



Beyond the traditional diversity of migration

Europeans in Japan as 'migrants'

隠れ移民大国 ニッポン

人口が減る日本社会。人手不足を埋める働き手として、外国人が着実に増えている。彼らはどこから来て、どこに住み、何をしているのか。在日外国人の生態を広く、深くレポート。

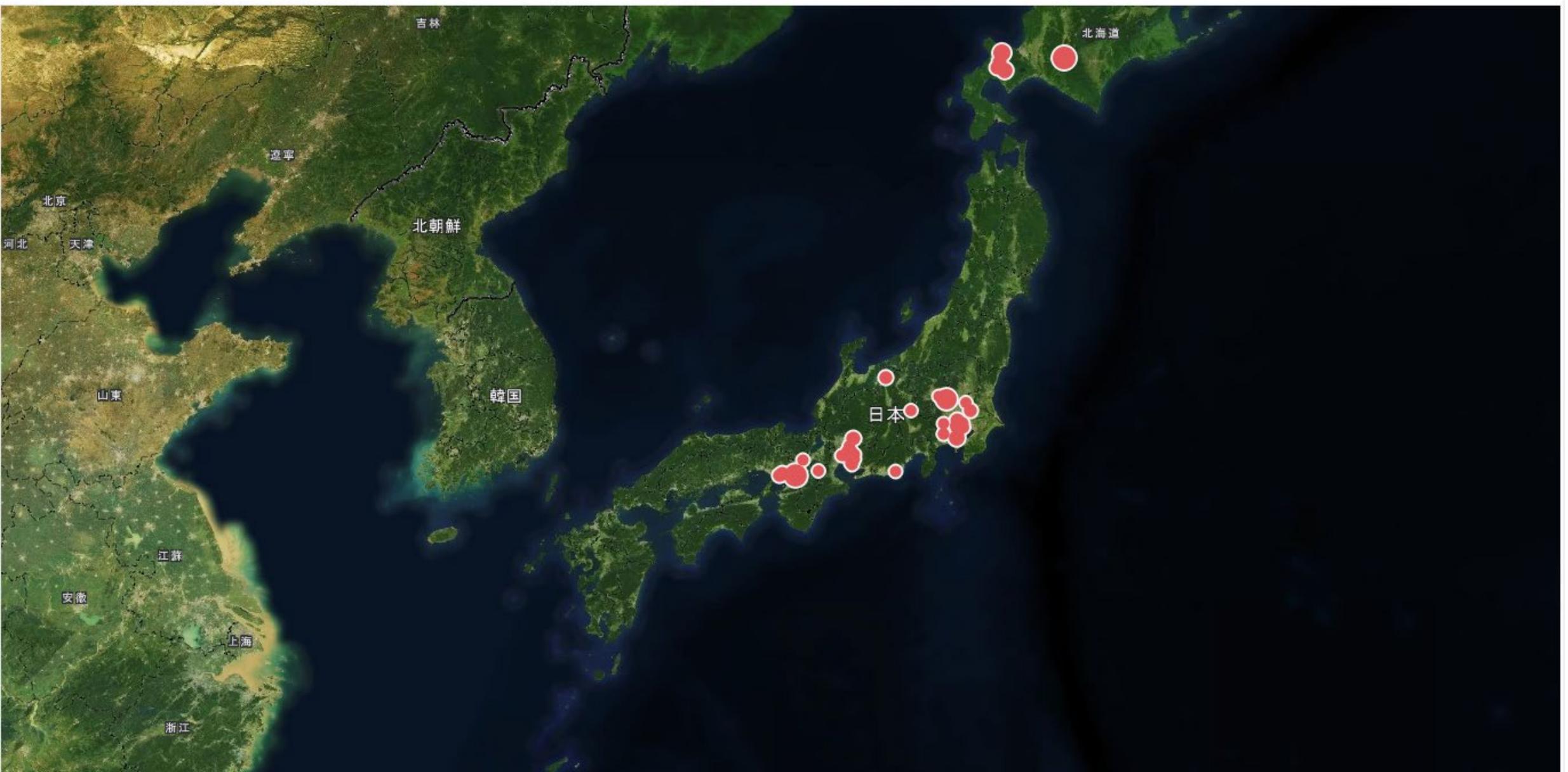
本誌：緒方欽一、杉本りうこ、渡辺清治
デザイン：池田 希 進行管理：三隅多香子



名古屋の人口を超え
無視できない規模に
—在日外国人数の推移—

(注)人数は各年末の在留外国人数。2017年のみ6月末の数値。人口比は17年7月の総人口を基に算出。名古屋市の人口は231万人 (出所)法務省、総務省、名古屋市

Municipalities with higher than 5% share fo foreign nationals



Ethnic Diversity Hotspots in Japan: what kind of 'super-diversity'?

