The International Human Resource Development Nexus in Japan's Immigration Paradigm: Policy Considerations and Findings of Survey Interviews in Germany and Australia

Claudia Ishikawa

International Education & Exchange Centre

Nagoya University

Abstract

Whilst the Government and influential lobby groups underscore the strategic significance of admitting an increasing number of highly-skilled foreign professionals, a conspicuous feature of Japan's immigration framework has been the parallel development of *immigration as a means of international human resource development and/or international contribution*. Making reference to the concepts of 'intellectual contribution' and 'international human resource development' in Japan's immigration framework and, as a point of comparison, introducing the results of fieldwork conducted in Germany and Australia, this report investigates the premise that 'international capacity building' constitutes a dominant and viable element of Japan's immigration law and policy.

Keywords

International human resources development; capacitybuilding in immigration policy; comparative approaches to international human resources procurement

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Appendix: Content of Survey Questionnaires Utilised in Germany

¹ Japan Revitilization Strategy: Japan is Back, Cabinet Resolution, June 14, 2013; Establishing a Path for Growth of the Japanese Economy: Realizing Prosperous Living for the People, Keidanren, January 20, 2014; Basic Plan for Immigration Control, 4th Edition, Ministry of Justice, March 2010.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and Purpose

In Japan, approximately 349,780 ostensibly education- or training-seeking immigrants were registered in December 2013, constituting a significant 17% of the resident foreign population of 2,066,445.² An emphasis on the development of international human resources, as opposed to simple labour procurement, arguably comprises a unique and distinguishing feature of the Japanese immigration model, and the objective of this research is to elucidate trends in, and the impact of what could broadly be termed the "international capacity building" nexus of Japan's immigration framework.

1.2 Approach and Methodology

Over a period of two years, the author analysed the function, impact, as well as challenges of 'human resource development' in Japan's immigration law and policy framework. In this context, attention was paid particularly to developments that facilitate, 1) the admission of international students in the context of former prime minister Fukuda's "300,000 Foreign Students Plan", a plan that continues to gain momentum with the Government-inspired strategy of globalising Japanese universities, and 2) developments in programme formation exemplified by a) the revised technical intern training system, and b) nurses and care-givers admitted under Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs).

Moreover, overseas fieldwork, taking the form of two sets of interviews conducted in Germany (March 2012) and Australia (December 2013), provided meaningful insights as to how other immigration systems pursue "international capacity building" strategies.

2. International Human Resource Development (IHRD): Concepts and Categorisation

As a means of deducing variables that lend validity to this research, it is important first to define 'international human resource development', and elicit how this concept is supported by Japan's immigration framework.

Human resource development is an evolving field, inherently interdisciplinary in nature. Accordingly, there is much fluidity as to how the processes comprising IHRD are theorised and constructed. In this report, the author interprets IHRD to encompass the following components:

- The training or education (human capacitybuilding) of foreign nationals that incorporates national or corporate strategy, and that is influenced by factors both external (e.g., pressures of increasing economic globalisation) and internal (demographic, domestic labour market forces, etc.).
- ii. A concept partially linked to "international capacity-building", that is, foreign political and economic strategy; sustainable overseas investment.
- iii. A concept that has its basis in the theory of human capital, that is, investment in human capital will lead to greater economic outputs and competitiveness. Here, "outputs" should be considered to also encompass latent, soft power implications.³

International human resources development and the complementary concept of international capacity-building should, furthermore, be understood to be particularly vital to countries with an export-based economy, such as Japan.

²「平成25年末現在における在留外国人数について(確定値)」法務省平プレスリリース成26年3月20日.

³ The author distinguishes IHRD from "global human resources development", a concept that has recently become more commonly adopted by Japan, and which encompasses cross-cultural training, competency development, and international organisational development. Essentially, the objective of global human resource development is to nurture more globally-minded Japanese (and not foreign) nationals.

