cent in the former, corresponding figures for *shihi* college students account for the major part of foreign students with 57 per cent [TMO, 1992, p.29]. A survey implemented by the Japan International Education Association in 1993 (the JIEA survey) gives *shihi* students' labour participation rate at 67 per cent [*Nihon keizai shinbun*, 4 May 1994].

The contribution of scholarships for meeting students' various expenses is quite limited in terms not only of coverage but in the size of the amount paid. Leaving aside a few *kokuhi* students who are completely covered by Japan's government scholarship, 35.9 per cent of *shihi* students and only 3.0 per cent of pre-college students have means to cover every eventuality. Pre-college students, among others, are totally excluded from official support, and this situation makes their dependence upon work particularly substantial. Table 5 shows labour participation by occupation.

As these two sets of survey results illustrate, foreign working students are heavily over-represented in services in their occupational profile. The retail trade and restaurants are especially important in providing them with employment. In contrast to *Nikkei* and clandestine men workers, foreign students involved in industries such as manufacturing and construction are quite few.

More flexible work shifts and part-time employment inherent in many service-providing jobs offer more adequate opportunities than others for students who are required to reconcile work with schooling. They often share work with middle-age national housewives and students working part-time. Night or early-morning work such as night watchmen, shop clerks in 24-hour "convenience stores", newspaper

Table 5 Foreign Students' Labour Participation by Occupation

Occupations	(A)	(B) average	College students		Pre-college students
			Kokuhi	Shihi	
Waiters/waitresses and dishwashers	31.8	49.2	12.7	45.6	61.2
Store clerks	12.6				
Cooks	6.3				
Deliverers	5.2				
Labourers	9.7	15.7	8.5	12.9	22.8
Cleaners	5.6				
Clerical workers	-	9.6	5.6	11.7	5.2
Interpreters and language teachers	7.2	14.8	57.7	17.2	4.5
Others	21.6	10.7	15.5	12.6	6.3

Source: (A): The Tokyo Metropolitan Institute of Labour (1991), *Employment and Working Conditions for Foreign Workers in Tokyo: final report (Tokyoto niokeru gaikokujin rodosya no shuro jittai)*, p.124; (B): The Tokyo Metropolitan Office (1992), *A Survey on the Life of Foreign College and Pre-college Students (Ryugakusei syugakusei no seikatsu ni kansuru jittai chosa)*, p.33.

deliverers and carriers in public wholesale markets and transport industry, which women could hardly take and which have become increasingly shunned by national youths, now largely rely on foreign students.

Among others, waiting and kitchen jobs in restaurants such as that of waiters/waitresses, cook assistants and dishwashers, especially in Japanese taverns, are most popular among foreign students. Many reasons account for their concentration in these occupations. First of all, a few hours' evening work is quite compatible with their daytime school attendance on week days. On weekends they can spend longer hours working. Second, they usually live close to public transport terminals, which affords students easier commuting. And third, meals are often provided at work such as in taverns, which also makes these jobs attractive for working students who are mostly single.

The TMO survey showed a marked difference in occupational distribution among the various categories of students. Kokuhi students enjoy relatively favoured conditions in finding their side-jobs as interpreters or language teachers. By contrast, only a limited number of pre-college students come across such jobs or can make use of their own special abilities. Consequently, pre-college students find jobs in unskilled work.

The different categories of foreign working students are also distinct in terms of wage rates. While kokuhi students are highest paid with an average hourly wage of ¥1,492, shihi college students and pre-college students' earnings remain at a level of ¥1,369 and ¥1,090, respectively [TMO, 1992, p.39]. The hourly wage paid differs substantially among nationalities. Students from English-speaking countries enjoy the highest hourly wage of over ¥2,000, followed by students from Hong Kong and European countries other than the United Kingdom, at ¥1,500-2,000. Koreans and Taiwanese constitute the third group with ¥1,000-1,500, while Chinese from the People's Republic of China and students from ASEAN countries are paid on average

less than ¥1,000 [TMIL, 1991, p.153].

The pronounced differences in wage rates by category of foreign student and nationality is closely related to their occupational profiles on the one hand, and existing hierarchies of occupational wage rates on the other. As table 6 illustrates, language teachers and interpreters enjoy a higher wage rate, with kokuhi students from English-speaking regions being more likely to take.

Foreign students show a heavy concentration in service-providing jobs. This particular sector is outstanding in terms of finding jobs and in generating a marked inequality in working conditions. Whether a worker is proficient in Japanese or not usually brings about a marked difference not only in wage rates but also in gratuities such as seasonal bonuses and other fringe benefits. In restaurants, those who can communicate in Japanese are placed in waiting jobs, which are better paid than kitchen workers such as cook assistants and dishwashers. According to the TMIL survey, while part-time waiters enjoy an hourly wage of ¥700-1,000, wages paid for cook assistants and dishwashers are at around ¥650-850. Waiters are also generally paid twice a seasonal bonus of ¥50,000-100,000, whereas no or only a marginal bonus is paid to kitchen workers. These two categories of jobs are also different in terms of wage increases and other provided benefits [TMIL, 1991, pp.57, 58]. Newspaper delivery businesses have become more and more dependent upon foreign students. This occupation is open almost exclusively to Chinese and Koreans who can manage to identify subscribers' names. Those who have difficulty in communication tend to find physically demanding work such as longshoremen, cleaners and labourers.