Who are the "migrants" in Japan?

Popular representations of the 'new migrants'

中国人激増 の西川口を ディープルポ

ジャーナリスト ● 高口康太

埼玉県西川口

中国人



福岡市
×
ネパール人

写真1, 2は福岡市内の日本語学校に通うネパール人学生。3は日本語の授業風景。いろいろな国籍の若者が同じ教室で学ぶ



日本語学校が入り口に ネパールから

群馬県大泉町
×
ブラジル人



1千曲川源流に位置するタスなど葉物野菜の産地レタス畑。この時期から3繁忙期に村の水実習生(中央)

1人が外国人技能実習生
川上村の反省

ジャーナリスト ● 安田浩

田たに人弁は村を 戸相いいを

あまりに
閉鎖的な日本人。
本当に外国人を
呼ぶ気あるの？



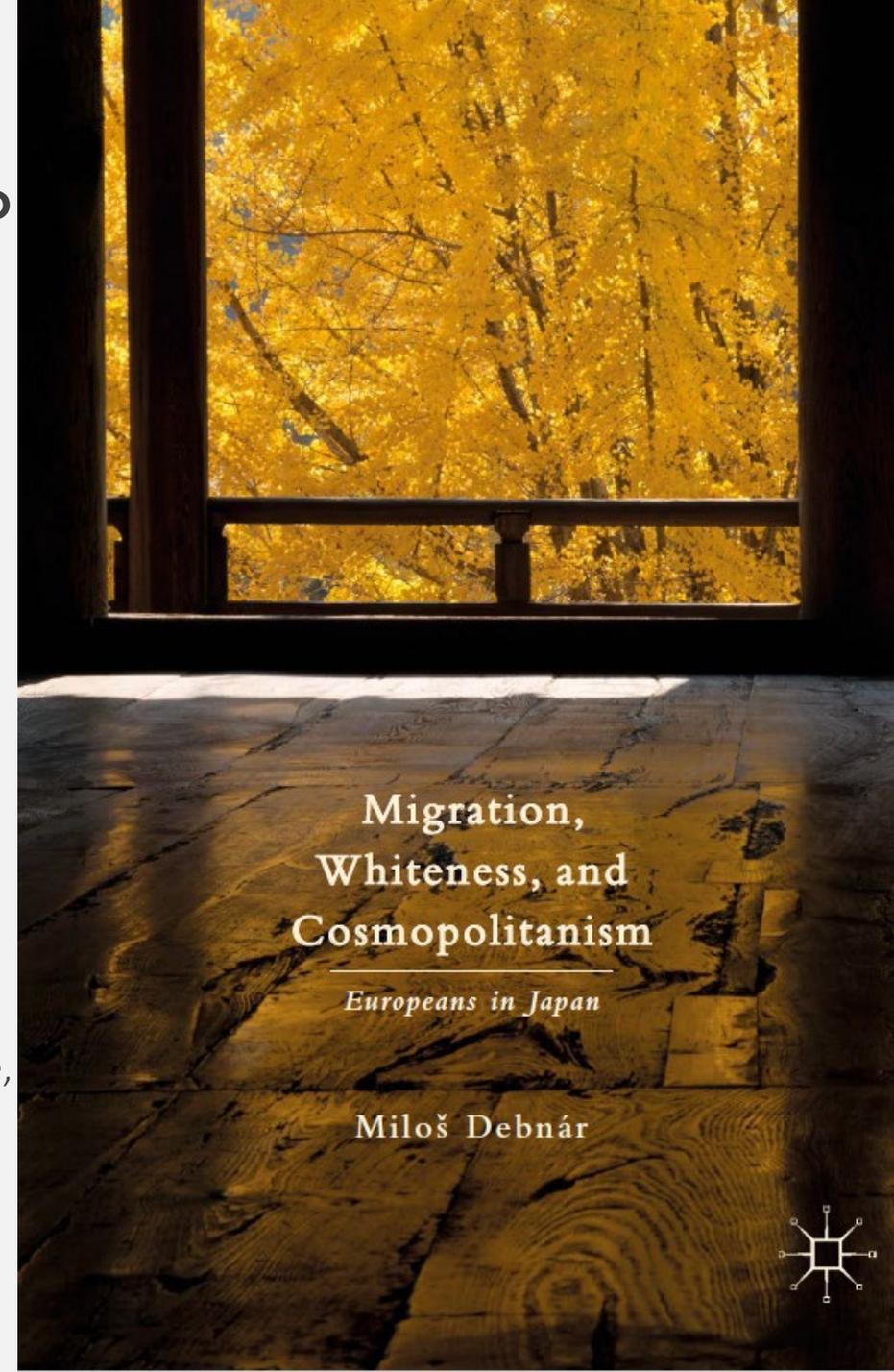
INTERVIEW

お笑い芸人

厚切りジェイソン

Previous research – Migration, whiteness and cosmopolitanism of the Europeans in JP