3. IHRD in the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (ICRRA)⁴

So, within the legal context, what category of foreign national does the IHRD category allude to in Japan? Here the author finds it most appropriate to define these human resources through the residence statuses listed in the appended tables of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (ICRRA).⁵

Of the twenty four residence statuses currently permitting the medium to long-term sojourn of foreigners in Japan, the activities pertaining to the four categories of 1) Technical Intern Training (Table 1<2>), 2) Student

(Table 1<4>), 3) Trainee (Table 1<4>), and 4) nurse and certified caretaker candidates under Economic Partnership Agreements (Designated Activities, Table 1<5>) clearly stipulate education or training elements under the supervision of an organisation, and should therefore be considered as incorporating IHRD elements.

3.1 Number of International Human Resources in Japan by Status of Residence

When viewed in numbers of foreigners residing under these four statuses, the numerical significance of international human resources development categories in Japan's immigration paradigm becomes particularly manifest (*Table 1*).

Table 1. International Human Resources in Numbers: Number of Foreign Residents by Status of Residence (2012)⁶

Appended Table	Residence Status	2012	Appended Table	Residence Status	2012	
1(1)	Professor	7,787	2	Permanent Resident	624,501	
	Artist	438		Spouse/Child of Japanese National	162,332	
	Religious Activities	4,051		Spouse/Child Permanent	22,946	
	Journalist	223		Resident	22,940	
1 (2)	Investor/Business Manager	12,609		Long-term Resident	165,001	
	Legal/Accounting Services	159	N/A	Special Permanent Resident ⁷	381,364	
		412	Subtotal 2 1,33		1,356,144	
	Medical Services	412		Grand Total	2,033,656	
	Researcher	1,970	,,,,,,			
	Instructor	10,121				
	Engineer	42,273	Statuses involving human resource development elements (IHRD). Number of foreign residents involved in IHRD = 334,402. *Figures for nurses and caregivers entering Japan under EPA provisions derived from Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan, Japan			
	Specialist in Humanities/ Int'l Services	69,721				
	Intra-company Transferee	14,867				
	Entertainer	1,646	Immig	Jupun		
	Skilled Labour	33,863				
	Technical Intern Training	151,477				
1 (3)	Cultural Activities	2,320				
1 (4)	Student	180,919				
	Trainee	1,804				
	Dependent	120,693				
1 (5)	Designated Activities*	20,159 (1,078)				
	Subtotal 1	677,512				

⁴ Cabinet Order No. 319 of October 4, 1951. Amendment: Act No. 79 of 2009.

⁵ Ministerial Ordinance to Provide for Criteria Pursuant to Article 7, paragraph (1), item (ii) of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (Cabinet Order No. 319; last amendment: Law No. 86, Nov 27, 2013).

⁶ Source of data: Immigration Control 2013, Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice.

⁷ Not listed as a residence status in the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act; provided for in the Special Act on the Immigration Control of, Inter Alia, Those Who Have Lost Japanese Nationality Pursuant to the Treaty of Peace with Japan (Law No. 71, May 10, 1991).

As evident, in 2012 the number of foreign residents engaged in activities involving international human resource development comprise 335,278, equivalent to 16.5% of the total number of foreign residents, and 49.5% of those foreign nationals resident under an "activity-based" residence status, that is, those listed in Ap-pended Table 1. In light of the Japanese Government's official stance of admitting only foreign highly-skilled and technical labour this constitutes a particularly significant number.⁸

3.2 Global IHRD Immigration Statistics: A crude comparison

Here, the question begs as to whether, similar to Japan, the utilisation of the IHRD category in immigration policy constitutes a common phenomenon practiced worldwide? Not if one makes a cursory comparison with other selected states. The figures presented in $Table\ 2$ are far from robust, as the delineation of residence statuses, as well as the method of counting migrants varies according to country and source. However, they do provide a rough guide to relevant comparative statistics.

With 16.5% of its foreign resident population belonging to the IHRD category, Japan emerges as a leader amongst selected competitors, attesting to a unique immigration model.