How many hours do students work? According to the TMO survey, kokuhi students work 2.3 days a week on average, whereas corresponding figures for shihi and pre-college students reported 3.7 and 5.1 days, respectively. Pre-college students are notable not only in frequency of work, but also in terms of daily work hours. Kokuhi and shihi students reported 4.4 and 4.8 daily work hours, while those of pre-college students come to 5.3 hours [TMO, 1992, p.37]. The percentage of students who are working beyond the prescribed limit is largest among pre-college students. However, to make work reconcile with school attendance, their work hours are considerably shorter than for any other category of foreign workers such as Nikkei or clandestine workers.

The estimated monthly wage earnings calculated by the average hourly wage and monthly work hours gave ¥86,884 for kokuhi students. Although shihi college and pre-college students generally take lower wage jobs than kokuhi students, longer

Table 6 Average Hourly Wage Paid for Foreign Students

¥2,000 and over	Managers
¥1,500 – 1,999	Language teachers, entertainers, interpreters, guides
¥1,200 – 1,499	Salesmen, host/hostesses, longshoremen
¥1,000 – 1,199	Other services, waiters/waitresses, dishwashers, cook assistants, deliverers
¥800 – 999	Clerical workers
less than ¥799	Labourers

Source: The Tokyo Metropolitan Institute of Labour (1991), *Employment and Working Conditions for Foreign Workers in Tokyo: final report (Tokyo to niokeru gaikokujin rodosya no shuro jittai)*, p.153.

working hours can bring them larger amounts of monthly earnings, (¥90,828 for shihi and ¥113,512 for pre-college students). The wage earnings are estimated to account for 44.8, 62.2 and 68.4 per cent of the total income for kokuhi, shihi college and pre-college students, respectively. The JIEA survey elucidated that, because of the protracted economic recession, monthly wage earnings in surveyed samples have diminished considerably over the two years since 1991 [*Nihon keizai shinbun*, 4 May 1994].

Friends from their home country are the largest information source for foreign students in finding part-time jobs. Pre-college students, among others, are exclusively dependent upon this source. In contrast, Japanese friends play only a limited role in providing employment information to foreign students. Pre-college students are least likely to take advantage of this information channel, which reflects their more distant association with Japanese.

Foreign students are more mobile than Nikkei but less so than clandestine workers in terms of frequency of job changes. Different jobs give diverse job change rates. The TMIL survey documents that the most frequent job changes among students occur among cleaners and hostesses, whereas those who work as interpreters, guides, clerical workers and labourers tend to remain in the same job. The most important reason for deciding job change is low wages, followed by remoteness to work [TMIL, 1991, pp.135-137].

The TMIL survey provided interesting results concerning foreign students' job changing behaviour. The survey also lend itself to establishing the hierarchical order of occupations in terms of job preference [TMIL, 1991, p.140]. First, for construction workers, workers in civil construction and longshoremen, the proportion of foreign students who worked in these jobs considerably exceeds that of those engaging in them now. These are normally jobs picked up by new arrivals. However due to the physical intensity of such jobs, students are quick to move to other less demanding or higher paid jobs as soon as they obtain relevant employment information either from attending school or through associating with friends. These jobs can hardly re-attract experienced students and are only filled by new arrivals. Store clerks, cleaners, miscellaneous service workers, interpreters and guides constitute the second category of jobs. Although not as distinctly as for the others, the number of students who undertook these jobs also exceeds those engaging in them now. The survey result illustrates the current in- and outflow of foreign students from this category of jobs. The survey also crystallized the third group of jobs comprised of occupations such as technicians, hostesses and entertainers. What is characteristic in this category is the closed nature of the labour market with a limited number of new job entrants and no notable outflow. Because of the particular nature of activity these jobs do not attract many foreign students, but once involved they tend to remain within the sector even in cases where they change jobs.

(3) Foreign Students' Living Conditions in Japan

(a) Income and Expenditure

Table 7 illustrates the income distribution of foreign students by category (kokuhi and shihi college and pre-college students). The average monthly income for foreign students was ¥155,000 showing a notable dispersion among categories of students.

Kokuhi college students enjoy the highest average income with ¥194,000, whereas the corresponding figures for shihi college and pre-college students gave ¥146,000 and ¥166,000, respectively. A comparison of income distribution pattern between shihi college students and pre-college students elucidates that college students are more involved in schooling and have less time to direct to other activities, including work, than pre-college students [TMO, 1992, p.43].

