

報告

The International Metropolis Project and Japan's Migration Context

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Migration scholars in the West are showing a deepening interest in managing immigration in Asia, particularly China, South Korea, and Japan. Each of these countries is often thought of as having a highly homogenous population and very restrictive immigration policies designed to preserve that status. But that thinking and their reputations for being antithetical to immigration are quickly giving way to a new reality, one in which they are increasingly open to immigration and largely for long-term economic reasons. The ageing and imminent shrinking of their populations is well-recognized and accepted as a major impediment to economic growth and, ultimately, to social and political stability. This short report looks at Japan's challenges to manage migration and the integration of immigrants into their labour market and society broadly speaking. It notes the importance of public opinion and sees reasons for optimism in the growing numbers of immigrants being admitted to Japan and the country's openness to embracing a form of multiculturalism. The report concludes with an account of Japan's involvement in the International Metropolis Project, its hosting of the 2016 Metropolis conference in Nagoya, and the opportunities that this offers to Japanese scholars and policy officials alike.

1 Introduction

The attention being paid to international migration has grown enormously throughout the world over the past 20 years with more and more governments becoming actively engaged in its management. Whereas 20 years ago many governments considered migration management almost exclusively in terms of limiting the entry of foreigners to their territory, things are now shifting as states see the benefits of migration for their national economies. Long-term demographic trends have alarming consequences for many developed societies

that are ageing and whose populations are stagnating if not declining. Of special interest are highly skilled people who can bring not only their specific talents but the potential for innovation and successful entrepreneurship. This includes foreign students. It was not long ago that one could discuss an international competition for talent as amongst the traditional immigration countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States) and a few others from the West. But the current "war for talent", as McKinsey described it, is now global and much intensified as a result of the rapid economic development of many countries in Asia, Latin America, and now Africa.

Of considerable interest to migration scholars in the West is the recent and deepening interest in managing immigration in Asia, particularly China, Japan and South Korea. Each of these countries is often thought of as having a highly homogenous population and very restrictive immigration policies designed to preserve that status. But that thinking and their reputations for being antithetical to immigration are quickly giving way to a new reality, one in which they are increasingly open to immigration and largely for long-term economic reasons. The ageing and imminent shrinking of their populations is well-recognized and accepted as a major impediment to economic growth and, ultimately, to social and political stability. Although immigration is not and should not be considered to be a singular solution to these deep challenges, it is gaining in acceptance as one among others whose potential simply cannot be overlooked despite the social policy challenges that it may bring, not only locally but potentially at a national scale.

The situation that Japan faces over the next few decades has been well-rehearsed and documented by many scholars and commentators. Without going into detail again here, let us note first the demographic projections of the United Nations which are accepted by Japanese experts. With a very low fertility rate, now at 1.3 children per woman, Japan's 2013 population of 127 million has already started shrinking from its 2004 peak of 128 million people. The UN projects that by 2050, its population will have dropped to 108 million and by 2100 to 84 million. This precipitous decline will be felt strongly by Japan's people, its economy, and its government. Unless major compensatory measures are taken, it is straightforward to predict a receding standard of living, a smaller economy with a reduced drawing power for foreign investors, significant pressure on both public and private pension systems, and much reduced geo-political status for the country. Japan's capacity to innovate, a capacity that brought its economy to world heights following the Second World War, will decrease as its age structure continues to advance. The overall dependency ratio is expected to increase to 67% in 2022 from the current 47% under the declining trend of the working-

age population, then reach 87% in 2050^{*1}. This is a potentially calamitous outcome that will have to be met with powerful measures to either increase participation in the workforce by those who perhaps would prefer not to, by technological advances and other measures that will yield high productivity gains, by immigration, or a combination of these together with other policy that will enhance the economic future of a country that has been suffering from a recession for far too long. Ignoring these trends will result in a shrinking society in which people would need to make significant adjustments to their lifestyles. Although some will argue the benefits of a smaller population, and there are potential benefits for the environment and perhaps reduced congestion and stress, the outcomes may be a great deal harsher than this might suggest with more people falling into poverty, having to work far longer than they intended, and retiring with much smaller pensions and other retirement resources. From a political point of view, Japan's stature in the world order will diminish, possibly reducing its appeal for international investors, and it is conceivable that social cohesion will suffer as people adjust to managing with less.