A stark divergence vis-à-vis IHRD is particularly evident in relation to "training". As concerns Germany, a foreign national may only be issued a residence permit for the purpose of basic and advanced industrial training, if the Federal Employment Agency has granted approval in accordance with Section 39 of the Residence Act, or if a statutory provision or an inter-governmental agreement stipulates that such basic and advanced vocational training is permissible without approval from the Federal Employment Agency. With regard to the Republic of Korea (ROK), the number of foreign trainees declined in parallel with the abolishment of the Industrial Trainee System in 2004. Australia, too, is admitting fewer foreign trainees. In 2012, its (442) Occupational Trainee visa was phased out and subsequently restructured into a subclass 402 Training and Research visa. With approximately only 4,000 holders, "training" has been rendered

Table 2. IHRD Immigration Statistics: An international comparison⁹

IHRD Category	Japan	ROK	France	Germany	Australia
Foreign Students	180,919	69,732	288,544	210,367	257,780
Foreign Trainees/ Interns	154,359	53,301 (D3/D4)	0?	4,055	@4,000? (subclass 402)
Total	335,278	123,033	288,544	214,422	261,780

Country	No./Int'l Human Resources	Total Foreign Population	IHRD Category/% of Foreign Population
Japan	335,278	2,033,656	16.5
ROK	123,033	1,247,535	9.9
France	288,544	4,089,051	7.1
Germany	214,422	7,696,413	2.8
Australia	261,780	6,029,070*	4.3

^{*}Australia = Overseas-born population as of 30 June 2011

⁸ Basic Principles of Employment Policy (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare Notification No. 40, February 2008).

⁹ 1) Japan: Figures for 2012; MOJ website; Immigration Control (2013). 2) ROK: Figures for 2011; Migration Profile of the Republic of Korea, IOM. 3) France: Figures for 2013; Eurostat website; immigration.interieure.gouv.fr; diplomatie.gouv.fr. 4) Germany: Figures for 2012–2013; Eurostat website; Migrationsbericht 2012, BAMF (2013). 5) Australia: Temporary Entrants and New Zealand Citizens in Australia as at 31 December 2013, Department of Immigration and Border Protection.

insignificant as an IHRD entry route.

The Japanese Government, by comparison, appears disinclined either to abolish the technical intern training residence system, or to replace it with a temporary employment permit system, such as that utilised in the ROK and Australia, despite being criticised for an array of abuses manifest in the system. Indeed, current developments to once again revise the system attest to an enhanced prospect for continuation.¹⁰

4. Functions of IHRD Policy

As demonstrated in *Section 3*, IHRD categories comprise a significant, and by international standards, an unusually large component of Japan's foreign population. Here it should be emphasised that these categories play a substantial role in Japan's immigration policy and framework because they have the potential to simultaneously and flexibly fulfil a variety of functions, thus

being of strategic importance.

4.1 Functions According to Category

Diagram 1 summarises the ostensible benefits for Japan of utilising the IHRD paradigm, both with respect to the labour market and Japan's global economic policy.

As is evident from the diagram, international students, technical interns, as well as nurse/caregiver candidates, all comprise a value-added contingent in the immigration framework. Not only do these categories fill multifaceted roles, 11 they also encompass a potential for "international capacity-building" and sustainable overseas investment.

4.2 IHRD in Japan's Foreign (Economic) Policy Strategy

The connection existing between international human resources development (IHRD) and the human dimension of the international capacity-building nexus of

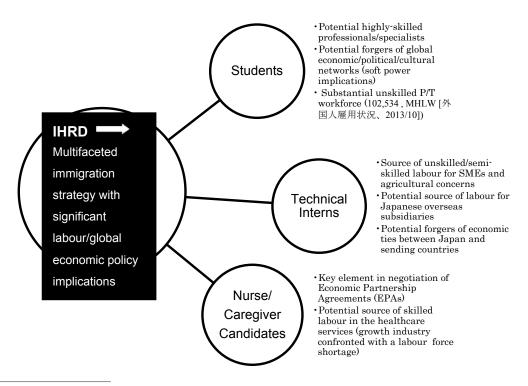


Diagram 1. Functions of Japan's International Human Resource Development Nexus

¹⁰ 法務省 出入国管理局, 「技能実習制度の見直しの方向性に関する検討結果(報告)」, 平成26年6月10日プレスリリース,

¹¹ The technical intern training category took on new significance in the wake of the Lehman shock of 2007-2008. It comprised a labour replacement mechanism for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), experiencing manpower shortages from the growing number of Nikkei-Brazilians returnees.

foreign economic policy becomes evident if one examines the major players amongst IHRD category sending countries (*Table 3*).