Table 8 shows the breakdown of income by source for students with income levels of ¥100,000-149,999 and ¥150,000-199,999, the groups largest in number. Categories of foreign students are distinct in terms of income sources. Scholarships are the almost exclusive income sources for kokuhi students. The Japan's government scholarship awards amounted to ¥180,500 for post-graduate and ¥137,500 for under-

Table 7 Income Distribution of Foreign Students by Category

(in per cent)

	Average	College students		Pre-college students
		Kokuhi	Shihi	
less than ¥50,000	1.8	0.0	2.0	1.8
¥50,000-99,999	13.3	0.0	16.1	9.9
¥100,000-149,999	34.3	16.0	39.1	26.4
¥150,000-199,999	28.4	60.4	24.0	31.0
¥200,000-299,999	17.8	22.2	14.5	25.1
over ¥300,000	4.4	1.4	4.3	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: The Tokyo Metropolitan Office (1992), *A Survey on the Life of Foreign College and Pre-college Students (Ryugakusei shugakusei no seikatsu ni kansuru jittai chosa)*, p.43.

Table 8 Income by Source

(in per cent)

		Average	College students		Pre-college students
			Kokuhi	Shihi	
¥100,000 }	Scholarships	21.8	94.8	23.5	0.0
	Part-time jobs	49.6	4.4	46.2	69.6
	Allowance from home	24.4	0.0	25.2	26.1
	Other income	4.2	0.7	5.0	3.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
¥150,000 }	Scholarships	25.9	936.6	18.6	1.3
	Part-time jobs	40.7	2.8	40.4	63.5
	Allowance from home	29.6	0.0	36.0	32.1
	Other income	3.7	0.6	5.0	3.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated data from the Tokyo Metropolitan Office (1992), *A Survey on the Life of Foreign College and Pre-college Students (Ryugakusei shugakusei no seikatsu ni kansuru jittai chosa)*, p.45.

graduate students each month in 1991 [TMO, 1992, p.43]. In contrast, shihi college and pre-college students are covered by scholarships only occasionally and usually by marginal amounts, that render them substantially dependent upon income from part-time jobs and partly from allowance coming from home. For shihi college and pre-college students part-time jobs provide the largest income, although in a different dimensions among the latter two.

A comparison of the two income classes, the largest in numbers, suggests that, together with revenue from part-time jobs, allowances from home are an important component of income for shihi college and pre-college students, which is more or less true to other income groups. However, large allowances from home do not always lead pre-college students to concentrate on their studies. Interestingly, the TMO survey shows that the more money was sent, the more pre-college students tend to engage in part-time jobs [TMO, 1992, p.44].

A particular income class (¥100,000-149,999) was selected for table 9 to show how foreign students dispense income. School fees, housing and food expenses constitute the three major items of expenditure for foreign students. The pattern of expenditure among kokuhi college students is distinguished from those of others in terms of their marginal share of school fees. Moreover, higher possibilities of being accommodated in public facilities such as college dormitories can alleviate their average housing expenses. In contrast, shihi college and pre-college students are heavily burdened by these three items. Especially among pre-college students, school fees account for more than 30 per cent of their total expenditure. It is interesting that shihi college and pre-college students display somewhat different consumer behaviour. While pre-college students cut down on items such as housing and food expenses compared with shihi students, they channel more money into recreation and savings [TMO, 1992, p.47].

**Table 9 Expenditure Distribution by Category of Student
for Income Group ¥100,000-149,999**
(in per cent)

	Average	College students		Pre-college
		Kokuhi	Shihi	students
School fees	25.4	3.1	24.4	30.6
Commuting	4.9	3.9	4.9	4.8
Housing	26.2	22.8	26.8	25.8
Food expenses	25.4	32.3	26.0	21.8
Other study expenses*	6.6	9.4	7.3	4.0
Recreation	5.7	11.0	5.7	6.5
Savings	3.3	10.2	2.4	4.8
Other	2.5	7.1	2.4	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: *. Includes expenses for books.

Source: Calculated based on data from the Tokyo Metropolitan Office (1992), *A Survey on the Life of Foreign College and Pre-college Students* (*Ryugakusei shugakusei no seikatsu ni kansuru jittai chosa*), p.48.

(b) Accommodation

The largest problem in life which foreign students face in Japan is dwelling. Public facilities such as college dormitories fall far short in numbers to accommodate foreign students. According to the TMO survey, 50 per cent of kokuhi students, 70 per cent of shihi students and 73 per cent of pre-college students rent private apartment houses [TMO, 1992, p.51].

