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International Labor Migration and Care

The case of Southeast Asian Workers in Japan

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ABSTRACT

Vi sono diversi motivi per cui le persone decidono di emigrare; non solamente per fuggire dai conflitti, dalle persecuzioni religiose o dalle conseguenze del cambiamento climatico, ma anche e soprattutto per perseguire opportunità per migliorare le proprie condizioni di vita o per ricongiungersi con la propria famiglia. Il fenomeno migratorio ha una chiara relazione con il mercato del lavoro, che rappresenta un incentivo fondamentale che motiva e allo stesso tempo sostiene i viaggi dei lavoratori migranti. Negli ultimi decenni, alcuni fattori sono stati particolarmente influenti nell'accelerare la mobilità per lavoro. I cambiamenti strutturali avvenuti all'interno delle economie di varie nazioni hanno incentivato e spinto individui a partire per cercare migliori condizioni di lavoro e di vita. Inoltre, i progressi tecnologici e delle comunicazioni, accompagnati dall'espansione di reti internazionali, hanno contribuito alla diffusione di informazioni e conoscenze che hanno allargato gli orizzonti, influenzando la percezione delle persone sulle alternative e sulle opportunità presenti nei mercati del lavoro esteri. Se ne deduce che l'avvento della globalizzazione, che ha generato nuove dinamiche sociali e geografiche nella società contemporanea, abbia portato in primo piano la migrazione internazionale.

Sebbene i fenomeni migratori siano sempre esistiti, nel corso dello scorso secolo essi hanno assistito ad un'accelerazione e ad una diversificazione dei paesi di provenienza e di destinazione molto importanti. In considerazione del significativo numero di persone che vive al di fuori del proprio paese natio e dell'intensità dei flussi migratori, la migrazione internazionale è stata esplicitamente incorporata dall'Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite (ONU) nell'Agenda 2030, cercando così di fornire un quadro generale per affrontare la complessa relazione tra sviluppo sostenibile e migrazione. Difatti, il settimo punto del decimo obiettivo dell'Agenda 2030 è espressamente dedicato alla necessità di facilitare migrazioni "ordinate, sicure, regolari e responsabili" attraverso politiche pianificate. Si tratta di un elemento importante che coinvolge tutti i migranti e che si ricollega ad altri obiettivi riguardanti la dignità di ogni persona e lo sviluppo inclusivo.

È esattamente in questo contesto che l'elaborato si prefigge l'obiettivo di indagare le potenzialità della migrazione di contribuire allo sviluppo e al benessere delle persone e delle comunità che le circondano. Evidenzia nello specifico il ruolo delle lavoratrici che

prestano l'attività di cura e che negli ultimi anni hanno acquisito sempre più importanza nei mercati del lavoro dei paesi di destinazione. Diversi contesti sociali e demografici in rapida evoluzione, quali il processo di invecchiamento della popolazione e l'aumento della partecipazione delle donne al mercato del lavoro formale, hanno innescato crescenti bisogni di lavoratori migranti che prestano attività di cura, il cui pieno riconoscimento del valore sociale ed economico è fondamentale per la valorizzazione dei soggetti che lo svolgono. La migrazione internazionale offre tante opportunità di emancipazione. È anche vero, tuttavia, che le norme e le aspettative di genere influenzano i flussi migratori in tutte le sue fasi, a volte limitando le lavoratrici alle mansioni considerate "femminili" e generando dei processi di etnicizzazione del mercato del lavoro. Le migrazioni delle lavoratrici migranti di cura offre infatti una panoramica fondamentale di come le visioni convenzionali sulla divisione tradizionale del lavoro influenzino la loro partecipazione all'interno delle economie di destinazione, le cui strutture culturali, economiche e politiche influiscono sul modo in cui questo tipo di lavoro viene fornito.

Il numero sempre più crescente di migranti ha generato e continua a generare risposte differenti da parte dei principali stati di destinazione, che sono condizionate dalle scelte politiche ed economiche di ciascun territorio. L'espansione dei flussi migratori è stata pertanto caratterizzata dal crescente bisogno di definire nuovi regimi normativi internazionali e di cooperazione a livello di *governance* finalizzati alla tutela dei diritti dei lavoratori migranti. In particolar modo, l'internazionalizzazione della forza lavoro e la cosiddetta "femminilizzazione dei processi migratori" sottolineano la necessità di una prospettiva globale sulla migrazione che vada oltre quella nazionale, in modo da promuovere il dialogo fra i governi e le politiche d'integrazione e protezione sociale volte ad assicurare maggiore sicurezza e benessere ai migranti e alle loro famiglie. Il Giappone è esaminato per le sfide demografiche che sta affrontando, quali l'invecchiamento della popolazione e la diminuzione della forza lavoro, che lo stanno spingendo a reclutare operatori sanitari stranieri, perseguendo altresì la propria politica estera nell'area dell'Associazione delle Nazioni del Sud-est asiatico (ASEAN).

Al fine di fornire un quadro completo su un argomento complesso come quello dei flussi migratori, l'elaborato analizza attraverso una rassegna della letteratura in materia le prospettive teoriche adottate per lo studio di tali fenomeni, che contribuiscono ogni giorno a forgiare il mondo in cui viviamo. Particolare importanza è dedicata alla connessione fra migrazione e genere, nonché al ruolo delle donne migranti nel settore

della cura e del lavoro domestico, soprattutto in riferimento ai dibattiti che hanno avuto luogo all'interno del pensiero femminista. La transnazionalizzazione del lavoro di cura è legata a due concetti fondamentali: le "catene di cura globali" (*"global care chains"*) e la divisione internazionale del lavoro riproduttivo. La prima parte dell'elaborato evidenzia la necessità di comprendere il ruolo degli Stati-nazione e delle organizzazioni internazionali in merito ai fenomeni migratori e alle occasioni di cooperazione internazionale per contribuire allo sviluppo dei paesi e al supporto degli stessi migranti. Si sottolinea il cambiamento dell'approccio da una prospettiva puramente economica ad una orientata verso lo sviluppo umano e delle capacità (*capabilities*) primarie delle persone. Tale approccio pone al proprio centro l'integrazione dei principi sviluppati nel sistema internazionale dei diritti umani in maniera organica all'interno dei processi di sviluppo, con l'obiettivo di valorizzare l'impatto positivo delle migrazioni.

Tutt'oggi, la migrazione internazionale del lavoro rimane una delle questioni più controverse, al centro di dibattiti politici inerenti alla sovranità nazionale, ma anche di discussioni sulla necessità di politiche efficaci e coordinate per facilitare la realizzazione e monitoraggio delle iniziative di cooperazione. L'approccio basato sui diritti umani si trova alla base degli obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile (i *Sustainable Development Goals*, o *SDGs*), i quali riconoscono il legame tra i flussi migratori internazionali e la riduzione della povertà non solo attraverso la diminuzione della disparità di reddito e l'invio delle rimesse, ma anche attraverso politiche di inclusione, l'istruzione, i trasferimenti di competenze e di nuove conoscenze, volti a favorire l'accesso dei migranti al lavoro qualificato e all'imprenditorialità. L' inclusione esplicita della mobilità internazionale del lavoro negli obiettivi globali, tra cui anche la piena occupazione e il raggiungimento dell'uguaglianza di genere, avvalora che il riconoscimento di un movimento transfrontaliero sicuro e protetto, nonché inclusivo, possa avvenire solo attraverso il rispetto dei diritti dei migranti.

Il quadro fornito nella prima parte dell'elaborato pone le basi per una riflessione sulla regione dell'Asia-Pacifico, un contesto definito da scenari sociali e demografici in rapida evoluzione. Le migrazioni contemporanee, così come i cambiamenti nelle istituzioni e nella geopolitica, non possono essere tuttavia compresi senza prima approfondire l'evoluzione storica dei principali flussi migratori che hanno avuto luogo nella regione. Per millenni, le nazioni dell'Asia-Pacifico sono state influenzate dalle continue interazioni e migrazioni di persone provenienti da realtà linguistiche e culturali

differenti. Particolare attenzione è dedicata alle migrazioni femminili e ai modelli sociali di *welfare state* volti a fare fronte all'invecchiamento demografico, a favorire la partecipazione delle donne al mondo del lavoro e a introdurre nuove politiche di conciliazione famiglia-lavoro. Nuove forme di lavoro di cura sono state messe in atto da stati e individui, trasformando allo stesso tempo le relazioni internazionali a livello regionale. A livello comparativo, rispetto a Singapore, Hong Kong e Taiwan, il Giappone sta emergendo come nuovo paese di destinazione, dopo aver introdotto un'assicurazione per la cura a lungo termine degli anziani. Le Filippine, l'Indonesia e il Vietnam sono esaminati come paesi di origine chiave del sud-est asiatico.

L'interazione tra le strutture normative internazionali e regionali e i processi decisionali nazionali riguardanti la migrazione degli operatori sanitari e dei lavoratori di cura è analizzata prendendo come caso studio il Giappone, che è stato contrassegnato da un notevole sviluppo economico, a cui le politiche sociali sono state a lungo subordinate. Il paese mostra un complesso sistema di percorsi migratori, ognuno dei quali presenta scopi diversi, quali ad esempio la cooperazione allo sviluppo con i paesi limitrofi e il tentativo di contrastare la carenza di lavoro autoctono. Il Paese del Sol Levante rappresenta un importante caso studio per analizzare l'influenza reciproca tra il significato culturale delle modalità di provvisione della cura e le politiche pubbliche in risposta alla rapida crescita dell'innalzamento dell'età media della popolazione con bassi tassi di natalità e al declino della forza lavoro locale. La firma di accordi di cooperazione bilaterali, i cosiddetti Accordi di partenariato economico (APE, *Economic Partnership Agreement*), tra Giappone e le Filippine, l'Indonesia e il Vietnam, apre il mercato del lavoro nazionale giapponese ad un numero massimo annuo di personale di assistenza. La politica migratoria basata sugli APE documenta la divergenza di opinioni sull'efficacia di tali strumenti per regolare e monitorare la migrazione per il lavoro di cura. La panoramica sulle rotte migratorie verso il Giappone presenta ancora delle politiche poco pianificate, riflettendo la complessità e le preoccupazioni sollevate dalla burocrazia e dall'opinione pubblica giapponesi sulla crescente diversità generata dall'immigrazione di lavoratori stranieri, soprattutto in un ambito talmente intimo quale quello dell'assistenza sanitaria alla popolazione anziana e con disabilità, per cui le competenze linguistiche, ma soprattutto la comprensione culturale, risultano fondamentali. Pone inoltre importanti riflessioni sull'influenza di fattori socioculturali su specifici modelli di migrazione internazionale e sul contributo del personale di cura straniero con le loro competenze e bagagli culturali e tecnici.

Diversi studiosi hanno sottolineato l'importanza di una maggiore cooperazione internazionale al fine di soddisfare le esigenze di assistenza a lungo termine delle popolazioni dei paesi di destinazione senza compromettere lo sviluppo economico e la carenza di operatori sanitari dei paesi di origine. In quest'ottica, le politiche e i programmi nazionali dovrebbero considerare i bisogni e le aspirazioni sia delle persone che richiedono l'assistenza sia di coloro che offrono il lavoro di cura, che migrano per migliorare le proprie condizioni di vita e quelle delle proprie famiglie.

I flussi migratori internazionali dei lavoratori sono condizionati da una varietà di accordi, iniziative e piani d'azione che si traducono altresì in alleanze strategiche che coesistono e collaborano nello stesso scenario politico dei trattati multilaterali sulla protezione dei diritti dei lavoratori migranti. Inoltre, le linee guida regionali hanno il potenziale di rappresentare le sfide da affrontare a livello locale, a identificare soluzioni sostenibili e a generare risposte efficaci. Le motivazioni che spingono gli individui a emigrare sono al centro degli studi sui flussi migratori, che diventano sempre più complessi con la globalizzazione, che ha portato all'aumento delle aspirazioni e delle capacità dei lavoratori migranti e a maggiori gradi di interdipendenza tra popolazioni e sistemi sociali nelle relazioni internazionali. In particolare, il settore del lavoro domestico e di cura continuerà a ricoprire un ruolo fondamentale all'interno della ristrutturazione economica globale e regionale, nonché dell'azione politica e della cooperazione internazionale. Il Giappone, tradizionalmente visto come un paese chiuso all'immigrazione di cittadini stranieri, è anch'esso condizionato dai suddetti fenomeni geopolitici e si appresta a ripensare la propria identità e conseguentemente a rimodellare la propria struttura sociale in risposta alle nuove esigenze di questa epoca storica.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	Agency for Integrated Care
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BES	Bureau of Employment Services
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CGIM	Global Commission on International Migration
CPSS	Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems
DOLAB	Department of Overseas Labor
EFMA	Employment of Foreign Manpower Act
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreements
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GCM	Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration and Development
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
ICT	Information Communications Technology
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JFMWU	Japanese Federation of Medical Workers' Unions
JICWELS	Japan International Corporation of Welfare Services
JIEPA	Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement
JNA	Japanese Nursing Association
JPEPA	Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement
JVEPA	Japan-Vietnam Economic Partnership Agreement
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LTCI	Long-Term Care Insurance
LTCS	Long-Term Care Services

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MHLW	Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare
MIETI	Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry
MiGOF	Migration Governance Framework
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MOLISA	Ministry of Labor, Invalids, and Social Affairs
MOM	Ministry of Manpower
NEET	Not in Education, Employment or Training
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSB	National Seaman Board
NSSZ	National Strategic Special Zone
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEDB	Overseas Employment Development Board
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SSW	Specified Skill Worker
TITP	Technical Intern Training Program
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

International migration is now a well-recognized aspect of the present global economy, and work is a fundamental incentive that both motivates and fuels migrant journeys. Certain factors have been particularly influential in accelerating labor mobility in the last few decades. Structural changes in many nations have created tremendous pressures to seek better employment and living conditions. Moreover, huge advances in technology and communications have contributed to the spread of knowledge, influencing people's perceptions of alternatives abroad. These developments have been accompanied by the expansion of international networks providing support during the decision-making process. The importance of international migration has been highlighted even more as a result of the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2, or Covid-19) pandemic. To prevent the spread of the virus, major mobility restrictions, including border closures and quarantines, were established, severely limiting people's mobility. In this context, although they are not often at the forefront of migration policy and discussion, migrant women have emerged as potent agents of change and significant participants in shaping social and economic development. This has been especially relevant in a scenario defined by rapidly changing social and demographic landscapes, in which migration of domestic and long-term care workers has played an increasingly crucial role in filling labor market gaps in destination labor markets with ageing populations.