- Super-diversity in terms of migration, integration and cosmopolitanism
 - Deconstructing the assumptions on ‘white migrants’ as presumably highly skilled, highly mobile, unproblematic and cosmopolitan elites
- Migration
 - Deconstructing dichotomies: high-skilled (from the West) versus low-skilled (from the East)
 - Focusing on the lifestyle migration, international marriages, or student migration
- Integration
 - Following conceptualizations of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008), particularly focusing on the labor market integration, the role of whiteness in the integration process
 - Whiteness as a privilege: capital conversion leading to
- Cosmopolitanism
 - Social relations, identity and integration, cosmopolitanism as a “deformed” practice, “cosmopolitan sociability” and maintain symbolic ethnicity in everyday life



Migration, Whiteness, and Cosmopolitanism

Europeans in Japan

Miloš Debnár



Analyze the recent trends in European migration to Japan

- From many people
- Focusing on the recent period 2012-2018

Consequences of such trends

- ‘super-diversity’ in the migration trends and its consequences

Europeans (or white migrants) as (high) skilled, privileged, mobile or as ‘migrants’?

- The blurring of the boundaries of the ‘expats’ category (Farrer 2018)



Data



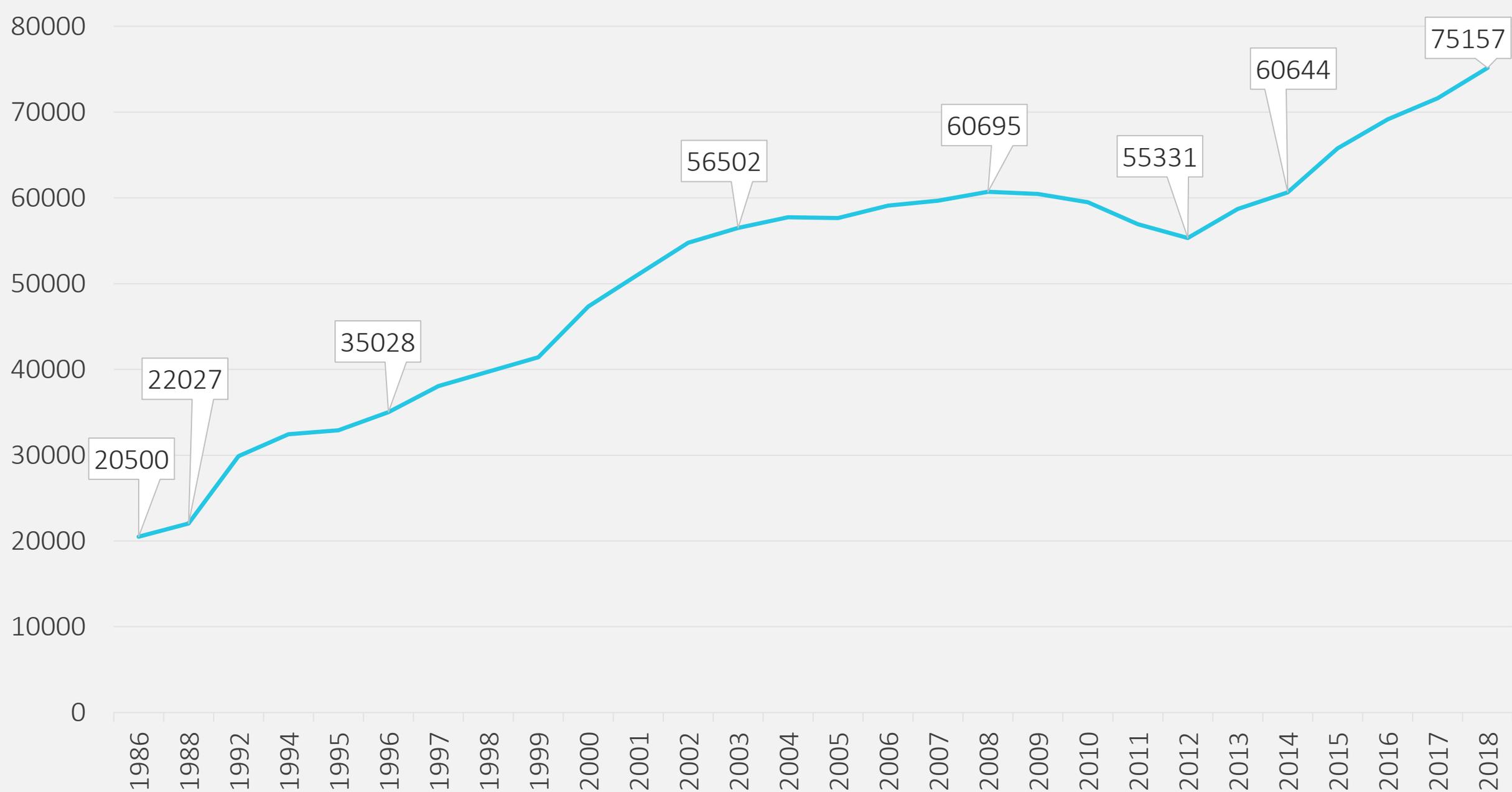
Continuous fieldwork since 2009

60+ formal interviews

- subjects from all parts of Europe, different ages, migration patterns, occupations
- Semi-structured interviews
- Most of the interviews gathered between 2009-2011, some follow-up interviews, new interviews since 2018