The largest source of foreign students' discontents is difficulty in finding dwellings to settle. Since their inflow is less organized than, for example, in the case of Nikkei workers and trainees, to accommodate is essentially left for them to deal with. More than 60 per cent of shihi college and pre-college students had difficulty in finding dwellings, with 77 per cent of shihi students and 73 per cent of pre-college students having been refused on account of being a foreigner [TMO, 1992, p.62]. The Naigai Student Centre reported that only 14 per cent of landlords renting to students in the Tokyo metropolitan area are ready to accept a tenant irrespective of whether they are a national or not.

Although mediation on housing by real estate agencies is quite popular in Japan, the proportion of foreign students able to find a dwelling through this channel is quite marginal. While 31 per cent of pre-college students were dependent upon friends from their home country for finding a dwelling, only 26 per cent found them through real estate agencies [TMO, 1992, p.62]. Lease contracts through real estate agencies generally require a national as guarantor, which makes rental of housing through this channel quite restrictive. They often start residing as a temporary lodger at a friend's room, who is usually from the same country or region of origin, without any formal lease contract [Okuda, et al., 1994, p.71].

Housing for foreign students is poor in quality. Since educational facilities are generally located in urban areas, students are forced to find dwelling where room rents are particularly expensive. Foreign students in the Tokyo metropolitan area pay ¥48,000 on average for rent. They, more often than not, share dwelling with others in order to alleviate the burden. Because of soaring rent during the "bubble" economy, rents increased by about one-third over 3 years from 1988 [TMO, 1992, pp.59,60] and students were obliged to spend almost one-third of their total income

Table 10 Dwelling Facilities (exclusively used)

	(in per cent)		
	Kitchen	Toilet	Bathroom
Kokuhi students	73.8	75.0	60.8
Shihi students	75.4	65.5	54.2
Pre-college students	73.4	57.4	44.3
(cf.) Rented houses	99.2	97.4	90.3

Source: The Tokyo Metropolitan Office (1992), *A Survey on the Life of Foreign College and Pre-college Students (Ryugakusei shugakusei no seikatsu ni kansuru jittaichosa)*, p.55; Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, *The 1993 Housing Survey of Japan: prompt report*.

for housing.

High housing costs drive students to relatively less expensive but poorly furnished dwellings. As table 10 illustrates, conditions of dwelling facilities are significantly inferior to the national average for rented houses calculated from the 1993 Housing Survey data, with rented dwellings for pre-college students being the least attractive.

Some inner-city areas where modest apartment houses were concentrated used to provide national students with dwellings. These apartments were usually wooden, small in size and humbly furnished with no private kitchen, toilet or bathroom. Students used to share these facilities. Although these apartment houses were conveniently located, national students in the well-off section of Japanese society were less and less attracted by such dwellings. Many apartment houses have been rebuilt to meet their needs, but some were left obsolete because of owners being unable to invest. These apartments, being relatively inexpensive to rent and located conveniently near public transport, together with the owners' desire to fill the vacancies, have provided foreign clandestine workers with access to accommodation. In such apartments foreigners are rather welcome because of the small likelihood of default on rent payment and a higher turnover that brings additional margins to the owner [Okuda, et al., 1994, pp.73, 88] .

Their massive lodging is responsible for attracting foreign residents through their own information network. Many difficulties in their lives stem from the different living habits which have caused various conflicts with neighbouring national residents, who tend to avoid such accommodation or regions. Consequently, some inner-city areas have formed particular regions where foreigners display an outstandingly high concentration.

(c) Association

The TMO survey shows that foreign students intending to study in Japan regard association with Japanese as one of the greatest interests. The desire is especially high among pre-college students [TMO, 1992, p.80]. Quite contrary to their expectations most of them find themselves isolated from nationals and they associate usually with friends from the same country or region. Discontent with insufficient association with nationals is most prevalent among pre-college students who experience the largest gap between expectation and reality.

Table 11 shows proficiency in Japanese by category of students in some selected fields measured in terms of percentage of respondents who answered as having no particular difficulty in dealing with the language.

Pre-college students are less proficient in Japanese compared with college students. Pre-college students generally stay in Japan for a shorter period than college students. Moreover, in cases where a pre-college student enrolls in college or university, a high language ability in Japanese is required. These seem to be the reason for the marked difference in proficiency between college and pre-college students. However, insufficient proficiency is not the main stumbling block for foreign students in their association with Japanese. Even among college students opportunities for mixing with Japanese are limited, as many Japanese students still tend to keep a distance from foreign schoolmates.

The distance kept by national schoolmates from them causes foreign students to become more dependent upon compatriot friends or foreign language newspapers

Table 11 Proficiency in Japanese by Category of Students
— those who have no difficulties—

(in per cent)

	College students		Pre-college students
	Kokuhi	Shihi	
Daily life ^a	85.4	87.4	69.1
Association ^b	46.2	43.7	21.2
Watch television	51.5	51.6	17.0
Read newspapers/journals	49.4	46.7	10.9
Interpreting work	35.9	28.0	9.4

Note: a: Activities such as shopping, travelling or asking the way.

b: Writing letters or communicating over the telephone.