The internationalization of the workforce and the "feminization of migration" require a response and a framework at the global level aimed at monitoring the safety of workers. International migration has represented a window of opportunity for many women to empower themselves. However, gender norms and expectations may also impact migration patterns. Indeed, the international movement of female workers traveling to provide care abroad is a remarkable illustration of how conventional views of the division of labor influence their participation in destination economies. While the act of giving care is present in every part of the world, how it is provided differs depending on the country's cultural, economic, and political structures.

This work investigates the changing patterns of gendered relations and care work in the context of the debate over international labor migration and development in the Asia-Pacific region, where significant demographic changes are expected over the next few decades, and migration is viewed as a key driver of development and poverty reduction. Jobs and higher salaries, in particular, have made Japan a potential destination for migrant care workers, thanks to the implementation of four different channels aimed at enhancing economic and development cooperation with neighboring countries, particularly Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. These workers have been recognized for their contribution to nursing and caregiving fields within a rapidly ageing society.

The relationship between migration and development is analyzed through the lenses of international regulatory frameworks and regimes, as well as governance and cooperation debates over the protection of labor migrants' rights. Care work, more specifically, emphasizes the necessity for a global perspective on migration. According to transnational theory, a recent theoretical framework in migration studies, the current global economy, and new communication and transportation technologies facilitate migrants' engagement in two or more nations at the same time. In this context, a global approach will be utilized that considers the mobility of people across space concerning the factors that form political economy.[1] This has been possible through the use of secondary sources of data such as academic books, journal articles, and statistical descriptions as references. Several surveys conducted by renowned scholars have expanded the work to offer a comprehensive understanding of migrant workers' experiences. Finally, throughout the research, the official websites of the national governments and international organizations under consideration were continually monitored.

The work begins with a review of theoretical perspectives on international labor migration to give a more detailed explanation of how it has grown in tandem with social and demographic changes, contributing to the shaping of the world we live in today. As people move to foreign countries for a plethora of reasons, the research focuses on voluntary migration. A special emphasis is placed on how gender affects migration flows and patterns, as well as the role of women migrants in the care sector, notably for the

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[1] Schiller, N. G. (2009). "A global perspective on migration and development." *Social Analysis*, *53*(3), 14-37, p. 18.

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elderly, by exploring feminist interventions and the ramifications of such theorizations. In reaction to demographic and social changes, the first chapter highlights the emergence of an international domain in which nations interact in economic and political exchanges as well as emotional interdependence through migrant care work.

The second chapter deals with the complex relationship between international labor migration and development, the so-called "migration-development nexus." More specifically, the role of nation-states and international organizations is examined to understand the centrality of migration in the sustainable development discourse, which has shifted in recent years from a purely economic perspective to a more capability and rights-based approach, emphasizing the importance of taking labor migrants' aspirations and expectations into account. Indeed, international labor migration remains one of the most contentious issues, sparking considerable political debates about national sovereignty while also emphasizing the necessity for effective and coordinated policies to facilitate its regulation. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognize the link between migration and poverty reduction not only through income, health, and remittances, but also through education, skill transfers, and knowledge. Enhancing skills and training increase migrants' access to qualified work and entrepreneurship.

This provides a framework for the third chapter, which is dedicated to the Asia-Pacific region, notably the historical perspectives on international labor migration in East and Southeast Asia. Women's migration, which has been particularly prominent from certain countries, is investigated further in the context of constantly shifting social and demographic landscapes, which have resulted in changes in gender relations and welfare regimes. States and people have both mobilized new sources of care work, transforming international relations in the process. In comparison to Singapore, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (Hong Kong), and Taiwan, Japan is highlighted as a relatively new country involved in transnational care migration. The Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam are also examined as Southeast Asian key origin countries.

The fourth chapter explores the interaction between international and regional decision-making processes and domestic regulatory structures concerning the migration of healthcare workers. Japan, in particular, is studied in more depth to comprehend the role of the destination state in the migration of care workers as a result of trade liberalization with Southeast Asian nations. Moreover, the skill outcomes of migrant

labor and their transferability for future practices are examined. Indeed, Japan represents an important case study for analyzing how societies negotiate the cultural meaning and institutional arrangements of care in the face of an ageing society, low birth rates, and a caregiver shortage.

Finally, the conclusive chapter offers some preliminary thoughts and considerations on how gender and other sociocultural factors influence the emergence of specific migration patterns. In particular, it emphasizes the importance of recognizing the roles of migrant care workers in destination labor markets to develop comprehensive responses and to understand the influence of labor migration on development and vice versa.

CHAPTER ONE

International Labor Migration, Gender, and Care

1.1 The Context of the Study

There are several reasons why individuals decide to depart from their home country to go abroad. Not only do people leave to avoid conflict or the negative consequences of climate change and other environmental conditions, but they also move in a variety of directions within countries and across borders to pursue opportunities or to join their families. According to the World Migration Report issued by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2020, the number of people living outside their country of birth is approximately 272 million, representing 3.5 percent of the global population.[2] When compared to the considerably higher numbers of individuals who move within countries, this represents a small percentage.[3] Nonetheless, recent developments have been accompanied by the rise in the intensity of global networks and in the growing acknowledgment of the possibilities that exceed state boundaries, as demonstrated by the increase in numbers of international migrants from 75 million in 1965 to an estimated 175 million in 2000.[4] Both the number of international migrants and the total population have risen, as shown in Figure 1.1, but the proportion's trend is less linear, as it is dependent on the relative growth rates of these two variables. A much higher growth rate of the total population from 1960 until 1980 can be observed compared to the latter period, thus implying a more stable tendency of the proportion in these years. However, this was followed by a steady rise from 1980 to 2020 (from 2.3 to 3.6 percent of the global population). Moreover, international migrants have been increasing in number much more rapidly than originally projected: in previous research released by the IOM international migrants were predicted to amount to 230 million (2.6 percent of the global population) by 2050.[5] It is expected that different factors, such as demographic

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[2]McAuliffe, M., & Khadria, B. (Eds.). (2019). *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration, p. 2

[3] The United Nations Development Program estimates that in 2009 internal migrants were 740 million, indicating that remaining in one's place of birth is still the norm.

[4]International Organization for Migration. (2003). *World Migration Report 2003: Managing Migration - Challenges and Responses for People on the Move.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration. p. 5

[5]Ibid.

pressures, environmental concerns, and rising inequality, will all contribute to increased large-scale migratory movements.[6]
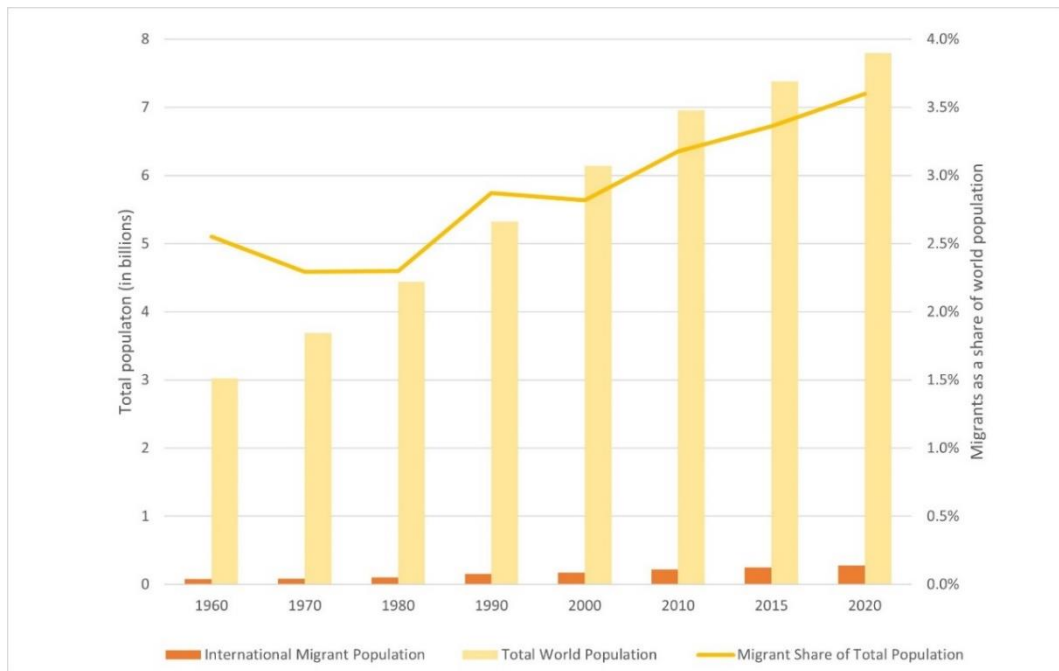
FIGURE 1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS AS A SHARE OF THE WORLD POPULATION. SOURCE: DATASET RETRIEVED FROM THE MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE

International migration is inextricably linked to economic, social, political, and technological transformations occurring at the global level. Population ageing, globalization, and women's migration, in particular, are three phenomena that have received considerable attention at the same time. The two former trends, on the other hand, are regarded with both optimism and skepticism. Despite advances in public health and science, rising pension and health-care expenditures as a result of population ageing, defined as changes in a population's age composition with a rise in the number of older people, pose a challenge to governments around the world in virtually every area of society. Similarly, globalization, a central subject in the current international political economy, is comprised of multiple linked variables, the most prominent of which is, as defined by Stiglitz, the "closer economic integration of the countries of the world through the increased flow of goods and services, capital, and even labor." [7] Advances in technology and communications, along with the decline of transportation costs, have facilitated the transmission of information and awareness about opportunities and

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[6] Rayp, G., Ruyssen, I., & Marchand, K. (2020). *Regional Integration and Migration Governance in the Global South*. Springer Publishing, p. v.

[7] Stiglitz, J. E. (2006). *Making Globalization Work* (First ed.). W.W. Norton & Co, p. 4.

socioeconomic conditions across countries. This evolution has also resulted in a symbolic reduction in geographical distance, allowing the formation of international networks helping in migration decision-making, as well as the creation of transnational families with members who live and work in different parts of the world. Globalization, however, encompasses more than simply technological and economic transformation. It is also a fundamentally normative and ideological process.[8] The present globalization paradigm arose in the context of neoliberal ideologies promoted in the 1980s by the Reagan administration in the United States and the Thatcher government in the United Kingdom. The establishment of the so-called "Washington Consensus," which emphasizes the importance of market liberalization, privatization, and deregulation as development strategies, sparked heated debates around the world concerning the social impact of these policies and about the promises of enhanced resource distribution efficiency and reduced income inequality within as well as between countries.[9] A third trend, the growth in the international movement of women seeking employment, is one the most prominent aspects of the economic impact of globalization.

Nonetheless, as expressed by Adam Smith, "man is of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported."[10] While most barriers to capital flows have gradually been removed, cross-border labor migration continues to face numerous challenges and is constrained by cultural, political, and economic barriers which may reduce the potential gains of individuals and their families. The discrepancy between a legal space that determines the legitimacy of access based on specific motives and the social realities of human connections makes examining international migration flows exceedingly complex.[11] This has been reinforced by the sense that we are amid a period of enormous uncertainty, as a result of large-scale migration and displacement in recent years due to violence and war, as well as significant economic and political turmoil in different nations.[12] However, human migration has always been an important part of the exchange of ideas, goods, and labor. Furthermore, because of the tendency to see migrants as a homogeneous group, much of the methodology has been fragmented, making accurate

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[8] Czaika, M., & De Haas, H. (2014). "The Globalization of Migration: Has the World Become More Migratory?" *International Migration Review*, *48*(2), 283-323, p. 285.

[9] Stiglitz, J. (2002). *Globalisation and its Discontents.* W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., p. 74.

[10] Smith, A. (1773). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (S. M. Soares, 2007 Ed.). MetaLibri Digital Library, p. 63.

[11] Truong, T. D., & Gasper, D. (Eds.) (2011). "Transnational migration, development, and human security." In *Transnational migration and human security* (pp. 3-22). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg. p.3.