Informal interviews and gathering information from other sources



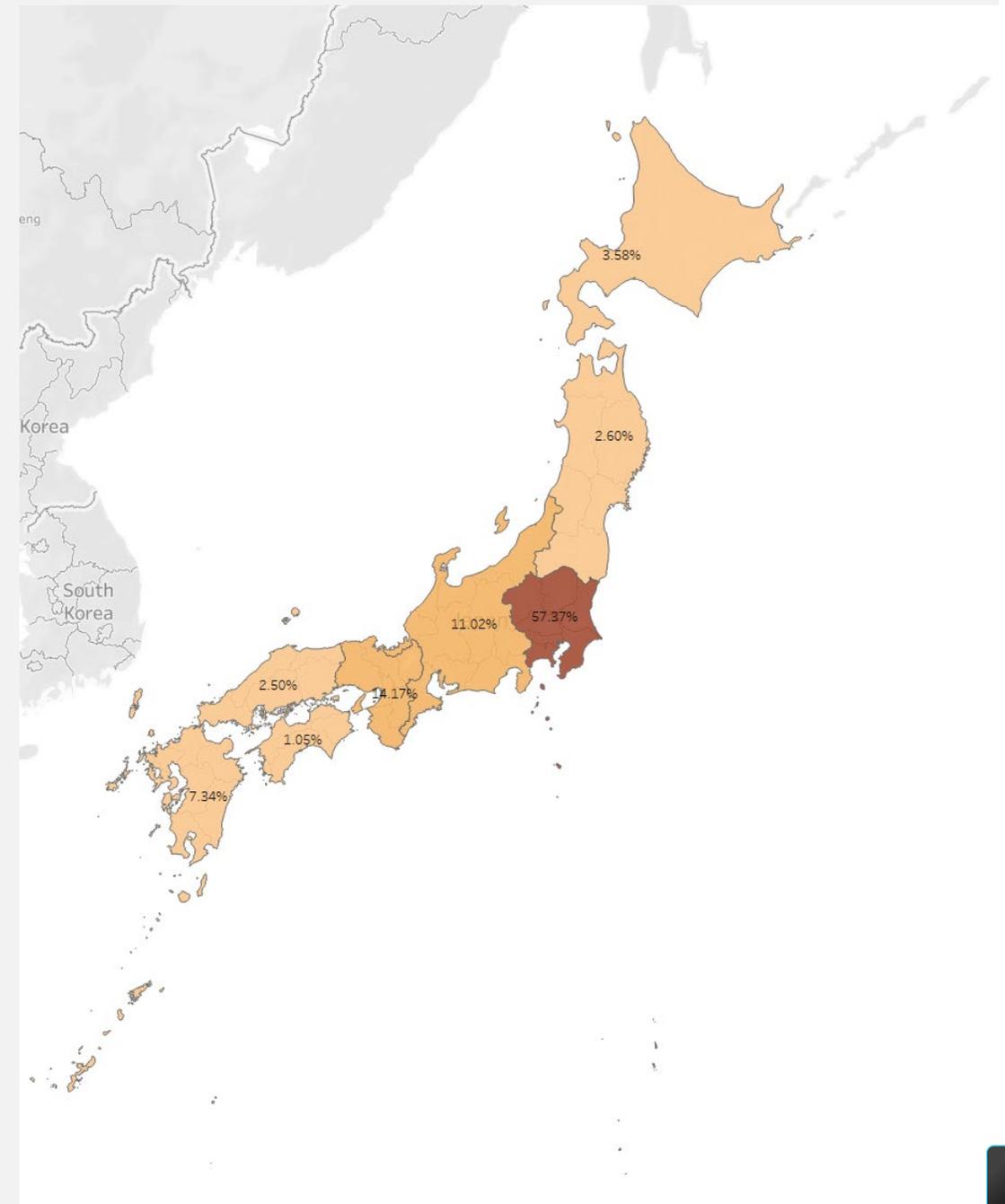


出典：登録外国人統計（1987～2012年）、在留外国人統計（2013～2018）

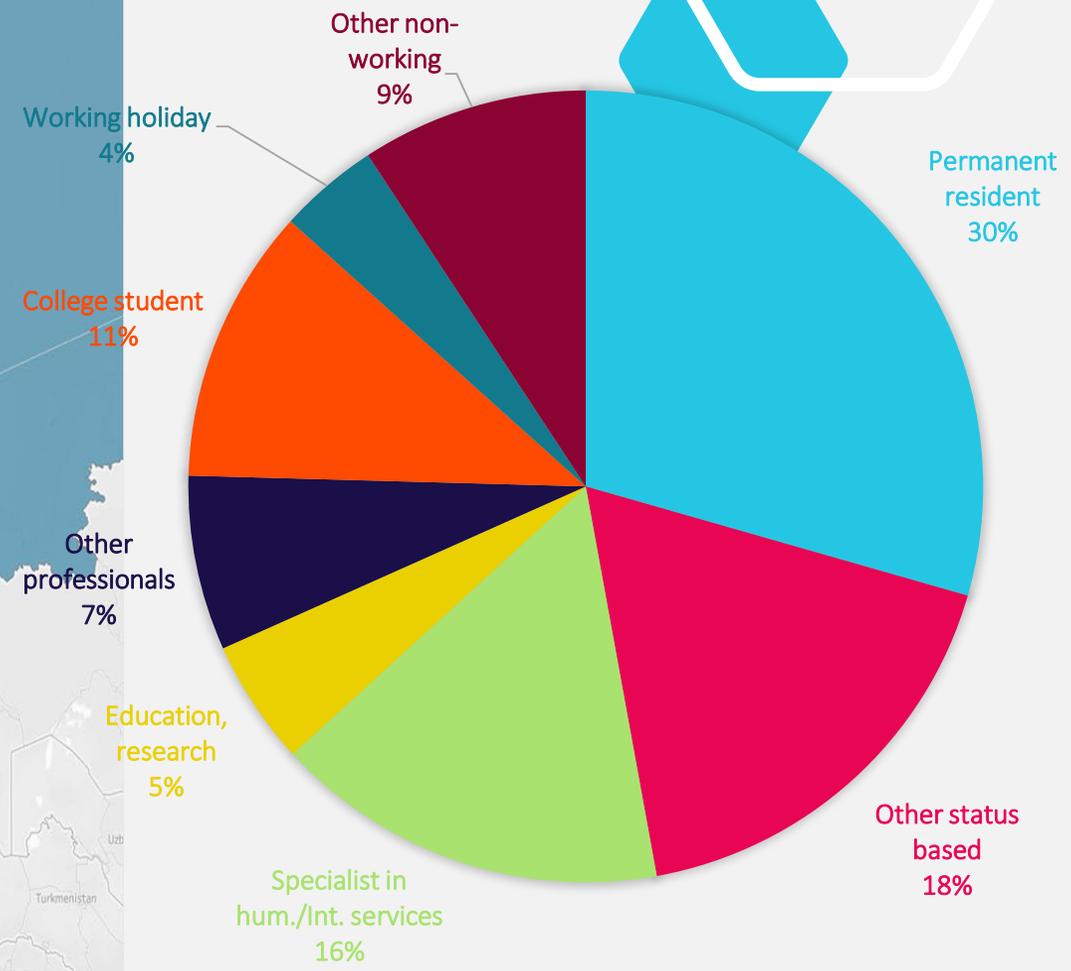
Europeans in Japan 1986-2018

Europeans beyond Tokyo

- High concentration of migrants in Tokyo
 - Particular occupational and industry structure of a 'global city' (Sassen, 1991)
 - Most opportunities in Tokyo, as bilingual/multilingual workforce, often in transnational/foreign capital companies (see, e.g., Hof 2017, Oishi 2012, Tsukasaki 2008)
 - 60% of Europeans living in Kanto area (2018)
- On the other hand, significant concentration (and similar growth) in other regions as well
 - 14% in Kansai region
 - Second-tier cities with high concentrations of foreign nationals: Osaka (3rd), Nagoya (5th), Kyoto (7th)
 - Second-tier cities with relatively high ethnic diversity: Osaka (164), Kyoto (157) (Tokyo 196, all 2018 data)
- Focusing (also) on regions/cities beyond Tokyo allows us to identify other migration patterns and different integration pathways of the European migrants