As one would expect, Asia accounts for vast majority of international students and technical interns, that is, international human resources that are despatched to Japan. However, what is revealing is the significant number of countries represented in the list of top ten sending countries that have been defined in both Ministry of Education (MEXT) and Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) in policy papers as target countries for global growth.

Especially where international student admission strategy is concerned, a shift from an official development assistance (ODA) philosophy based on international contribution, to a more assertive strategy aimed at national growth is perceivable. Interestingly, this international student strategy 15 is closely interconnected to the policy objectives stipulated in the METI White Paper on International Economy & Trade (June 2013). Policy objectives stipulate that, in addition to "...enhancing education/research and reinforcing friendship between nations, it has become necessary to establish a strategy to incorporate other countries' growth and aim towards the further development of this country". The concern that Japan's neighbour, China, has a more substantial intake of international students from key developing regions such as India, Russia, Thailand, and Africa is overtly stated. METI, for its part sensitive to ensuring continued supplies of natural resources, has earmarked Indonesia for oil and natural gas, Vietnam and Myanmar for mineral resources, and Mongolia for coal.

Table 3. List of Top Sending Countries of 1) International Students and 2) Technical Interns in 2012¹² $< \uparrow \downarrow =$ increase/decrease of figures for 2011>

Sending Country	No. of Int'l Students	Sending Country	No. of Technical Interns
1) China	113,980↓	1) China	111,395↑
2) ROK	18,643↓	2) Vietnam	16,715↑
3) Vietnam	8,811↑	3) Indonesia	9,098↑
4) Taiwan	4,829 (New)	4) Philippines	8,842↑
5) Nepal	4,793↑	5) Thailand	3,464↑
6) Thailand	3,212↓	6) Cambodia	425↑
7) Indonesia	2,917↑	7) Mongolia	421↑
8) Malaysia	2,483↓	8) Nepal	310↑
9) USA	2,438↓	9) Laos	276↑
10) Myanmar	1,674↓	10) Sri Lanka	173↑
Others	17,139↓	Others	328↑
Total	180,919↓	Total	151,447↑

[■] Ministry of Education (MEXT) target countries for student admission.¹³

■ Ministry of Economy Trade and Industry (METI) target countries for 1) supporting overseas business expansion and, 2) ensuring supply of resources.¹⁴

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ Tables devised from data in $Immigration\ Control\ 2012$, Immigration Bureau, MOJ.

¹³ 文部科学省 戦略的な学生交流の推進に関する検討会,「世界の成長を取り込むための外国人学生の受入れ戦略(報告書)」, 平成25年12月18日.

 $^{^{14} \ \}text{Japan's Strategic Approaches to Emerging Countries}, \textit{White Paper on International Economy \& Trade}, \texttt{METI}, \texttt{June 2013}.$

¹⁵ Op. cit., Note 13.

It is no coincidence that these regions are providing Japan with a burgeoning number of international human resources, primarily taking the form of students and technical interns. Initiatives aimed at international capacity-building have been incorporated into a national strategy.¹⁶

5. Issues in Japan's IHRD Policy

IHRD has emerged as a fixed and sizeable element in Japan's immigration paradigm. Nevertheless, a number of conspicuous issues that negate the overall effectiveness of this particular immigration pillar have emerged.

1) International Students

Despite the "Asian Gateway Initiative", ¹⁷ and the miscellany of national projects that followed, Japan's global market share of international students has in the last ten years fallen from 5% to between 3~4%, with Japan now falling behind not only native English-speaking countries, but also France, Germany, and China. In light of the global competition, the Fukuda Plan of 2008 to accept 300,000 foreign students by 2020 looks increasingly difficult to accomplish.