[12] McAuliffe, M., & Khadria, B. (Eds.). (2019), op. cit., p. 1.

policy solutions challenging. As a matter of fact, gender norms in migrants' lives have increasingly been researched on a variety of levels, starting from the individual to the family, state, and the labor market, and are now recognized as an important component of migration. Although the pace of such a phenomenon is influenced by many variables and, therefore, difficult to foresee precisely, efforts have been made to include international migration in development programs both internationally and domestically. Migration and development have long been connected, with research studies on these linkages, the so-called "migration and development nexus," dating back to the nineteenth century. Ever since the interest in this topic has experienced changes both in quantity and in scope, and academic research, in particular, has been impacted by polar opposing viewpoints that argue that migration has a good impact on origin nations, or blame it of locking them in a poverty cycle.

Millions of people have been touched at both ends of the journey because of family ties, economic exchanges, and cultural connections in our increasingly interconnected world, making it a worldwide phenomenon that affects every corner of the globe. Indeed, one of the greatest economic, social, and cultural assets of our contemporary world is represented by the network of contacts between people, to the point where, as Nana Oishi put it, "most countries are no longer categorized as destinations, origins, or points of transit, but rather as a combination of the three."[13] This has been further emphasized for the benefits that moving across borders may bring to the lives of communities in terms of skills, labor force, investment, and cultural variety. Migration, indeed, is not solely a linear process that can only be analyzed through the lenses of agreements between sending and receiving countries, but it also involves different actors at multiple levels who can contribute to the success of safe migration governance and promotion of productive employment worldwide.

As much as migration has an impact on development, migration is also affected by economic and human development. Migration was explicitly incorporated in the framework of the SDGs of the 2030 Agenda, and, therefore, into the global development agenda for the first time as a major driver for sustainable development for migrants and their communities. The development context in which people live, where they move to, and the places they go through to get there play a role in shaping people's resources,

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[13] Oishi, N. (2005). *Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia*. Stanford University Press, p. 1.

aspirations, motivations, and opportunities to migrate. Conflict, climate change, labor markets, and other development-related factors can all impact the drivers and nature of migration. The vulnerabilities that migrants experience are embedded in economic and social systems and have been further heightened by the Covid-19 pandemic, which has resulted in migrants being disproportionately affected by socioeconomic, health, and mobility-related consequences. International labor migrants were affected by worldwide restrictions as economic activities and tourism were halted. Consequently, policies of confinement or lockdown have exacerbated inequalities, both economic, affecting those most vulnerable to job loss, such as manual workers and small business owners, and gender ones, as women tend to work jobs exposed to health risks.[14] Furthermore, social and identity inequalities have been reinforced by the stigma brought out by the pandemic.[15]

The importance of migration in the context of development is firmly rooted in the introduction of the 2030 Agenda, which recognizes the positive contribution of migrants and the necessity of coherent and comprehensive responses.[16] The framework emphasizes the significance of facilitating safe movement and protecting workers by preventing human trafficking and forced labor. Moreover, the SDGs take a proactive approach to incorporate the gender dimension into all objectives, including a specific target on the importance of gender equality, exemplifying a recognition that gender equality is required for sustainable and inclusive development. Thus, the 2030 Agenda provides an overarching framework to address the complex relationship between migration and development, which is determined by political, social, and economic processes in which all countries play an active role. The internationalization of the labor force consequently calls for a worldwide response and framework to monitor the safety of workers. Moreover, the feminization of labor migration keeps changing the dynamic of the link between migration and development.

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[14] De Haan, A. (2020). "Labour Migrants During the Pandemic: A Comparative Perspective." *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 63, 885-900, pp. 885-887.

[15] Ivi, p. 888.

[16] Most significantly, States highlight migrants' beneficial contribution to inclusive growth and sustainable development in paragraph 29 of the declaration accompanying the adoption of the 2030 Agenda. They also acknowledge the importance of coordinated and comprehensive solutions, given that international migration is a multifaceted phenomenon that affects all nations. Hence, there is the necessity to "cooperate internationally to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration involving full respect for human rights and the humane treatment of migrants regardless of migration status." The right of migrants to return to their country of citizenship is finally underlined.

This chapter examines the phenomenon of international labor migration and its theoretical framework. More specifically, women's migration will be investigated in a context defined by quickly evolving social and demographic landscapes, in which migration of domestic workers and long-term care workers, defined as "paid staff, typically nurses and personal carers, providing care and/or assistance to people limited in their daily activities at home or in institutions,"[17] has played an increasingly important role in filling the gaps of destination labor markets. The movement of female migrants into care and domestic labor does, in fact, give a perspective through which to identify relationships between our time's major social, cultural, political, demographic, and economic transformations. Therefore, grasping the complexities of the impacts of this type of labor migration on sustainable development and vice versa requires the recognition of women's participation in destination labor markets and an understanding of the roles played by gender and other social constructions in molding this phenomenon.

1.2 Theoretical and Literature Review on International Labor Migration

Although there is no widely agreed definition at the international level, the IOM defines, for statistical purposes, a migrant as "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons."[18] A change of residence may be classified as long-term if an individual lives in another country for at least a year (12 months), or short-term if they establish their residency in another country for at least three months but less than a year, "except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage".[19] Migration may be grouped into different categories based on the nature and purpose: voluntary migration and involuntary/forced migration, documented/regular migration and undocumented/irregular migration, economic, social, and political migration.[20] Furthermore, a distinction is made between temporary migration, which is limited in time, and permanent migration, which occurs when an

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[17] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (n.d.). "Long-term care workers." *OECD iLibrary.* Retrieved from https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/b768405f-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/b768405f-en [accessed 14 September 2021]

[18] International Organization for Migration. (n.d.). *Key Migration Terms*. https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms [accessed 2 february 2021]

[19] United Nations Statistic Division. (1998). *Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration, Revision 1*. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, p. 10.

[20] Aniche, E. T. (2020). "Migration and Sustainable Development: Challenges and Opportunities." In I. Moyo, C. C. Nshimbi, & J. P. Laine, *Migration Conundrums, Regional Integration and Development* (pp. 37–61). Palgrave Macmillan.

individual moves to one location with no plans to return. This classification largely depends on national judicial systems, ultimately representing governments' desire to preserve national sovereignty by providing specific categories of migrants the right to work, social benefits, and citizenship. This is especially visible in the emphasis on temporary migration, labeled "circular migration" for its more positive connotation of benefiting the countries of origin.[21] These normative efforts, however, frequently collide with migrants' shifting plans, and, therefore, with the ever-changing realities of migration.[22] The motivations to migrate vary depending on the context and on the skills or education level of the migrant and are diverse, but they are often tied to the search for better livelihood prospects, improved access to education and healthcare, and to escape crises caused by conflict and natural catastrophes. Economic, social, cultural, and political causes are not necessarily distinct from one another but are frequently intertwined.

An increasing number of nations is becoming considerably touched by international migration. Even though international migrants come from an expanding number of origin countries, they are increasingly concentrated in particular regions and a relatively small number of destination regions and countries. [23] As seen in Figure 1.2, throughout the previous three decades, foreign migrants have made up a sizable proportion of the overall population in North America, in the Middle East & North Africa, as well as in Europe & Central Asia. Although at a much slower pace, the region of East Asia & Pacific has experienced continuous growth in the number of foreign migrants. On the contrary, the share of foreign migrants in Latin America & the Caribbean has remained stable while decreasing in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. More specifically, Figure 1.3 depicts the changing distribution of international migrants since the second half of the twentieth century. It shows that North America and Europe & Central Asia continue to be key destinations, with slightly more than half of the people migrating there in 2015.[24]

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[21] Castles, S. (2009). "Development and Migration or Migration and Development: What Comes First?" *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *18*(4), 441-471, p. 460.

[22] De Haas, H., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020). *The Age of Migration, Sixth Edition: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Sixth ed.). The Guilford Press, pp. 27-28.

[23] The top twenty-five destination countries in 2020 are, in order, the United States, Germany, Saudi Arabia, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Ukraine, India, Kazakhstan, Thailand, Malaysia, Jordan, Pakistan, Kuwait, China Hong Kong, South Africa, Iran, Japan, and Côte d'Ivoire.

[24] It is worth highlighting how data accurately represents historical events, such as the massive migrant wave that occurred in Eastern Europe following the demise of the Soviet Union.
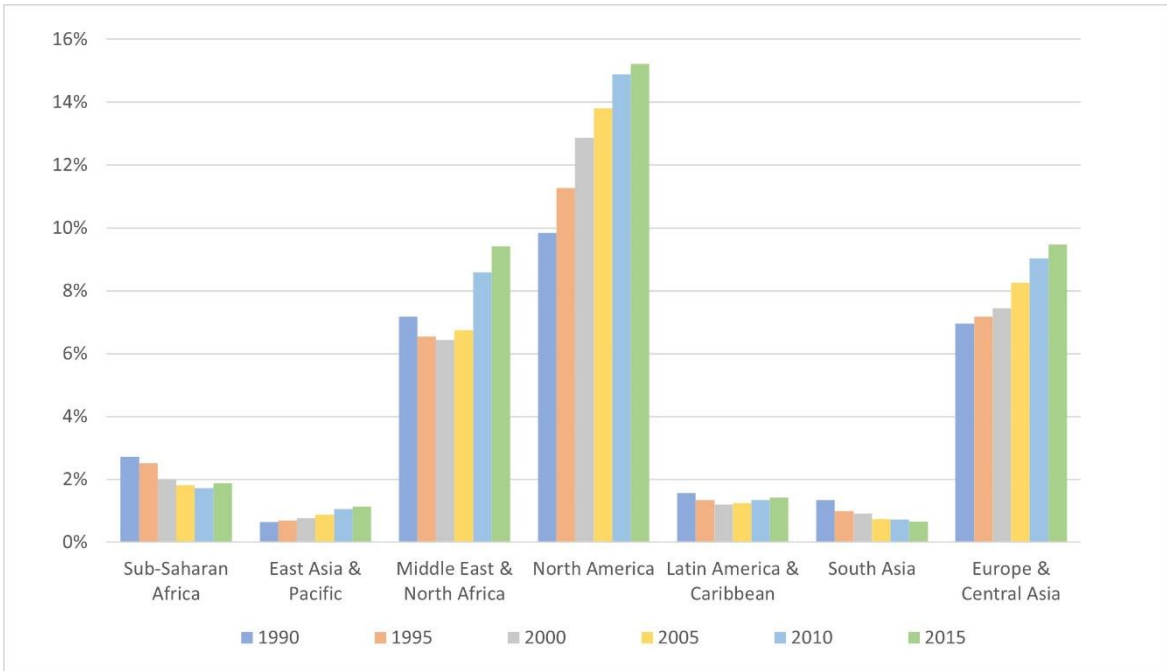
FIGURE 2 INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS AS A SHARE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION. SOURCE: DATASET AND REGION CATEGORIES RETRIEVED FROM THE WORLD BANK.
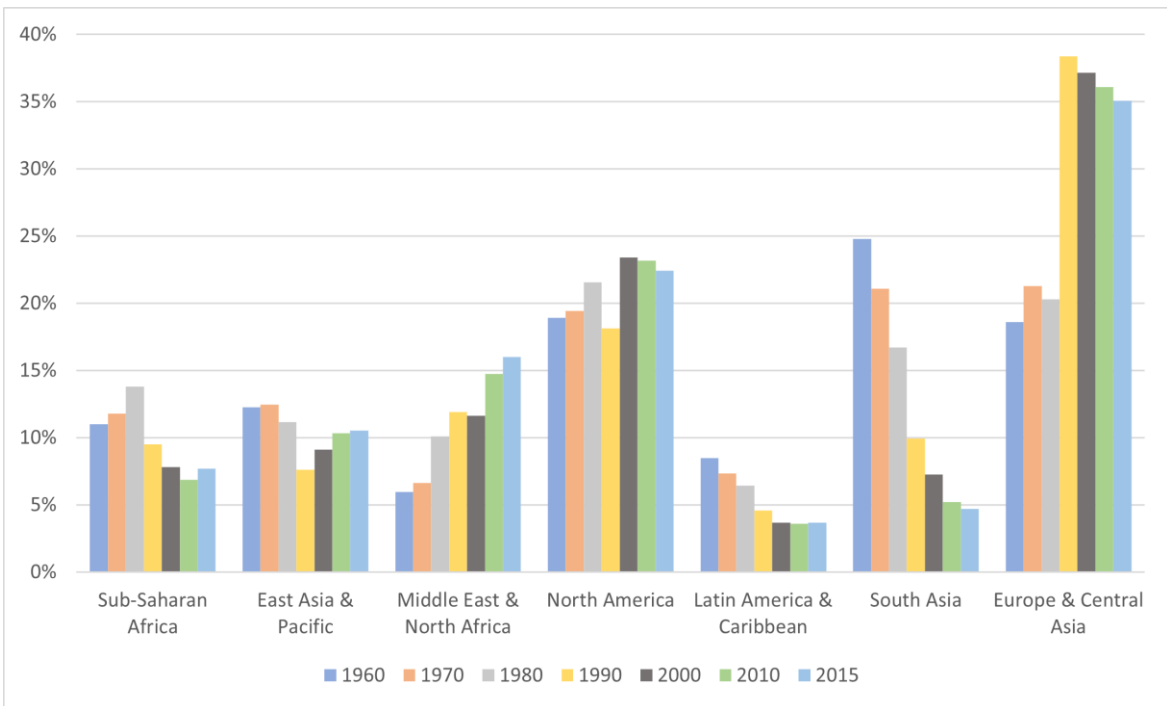

FIGURE 3 DISTRIBUTION OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS SINCE 1960. SOURCE: DATASET AND REGION CATEGORIES RETRIEVED FROM THE WORLD BANK.