Source: Calculated based on data from the Tokyo Metropolitan Office (1992), *A Survey on the Life of Foreign College and Pre-college Students (Ryugakusei shugakusei no seikatsu ni kansuru jittai chosa)*, pp.112-113.

when they need information. Even among kokuhi students Japanese friends play only an insignificant role. For pre-college students, teachers in Japanese language schools are important information sources [TMO, 1992, p.85]. Where a foreign student does part-time work, Japanese colleagues are not always friendly. Many foreign students feel themselves isolated and secluded from Japanese society.

(d) Health care

The TMO survey demonstrates that almost 35 per cent of foreign students are apprehensive about their health [TMO, 1992, p.65]. Compared with the previous results in 1988, the percentage has decreased by 12.3 per cent in college students and by 5.7 per cent in pre-college students. Foreigners whose expected duration of residence exceeds one year can be insured by the National Health Insurance (NHI) which subsidizes 70 per cent of medical care expenses. For college students the Japan International Education Association supports 80 per cent of charges [TMO, 1992, p.67].

More than 90 per cent of foreign college students are insured by NHI, although the corresponding figure for pre-college students still remains at the comparatively low level of 64.4 per cent [TMO, 1991, p.67]. The coverage of NHI has increased by around 10 per cent in the 3 years since 1988, which may have contributed to diminishing their apprehension about health. Notwithstanding, more than one-third of the students are still anxious about their health, probably because of the anticipated financial burden.

5. Working Conditions for Clandestine Workers

Labour migration to Japan also involves an illegal and concealed flow of clandestine workers. Some enter through legal procedures and overstay their visas and others land as undocumented entrants. As "illegal" foreign workers are of a

clandestine nature, they are unlikely to be covered by official statistics. They are therefore the least identifiable segment in foreign workers. Some administrative records such as inspection results, exposed cases of immigration Law violation and a few surveys provide limited information bringing to light their actual working conditions.

5.1 Trafficking of Undocumented Entrants

Since Japan does not share land borders with neighbouring countries, the size of undocumented entrants among foreign residents is expected to be relatively small and more likely to be exposed. They constitute the most unidentifiable part even among clandestine workers.

From the second half of the 1980s, the number of disclosed cases of undocumented entry hovered at around 500 persons *per annum*. However, this figure jumped to around 2,300 in 1989 and 1990 when massive smuggling operations from the People's Republic of China were disclosed [Immigration Bureau, 1993a, p.93]. Although a slight decrease occurred in 1992, signs of further increase have taken place in subsequent years.

The People's Republic of China is known as the largest sender of undocumented entrants. The majority of them embark on their journey to Japan from Fujian province which is well known as the main supply region of overseas Chinese [FEER, 4 August 1994]. Prior to 1989, enrollment in Japanese language schools had been the main channel for Chinese with employment aims. The tougher examination practices applied to pre-college students by the immigration authority slammed shut the door on this type of entrants. Urban areas are known as the major sending regions of Chinese pre-college students, including those who have actual employment intentions and who have shown a notable expansion in the years prior to 1989. In contrast, those smuggled in are mainly rural residents [Morita, 1994, p.10]. It was a matter of course that the flow would sooner or later find other alternatives with growing emigration pressure from the People's Republic of China having been fueled by the move to the market economy in rural areas and the expanding disparities associated with the loosening up of central control.

The striking increase in undocumented entrants is the combined outcome of existing persistent emigration pressure and the organization of syndicates which carry out the trafficking. It is known that the so-called "Snake Head" and other organized criminal syndicates in Taiwan, Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China, in cooperation with Japanese gangster organizations, "*yakuza*", play an important role in trafficking people. There are two reasons for Japanese *yakuza* to have taken a hand in this business in recent years. First, the revised Commercial Law and newly enforced Anti-Gang Law has made it tougher for them to engage in traditional activities like drug-dealing and extorting money from companies by threatening to cause troubles at the stockholders' general meetings. Second, the collapse of the "bubble" economy deprived them of opportunities to gain from property-related extortion activities [FEER, 4 August 1994]. They are mostly in charge of entrants' acceptance in close correlation with foreign organized syndicates.

Japanese fishing boats having been shut out from northern deep-sea fishing used to be involved in the trafficking of humans in the earlier stages of the recent massive

landing of undocumented entrants [Morita, 1994, p.158]. In recent years Taiwanese fishing boats and other cargo vessels are generally made use of to approach Japanese coastlines.

It is reported that trafficking mediators demand about 80,000-100,000 Chinese yuan (about 20,000-25,000 US dollars) as a mediation charge, partly paid in advance with the rest being remitted by applicants after successful entry. Most of those successfully smuggled remit through official financial institutions, with part of their earnings being used to clear debts. Trafficking has become a more and more organized, ingenious and profitable trade for these underground organizations.