Responding to the scenario of fewer people and reduced economic activity will require exceptional leadership from government, business, and civil society. Such a response must be seen as a matter of nation-building and not merely as a policy response to a short-term challenge. The demographic trends underlying this situation are for the very long-term future, and there is no reason whatsoever to think that fertility rates will rebound in Japan any more than that they will rebound anywhere else. Globally, including in developing countries, fertility rates are declining and populations are ageing as a consequence. Over time, the global workforce will shrink and Japan's problems of today will be felt by a great many more countries. Solutions found in Japan may well become models for other societies around the world. Whether increasing labour market participation or achieving higher productivity through new technologies or new methods of managing an organization can maintain per capita GDP or see it rise is difficult to ascertain. But the issue in this report is whether immigration can become part of the response to this challenge in traditionally immigration-allergic Japan.

The resistance to immigration that characterizes Japanese history is shared by a great many countries both in Asia and elsewhere, and it is especially difficult to introduce immigration to a country that is suffering prolonged economic hardship. One need only consider the hardening of attitudes towards immigration to and amongst European countries since the 2008 recession to see how difficult it can be politically to bring in foreigners when citizens themselves are struggling to find employment. Even in traditional countries of

immigration such as Canada and Australia, economic hard times tend to reduce the public's support for immigration. But in the case of Japan whose history is of very low rates of immigration and whose population homogeneity is valued by the public, the challenge of introducing immigration during economic hard times is even greater. Among others, the principal challenges include:

- Overcoming possible resistance by the public to increased rates of immigration and to the establishment of a regular migration program for permanent residents
- Overcoming the possible resistance of employers towards hiring immigrants, a resistance that could defeat the intentions of an economic immigration program
- Overcoming a lack of experience in setting and administering policy regarding the numbers of immigrants to admit, the human capital characteristics to seek, integrating immigrants into the workforce and into society broadly speaking, and managing one's borders in a new policy environment
- Overcoming the common external perception that Japan is unwelcoming to newcomers, a perception that could diminish the numbers of people interested in migrating to Japan

Each of these challenges is serious but can be met through careful policy design, implementation, and monitoring results. Key is courageous and persuasive leadership, but equally important is a solid evidence base and thorough policy analysis.

2 Public support

Public resistance matters enormously. We have seen graphic demonstrations that resistance to immigration policy can bring governments to their knees, can motivate populist anti-immigration parties, and promote inward nationalist turns. Any attempt to introduce a robust immigration policy will need to bear these possibilities in mind, but at the same time not be paralyzed by them. Populism, as we have seen in Europe over the past 20 years, tends to accompany a general distrust in a government's ability to safeguard the interests of the public. Immigration policy will only gain public support if the public believes that immigration is being managed in the best interests of the society. Where the public believes that immigration is out of control, is not being managed well or perhaps not at all, there will be great resistance as we have seen in countries where undocumented migration dominates the public's impression such as the United States, Greece, Italy, and now even Sweden. Where immigrant integration is ignored or managed poorly, the public may turn against immigrants for not learning local languages and behavioural norms, for living parallel lives in

self-segregated enclaves, or for not contributing to the society by working. The Netherlands has offered a recent example of integration-related public mistrust. And of course where countries have experienced acts of terrorism that have been committed by immigrants or their descendants or even by citizens who have converted to a foreign culture's interests, the impact on support for immigration can be pronounced.

Public support can be established legitimately, however. Countries that have enjoyed prolonged public confidence in their immigration programs, and these include Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, have built this confidence on a foundation of sound governance practices. Canada, for example, has annual public debates in its legislature about the number of immigrants to bring into the country, on what legal bases, and for what purposes as well as produces annual reports on their immigrant intake and its effects on the Canadian economy. Not all results are positive; in fact, immigrants' economic outcomes have deteriorated over the past 25 years. But Canadians continue to support its successive government's immigration policies because the discussion has been public and includes admissions of comparative failure together with policy changes to rectify problems. The government of Canada overtly manages immigration in what it judges to be the best interests of Canadians, and this includes growth in per capita GDP.