Labor migration, often identified as economic migration, is one of the most important motivations for mobility. Labor migrants are defined as individuals of working age (aged 15 and over) who move from one country to another for employment.[25] More specifically, an international migrant worker is defined as "a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national" by the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, which was adopted in 1990.[26] This definition encompasses those who migrate for work and long-term settlement and contract labor migrants hired for a shorter period, as well as other categories of migrants, such as students, refugees, asylum seekers, or tourists who may eventually join the labor force of the destination country. Indeed, the movement of labor across national borders represents a substantial portion of international migration, accounting for a global total of 169 million migrant workers in 2019, a 12.7 percent increase from 2013.[27] It is worth noting that these figures only relate to documented migrants and exclude unauthorized immigrants,[28] who may remain in the destination country, owing to a mismatch between labor market structures and legal migration channels, for instance. As a result, exactly quantifying international labor migration proves to be difficult, presenting another controversial challenge for migration governance and protection of migrants' rights.

The first scholar to theorize migration was the geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein, who was born in Germany in 1834 and migrated to England in 1852, in his two important articles. In 1885 and 1889, he published his *Laws of Migration*, which, while he stated general relations between origins and destinations in the framework of international migration, is still very relevant today as it explains some migration patterns not only within but also between countries. With the warning that population and economic laws do not generally have the rigidity of physical laws due to the significance of human agency, Ravenstein regarded migration as an inextricable component of economic development, and he claimed that economic factors were the primary drivers of

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[25] International Organization for Migration. (n.d.), op. cit.

[26] United Nations General Assembly. (2015). "Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." *United Nations: A/RES/70/1.* Retrieved from https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda. [accessed 14 September 2021].

[27] International Labor Organization. (2021). *ILO Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers – Results and Methodology.* International Labor Organization, p. 11.

[28] In this context, the term "illegal" will apply to the migratory phenomena in general, rather than to individual migrants as a defined group. As a result, more objective terminology such as "unauthorized" or "undocumented" are utilized, although this dissertation will primarily focus on the so-called "documented migration."

migration.[29] In this context, the father of contemporary migration studies recognized that economic development was an important factor within the process, since "migration increases as industries and commerce develop and transport improves" and the direction was predominantly "from agricultural areas to the centers of industry and commerce."[30] The concept that economic growth promotes emigration was crucial during the period of globalization that occurred from the 1880s until the eve of World War I when scholars such as Friedrich Ratzel investigated the link between migration and resource distribution in 1882. Labor migrants traveled to regions of industrial growth while maintaining ties to home by sending money back to help family and community projects.[31] Both Ravenstein and Ratzel give findings that are still relevant today and serve as the foundation for research in migration studies. In particular, Ravenstein contributes to the observations that migration frequently occurs in well-defined spatial patterns and that movement in one direction is likely to produce counterflows from the opposite end.[32] As a result of migrants' departure, such counterflows may take different forms, such as remittances and new knowledge and skills.

According to conventional knowledge, based on neoclassical migration theory, migration is motivated by geographical differences in income and employment. Neo-classical economic theories of migration arose during a period of optimism and long economic expansion, which first emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. As part of the broader functionalist strand of social theory, according to which society is a system whose independent elements work together and intrinsically tend toward equilibrium, migration is envisioned as a means for attaining "balanced growth" in both urban-rural and international migration.[33] At the macro level, differences in labor supply and demand across various geographical locations lead to migration. As a result of the wage differentials between labor markets of origin and destination countries, workers migrate to nation-states where labor supply is lower and salaries are higher, in the opposite

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[29] Ravenstein, E. G. (1889). "The laws of migration." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, *52*(2), 241-305. At page 286, he stated: "Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respect."

[30] Grigg, D. B. (1977). "E.G. Ravenstein and the 'laws of migration'." *Journal of Historical Geography*, *3*(1), 41-54, p. 43.

[31] Schiller, N. G. (2009), op. cit., p. 18.

[32] Ravenstein, E. G. (1889), op. cit., p. 287.

[33] Todaro's study of rural-urban migration, which drew on Lewis's understanding of the process of development in economies with a labor surplus, is undoubtedly the most often referenced neoclassical migration model.

direction of capital flows.[34] This process eventually equalizes salaries, net migration costs, in both the country of origin and the country of destination, bringing the migratory process to conclusion.[35] At the micro-level, migration is seen as the result of a rational migrant's free choice and full understanding of market conditions, expected cost, and benefits, with the primary objective of improving their economic situation.

Larry Sjaastad's human capital theory, a complementary concept to the neoclassical migration approach, also views migrant workers as rational people who balance the costs and the benefits of migration, which is regarded as an investment.[36] People undertake various investments, represented by both monetary and non-monetary costs such as travel expenditures as well as language and cultural barriers. They eventually migrate to where they can be most productive based on their human resources if they consider that the additional benefits at the destination offset the costs of moving.[37] Moreover, this theory explains why migrants tend to come from certain subsets of origin populations;[38] that is, those with more resources are more likely to be able to travel abroad and see migration as an investment that enhances human capital productivity, as access to material resources, social networks, and knowledge represents an important factor in migration decision-making, especially in its early stages. Both neoclassical migration theory and the human capital theory recognize the positive consequences of migration and predict a win-win situation: it establishes a balance between labor supply and demand at the macro level, leveling incomes in sending and receiving countries while improving migrants' economic conditions at the micro-level.

The decision to migrate has far-reaching consequences not only for the individual but for whole communities in both the origin and destination areas. The new economics of labor migration (NELM) emerged as a critical response to neoclassical migration theory and challenged its methodological individualism by emphasizing the collective role of families in migration decision-making.[39] Oded Stark and David Bloom amended

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[34] Lewis, W.A. (1954). "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor. "*The Manchester School, 22*, 139-191; Todaro, M. P. (1969). "A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries." *The American Economic Review*, *59*(1), 138-148, p. 139.

[35] Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review*, *19*(3), 431–466, pp. 433-434.

[36] Sjaastad, L. A. (1962). "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *Journal of Political Economy*, *70*(5), 80–93, p. 83.

[37] Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993), op. cit., p. 434.

[38] Ivi, p. 453.

[39] Stark, O., & D. E. Bloom. (1985). "The New Economics of Labor Migration." *The American Economic Review*, *75*(2), pp. 173–178.

migration theory by situating individual migrant behavior in the broader framework of society and by moving beyond the single migrant's goal of income maximization. As a matter of fact, NELM depicts migration as risk-sharing behavior of families: households are assumed to allocate their family members abroad to provide income insurance and minimize risks through the money remitted by migrants.[40] Therefore, migration becomes an investment strategy of the household to improve their economic activities and wellbeing through remittances, which are less subject to political constraints and regulations and provide a safety net for home communities.[41] Importantly, it also emphasizes the relevance of relative poverty among origin communities, rather than absolute poverty, as one of the crucial factors that motivate migration. In this context, the perception of being less well-off compared to other members of a social group or of a community may be a powerful source of motivation to migrate to attain a similar or higher socioeconomic status.[42]

In several nations, immigration, which is simultaneously promoted and criticized, has been increasingly seen as an alternative for addressing social changes and ageing workforces. Although much of the manufacturing sector has been transferred to new industrial economies since the 1970s, other types of jobs, such as agriculture, construction, and services such as domestic work, home health care, and the sex industry, remain heavily localized and in high demand in both industrialized countries, which continue to be a magnet for migrant workers, and a significant number of developing countries.[43] Thus, it has been argued that migrant workers have been meeting labor shortages that native employees do not perform due to a lack of required credentials or a lack of willingness to perform unappealing occupations with low wages, working conditions, and social status, known as the "3D" (dirty, difficult, and dangerous) jobs. Labor migrants are frequently employed in low-wage home service occupations, low-skilled jobs in the informal economy, and employment in seasonal industries, such as farming, road maintenance and construction, and hotel, restaurant, and other tourism-related services.[44] The labor market appears increasingly stratified as a result, and Micheal Piore's dual

[40] De Haas, H., D. H., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020), op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[41] De Haas, H. (2005). "International migration, remittances, and development: myths and facts." *Third World Quarterly*, *26*(8), 1269-1284, p. 1277.

[42] Stark, O., & Taylor, J. E. (1989). "Relative Deprivation and International Migration." *Demography*, *26*, 1–14.

[43] Taran, P. A., & Geronimi, E. (2003), "Globalization, Labour and Migration: Protection is Paramount." *International Labor Organization*, p. 3-4.

[44] Münz, R., Straubhaar, T., Vadean, F. P., & Vadean, N. (2007). "What are the migrants' contributions to employment and growth? A European approach." *HWWI Policy Paper*, No. 3-3, p. 7.

market theory explains why this occurs. The model argues that changes in the economic and labor market structures of industrialized economies are primarily responsible for the demand for specific skills, which has been further encouraged by formal recruitment mechanisms of receiving governments rather than by migrants' individual efforts.[45] This has resulted in a divergence of primary and secondary labor markets, with a widening gap between the two: while the primary sector consists of bigger firms that supply more capital-intensive, higher-paying jobs, the secondary sector relies on lower-paying, labor-intensive jobs in precarious positions.[46] As a result, this theory explains how labor shortages concentrate on "low-status" occupations since natives choose higher-paying, more prestigious professions.

Migrant workers are vital not only because they often fill the jobs that natives discard, but also because they bring skills with them. In the case of labor migration, as briefly mentioned above, a difference is frequently established between low- and high-skilled migrants. Migrants, on the other hand, can be found at all skill levels, and such dichotomous categories frequently do not always represent the education and skills required by the occupations that migrants undertake due to difficulties in obtaining recognition for their diplomas as well as to language problems and discrimination.[47] In many circumstances, migrant employees have higher qualification profiles than local workers, contrary to the widespread assumption that "unskilled" migrants are coming in to fill the least-qualified occupations. In reality, in addition to language obstacles, many immigrants' skills obtained in their home countries may not match those in demand in the destination area, forcing them to work in low-wage occupations. It was examined how, while tertiary education rates are higher among foreign-born individuals than among native-born adults in nearly half of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and partner countries with relevant data, migrant workers had lower employment rates and earnings.[48] This situation is indeed relevant to the health and long-term care sector, where demand for employees is split between those with higher skill levels (e. g. skilled nurses) and those with lower skill levels (e.g., home care aides),

[45] Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 3, 17-24.
[46] Ivi, pp. 35-36.
[47] De Haas, H., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020), op. cit., p. 31.
[48] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2018), "How do the educational attainment and labour market outcomes of foreign-born adults compare to their native-born peers?", *Education Indicators in Focus*, No. 65, OECD Publishing, p. 2.

whose requirements vary depending on the economic, demographic, political, and cultural characteristics of the country's labor markets.

Nonetheless, the idea that prolonged emigration depletes human capital in origin countries while accumulating it in destination regions is central to historical-structural theories, and in particular to dependency and world systems theories rooted in neo-Marxist political economy. In contrast to structuralist theories, this paradigm underlines the limitations imposed on the behavior of individuals by social, economic, cultural, and political structures, exacerbating social and geographic inequalities by serving the interests of wealthier regions and, therefore, resulting in "brain drain" in origin countries. According to world systems theories proposed by Wallerstein in the 1970s, international labor migration reflects the relations of hegemony established between the "core" capitalist economies and its undeveloped "periphery." In this scheme, migration is considered "a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that inevitably occur in the process of capitalist development."[49] In general, historical-structural approaches view migration as a negative process that reinforces the underdevelopment of the economies of origin countries.

There is no single theory that encompasses all elements of international migration, which has been studied in different fields such as economics, geography, sociology, international relations, and so forth, making it an extremely multidisciplinary subject. As a result, several explanations have emerged, which have contributed to the direction of this research into the nature of migration and its consequences on the socioeconomic and political structures of both origin and destination nation-states. In this context, it is critical to comprehend migration as a dynamic process that includes a wide variety of causes and interactions of interconnected structures: large-scale institutional factors, such as international relations and labor market dynamics, where migration must be seen as an integral part of a larger phase of development and social transformation, constantly interacting with micro-level factors, represented by the capabilities and aspirations of migrant workers and their families. Finally, several meso-level social mechanisms, such as migrant networks and communities, connect these two levels and enable migration within existing migratory corridors, decreasing the economic, social, and psychological costs involved in the process.[50]

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[49] Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993), op. cit., p. 445.
[50] De Haas, H., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020), op. cit., pp. 43, 65.