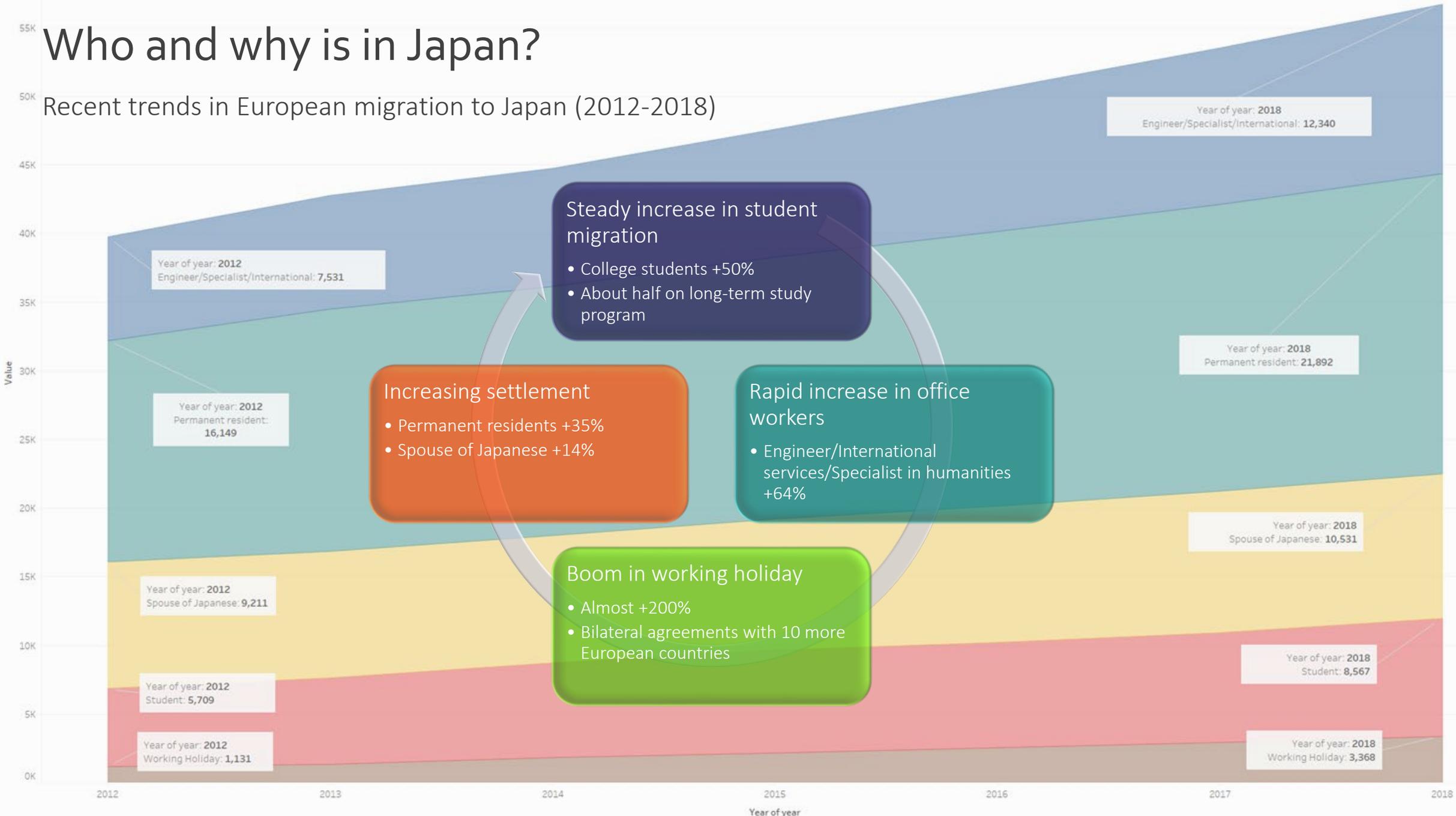


Europeans by visa status and nationality (2018)



Who and why is in Japan?

Recent trends in European migration to Japan (2012-2018)