Furthermore, governments that succeed have managed simultaneously both immigration and the integration of those who arrive. Often for immigrants to contribute to a receiving country, they must acquire such human capital as proficiency in the local language, upgrading their professional credentials for eligibility for local employment, and enrolling their children in local schools so that in time they, too, will be able to contribute to the receiving society's economy. Although it may be costly for the receiving society to provide these services, they must be considered as investments in the society's future rather than solely as benefits for the migrants. Of course, the migrants will be beneficiaries of integration programs and will, as a result, experience better employment outcomes as well as a more satisfying easing into their new society. The point, however, is that managing immigration and integration well means that both the host society and the migrants are better off as a result. Where, however, programming is positioned as primarily to benefit the migrants, something that has happened in a number of European welfare states whose once generous publics have turned against immigration and the migrants themselves, the public may react negatively, feeling that their interests are being ignored in favour of people thought to have come to exploit their generosity.

But perhaps of greatest importance now with regard to overcoming public resistance is Japan's competitive position as a destination country. The global demographic trends point to a global shortage of skills and an intense competition for those who possess these skills. This competition is fully evident now and it will only intensify as more and more countries see their economies develop and their demand for skills rise. For Japan to compete well in the global talent market, it will need to develop a broad-based appeal. Migrants in demand are seeking many things, among them efficient, fair, and transparent visa procedures, good salaries and benefits, high quality working environments, stimulating colleagues, safe and clean environments, and welcoming societies for themselves and their families. The last point on the list cannot be overestimated: countries that are perceived as unwelcoming to foreigners fare poorly in the competition for talent.

3 Employers and immigration

Japan's growing interest in immigration is primarily economic, rooted in concerns about the size of its workforce, its age structure, and its ability to generate the kinds of innovations that sustained Japan's remarkable economic growth following the Second World War. The traditional immigration countries have long had difficult experiences with their immigrants securing employment that takes best advantage of the skills that they bring. There are many reasons for this, among them a misfit between the human capital preferences of employers and the human capital characteristics of the immigrants, a lack of adequate proficiency in the language of the workplace, the de-valuing of foreign qualifications including education, credentials, and experience, and discrimination in the workplace and by the hiring managers themselves.

Much of the discussion over the past 20 years about improving the employment prospects of migrants has focussed on encouraging employers to hire them because they represent value and that to overlook them is unfair. But this general approach was predicated on a buyers' market for talent in which employers had the luxury of giving preferential treatment to local candidates or those with local education and other qualifications. In the emerging environment of a global competition for talent, an environment which is a sellers' market, employers will need to re-consider their approaches to hiring immigrants. The question will become, not "do we want to hire immigrants?" but "will immigrants want to work for us?" The war for talent is taking place at the same time as that of dramatically heightened mobility; the immigrants that companies will need have never been so mobile, so aware of opportunities around the world, and so willing to move, not only once but numerous times.

The challenge for employers will be both in attracting foreign talent and retaining it.

For Japan, this should be seen as a national project, an effort on the part of government, the business sector, the education sector, and the health and social services sectors to establish the country's credentials as a preferred destination for the world's top talent. This goes far beyond employers being open to hiring immigrants but acting so as to be highly attractive places of employment for them. For many companies, their long-term viability will depend on their ability to attract foreign talent, simply because there will not be enough Japanese candidates to meet the demand.

4 Managing immigration and integration

Although some are surprised to learn how many migrants come to Japan each year, the country has been bringing in foreign workers, re-patriating émigrés from many countries such as in Asia and Latin America, and hosting foreign students. Not only this, but, led by some of its larger cities, the country has begun to accept a form of multiculturalism as awareness grows of the need to help newcomers integrate into Japanese society. There are approximately 2.5 million foreign nationals in Japan which approaches 2% of the population. Of course they are not evenly dispersed, and some cities now have significant migrant populations. Missing in Japan, however, are comprehensive policies and programs to recruit foreign talent and to integrate them and their families into Japanese society. As mentioned at the outset, this is not an area in which Japan's government has a great deal of experience and to this day it does not have a separate immigration department; immigration is handled by the Department of Justice. This having been said, it would be unfair to say that the government is standing still on immigration policy. In 2014 the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was amended to facilitate the recruitment of highly skilled foreigners so that they could more readily contribute to the economy. These changes will affect not only those with highly valued educational credentials but investors, entrepreneurs, and students.