1.3 Social, Demographic and Economic Factors Shaping International Labor Migration and Long-Term Care

In many countries, increased migration opportunities have been linked to structural changes and created incentives for migrant workers and families to seek better living conditions. This is certainly valid in East and Southeast Asia, where major population changes are expected to occur in the next decades, and migration is viewed as a key driver of development and poverty reduction. The great majority of migration is intra-regional, with 43 percent of all migrants from the Asian-Pacific region moving to other nations within the region in 2019, and 70 percent of the region's foreign-born stock coming from inside the region.[51] This has highlighted the need for new migration and regional governance systems to improve discussions among countries, particularly given that the region comprises nations with among of the world's biggest and fastest-aging populations, as well as those with the greatest levels of inequality.[52] Consequently, with certain locations becoming significant emigration areas, such as the Philippines and Indonesia, and other locations becoming key destinations, such as South Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore, labor migration is projected to grow increasingly important to the area in the immediate future.[53] More specifically, Japan has been experiencing severe demographic challenges with negative population growth. On the other hand, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which consists of ten countries,[54] has a significant labor force and sees a strong tendency for citizens to move from developing countries to developed countries both within and outside the region. Jobs opportunities and higher salaries have made Japan a potential destination for workers coming from Southeast Asia. In 2019, Japan hit the record number of 1.66 million foreign workers, among which the largest ASEAN group was Vietnamese, followed by Filipino and Indonesian workers.[55] Japan and the ASEAN countries have strong connections in a variety of fields. The Japanese government, in particular, has recruited foreigners to work as care workers in the country under four different systems, aiming at enhancing

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[51] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2020). *Asia-Pacific Migration Report 2020*: *Assessing Implementation of the Global Compact for Migration.* United Nations Publications, p. 31.

[52] Ivi, p. 7.

[53] Shivakoti, R. (2020). "Asian Migration Governance." In G. Rayp, I. Ruyssen, & K. Marchand, *Regional Integration and Migration Governance in the Global South* (pp. 177–199). Springer Publishing, p. 177.

[54] Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia.

[55] *Record 1.66 million Foreign Workers in Japan in 2019*. (2020, May 30). Nippon.Com. https://www.nippon.com/en/japan-data/h00676/record-1-66-million-foreign-workers-in-japan-in-2019.html

economic cooperation with Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam.[56] In addition, on December 8, 2018, Japan amended the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, a policy reform that admits not only skilled workers but also "new categories of migrants" to respond to its labor shortage and ageing population.

As previously stated, several demographic, economic, and social variables have impacted the trajectory of international migration. Everett Spurgeon Lee produced a popular output of neoclassical economic thought by examining and expanding on Ravenstein's work in 1966. To explain the volume of migration between origin and destination nations, he published his influential paper *A Theory of Migration*. Lee argued that migration decision-making across different contexts and social groups is influenced by "plus" and "minus" variables in the places of origin and destination, as well as intervening barriers, including distance and transportation, and personal factors.[57] Furthermore, he emphasized that it is not so much the real circumstances at origin and destination that cause migration, but rather the perception of these factors, which is different depending on "personal sensitivities, intellect, and awareness of situations elsewhere", which are further determined by personal contacts and sources of information.[58] More social scientists have weighed the social and psychological dimensions of migration following his thought. Within this "push-pull" analytical framework, migrants are driven to leave their home country, for instance, by population growth and poor economic conditions, while being drawn to nations with higher pay and a better social environment than their home country. While this model may be overly descriptive to explain the broader reality of migration, it offers a good beginning point for thinking about some of the factors that influence people's mobility.

First and foremost, the twentieth century saw an increase in women's participation in formal employment, leaving long-established functions as primary family caregivers to enter the paid labor force. Although the increase in participation began at various times and varying rates, women's participation in labor markets is now higher than it was several decades ago in the majority of nations across all income levels. Most regions show an average rate of 55 percent for female labor force participation, with Sub-Saharan

[56] Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan. (2019a). *Guidebook for care service providers on employment of foreign care workers.* Retrieved from https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/12000000/000526602.pdf.
[57] Lee, E. S. (1966). "A theory of migration." *Demography*, *3*(1), 47-57, p. 50.
[58] Ivi, p. 51.

Africa having the highest percentage and the Middle East and North Africa having the lowest, as shown in Figure 1.4.[59]
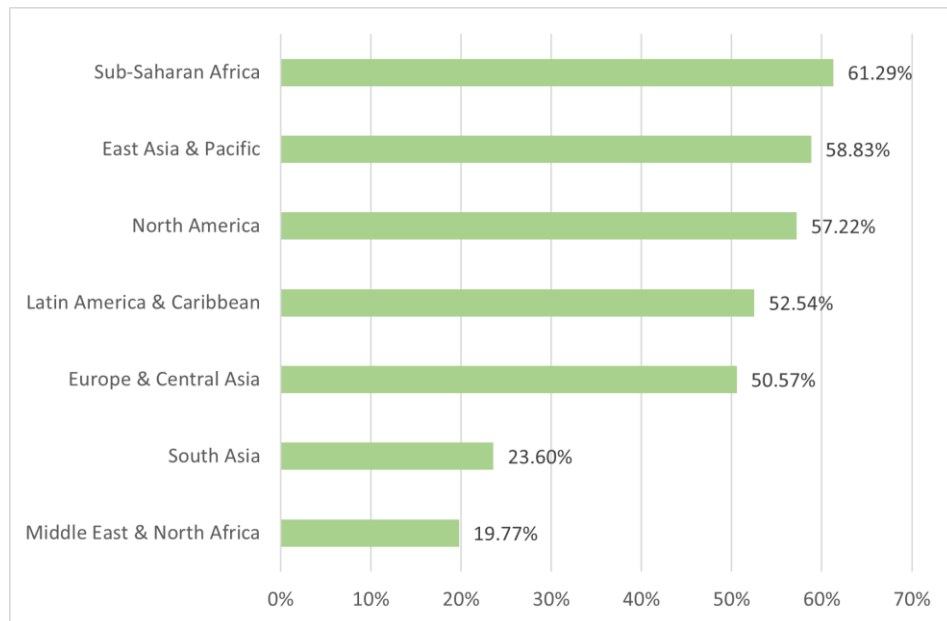
FIGURE 4 FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES (PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION AGES 15 AND OLDER THAT IS ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE) IN 2019. SOURCE: DATASET RETRIEVED FROM THE WORLD BANK.

The gender distribution of work in homes throughout the world has evolved as more women enter the formal labor force, increasing the demand for care for children, the sick, and the elderly in the context of increased longevity and declining fertility. Japan, the oldest nation in the world, is one of the countries experiencing negative population growth, after it reached a peak in 2004, presenting the lowest potential support ratio in the world (the number of workers per retiree is 2.1) and fertility rates below replacement (1.38 children born per woman).[60] The global population is ageing in practically every nation: in 2020, the global population of people aged 65 and more totaled 722 million (9.3 percent of the total population), which has risen by a factor of approximately 2.7 from 261 million older people in 1980 (5.9 percent).[61] It is projected that the number of individuals aged 60 and older will continue to rise, eventually exceeding the number of youths aged 10 to 24 by 2050.[62]

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[59] Ortiz-Ospina, E., Tzvetkova, S., & Roser, M. (2018, March 24). "Women's Employment." *Our World in Data*. Retrieved from https://ourworldindata.org/female-labor-supply. [Accessed 22 August 2021]

[60] Index Mundi. (2021). "Japan Demographics Profile." *Index Mundi*. https://www.indexmundi.com/japan/demographics_profile.html. [Accessed 20 January 2022]

[61] World Bank. (2020). "Population ages 65 and above, total." *The World Bank Data.* Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.65UP.TO.

[62] In 2018, the number of children under 5 years old was surpassed by the number of people older than 64 years old for the first time. According to projections, there will be 2.1 billion older people aged 60 and over,
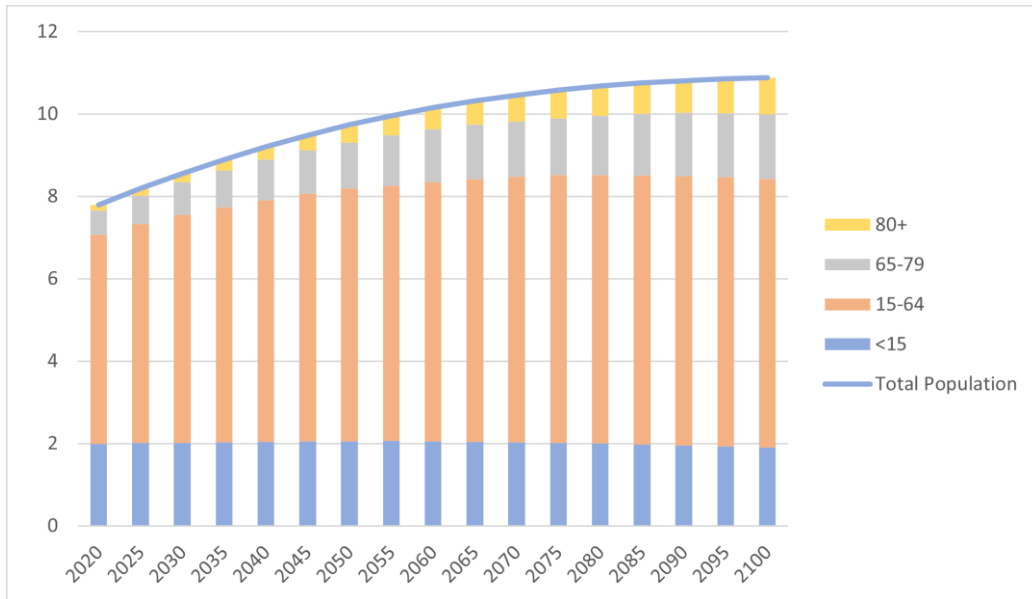
FIGURE 5 POPULATION PROJECTIONS TO 2100 SHOWN BY AGE GROUPS. SOURCE: DATASET RETRIEVED FROM WORLD POPULATION PROSPECTS (UNDESA)

More precisely, the region that includes Europe & Central Asia has the greatest proportion of senior individuals, accounting for 16.9 percent of the total population. North America came in second with a percentage of 16.8. East Asia & the Pacific (11.6 percent) and Latin America & Caribbean (9 percent) have younger populations. While the proportions in South Asia (6.3 percent) and the Middle East & North Africa (5.4 percent) are relatively low, the Sub-Saharan African area has the lowest proportion of people aged 65 and above in the entire population, accounting for only 3 percent.

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compared to 2.0 billion youth aged 10 to 24. See United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2018, October). *World Population Ageing 2017*. United Nations, pp. 1-4.
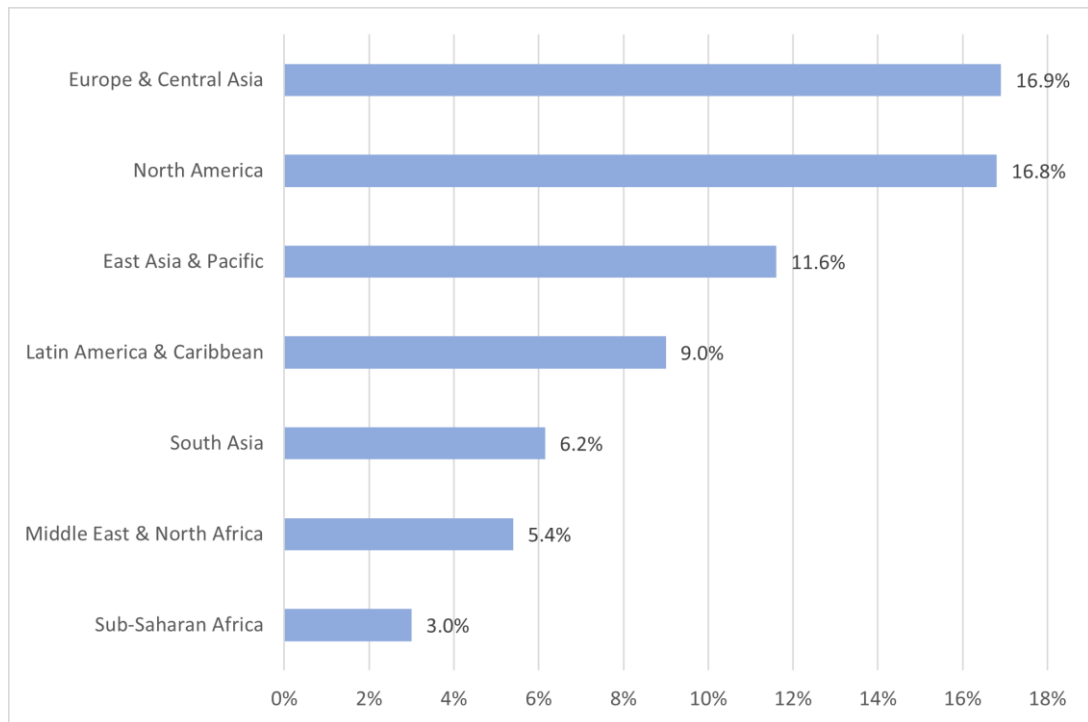
FIGURE 6 POPULATION AGES 65 AND ABOVE AS SHARE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH REGION IN 2020.

SOURCE: DATASET RETRIEVED FROM THE WORLD BANK.

The ratios of the retired population to the labor-force age population will be unprecedented in many nations during the next half-century as a result of this historically unprecedented demographic trajectory of increased longevity and fertility rates below the threshold of population replacement. This increased demand for care indicates a "new social risk" affecting both richer and poorer areas, where women have been further burdened to sustain their families due to unemployment, ethnic conflict, natural catastrophes, and chronic illnesses.[63] Governments have been pressured to implement public policies concerning housing and social protection, among others, to confront the so-called "care deficit" in middle-class households which has resulted from these changes.