One factor that prospective students bear in mind when selecting destination countries is post-graduation prospects, that is integration into the domestic workforce. In 2012, only 10,969 international students graduating from Japanese universities secured an employment related residence status in Japan.¹⁸

2) Technical Interns

The 2009 revision of the ICRRA¹⁹ vis-à-vis technical interns, consisting of the establishment of labour law protections from the first year of activity, a reinforced supervisory system, and stricter measures against misconducting organisations, was intended both to stem abuses and allay criticism of the system. Nevertheless, according to Ministry of Justice (MOJ) statistics on "misconduct" in 2012, 197 receiving and supervisory organisations committed wrongful acts against technical interns, predominantly with respect to working hours and non-payment of wages.²⁰ This comprises an increase of 7% over 2011. Abuse continues to be embedded in the structure of the system.

3) Nurses/Caregivers admitted through Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)

Despite continued tweaks to improve the system, it is difficult to consider this form of IHRD as a policy success. Ministry of Health, Welfare and Labor (MHLW) figures show that the total intake of nurse/caregiver candidates for 2013 totalled only 30.7% of the permissible admission quota.²¹ Problems inherent in the system, particularly the extremely low pass rate in national nursing and caregiver examinations, which according to JICWELS figures, stands at an average of 14% for candidates admitted to Japan since 2008, has probably contributed to the drop in applicants. As a partial reflection on the problems manifest in the operation of the Economic Partnerships Agreements concluded with Indonesia and the Philippines,22 the agreement on the admission of Vietnamese nurses/caregivers, with intake commencing in June 2014, incorporates new criteria.²³ Vietnamese

 $^{^{\}rm 16}$ Chapter 2, White Paper on International Economy and Trade 2013, METI, June 2013.

 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ Council for the Asian Gateway Initiative, Asian Gateway Initiative, May 16, 2007

¹⁸ 「平成24年における留学生の日本企業等への就職状況について」法務省入国管理局, 平成25年7月31日. The peak was 2008, with 11,040.

¹⁹ Act 79 of 2009.

^{20 「}平成24年の『不正行為』について」 法務省入国管理局, 平成25年3月29日.

 $^{^{21}}$ Numerical data available from the MHLW website: http://www.mhlw.go.jp/bunya/koyou/other22/index.html <Japanese only>.programmes <Japanese only>.

²² Agreement Between Japan and the Republic of the Philippines for an Economic Partnership, September 2006; Agreement Between Japan and the Republic of Indonesia for an Economic Partnership, August 2007 (MOFA website).

²³ Agreement Between Japan and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for an Economic Partnership, October 2009; health worker mobility, effective as of June 2014. See the MHLW website, http://www.mhlw.go.jp/bunya/koyou/other22/index.html for details of the various

nurses will be expected to study Japanese for one year prior to entering Japan, and to have passed level 3 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT). Although such a measure may improve performance in Japan's state examinations, whether it will actually attract more IHRD category workers to Japan under the auspices of EPAs, is doubtful.

Arguably, in structural terms, part of the problem with the admission of IHRD categories lies in the myriad of stakeholders and lobby groups that continue to profit from a status quo. The operation of IHRD programmes is heavily dependent on an array of vested interests, both governmental and private in nature, which may not necessarily benefit from a radical reassessment of the current immigration framework.

6. Approaches to IHRD and International Capacity-building Abroad

Intending to acquire a comparative angle on international human resources development, the author conducted two sets of interviews, one in Germany in March 2012, and the other in Australia in December 2013 to gauge how these two countries approached the issue of international-capacity building in the context of immigration. This choice of countries was largely determined by 1) Germany's recent alignment as a "semipro-immigration country", its aspiration to secure the "best heads" despite not being an English language hub, and its emphasis in immigration policy on international economic and security considerations, traditionally having resulted in a pro-active stance towards temporary immigration from Central and Eastern Europe; and 2) in the case of Australia, of what the author perceives to be the strategic promotion of a fully-integrated economyoriented immigration policy with a marked emphasis on stakeholder engagement and co-operation with Asia.