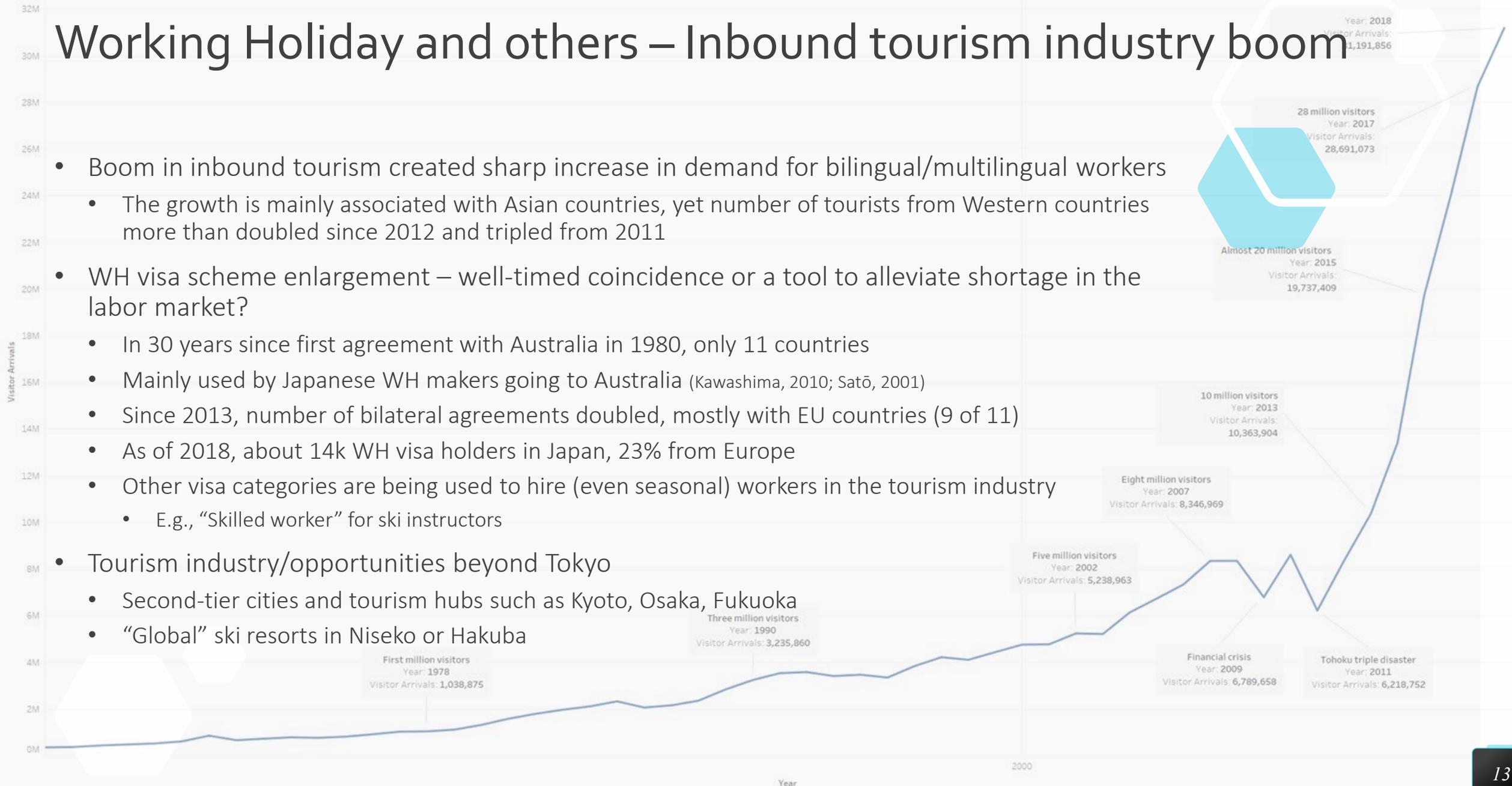
Students and “Office workers” or skilled migrants

- Students in different roles: students, low-skilled workers and possible skilled workers (Liu-Farrer 2011; Sato 2018; Debnár forthcoming)
- Nexus between student migration and (high) skilled migration
 - Foreign students as import source of workforce for the ageing Japan
 - Crucial link between “local” educational credentials and employment
 - Lower, yet significant retention rates of students in Japan (Oishi 2014, Sato 2018)
- Internationalizing recruitment of the Japanese companies (Conrad & Meyer-Ohle, 2017, 2019)
 - Career forums for foreign students in Japan
 - Career forums overseas
- Importantly, such practices emerge in Europe as well
 - Career forums in Europe initially for Japanese studying abroad
 - Special career forums and recruiting events for Japanese language/culture students in European countries
 - Ranging from “standard employment” to seasonal work



Working Holiday and others – Inbound tourism industry boom

- Boom in inbound tourism created sharp increase in demand for bilingual/multilingual workers
 - The growth is mainly associated with Asian countries, yet number of tourists from Western countries more than doubled since 2012 and tripled from 2011
- WH visa scheme enlargement – well-timed coincidence or a tool to alleviate shortage in the labor market?
 - In 30 years since first agreement with Australia in 1980, only 11 countries
 - Mainly used by Japanese WH makers going to Australia (Kawashima, 2010; Satō, 2001)
 - Since 2013, number of bilateral agreements doubled, mostly with EU countries (9 of 11)
 - As of 2018, about 14k WH visa holders in Japan, 23% from Europe
 - Other visa categories are being used to hire (even seasonal) workers in the tourism industry
 - E.g., “Skilled worker” for ski instructors
- Tourism industry/opportunities beyond Tokyo
 - Second-tier cities and tourism hubs such as Kyoto, Osaka, Fukuoka
 - “Global” ski resorts in Niseko or Hakuba



Consequences of the super-diversification - new opportunities, changing perceptions?