5.2 Basic Profile of Clandestine Workers

Illegal overstayers or unregistered foreigners as a proxy of clandestine workers are substantially different from the above-mentioned undocumented entrants, because their total size and some of their characteristics can be assessed by statistical measurement.

There are two sets of data applicable to characterize the profiles of clandestine workers. Figures for illegal overstayers are given by immigration statistics and cases of illegal work have been brought to light by the Ministry of Justice. The former are substantially based on immigration data compiled from administrative practices covering landing, departure and registration. However, as far as activities of clandestine workers are concerned, they are not informative enough. The Immigration Bureau of the Ministry of Justice releases exposed cases of illegal overstay presumably with employment purposes. This data represent some aspects of clandestine workers' activities which the immigration data do not offer. Changes revealed at the time cases were disclosed reflects to some extent the actual trend of development. Taking into account the size of illegal overstayers, exposed cases are assumed to cover approximately one-fifth of the total relevant cases. By comparing these two sets of data one can assess the reliability and particular inclination inherent in the data on exposed cases which provide information on their work.

First, the sex ratio in exposed cases, 0.31 and 0.42 for 1992 and 1993, seems to support the notion that the major part of clandestine workers are men. Thailand and the Philippines are the only two exceptions among main supplier countries for clandestine workers where women predominate. Women from these two countries account for about half of the exposed total of clandestine women workers [Immigration Bureau, 1993b, p.41, 1994, p.37]. The estimate of illegal overstayers and unregistered foreign nationals gives a similar ratio of around 0.5. This suggests that the exposed cases in 1992 and 1993 tends to over-represent men. Second, for their breakdown by age group, 25-29 year-old workers account for 29.1 per cent of exposed cases, followed by 30-34 (21.8 per cent) and 20-24 (18.6 per cent). Workers in their 20s and 30s account for 82.4 per cent. The share of those in their 20s and 30s is about 5 per cent higher each in exposed cases than among unregistered foreigners. However, with regard to the dominant age group 25-34, both sets of statistics put them at almost half the total number of clandestine workers. These two sets of data are fairly close in terms of their age profiles.

As data by resident status shows, they mostly landed legally as a temporary visitor and overstayed illegally beyond the period of time given at landing. Pre-college

**Table 12 Illegal Overstayers and Exposed Illegal Workers
by Status of Residence**

	Overstayers ^a		Exposed cases ^b	
Temporary visitors	242,465	81.2%	51,889	80.6%
Pre-college students	20,095	6.7	3,897	6.1
Entertainers	7,451	2.5	674	1.0
College students	6,484	2.2	171	0.3
Trainees	1,788	0.6	179	0.3
Others	20,363	6.8	7,531	14.5

Note: a: Estimated at 1 May 1993.

b: Exposed cases reported in 1993.

Source: Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice (1994), An Estimate of the Illegal Overstayers in Japan (*Honpo niokeru fuho zanryusys su*), *Kokusai jinryu*, No.83, April, p.38; Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice material, August 1993.

student status works as the second main avenue of inflow. As table 12 documents, the exposed cases of illegal work of clandestine workers by status of residence reveals quite similar patterns to those of illegal overstayers.

5.3 Clandestine Workers' Working Conditions

(1) Occupational Profile

For clandestine workers' occupational profile, exposed cases provide the only available data with nationwide coverage. As table 13 shows, construction, factory workers and hostesses comprise the three major occupations. As for the remarkably dominant share of the construction and factory workers, the TMSWC survey which partly covers clandestine workers and a survey of Iranians in Japan carried out in 1993 by Tsukuba University (the Tsukuba survey) give aggregate proportions of 59 and 77 per cent, respectively [TMSWC, 1993, p.19, Tsukuba University, 1994, p.198].

Time series data of exposed cases document interesting facts. Construction, factory workers and hostesses have constantly accounted for more than two-thirds of the total exposed cases of illegal work. However, a striking change occurred in recent years. While hostesses had made up more than 50 per cent of total exposed cases before 1988, their share dropped sharply to 10 per cent after 1990. Construction and factory workers, in turn, took their place. The drastic change in occupational characteristics which occurred in the late 1980s went hand in hand with the change in gender composition among new arrivals. Progressing occupational diversification among women is also responsible for the declining share of hostesses. While hostesses had accounted for more than 80 per cent of exposed cases of women's illegal work prior to 1989, their share almost halved by 1993. In turn, women found more and more jobs in factory work and other services.

Clandestine workers are distinct in terms of occupational profile compared with other categories of foreign workers. First, they demonstrate a marked contrast with others by their heavy concentration in construction. National seasonal workers from

Table 13 Occupational Profiles of Clandestine Workers
(in per cent:1993)

Occupations	Total	Men	Women
Construction workers	27.9	39.7	
Factory workers	27.6	31.6	18.1
Hosts/hostesses and bartenders	15.9	2.9	46.5
Production process workers	8.5	10.1	4.8
Dish-washers	4.5	3.0	7.9
Cooks	3.2	3.1	3.5
Waiters/waitresses	2.3	7.9	
Drivers	0.8	1.1	
Other service workers	2.8	2.5	3.6
Miscellaneous	6.5	5.9	7.9

Note: *: Includes prostitutes making up 3.0 per cent of total exposed cases, as they usually engage in hostess activities.