The current regulatory framework incorporates a points-based system of selecting immigrants that, like most such systems, emphasizes education, work experience, salary, age, and language proficiency. Those meeting the points requirements will stand a much improved chance of receiving a flexible entry visa that offers up to five years residency and work authorization together with enhanced chances of permanent residency. The system is transparent and available online. Those considering immigration to Japan will be able to do

an assessment of their chances using the information on the government's website. This is significant and marks a major evolution in Japan's immigration policy.

It would be in Japan's interest to monitor the effects of the new policy carefully and continually. In the case of countries with longer experiences, monitoring results has resulted in frequent modifications to the points system and to the ways in which applications are administered. Canada, for example, saw its competitive advantage slip as a result of administrative procedures that produced long waiting times for those who had applied for permanent residency visas, some reaching nearly ten years. In some ways, Canada was a victim of its own success, but, following the lead of New Zealand and Australia, it introduced new application procedures that should quickly eliminate the backlog and reduce wait times dramatically in the hopes of restoring global confidence in their immigration system.

One of the advantages enjoyed by some countries is that immigration, integration, and citizenship are administered within the same government ministry. There are significant continuities among these policy fields, and it has stood countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia in good stead to house them under one roof. Policy coherence is enhanced which not only improves policy implementation but contributes to efficacy and to the impression that the public has of good governance. Again, public support is important to policy success, and public support is enhanced when the public is confident that the programs are managed well and in their interests.

Japan is well-positioned to take major steps into the immigration and integration fields. Among its advantages is a large and sophisticated economy, a strong education system, an influential geopolitical position with many allies in the West's immigration countries, and a talented cadre of social scientists working in the field and who can help provide the evidence base upon which future policy decisions can be made. Importantly, Japan's research community is internationalized and well-respected amongst those in the global scientific discussions of immigration. One of the places where Japanese social scientists rub shoulders with their counterparts in the rest of the world is the International Metropolis Project which will occupy the rest of this report.

5 The International Metropolis Project

Among those with a keen interest in migration and integration trends in Japan and elsewhere in Asia is the International Metropolis Project and its special initiative, Metropolis

Asia. Metropolis is the world's largest network of researchers, government officials, international organizations, and civil society organizations in the field of migration and population diversity. Our aim is to enhance policy through empirical research and thereby to support societies that are managing the many effects of migration. Metropolis is an apolitical organization whose work is rooted in a realistic understanding of the policy process and which seeks to create useful co-operation amongst research, policy, and civil society. Although we do not advocate specific views about how any given society ought to manage migration and diversity, we do believe that no society will succeed if it attempts simply to eradicate migration and the diversity of its population. Our basic position is that successful societies will be those that explicitly manage these phenomena for the mutual benefit of their citizens, their migrants, and their minority communities.

Metropolis puts a premium on empirical research and analysis that is informed by an understanding of the actual process of making policy and implementing it through concrete action. We understand the complexities, intellectual and political, of developing migration and diversity policy and of gaining public support for it, whether locally or nationally. Metropolis' ambition is embodied in its motto: *Enhancing policy through research*.

Some background

Metropolis began operations in 1996 with our first annual conference in Milan and a membership representing fewer than ten countries. Since then, we have held 17 annual conferences, most recently in Milan, Italy. What began as a network dominated by North America and Europe is now global in its scope, with strong participation from the European Union, North America, Australasia, and Asia and with the beginnings of networks in Latin America and Africa. The special initiatives, *Metropolis North America* and *Metropolis Asia*, were launched in 2009. Metropolis is governed by its *International Steering Committee*, and its day-to-day operations are managed by the *Metropolis Secretariat* which is located in Ottawa with branch offices in Amsterdam, Goyang-si/Seoul, and Manila.