6.1 Insights from Field-trip to Germany

Period: February 27 – March 3, 2012

Interviews: 1) Dr. Herbert Bruecker, Institute for Em-

ployment Research <IAB>, Nürnberg;

- Dr. Holger Kolb, Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration <SVS>, Berlin;
- 3) Prof. Thomas Bauer, Rheinisch-Westfälisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (RWI), Essen.

In Germany, IHRD and international capacity-building in immigration policy were discussed with the above interviewees within the parameters of i) labour procurement/labour security, ii) geostrategic concerns, iii) international student policy, and 4) future policy priorities. The results are as follows:

i. Labour procurement/labour security

With regard to Germany, the enlargement of the European Union to the east has proven a significant factor in mitigating labour supply problems, and has naturally resulted in deprioritised relations with Central and Eastern Europe, including the utilisation of temporary migrant/training schemes. When this new labour pool is exhausted, it is envisaged that bilateral agreements will be sought in outward concentric circles commencing with the Former Yugoslavia, and moving to the Middle East, North Africa, and Former Soviet States (CIS), respectively. Here, "fixed term labour contracts", rather than IHRD initiatives are expected to become the norm.

Vis-à-vis healthcare workers, a bilateral agreement with Croatia, due to the quality of nursing training in that country (five years in length) currently exists, and with a fast-aging population, the potential expansion to other East European states, China, and the Philippines is being deliberated. Accordingly, with respect to labour procurement, Germany's state philosophy centres less on investing in IHRD as an overseas economic growth strategy, than in finding short-term palliative measures to counteract demographic and labour security challenges.

ii. Geostrategic concerns and immigration $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1$

Geostrategic issues should be interpreted as security concerns, and here the focus revolves around 1)

maintaining energy supplies, and 2) avoiding influxes of illegal labour. Policy is generally formulated by the EU, with Germany, as a major player, ensuring that its interests are protected and served by "European immigration policy". Plans under deliberation include circulatory migration programs with Georgia, in order to reduce dependency on Russian gas pipelines, and with Moldova and North Africa states to prevent an influx of illegal immigrants. As is the case with labour procurement, international capacity-building through immigration per se is not a priority for Germany. With regard to geostrategic concerns, migrant programmes, where envisaged, comprise *ad hoc* countermeasures for imminent problem areas.

iii. International student policy

In contrast to labour and geostrategic dialogues, Germany has in recent years placed emphasis on rendering the country a more attractive study/employment destination for international students, and IHRD, as a concept, should generally be interpreted to refer to "students". In 2012, 30,806 international students graduated from German universities, with 4,223 receiving permits to reside for the purpose of seeking employment. A further 4,363 were granted residence permits for the purpose of employment. Moreover, albeit a later development, as of August 1, 2013, international students graduating from German universities are granted eighteen months to search for employment, with an unrestricted right to work during this period. Additionally, graduates can acquire a settlement permit (Niederlassungserlaubnis), if they have held a residence title for two years. This arguably comprises the most generous treatment afforded to international students amongst industrialised nations.

iv. Future policy priorities

All interviewees concurred that more PR efforts were necessary to enhance Germany's image as a skilled migration destination country, although the focus here is strictly on the acquisition of highly-skilled labour. Other initiatives considered to require prioritisation included, improved and more widespread German language education, a stronger immigration focus on countries with

which Germany enjoys traditional networks, that is, East and Southeast Europe, and a more pronounced emphasis on the acquisition and retention of international students. Germany, as Japan, previously considered the education of international students to comprise a form of international contribution; in order to avert "brain drain", students had, upon graduation, been required by the German state to leave the country. However, recent data supports the fact that many of these students, rather than returning to their countries of origin, actually moved on to third countries; hence, the notion has gained ground that, from a national strategy perspective, it is more rational to utilise these human resources in Germany.