Source: Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice (1994), *An Estimate of the Illegal Overstayers in Japan (Honpo niokeru fuho zanryusysu)*, Kokusai jinryu, No.83, April, p.42.

rural areas who used to be the major labour supply, dried up as a source due to the ageing of the agricultural population. This rendered labour shortages in construction persistent. Work in this sector, including civil construction, is usually dirty, dangerous and demanding and is more likely to be dependent upon weather than, for instance, factory jobs. The so-called "3D" nature and instability of the jobs render them unattractive to legal foreign workers. Moreover, daily employment which is prevalent in construction does not meet the part-time labour requirements of foreign students.

Second, clandestine workers also show a notable concentration as labourers. However, their number is smaller than the number of Nikkei workers, who due to their legitimacy of work status enjoy organized recruitment and employment in larger-size firms in manufacturing. In contrast, clandestine workers are less organized and tend to be isolated from established recruitment networks. Illegitimacy of status renders their employment more informal in nature. They are more likely to be hired not in manufacturing but in construction, services and transport.

Third, clandestine workers share similarities with foreign working students in terms of high involvement in services. However, they show a marked difference in the sort of services they are hired for. While dining and kitchen jobs provide students with the largest employment, clandestine workers in the service industry find jobs mainly as hostesses. This occupation is characterized as one that forms a kind of closed labour market of a strong informal or underground nature.

(2) Employment by Firm Size

Clandestine workers are distinct from nationals as well as other foreign workers

in terms of employment by firm size. Table 14 characterizes their employment by firm size compared with the pattern of the total working population.

Clandestine workers are primarily employed by small-size firms. Four out of five are employed in firms with less than ten employees. They show a marked contrast with the total population as recorded in the Business Establishment Survey. According to the cases of exposure, clandestine workers are usually employed in small numbers. 16.8 per cent are employed alone and another 59.5 per cent are with one to four foreign colleagues. The PFCRI survey brought to light a stratified employment pattern of foreign workers. According to the survey, the larger the firm, the more likely was it dependent upon Nikkei Brazilian workers. Nikkei are not employed in firms with less than ten employees [Inagami, et al., 1992, p.204]. One can assume that the bottom layers of industries, which cannot afford to employ legal workers, exclusively fill the vacancies with clandestine workers.

(3) Work Sharing

Small-scale firms employing foreign workers are usually shunned by young national workers. The dried-up supply of new labour market entrants left them dependent upon well-skilled but aged workers, middle-age housewives and working students [TMIL, 1991, p.76]. Foreign workers employed in small-size firms usually share work with native target workers.

Foreigners are placed mostly in unskilled manual work, in production lines often as supplementary workers such as parts gatherers, cleaners and machine maintainers, or in public wholesale markets and construction sites as commodity examiners, sorters, carriers, baggers, demolition men, carpenters and scaffolding assistants. Young national workers used to take these unskilled jobs initially before advancing to more skilled ones such as foremen, buyers, auctioneers, carpenters and

Table 14 Clandestine Workers by Firm Size
(in per cent)

number of employees	exposed cases ^a	Business Establishment Survey ^b
– 4	59.8	16.8
5 – 9	21.3	14.4
10 – 29	13.6	23.9
30 – 49	2.4	9.9
50 –	2.7	35.0

Note: a: "Unknown" is excluded.

b: Agriculture, forestry, fishery and the government sector are excluded.

Source: Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice (1994), *An Estimate of the Illegal Overstayers in Japan (Honponi okeru fuho zanryusys su)*, *Kokusai jinryu*, No.83, April, pp.43-44; Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, *The 1991 Business Establishment Survey*.

scaffolders. Highly educated young national workers in well-off societies have become more and more reluctant to take such entry jobs.

Clandestine workers' illegitimate status affects their labour placement at work in two ways. First, since their status is illegal, in cases where they are employed in a firm alongside legal workers, they tend to be assigned more demanding or dirty work than their legal counterparts. Even if they perform the same work as legal workers, they are employed on different shifts, such as night work, which makes them less noticeable. Second, illegitimacy makes their employment status the most unstable among foreign workers. Because of the uncertainty of their future, employers are more likely to assign them to supplementary and easily replaceable jobs. Many of them are deprived of the possibility of increasing their skills. Such employment practices have been crystallizing particular dead-end jobs with no possibility of climbing up the occupational hierarchy in terms of wage rates and skill advancement.