Finally, understanding migratory trends requires an awareness of labor market characteristics and the working conditions of care workers. Care labor involves a wide range of responsibilities that include not only practical activities such as the duties defined as the 3Cs (cleaning, cooking, and caring) but also sentiments and emotions involved in

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[63] Williams, F. (2017). "Gender, Migration, and the Work of Care: A Multi-Scalar Approach to the Pacific Rim." In S. Michel & I. Peng (Eds.), *Intersections of Migrant Care Work: An Overview* (pp. 23–37). Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 23-24.

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providing care to someone.[64] Donald L. Redfoot and Ari N. Houser explain that, as part of broader trends influencing health and long-term care, there are at least three separate markers with their dynamics.[65] First, skilled workers, such as registered nurses, must overcome complex certification processes after immigrating to perform their professions. Second, unlicensed low-skill aides and other long-term care employees seldom immigrate intending to pursue a career in health or long-term care, but many do so after they arrive. Third, domestic workers, many of whom work in unregulated and unrecorded sectors part of the so-called "grey economy," account for a sizable proportion of caregiving occupations in many developed countries.[66]

1.4 A Gendered Phenomenon

The restructuring of the global political economy in the postwar period has led to an increase in the demand for certain types of labor, such as jobs in the care and international manufacturing sectors, where women have assumed an increasingly important role. Between 1960 and 2000, the number of women migrants grew by more than twice, from 35 million to 85 million worldwide, representing approximately 47 percent of the total migrant population during the whole period.[67] At the mid-year of 2020, female migrants accounted for slightly more than half of all international migrants in Northern America (51.8 percent) and Europe (51.6 percent), respectively. In the international migrant stock in Oceania, female migrants represented a slightly greater percentage (50.5 percent) than male migrants.

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[64] Bauer, G., & Österle, A. (2013). "Migrant Care Labour: The Commodification and Redistribution of Care and Emotional Work." *Social Policy and Society*, *12*(3), 461-473, p. 462.

[65] Redfoot, D. L., & Houser, A. N. (2005). *"We shall travel on": Quality of care, economic development, and the international migration of long-term care workers*. AARP Public Policy Institute, p. 7.

[66] Ibid.

[67] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. (2005). *2004 world survey on the role of women in development: women and international migration*. United Nations Publications, p. 8.
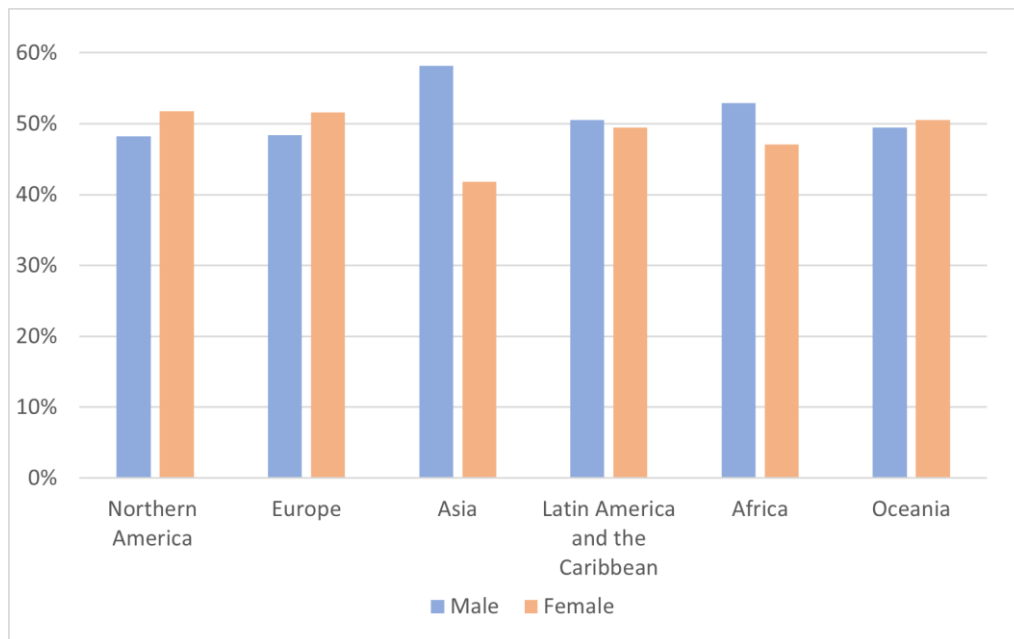
FIGURE 7 TOTAL INTERNATIONAL MIGRANT STOCK BY REGION AND SEX, MID-YEAR 2020. SOURCE: DATASET RETRIEVED FROM MIGRATION DATA PORTAL.

Today, women are increasingly being recruited into the service sector, whose employment outnumbers that of the manufacturing sector in virtually every country. However, this trend has affected regions differently: while women in wealthier areas have gained access to managerial professions, those in emerging economies have been constrained to low-paying agricultural and industrial work, driving many to pursue those opportunities abroad notwithstanding their educational background and professional training.[68] Women workers currently account for half or more of all foreign migrants in various movements; nevertheless, they are often a less visible element of the workforce when compared to men due to the substantial presence of female migrant workers in primarily informal sectors. According to current international guidelines, informal jobs are those in which the employment contract is "in law or in practice, not subject to national labor legislation, income taxation, social protection, or entitlement to certain

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[68] Michel, S., & Peng, I. (2017). "Introduction." In S. Michel & I. Peng (Eds.), *Gender, Migration, and the Work of Care: A Multi-Scalar Approach to the Pacific Rim* (pp. 3–22). Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 3-4.

employment benefits."[69] This is a broad definition that can also include own-account workers, contributing family workers, and paid domestic workers who are employed in households. In this sense, informal employment is often characterized by highly exploitative work conditions with little or no social security.

On the one hand, migration may be empowering, providing a window of opportunity for women to improve their quality of life and break through the glass ceiling created by restrictive gender norms and behaviors that they would confront at home. Women's living conditions in sending countries, awareness of work opportunities in receiving countries, and a reduction in constraints imposed on their mobility are all factors that have contributed to the increase of women traveling alone for employment. Economic empowerment, independence, and an increase in their overall well-being, as well as that of their families and communities, are among the promising outcomes of women's new earning capacity. Yen Le Espiritu describes how young single Filipino women embraced migration as a way to break away from family discipline and make more autonomous decisions about how they saw the world and marriage.[70] Likewise, in many Indonesian contexts, women's desire for more freedom and autonomy has been identified as a major incentive for migration.[71] Migration, on the other hand, may perpetuate traditional roles and inequalities and expose women to new vulnerabilities as a result of fragile legal status, exclusion, and segregation, prohibiting them from fully engaging in all aspects of the host community's social, political, and economic life. Gender inequality, sexual assault, discrimination, exploitation, lack of access to social protection, disempowerment, damaging traditional or cultural practices, and so forth are more likely to affect female migrants in the informal sector.[72] Yet, despite these risks, women, and girls are still driven to migrate, usually pulled by the potential for better economic opportunities and increased income.

As more women left their home countries to work abroad, the literature on women's migration expanded to record new trends of gendered mobility and their

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[69] International Labor Organization Department of Statistics. (n.d.). "Indicator description: Informality." *ILOSTAT*. Retrieved from https://ilostat.ilo.org/resources/concepts-and-definitions/description-informality/. [Accessed 20 January 2022]

[70] Espiritu, Y. L. (2002). "Filipino Navy Stewards and Filipina Health Care Professionals: Immigration, Work and Family Relations." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 11(1), 47-66, pp. 57-58.

[71] Hugo, G. (2002). "Effects of International Migration on the Family in Indonesia." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *11*(1), 13-46, p. 27.

[72] O'Neil, T., A. Fleury, and M. Foresti. (2017). "Gender Equality, Migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." *ODI, Briefing*. Overseas Development Institute, p. 45.

consequences for gender relations and migrant integration. Ravenstein's seminal work, which was published over a century ago, already referred to gender and migration, as he explicitly theorized that women are "greater migrants than men" at least over short distances.[73] This is particularly significant and shows particular attention to men and women in migration circuits. However, despite his research, the gender factor received little attention before the 1980s, presuming that women migrated in association with other family members or played passive roles as companions.[74] In this scheme, Lee wrote that "children are carried along by their parents, willy-nilly, and wives accompany their husbands though it tears them away from environments they love."[75] Women, however, have been traveling for a long time dependently and independently in pursuit of better opportunities in other countries. Academic research on women's migration experiences has increased in the aftermath of Mirjana Morokvasic's renowned article, *Birds of passage are also women…*, where she concluded that the problem was not so much that earlier migration literature neglected the mobility of women, but rather that the majority of research had had little influence on policy making and mass media, remaining largely male-biased.[76] In this setting, it was assumed that the pathways applicable for male experiences affected the migration of men and women in the same way. Since then, many case studies on migrant women have been published, revealing that women were frequently the primary migrants themselves. Furthermore, there has been a growing recognition that, while women and men migrate for the same reasons (education, work, marriage, or to flee threats), they also live vastly diverse experiences when migrating in terms of, for example, prospects, and labor market participation.

As migration untied women from gendered obligations and roles, the preceding literature's assumption that migration was largely male, viewing women's place as the house, gradually shifted. Gender norms, defined as common beliefs about men and women's differing capacities and "natural" roles, as well as failures at the institutional level to tackle discrimination, prompted the need to address the particular situations faced by female migrants. As a result, international migration theory has begun to incorporate explanations on the role of gender in shaping the distinctive experiences lived by

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[73]Ravenstein, E. G. (1889), op. cit., p. 261.

[74]Pessar, P. R., & Mahler, S. J. (2003). "Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender In." *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 812-846, p. 814.

[75] Lee, E. S. (1966), op. cit., p. 3.

[76] Morokvaśic, M. (1984). "Birds of Passage are also Women…." *International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 886-907, p. 899.

individuals to have more inclusive policies, moving away from the common perception of women migrants as mainly the wives and children of male migrants.[77]

It is worth specifying that gender is regarded as a social construct that has been defined by cultures in various ways and has changed over time. By the mid-1970s, the term "gender" was employed by social scientists from various disciplines.[78] Some explicitly recognized the distinction between gender, which denotes the socially constructed nature of masculinities and femininities in any culture, and the concept of "sex", which instead refers to the biological differences between male and female.[79] The previous corpus of literature on gender roles dealt with the roles assigned to men and women in many aspects of society, the distinction between public and private spheres, and the conflict between nature and culture.[80] However, in the late 1980s, feminist theorists and historians such as Joan Scott began to question binary gender conceptions, arguing that "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[81] Therefore, rather than a fixed identity, gender is considered a subjective process impacted by a greater context encompassing not only kinship, which focuses on household and family as the foundation for social organization, but also the labor market, education, and the polity.[82] More scholars are now emphasizing the dynamic nature of gender, as opposed to the previous conception of gender as static or biological: gender ideologies shift as individuals collaborate and compete with one another, as well as with the political, economic, and social structures. The relational nature of gender becomes clearer throughout the migration process, as human beings strive to meet the expectations of identity and behavior that may change dramatically across the various areas in which they live.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, one of the first to apply advances in gender theory to the study of migration, discusses why gender and migration themes were overlooked and why it is

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[77] Boyd, M., & Grieco, E. (2014). "Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory." *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/women-and-migration-incorporating-gender-international-migration-theory. [Accessed 14 September 2021]

[78] Donato, K. M., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan IV, M., & Pessar, P. R. (2006). "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies. "*International Migration Review*, *40*(1), 3-26, p. 5.

[79] Oakley, A. (2015). *Sex, Gender, and Society*. Routledge. pp. 158-172.

[80] Donato, K. M., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan IV, M., & Pessar, P. R. (2006), op. cit., p. 5.

[81] Scott, J. W. (1988). *Gender and the Politics of History*. Columbia University Press, p. 42.