Activities

Our best known activity is the annual *International Metropolis Conference* which takes place in the autumn. The location for the conferences is determined through a bidding process. To date, our conferences have been hosted in:

1996 Milan
1997 Copenhagen
1998 Washington
1999 Zichron Yaacov, Israel
2000 Vancouver
2001 Rotterdam
2002 Oslo
2003 Vienna
2004 Geneva
2005 Toronto
2006 Lisbon
2007 Melbourne
2008 Bonn
2009 Copenhagen
2010 The Hague
2011 Ponta Delgado, the Azores
2013 Tampere, Finland
2014 Milan, Italy

The annual conference for 2012 was replaced by a set of regional seminars that took place in Auckland (New Zealand), Seoul (Korea), Shenzhen (China), Cape Town (South Africa), Istanbul (Turkey), and Mexico City (Mexico). The conference in 2015 will take place in Mexico City and the 2016 conference will be held, importantly, in Nagoya, Japan. Future conference locations will be determined through the bidding adjudication process which is managed by the Metropolis International Steering Committee.

The conferences are characterized by plenary sessions that explore the migration and diversity issues that governments are facing now and that research tells us they will be facing in the future. We look at major trends, issues of common experience throughout the world, and attempt to elicit the implications for policy of the world's best research on the topics. Our conferences are also significant networking occasions with upwards of 1,000 people in attendance and 100 workshops and roundtables per conference that supplement the plenary program. The workshops are organized through a call for workshop proposals; in other words, the workshops are organized by our members, not by our headquarters. Metropolis conferences are preceded by study tours and pre-conference seminars, and have become a favoured meeting space for many organizations in the migration and diversity

fields.

Between the annual conferences, Metropolis also holds numerous seminars hosted by our partner organizations. These seminars highlight more narrowly-focused topics and national or local conditions, pertinent research, and policy advice. These seminars also serve as national or local fora through which to build capacity on the issues as well as develop networks of researchers and officials devoted to them.

Our areas of interest

Migration

- International migration trends, their determining forces, changes
- Circular migration, multiple migration
- Managing migration
- South-north, south-south, north-north flows
- The demographics underlying migration flows
- Demographics and migration policy
- The global competition for talent
- Refugee flows, protracted refugee situations, urbanization of refugees
- Marriage migration

Migration and development

- Return and re-integration to homelands
- Brain drain, brain gain, brain waste
- Remittance flows and their determinants
- Trade and business development in the homeland
- Role of diaspora communities

Diversity

- Demographic trends
- International comparisons of societal effects
- Policy and programs to manage diversity; what works well
- Multiculturalism, what it is, how it works, whether it works
- Managing public opinion

Social Integration

- Policies and programs compared across the world
- Comparing objectives and strategies
- How to measure, what to measure
- The role of media
- The role of ethnic communities, enclaves
- Role of diaspora communities, transnational communities

Economic integration

- Assessing labour market needs
- Labour market integration
- Immigration, innovation, and entrepreneurship
- Foreign credentials and experience
- Selecting for skills: who selects, criteria, permanent or temporary
- Lower skilled migration

Security

- Migration and security
- Radicalization and immigrant integration
- Religious diversity and security

6 Metropolis Asia

Affiliated with the International Metropolis Project, *Metropolis Asia* seeks to build a vibrant and enduring network of individuals and organizations who are committed to building bridges amongst research, policy, and practice in the field of migration with the aim of enhancing the benefits of migration and managing the challenges that it presents. We began building the network in 2009, and established a Secretariat with offices in Manila (Commission of Filipinos Overseas) and Goyang-si/Seoul (Migration Research and Training Centre/IOM) in 2011 that works closely with the Metropolis Secretariat offices in Ottawa and Amsterdam.

Metropolis offers numerous opportunities for researchers, officials, and civil society to engage one another in conversation about migration and its effects on our societies, opportunities at the local, regional, and global levels. *Metropolis Asia* has seen a number of seminars and conferences take place since its inception, and similar events take place in the

rest of the world where Metropolis is active.