(4) Wage Rates

Clandestine workers are usually treated by employers least favourably among foreign workers in wage payment and other benefits such as housing. While directly employed Brazilian men receive an average hourly wage rate of ¥1,198, Bangladeshis and Iranians earn ¥1,055 and ¥1,010, respectively [Inagami, et al., 1992, p.209]. Table 15 shows clandestine workers' distribution of daily wage rates revealed in exposed cases.

One out of two clandestine workers earn a daily income of ¥7,001-10,000 (65-90 US dollars). The Tsukuba survey gave the average monthly income at ¥186,720 for Iranians, the overwhelming part of whom are regarded as clandestine workers. Since the survey gave the average monthly work days at 18.8, the average daily wage rate is calculated at ¥9,932 [Tsukuba University, 1994, pp.201,202]. Meanwhile the TMIL survey informs that manufacturing usually pays ¥7,000-9,000 per day's work, while, due to the demanding nature and tighter labour market conditions, construction work pays ¥10,000-20,000. Unskilled jobs in the service sector are paid at a similar or slightly lower than factory jobs [TMIL, 1991, p.93].

Table 15 Clandestine Workers' Daily Wage Rates

	Total		Men		Women	
lower than ¥3,000	676	1.1%	151	0.3%	525	2.7%
¥3,001 – 5,000	4,593	7.1	1,321	2.9	3,272	17.0
¥5,001 – 7,000	13,487	21.0	7,789	17.3	5,698	29.7
¥7,001 – 10,000	33,507	52.1	28,390	62.9	5,117	26.7
¥10,001 – 30,000	10,011	15.6	7,013	15.5	2,998	15.6
higher than ¥30,000	416	0.6	80	0.2	336	1.8
unknown	1,651	2.6	400	0.9	1,251	6.5

Source: Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice (1994), *An Estimate of the Illegal Overstayers in Japan (Honpo niokeru fuho zanryusysu)*, *Kokusai jinryu*, No. 86, July, p42.

Wage rates differ by gender not only in the amount paid but also in the distribution pattern. Women clandestine workers are paid less than men by about 20-25 per cent. The calculated median from table 15 for men is ¥8,386, while the corresponding figure for women come to ¥6,817. The TMIL survey documents similar wage gaps by gender, providing hourly wage rates for men at ¥800-1,200 and ¥650-700 for women [TMIL, 1991, p.82]. Women show a wider distribution than men in terms of wage rates.

The wider dispersion of wage rates among women seems to result from the following facts. In cases where women are employed in factory work, they are usually placed in physically less intense work or supplementary work such as product examiners, cleaners [TMIL, 1991, p.82]. These jobs are generally lower paid than intense work or work which is directly incorporated in the production process. Service jobs where women often find employment, are usually lower paid than factory work or work at construction sites. Meanwhile, hostesses and women who engage in prostitution are the highest paid in terms of wage rate. However, as the data on exposure cases documents, 1,968 illegal workers were hired by employers who were members of gangster organizations. Among them women account for 77.1 per cent, the largest component of whom are Thais (1,249), followed by Filipinas (135) and Koreans (69) [Inagami, et al., 1992, p.43]. Especially in saloons, nightclubs and cabarets, where many clandestine women work as hostesses, they are more likely to be involved in such underground organizations. Because of the tremendous concocted debts burdened on them, huge amounts are deducted from wages making their actual earnings quite marginal. Journalists often report that a form of modern slavery exists treating women as objects of trade and frequently forcing them into prostitution under the burden of heavy debt.

Only legal workers are allowed access to labour placement services provided for foreign workers. In finding jobs clandestine workers are forced to rely on informal human networks. In cases where migrants have some contacts with predecessors such as other family members or friends, they can find jobs through these personal connections. New visitors totally isolated from this type of network are more likely to be dependent upon brokers. As they are generally insufficiently proficient in Japanese, appointment columns in newspapers and recruitment journals cannot effectively function as an information source for job placement. Jobs mediated by brokers tend to be less attractive than others and, more often than not, brokers pocket a percentage from wages paid by employers.

Among clandestine workers Iranians generally comprise the lowest stratum, in terms not only of wage rate, but also of instability of employment and working conditions. The majority of Iranians have appeared in Japan's labour market later than other clandestine workers at the time when Japan's economy started to slow down. The loosening labour market coupled with the restricted possibility of taking advantage of the established informal human network, they were obliged to depend on brokers or take those jobs that were continuously unfilled due to their least favourable working conditions, for instance longshoremen and construction workers. Iranians among other clandestine workers are almost exclusively employed in small-size firms which cannot afford the high cost of legal workers. Besides having to accept unattractive working conditions, they are more likely to be the target of labour retrenchment in a phase of economic downturn. The Tsukuba University survey

shows a substantially higher unemployment rate for Iranians, which comes up to the level of 20 per cent compared with 3 per cent for nationals [Tsukuba University, 1994, p.56].

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