[82] Ivi, pp. 40-41, 43-44. Scott argues that gender construction is a result of these institutions, citing sex-segregated labor markets, all-male, single-sex, or coeducational institutions, as well as universal male suffrage.

an analytical tool pertinent to our comprehension of both men's and women's migration. She neatly stated that:

> "most immigration research has ignored questions of gender altogether, as if men were without gender… [A]n appropriate research strategy requires more than either examining men's gender in isolation or simply "adding" women to the picture. Gender is not simply a variable to be measured, but a set of social relations that organize immigration patterns. The task, then, is not simply to document or highlight the presence of undocumented women who have settled in the United States, or to ask the same questions of immigrant women that are asked of immigrant men, but to begin with an examination of how gender relations facilitate or constrain both women's and men's immigration and settlement."[83]

The emphasis here is on a more fluid view of gender as relational and situational, rather than a comparison of males versus females or the idea that gender equates exclusively to women. Analyzing the migration process through the lens of gender means, therefore, examining the lives of both male and female migrants, as well as its embeddedness in migration politics and governance, in international relations, and welfare state policies. In short, migratory flows and their consequences are influenced by gender norms and expectations, ordering all domains of everyday life across different levels from the local and familiar to the national and global. This prompted anthropology theorists Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar to propose the "gendered geographies of power" that explain migration by connecting all these scales, offering a solid conceptual framework for incorporating gender theories into migration studies within a threefold theoretical approach.[84] First, gender is both reinforced and reconstructed across "geographical scales." According to this idea, it interacts with numerous spatial levels, from the state to the family to the body, at the same time. Second, "social location" refers to an individual's place within historical, political, economic, and geographic hierarchies of class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, and nationality. People are born into a social location with certain advantages and disadvantages, which can change through time and space as a result of migration. Third, the "power geometry" depicts how people exercise agency

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[83] Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1994). *Immigration, Gender, and Settlement* (First ed.). University of California Press, p. 3.
[84] Pessar, P. R., & Mahler, S. J. (2001) "Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces", *Identities, 7*(4), 441-459, p. 445-448.

within macro-processes, such as time-space compression resulting from technological advancements, as well as how they are influenced by them. To conclude, "gendered geographies of power" examines people's agency not just in terms of their personal initiative but also in terms of their social location within multiple hierarchies of power operative within and across different domains. Thus, women's and men's roles in society, as well as the various values and rewards they receive for their activities and the different types of mobility they have depend on these factors. This means that the content of gender will vary among societies, depending on family and individual situations, on traditional values, and on the state and community contexts. All these considerations enormously affect why and how a person chooses or is capable to emigrate. Consequently, there is greater recognition among scholars, policymakers, and other stakeholders of the important role that gender plays in international migration and how men and women experience migration.[85]

The international movement of female workers migrating to perform care abroad is a striking example of how cultural norms and traditional ideas about care strongly influence the division of labor within the household and women's employment patterns as well as differences in salaries.[86] While men are now doing housework, in reality, notwithstanding the increase in women's participation in productive occupations, domestic work norms are proving incredibly difficult to change: time-use surveys, which examine how people spend their time in any given period, show that women spend more time on unpaid care than men in all countries, ranging from Scandinavian countries, where they spend an extra two weeks per year, to Iraq and Mexico, where they spend an extra ten or more weeks per year on average.[87] When paid employment is included, it is worth mentioning that women spend more time working than men, especially in developing nations.[88] Women entering the labor market have discovered that they frequently confront a double burden of productive and reproductive labor, [89] in keeping

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[85] Taran, P. A., & Geronimi, E. (2003). Op.cit. p. 10.

[86] Budig, M. J., Misra, J., & Boeckmann, I. (2012). "The Motherhood Penalty in Cross-National perspective: The Importance of Work–Family Policies and Cultural Attitudes." *Social Politics*, *19*(2), 163-193.

[87] Samman, E., Presler-Marshall, E. and Jones, N. (2016) *Women's Work: Mothers, Children, and the Global Childcare Crisis.* Overseas Development Institute, pp. 18-19.

[88] Ivi, p. 19.

[89] In this context, there is a distinction to be made between "productive work," which is employment that generates income in the formal or informal economy, and "reproductive work," which, according to Parreñas, refers to all occupations that are aimed at "caring, feeding, clothing, teaching, and nurturing individuals" and take place in both the public and private spheres.

with the conventional assignment that care work is women's responsibility.[90] Macro-level cultural factors are just as important as individual-level resources in determining the division of household labor, especially in countries such as Japan, where housework remains highly uneven toward women.[91]

To conclude, the term "feminization of migration" has gained currency as a result of such growing recognition of the importance of gender dimensions in all phases of international migration. [92] Hence, although certain regions have witnessed a net feminization of migration flows, what was more striking in the past decades is the shift in the level of awareness of addressing women migrants' situations particularly in terms of their role in economic development as remittance senders, the changing role of women in the family and the community, and the working conditions of jobs, which are primarily concentrated in sectors such as domestic workers, caregivers, and entertainers. The most compelling argument for addressing women's migration difficulties is their vulnerable position as a result of labor market exploitation, gender discrimination and prejudice, and their encounters with many forms of stereotypes. This has emphasized the need for specific laws to protect the rights of migrant women, particularly those who are undocumented and engage in informal employment. Women migrants are indeed powerful agents of change. They contribute not only with their skills, but also by challenging stereotypes and advocating for the improvement of their own and others' situations. In this context, the gender element cannot be ignored any longer due to its key importance in understanding migration decisions and consequences.

1.5 The Case of Foreign Long-Term Care and Domestic Workers

"We shall travel on," the theme of Filipino Nurses' Hymn, was written to encourage newly qualified nurses to bring healthcare services to marginalized regions of the country: "In towns and upland terraces/In plains, in hills and mountains.". With lyrics such as "We pledge… to build a better nation that is healthy and great… with our tender care we pray the Lord to guide our way to carry on our work each day and grant us grace to serve the sick and love to help the weak," these words took on another significance as

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[90] Bauer, G., & Österle, A. (2013), op.cit., p. 462.
[91] Fuwa, M. (2004). "Macro-level Gender Inequality and the Division of Household Labor in 22 Countries." *American sociological review*, *69*(6), 751-767.
[92] Benería, L., Diana Deere, C., & Kabeer, N. (2012). "Gender and International Migration: Globalization, Development, and Governance." *Feminist Economics*, *18*(2), 1-33, p. 1.

increasing number of Filipino nurses departed the nation.[93] The Philippines is the greatest supplier of registered nurses working abroad, which the Philippine government encourages as a significant source of economic growth.[94] Similarly, each year, many healthcare professionals leave their home countries to provide long-term care services in households or other institutions in countries whose population is ageing.[95] Particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, the number of migrant care workers has exploded since the 1990s, as have the number of people and families dependent on migrant care workers. More data regarding skilled licensed workers are available because of the credential processes involved, although the majority of caregiving is often performed by unlicensed and domestic workers.

The care of senior citizens and the topic of long-term care has long been contested in policy-making due to budgetary restrictions on governments, economic pressures on individual families, and a diminishing supply of caregivers. In 2015, a survey of long-term care for the International Labor Organization (ILO) investigated the situations of forty-six countries covering 80 percent of the world's population and examined care for individuals over the age of 65. It revealed that "globally in most countries, no form of public support for long-term exists at all, and only very few countries have decided to provide social protection for older people in need of it."[96] In fact, only 5.6 percent of the global population lives in countries that provide geriatric care to the whole eligible population based on national legislation.[97] The survey also discovered two distinct trends in the employment of migrant long-term care employees: in Northern and Western Europe, migrant workers are frequently hired by public-funded long-term care organizations and have a greater level of training.[98] Furthermore, just two Asian nations, Japan, and South Korea, give universal legal coverage. This is in contrast to the Mediterranean, Eastern, and Continental European situations, where the majority of migrant workers are employed and paid by the people in need of care or their families, and typically reside in the care recipient's home.[99] Indeed, one of the reasons the need for long-term care is

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[93] Choy, C. C. (2003). *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (1st ed.). Duke University Press Books, pp. 84, 93.

[94] Bach, S. (2003). "International Migration of Health Workers: Labour and Social Issues." *International Labour Office*, p. 4.

[95] Redfoot, D. L., & Houser, A. N. (2005), op, cit., p. 1.

[96] Scheil-Adlung, X. (2015). *Long-term care protection for older persons: A review of coverage deficits in 46 countries.* International Labor Organization, p. iii.

[97] Ivi, p. xi.

[98] Ivi, p. 48.

[99] Ibid.

disregarded is related to the perceived availability of "free" care provided primarily by female family members or by migrant workers. The study also observed that long-term care workforce is highly unbalanced in terms of gender and age, with women accounting for 86 percent of the workforce and the majority of them aged 40 and above.[100]

The influence of gendered norms on migration and vice versa may be clearly visible in domestic and care work. Two concepts, in particular, have been used to highlight the movement of women migrants in the contemporary global economy: "global care chains" and "international division of reproductive labor."[101] The former term, coined by Hochschild, describes "a series of links between people across the world based on the paid and unpaid work of caring," which "may be local, national, or global."[102] As population ages and women's participation in the labor market increases, this kind of care "depending on another and so on" leads to a greater need for paid domestic and care jobs. Women who fill such roles depend on their families, usually on female loved ones, to look after their relatives back home and take on greater household responsibilities, restraining their own ability to pursue economic or educational opportunities.[103] As a result, the increased number of women joining the workforce draws even more women to work as caregivers, leading to a "care drain" in the origin country.[104] These "global care chains" may result in greater living conditions and a reliable source of income for migrant women, as well as better education for their children, but at a tremendous emotional and social cost. According to this viewpoint, Salazar Parreñas established the notion of "international division of reproductive labor" in reaction to the migration and entry of Filipina women into domestic work as a result of the demand for low-wage workers in many post-industrial nations.[105] Therefore, she argues that female migrant workers play a critical role in relieving other households of the double responsibility of productive and reproductive labor, so strengthening the gender and racial divisions of care work. Furthermore, migrant nurses and doctors also face a lengthy procedure to get visas, have

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[100] Ivi, p. 21.

[101] The concept of "international division of reproductive labor" was expanded by Parreñas on Evelyn Nakano Glenn's study on the commercialization of reproductive labor in the United States, which is maintained by white class-privileged women purchasing the services of black women.

[102] Hochschild, A. R. (2000). "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value." In D. Engster & T. Metz (Eds.), *Justice, Politics, and the Family* (pp. 130–147). Routledge, p. 131.

[103] Azcona, G. (2009). *Migration in Participatory Poverty Assessments: A Review*. Human Development Research Paper 56. New York: United Nations Development Programme, p. 11.

[104] Hochschild, A. R. (2003). "The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work." University of California Press, p. 186-187.

[105] Parreñas, R. S. (2000). "Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the International Division of Reproductive Labor." *Gender & society*, *14*(4), 560-580.

their qualifications verified, and register with the relevant authority. Due to differences in national regulations, migrant nurses may be unable to continue performing usual activities in their destination country, and they may be compelled to accept roles for which they are overqualified, with fewer chances for advancement as coworkers. Female migrants are frequently subjected to "deskilling" and perceived devaluation.[106] All these aspects contribute to increased labor market segmentation, which means that people's chances of finding permanent employment are determined not just by their education and skills, but also by their gender, race, ethnicity, and legal status.[107]

Both Hochschild and Parreñas's works confirm and stress how the globalization of care labor has effectively reached every corner of the globe. These ideas reflect the emergence of an international realm in which sending and receiving countries engage in a variety of economic and political exchanges as well as emotional interdependencies through care in response to rapid demographic ageing, increased women's paid employment, and youth migration. Furthermore, due to the low status and precarious conditions of such jobs, labor shortages have been exacerbated by a decreasing presence of middle-class women working in the care sector.[108] In this regard, gender norms and power dynamics in migration impact women's migration experiences, options, and choices. Any investigation, from labor market dynamics to remittances, development, and governance, would overlook vital insights if gender divides and asymmetries are not considered. They stress, for example, that women who migrate from their home countries experience gender segmentation in labor markets in a new, frequently intensified form in the receiving countries. Policy interventions relevant to international labor migration must necessarily include a long-term concern for migrants' well-being as well as awareness of the gendered implications of migration, and so must be integrated into larger socioeconomic settings. The following chapter, in this view, discusses how labor export cannot be tackled just through migration regulations but must be included in complete development plans that cover both the political and social spheres. A fundamental component of such policies is the creation of a rights framework, as migration policies and programs must be based on comprehensive research that considers the needs and concerns of all migrants.

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[106] O'Neil, T., Fleury, A. and Foresti, M. (2016). "Women on the Move: Migration, Gender Equality and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." *ODI, Briefing*. Overseas Development Institute., p. 9.

[107] In this aspect, Piore's dual labor market is still useful in comprehending the demand of such occupations.

[108] Michel, S., & Peng, I. (2017), op. cit., p. 7.

CHAPTER TWO

Development and Global Migration Governance

2.1 Managing Migration

International relations scholarship, despite being a fairly latecomer to the field, intersects with migration studies in a variety of ways.[109] The movement of people for purposes such as tourism, education, diplomacy, labor, and so on is heavily influenced and shaped by state action and regulation: border crossing is at the heart of migration policies, debate, and practice, and the power to regulate it is at the center of state sovereignty concerns. "When it comes to immigrants and refugees, whether in North America, Western Europe, or Japan," Saskia Sassen writes, "the national state claims all its old splendor in asserting its sovereign right to control its borders."[110] Following the Westphalian Peace Treaty in 1648 and the French Revolution in 1789, the diffusion of the concept of "nation-state" resulted in a new international structure determined by the recognition of territorial authority, integrity, and non-interference.[111] John Torpey writes that the control of cross-border movements of individuals is "intrinsic to the very constitution of states since the rise of absolutism in early modern Europe," establishing a "monopoly of the legitimate means of movement." [112] As nation-states developed bureaucracies and technologies to distinguish between citizens and foreigners, international migration became a topic for political planning and strategic action. In contrast to other transnational policy areas such as climate change and finance, establishing a UN institutional framework in the migration realm has been a more complex process, characterized by a mosaic of institutions spanning policy areas and

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[109] Mitchell, C. (1989). "International Migration, International Relations, and Foreign Policy." *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 681-708, p. 681-682.

[110] Sassen, S. (1996). *Losing Control? Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization.* Columbia University Press, p. 59.

[111] Geiger, M. (2013). "The Transformation of Migration Politics." In M. Geiger & A. Pécoud (Eds.), *Disciplining the Transnational Mobility of People* (pp. 15–40). Palgrave Macmillan, p. 16.