Taking part in *Metropolis Asia* or the broader International Metropolis Project's activities offers the benefits that arise from engaging with researchers, officials from governments, international organizations, and members of civil society organizations from across the globe. Metropolis is characterized by a shared commitment across these sectors to exchange knowledge and experience to improve policy and practice with regard to the various phenomena associated with migration and its effects on societies. Metropolis believes that, managed well, migration can benefit both societies of origin and destination as well as the migrants themselves. Further, Metropolis believes that effective and just management requires a sound foundation of empirical research. Our activities in Asia and elsewhere bring about an engagement between those who carry out research, make policy, and deliver programs in a way that we hope will allow all to be more effective in managing migration.

The creation of *Metropolis Asia* has raised the profile of the region within the larger Metropolis network. It has also raised the visibility of migration issues as they are experienced in Asia, among them the global competition for talent, South-South migration patterns, marriage migration, return migration, internal migration and urbanization, the development effects of migration, as well as the distinct ways in which integration takes place in the region. The expertise in Asia has been exposed to the rest of the Metropolis network to a much greater extent with the result of increased research collaboration between Asians and non-Asians.

7 The Annual Metropolis Conference and Japan

There is a large and well-established group of social scientists in Japan working on immigration and its effects on the country's economy, demography, and social conditions. Metropolis is very grateful to the long-standing support of our initiative from many of them, a support that has now culminated in a decision by the Metropolis International Steering Committee that the annual conference for 2016 will be held in Nagoya from October 24 to 29. This conference will be Metropolis' first major event in Asia and it will mark a major opportunity for Japanese and other Asian scholars, policy officials, and civil society to engage in conversation and debate with their counterparts from the rest of the world. We hope that this conference contributes significantly to the development of a community of scholars, officials, and civil society in the region and brings it into more contact with their counterparts elsewhere. The opportunity for mutual learning is vast and with advances

in knowledge and analysis comes the potential for policy development and innovation and more successful program implementation in communities throughout Asia. Furthermore, collaboration between Asia and the rest of the Metropolis network should raise the maturity of the migration discussion and deepen our appreciation and understanding of the context of the global economy.

The themes of the conference have yet to be established firmly, but some of the ideas currently being considered include how migration reflects patterns of global risk, collaboration between Europe and Asia regarding migration, the mutual interactions between growing migration flows and economic and political relations amongst countries of North-East Asia and the ASEAN states, looking at migration from the point of view of gender, and the mutual lessons that Asia and traditional countries of migration can take from each other.

8 Concluding comments

Although there are many commonalities in migration and its effects on societies in Asia and elsewhere in the world, migration involving Asia has its distinct character, the understanding of which will be of value to not only those within Asia but scholars and officials in the rest of the world. For too long, scholarship on migration has been dominated by the West's experiences and modes of understanding. Metropolis Asia and the Metropolis conference in Japan bring the potential for a more sophisticated understanding of these phenomena as well as more effective policy making throughout the world. Global demographics and changing economic and geo-political environments point towards ever larger numbers of migrants and an overall intensification of these phenomena, whether the migration flows are regular or irregular. Both will pose management challenges for governments and societies, many of which are already at the breaking point of control. The world's developing countries are now responsible for all population growth in the world. Their economies are growing at rapid paces but are not yet able to employ their large populations of young people who are entering the labour force now. The impetus for many of these people to leave their countries for better fortunes elsewhere is high and will remain so, but the opportunities to enter new societies are limited, and this will propel an already lucrative smuggling and trafficking industry. Furthermore, the education systems of many of these young and developing societies are not yet able to produce talent and skills at the levels required by modern, innovation-based economies. This will intensify the global competition for talent; it will be not only the ageing developed societies in search of

this talent pool but rapidly developing economies in the global South and the multinational corporations whose investments are powering this rapid development. This has not been widely appreciated, least of all within the OECD countries.

We hope that Japan will join robustly the global discussions of these dynamic situations, contribute its scholarship and experiences, and become a world leader in these matters. Whether it likes it or not, Japan has no choice but to consider immigration as among the constituents of a solution to its bleak demographic future. Metropolis hopes that by working with its global network, Japan can both learn from the experiences and research of others and impart its own wisdom to the rest of us.

*1 National Institute of Population and Social Security Research. (http://www.ipss.go.jp/pp-newest/e/ppfj02/sui-kei_g_e.html)