- Limited opportunities in the tourism industry earlier
- Case of Michael, Germany, fluent in German, Japanese, English: Struggling to enter the hotel/restauration in Kyoto for a long time, yet being accepted without hesitation as an English teacher later
 - “my idea was that because I'm white and I have beard ... they preferred to take the young Japanese guy who showed to the job interview not even wearing the suit. It was like what am I doing here? I am way over-qualified for this job”
 - Interviewed on November 5th, 2011
- Transformative character of the super-diversity or just emergence of new occupational niches?
 - “the extent to which, and in what contexts, super-diversity leads to the normalization of diversity or, alternatively, to added hostility” (Foner, Duyvendak, & Kasinitz, 2019, p. 2)
- The two cases indicate possibility of the transformative character:
 - changing perceptions of who can work in a hotel or guide tourists in Japan
 - or even who can be considered a low-skilled migrant worker in Japan
- On the other hand, negative perceptions of the inbound tourism might lead to added hostility
 - The role of race and whiteness within this process?
- The case of Vlado, Slovakia
 - got part-time job in a hotel in Kyoto as a student in 2015
 - Came later to work for the same hotel, initially on WH visas
 - Stayed to work in Kyoto in the inbound tourism industry until today, changing jobs three times
 - Never mentions any problems, see the inbound tourism industry as a niche for English speaking foreigners
 - “added” value of living here and cultural affinity with Westerners
 - Lack of supply and language barrier of the Japanese workers

Consequences of the super-diversification – “pioneers” and “beaten paths”

- The case of Europeans in Japan exemplifies
 - The shift in movement from a few countries in relatively large numbers to a relatively smaller movements from many countries (Vertovec 2007)
 - “the emergence of new migration patterns, with migrants arriving individually or in small numbers and not following established chain migrations” (Wessendorf 2018:270) or “individualized migration” (Debnar 2015)
- New and new “pioneers”
 - Being a pioneer in the discourse
 - Pioneers in particular occupations that became niches (English teachers, academia, etc.) or areas
 - More recently, “new pioneers” reflecting the further diversification of migration patterns (students in minor universities, WH makers, new and new areas)
 - The question how they integrate into the labor market (Wassendorf 2018)
- Migration paths get beaten
 - Established and emerging occupational niches: English teacher, education, tourism industry
 - Institutionalization of the migration channels:
 - direct hiring/headhunting in EU by
 - WH or Skilled worker visa schemes
 - Migrants creating opportunities for other migrants
 - Vlado and others in tourism (WH, students), Vasil (Ukraine) by establishing own company



Consequences of the super-diversification: Who lives with whom?

- Fragmentation and “diversification of diversity” (Hollinger 1995)
 - “differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents” constituting super-diversity (Vertovec 2007: 1025)
 - Diffusion around Japan, distinctions based on diverse legal statuses, migrant trajectories, family statuses, length of stay and future plans, or even views of Japan
- Eventually, this affects “where, how and with whom people live” (Vertovec 2007:1025)
 - The role of ethnicity in every-day life, support networks, cosmopolitan practices and networks, a form of “cosmopolitan sociability” (Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011)
- Importantly, such diversity produces “new hierarchical social positions, statuses or stratifications” (Vertovec 2019:126)
 - Reproduces also the old ones
 - Cosmopolitanism as a “deformed” (Beck 2006) practice



Conclusion – who is a migrant?

- European migrants sharing positions with other, e.g. Asian migrants:
 - Europeans working with Asians
 - Europeans increasingly working in low skilled, low income and precarious jobs
 - Europeans using migration channels developed by Asian migrants
- On the other hand
 - White privilege enabling “escape” routes: Zlatko (low-skilled worker in a rural area) can become an English teacher if he wants
 - Hierarchies being reproduced: differentiation with Asian migrants (by Europeans and receiving society), local racial hierarchies
- Conclusion: the increasing numbers and diversity of Europeans in Japan challenges the common notions of migrant (and maybe Japanese?) and its connotations in Japan
 - Acknowledging such diversity is a first step for adequate policy making (Vertovec 2007:1050)
 - At the same time, a need to find a common framework overcoming the traditional understanding of the diversity without resorting to excessive fragmentation of the field -> my solution is “Europeans as migrants”





Thank You

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