6.2 Insights from Field-trip to Australia

Period: December 10 – 16, 2013

Interviews: 1) Prof. Glenn Withers/Dr. Matthias Sin-

ning, Australian National University;

2) Prof. Ernest Healy/Prof. Bob Birrell,

Monash University;

3) Prof. Lesleyanne Hawthorne, Univer-

sity of Melbourne.

In Australia, IHRD and international capacity-building in immigration policy were discussed with the interviewees within the parameters of i) labour procurement/labour security, ii) health care workers and, iii) international student policy. The results are as follows:

i. Labour procurement/labour security

In contrast to Japan and Germany, migration in Australia is expected to have practical economic implications immediately. Accordingly, in order to gauge current and emerging skills and workforce development needs, the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) makes extensive use of data published by the Australian Workforce and Productivity Agency to determine quotas. One would conclude that Australia's immigration interests seem to lie not in the realm of IHRD, but have a firm base in the science of economics. IHRD as a potential means to international capacity-building

and sustainable overseas investment is inconspicuous as a strategy; rather, immigration parameters are viewed as a business operation. There are, moreover, no regional preferences with regard to immigration policy. Here it should be borne in mind that Australia, being rich in natural resources, finds it unnecessary to secure pathways to energy.

ii. Health care workers

In Australia, a highly intricate foreign credential recognition system has evolved over the last twenty years under the direction of a national assessment body. Recognition is based not on direct equivalency of qualifications, but rather on "competency", including mandatory language skills. Within this framework, goods and services-related bilateral agreements that encompass labour mobility do exist; however, with respect to foreign health care workers, in particular nurses, there is generally perceived to be insufficient quality assurance by sending countries. Interestingly, only 17% of Filipino nursing applicants satisfy Australia's criteria for credential recognition. The figures for Indonesia are even lower, primarily due to what is considered 1) an inadequate length of training at the tertiary education level, and 2) the low percentage of university/college instructors who are actually qualified nurses. Australia's approach to overseas healthcare workers has interesting implications for Japan's policy with respect to the admission of nurses and caregivers under EPAs, and deserves analysis.

iii. International student policy

In keeping with an economic agenda, the higher education sector in Australia is considered to comprise a significant national export industry and, after cuts in state funding to universities in the 1990s, an indispensable source of income to such institutions. In 2005-6, 52% of foreign nationals entering Australia through the study pathway became skilled permanent migrants. In 2012-13, the corresponding percentage was 35%, but the total number greater. However, such extensive utilisation of international students in the domestic labour market has very little connection either to the concept of IHRD or soft power play. Universities in Australia are an ex-

ceptionally influential lobby group, and these institutions have been instrumental in manoeuvres to increase the number of international students, primarily for financial reasons. This is a totally different perspective to that adopted in Japan, where despite Government efforts to depict them as valuable cogs in the IHRD nexus, international students are generally negatively viewed as contributing little to the general economy or higher education sector.

7. Conclusion: Next Steps

As depicted above, Japan's utilisation of IHRD initiatives in its immigration framework is unparalleled in policy-making on the international stage. Indeed, the non-existence of other models for comparison, renders it difficult to draw conclusions on directions that Japan should deliberate in its immigration framework. Nevertheless, there are a few lessons that can be drawn from Australia's and Germany's generally more extensive and multifaceted experiences.

From Australia, Japan can learn to develop a more refined scientific foundation for the procurement of international human resources. As stated above, Australia has established both the Australian Workforce and Productivity Agency to provide data on domestic labour market needs, and a national assessment body to evaluate the credentials of foreign labour skills and qualifications. If the Japanese Government could promulgate a clear message and show in raw data, 1) exactly what skills shortages are expected to arise, and 2) the contribution made by migrant workers/international students to the economy, this would result in a more persuasive platform, and subsequently increasing popular support for the admission of international human resources, even at the lower skills spectrum.

Indeed, such a development would have potentially significant ramifications for Technical Interns. After having passed skills examinations, interns engaged in what are proven to be skills shortage occupations could, for example, be offered residence in Japan under a deregu-

lated "skilled labour" residence status, rather than being forcibly repatriated.

On the other hand, Germany's clear message is to develop a more pro-active international student policy. Japan has established a variety of imaginative pilot cases, such as the "Asia Human Resource Fund Initiative", but these have been somewhat limited in scale. More resources need to be invested not only in securing numbers, but also in ensuring that a larger proportion of international students meet the Japanese language standards sought by corporations, and that they receive uniform career support across the nation. Furthermore, a shorter path to permanent residence (currently, the domicile requirement is ten years), as in Germany, would serve as a magnet for more international students, many of whom may be contemplating a long-term future in Japan.

IHRD is a valiant and value-added endeavour that potentially contributes to the economic and social capital of a state. However, Japan needs to progress to next stage, where IHRD is not simply viewed as a clinical fix for foreign economic policy challenges. The "human resources" themselves need to perceive that they, in some way, are stakeholders in Japan's economic growth strategy. This would comprise the most effective soft power strategy.

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Appendix: Content of Survey Questionnaires Utilised in ${\it Germany}^{24}$

Survey Questionnaire on Immigration in Germany (Feb/March 2012)

Domestic Labour Market Needs

- 1. To what extent does the German Government regard managed immigration to be a solution towards mitigating a diminishing labour force, as caused by demographic trends? What types of immigration are being considered?
- 2. In Japan, small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) experience acute labour shortages and, partially in consideration of their demand for low-skilled labour, the Japanese Government has been reluctant to abolish the Technical Intern Training System. With regard to Germany's SMEs, is the procurement of immigrant labour deemed necessary? Is any scheme being deliberated? How highly-qualified would this labour need to be?

Admission of Skilled/Highly-skilled Workers

3. Germany's 'Recognition Act' which acknowledges

qualifications earned overseas will take effect from April 2012. In which fields is this recognition particularly being promoted, and at what level of qualifications?

4. In 2012, Japan is expected to introduce a point system to complement its current 'positive list' of admissible residence statuses. Is any type of "point system" being considered in Germany? At what categories of migrants is this being aimed?

Migration and Foreign Policy/Foreign Economic Relations

- 5. Japan has concluded Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with 15 countries/regional blocks. Conditional labour migration, taking the form of health professionals in nursing and care-giving, is currently permitted from Indonesia and the Philippines. Is Germany engaged in similar types of formal economic relations, which allow for the migration of labour?
- 6. What are the prospects for continued labour migration from East/Southeast Europe? To what extent does Germany prioritise relations with its Eastern neighbours (economic co-operation/foreign trade and investment/ security), and how has this affected migration policy?

Migration and Development

- 7. Is a 'return' to temporary/circular migration programmes in Germany envisaged? (The SVS *Migration Report 2011* considers the possibility of linking "development" and migration policy.) How would such programmes differ from the *Gastarbeitnehmer* (vocational trainee) programme currently in operation?
- 8. The SVS Migration Report 2011 places focus on potential migration from North Africa. What are the eased trade relations with North Africa envisaged by the EU (and allusions to a Marshall Plan for this region?) There is mention of mobility partnerships, a student exchange programme, and regulations for legal labour migration. What long-term political and economic benefits are en-

²⁴ The questionnaire utilised in the Australian survey was similar in content and has thus been omitted.

visaged for Germany? Security? Oil?

10. Geographically, are there any other developing regions considered strategically important for Germany. Has this translated into migration considerations?

International Students

11. In Japan, the Fukuda cabinet in 2008 announced a "300,000 Foreign Students Plan". Measures, both in educational infrastructure and immigration law, are being implemented to render this country more attractive to international students, whom the Government considers a potentially skilled and ready-to-integrate workforce. To what extent does Germany consider international students to be a potential labour force? What

legal measures are being taken to attract them to the German labour market post-graduation?

General:

- 12. Are there any conflicting objectives in migration policy-making between the Federal Ministry of the Interior <BMI>, Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs <BMAS>, and the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology <BMWi>?
- 13. What lobby groups in Germany are most influential in the formation of immigration policy?
- 14. How is Germany's immigration policy expected to evolve within the short- to mid-term future?