[112] Torpey argues that modern states have successfully expropriated legitimate "means of movement" from individuals and private entities, just as Karl Marx asserted that the process of capitalist development included the expropriation of "means of production" from workers, and Max Weber declared that the successful expropriation of "means of violence" from individuals by the state was a central feature of its legitimization. See Torpey, J. C. (2018). *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press, pp. 5-7.

administrative levels, further hampered by the fact that immigration tends to be a contentious public issue. Because "methodological nationalism" has continued to shape perceptions of social, economic, and political processes as if they were firmly confined within the borders of a single nation-state, a type of government presiding over mobility that occurs "beyond" the basic unit of individual nation-states has long been unimaginable.[113]

The argument that international labor migration endangers the core concept of the nation-state is closely linked to the notion that each nation-state should adequately govern the movements and presence of foreigners on its territory, prioritizing the protection of its members, who share a common history as well as a set of beliefs, norms, social conventions, and institutions.[114] Nonetheless, a significant worldwide transformation has occurred during the previous three decades. In response to the recognition of the social, economic, and political implications of human mobility, global governance of migration has emerged as a central matter, a "meta-issue" crossing different fields on the international agenda. [115] There has been a shift away from an exclusive focus on sovereignty and toward the rights of individuals, regardless of country. In this respect, Martin Geiger contends that the state has never been the sole actor responsible for managing and regulating migration, despite the widespread belief that only governments can successfully manage mobility.[116] While the nation-state continues to play a critical role in migration regulation, the transnational nature of the subject elevates the importance of international and regional organizations to ensure that institutional and non-state actors work in ways that enable them to achieve their goals more effectively than if they acted alone toward policies, acknowledging human rights and development priorities. In this sense, international institutions, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society, both at the regional and international levels, have emerged as key players. Their research is carried out in close collaboration with academia, specialists, and consultants, and they contribute to knowledge exchange via producing books and academic journals, as well as influencing the design and implementation of migration policies.

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[113] Schiller, N. G. (2009), op. cit., pp. 17-18.
[114] Geiger, M. (2013), op. cit., p. 19.
[115] Huysmans, J. (2000). "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *38*(5), 751-777, p. 770.
[116] Geiger, M. (2013), op.cit., p. 21.

Leading intergovernmental institutions, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the IOM[117], and the ILO[118], have established themselves as legitimate actors in the international arena, strengthening over time their roles and capabilities. Simultaneously, the number of policy actors and their influence in the field of migration politics, including diaspora groups,[119] have increased. Michele Klein Solomon and Suzanne Sheldon stated that all countries around the world have become increasingly aware that "migration is multifaceted", therefore the renewed determination of the international community to tackle this phenomenon.[120] Various initiatives were undertaken to establish a form of global governance, including the High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development at the UN in 2006 and its follow-up through an annual Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) since 2007.[121] The most recent example is the UN High-Level Summit held in New York on 19 September 2016, with the subject "Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants." The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants was adopted in this atmosphere, to build global compacts on refugees and safe, orderly, and regular migration by 2018.[122] In particular, in 2015, the goal of connecting migration and development was realized when migration was included in the UN Post-2015 Development Agenda and several SDGs. These initiatives represent important steps toward a wider international consensus to guarantee that governments can collectively maximize the advantages and reduce the costs of migration while upholding human rights commitments.

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[117] The IOM was founded in 1951 as the ICEM to assist persons who had been displaced by World War II. In 1980, it was renamed Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM), and in 1989, it was given its current name. The IOM is currently formed of 174 Member States and eight observer states with offices in over 100 countries that promotes cooperation on migration, finds solutions to migration issues, and assist migrants. It oversees migration in four key areas: migration and development, migration facilitation, migration regulation, and addressing forced migration. It became part of the UN system in September 2016.

[118] It was designated as a UN specialized agency in 1946 and has a tripartite organization in which governments, workers, and employers all have equal representation in its governing organs.

[119] The IOM defines such communities as "migrants or descendants whose identity and sense of belonging have been shaped by their migration experience and background. They maintain links with their homelands, and to each other, based on a shared sense of history, identity, or mutual experiences in the destination country." See Sironi, A., Bauloz, C., & Emmanuel, M. (Eds.) (2019). *IOM Glossary on Migration.* International Organization for Migration, p. 49.

[120] Klein Solomon, M., & Sheldon, S. (2018). "The Global Compact for Migration: From the Sustainable Development Goals to a Comprehensive Agreement on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration." *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(4), 584–590, p. 587.

[121] In his report on the High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, the Secretary General suggested creating a forum for UN member states to debate migration and development. However, the GFMD's function has been strictly consultative, and actual outcomes from these discussions have been difficult to come by.

[122] United Nations. (n.d.). "Global Issues: Migration." *United Nations.* Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/migration. [Accessed 12 February 2022]

The relationship between migration and development remains complicated due to the various opposing viewpoints. Broadly speaking, development may be described as the process of increasing the general well-being of a group of people.[123] Ronald Skeldon writes that it is "almost impossible to envisage development without migration."[124] Nonetheless, it is also difficult to imagine the opposite. Although the promotion of development, especially in poorer regions, has long been advocated as a strategy of reducing migration flows, the evidence suggests that, at least initially, increasing levels of development make migration more accessible to individuals and families.[125] Therefore, migration is both an outcome and a source of development. This is also reflected by the shift in the political discourse on development from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which applied primarily to low- and middle-income nations, to the SDGs, which contain measures to promote sustainable development at the global level, including higher-income countries. Rory Horner and David Hulme suggest that the concept of "international development" should be replaced with a concept of "global development" that embraces all nations because the "where" of development is no longer as evident as it once was in developing countries of the so-called "Global South."[126] Considering the state of the art, the old conception of labor migration as a bargaining problem between the individual migrant from the "Global South" and the receiving government in the "Global North" seems outdated, showing a need to consider interests and incentives of local communities.

This chapter delves deeper into the relationship between international migration, gender, and sustainable development and into the specific role of international organizations in the policy development debate. For many decades, the relationship between migration and social and economic development has been widely acknowledged, but it is crucial to understand how global norms have been incorporated into national policies and immigration-related discourses, as well as how national migration regimes adapt to global migration trends.[127] In this respect, the management of international

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[123] Andersson, L., & Siegel, M. (2020). "The Impact of Migration on Development in Developing Countries: A Review of the Empirical Literature." In G. Rayp, I. Ruyssen, & K. Marchand (Eds.), *Regional Integration and Migration Governance in the Global South* (pp. 131–150). Springer Publishing, p. 133.

[124] Skeldon, R. (2014). *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Routledge, p. 205.

[125] De Haas, H. (2007). "Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration." *Development and Change*, *38*(5), 819-841, p. 832.

[126] Horner, R., & Hulme, D. (2019). "From International to Global Development: New Geographies of 21st Century Development." *Development and Change*, *50*(2), 347-378.

[127] National migration regimes are defined as "the set of rules and practices historically developed by a country in order to deal with the consequences of international mobility through the production of a

migration remains a critical instrument for nation-states to exercise economic and political influence. This is especially true in the Asia-Pacific area, notably in East and Southeast Asia, where labor migration has been one of the most contentious subject in public and political debates and different types of regional forums have emerged. In this context, knowing both the global and the regional context is critical to completely comprehend both destination and origin national immigration policies. If, on the one hand, Japan's immigration policy has the most specific description of the occupational categories that foreign workers must belong to be accepted, the inclusion of labor migration policies in the development and poverty reduction programs of various origin nations in the region, such as Vietnam, demonstrates the importance placed on the protection of migrant workers via the promotion of flows through formal channels as well as employment facilitation. [128] International cooperation, particularly bilateral memorandums of understanding (MOUs) specifying terms of recruitment, remittances, and return, and aspects of regional economic integration projects, such as ASEAN's, are also part of these plans.[129] The achievement of the SDGs is especially pertinent in light of the recent increase in international migration of health and care workers, which has occurred in the context of healthcare transnationalism involving numerous actors and organizations at the national, regional, and global levels. Effective integrated labor migration governance is crucial to achieving improved health outcomes in the area as well as to promoting migrant workers' rights.

2.2 The Complex Relationship between International Labor Migration and Development

Migration studies have always been concerned with examining the intricate connections between migration and the wider development process, and over the decades, numerous organizations and researchers have investigated, promoted, and criticized migration as a development strategy. In the first half of the twentieth century, most of such discourses centered on the consequences of rural-urban mobility, but examination of international migration and its developmental implications were also recognized, with a particular emphasis on the impact of remittances.[130] The notion that governments could

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hierarchy – usually messy – of roles and statuses." See Sciortino, G. (2004). "Between phantoms and necessary evils. Some critical points in the study of irregular migrations to Western Europe." *IMIS-Beiträge*, *24*, 17-43, p. 32.

[128] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Asian Development Bank Institute, International Labor Organization. (2016). *Labor Migration in Asia: Building Effective Institutions.* Asian Development Bank Institute, p. 18.

[129] Ivi, p. 19.

[130] Raghuram, P. (2009). "Which Migration, What Development? Unsettling the Edifice of Migration and Development." *Population, Space and Place*, *15*(2), 103-117; and Clemens, M. A., Özden, Ç., & Rapoport,

direct the trajectory of development through policy intervention prompted the explicit debates on migration and development. Initially perceived as negative, it was eventually recognized as a process that could be "managed" to achieve certain development goals. Hein De Haas describes the post-1945 research and policy discourse on the linkages between migration and development as a pendulum swinging between optimism and pessimism, linking it with the constituent diverges between structuralist and functionalist doctrines.[131] Indeed, enthusiasm arose during the 1950s and 1960s in response to the belief that labor mobility was an important aspect of modernization and represented efforts of national reconstruction. This optimism faded in the 1970s and 1980s after the 1973 oil crisis, due to widespread skepticism about migration's developmental impact on poorer nations, with poverty and "brain drain" being significant concerns during this period.[132] Theories from the 1990s, such as Anthony Giddens' "structuration theory," emphasized the importance of incorporating both individual motives and structural factors in which migrants operate.[133]

In 1964, the IOM (formerly the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, or ICEM) introduced its Migration for Development initiatives, which included a program aimed at recruiting highly qualified migrants to developing countries in Latin America. This was one of the first references to the theme of migration and development.[134] However, it was not until the 1990s and 2000s that theoretical work began to delve further into the interconnections of migration with a variety of other policy domains and social phenomena. In particular, the "migration-development nexus" was proposed as part of a major research effort by Ninna Nyberg–Sørensen, Nicholas Van Hear, and Poul Engberg–Pedersen to draw attention to the distinction that was previously made between migration and development as separate policy disciplines.[135] Through the term "nexus", this seminal article examined the relevant literature to identify "the totality

H. (2014). "Migration and Development Research is Moving Far Beyond Remittances." *World Development*, *64*, 121-124.

[131] De Haas, H. (2012). "The Migration and Development Pendulum: A Critical View on Research and Policy." *International Migration*, *50*(3), 8-25.

[132] Gamlen, A. (2014). "The new migration-and-development pessimism." *Progress in Human Geography*, *38*(4), 581-597, p. 584.

[133] See for example De Haan, A. (1999). "Livelihoods and poverty: The role of migration - a critical review of the migration literature." *The Journal of Development Studies*, *36*(2), 1-47, p. 12.

[134] Olesen, H. (2002). "Migration, Return, and Development: An Institutional Perspective." *International Migration*, *40*(5), 125-150, p. 128.

[135] Nyberg–Sørensen, N., Van Hear, N. V., & Engberg–Pedersen, P. (2002). "The Migration–Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Options." *IOM Migration Research Series, 8.*

of mechanisms through which migration and development dynamics affect each other."[136] In this light, the beneficial influence of international migration on different economic development outcomes, including poverty, employment, and productivity, at the micro- and macro-level, began to be not only emphasized but also promoted by both researchers and multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank. This "new" optimism prompted increased research on the migration-development nexus, which has progressively expanded in the last few decades, owing to the accessibility of new datasets on migration stocks and flows, as well as the increasing addition of migrants' experiences through censuses and household surveys at the global level.[137]

Our understanding of the term "development" has likewise developed and taken on new connotations. Gillian Hart proposes a distinction between development with a "big D" or a "little d": the former is described as an intentional paradigm that arose after World War II in the course of decolonization struggles and the Cold War; the latter, on the other hand, considers development to be a larger process of social change tied to the geographically and economically uneven implications of capitalism.[138] In particular, sustainable development has been a matter of scholarly debate, with proponents arguing that the economic process should integrate environmental concerns as an integral element of development.[139] The Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development in 1987 as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[140] Hence, sustainable development may be defined as the steady enhancement of human quality of life and well-being whilst avoiding imbalances in the economy, environment, or other spheres of life for present and future generations.

The level of development of a country and the improvement of its citizens' quality of life have conventionally been associated with economic growth. In this light, with goals spanning from poverty eradication to gender equality and environmental protection, at the turn of the millennium the MDGs were conceived as a "compact among nations to

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[136] Carling, J. (2017, July 31). "Thirty-six migration nexuses and counting." Jørgen Carling. Retrieved from https://jorgencarling.org/2017/07/31/thirty-six-migration-nexuses-and-counting/. [Accessed 12 September 2021]

[137] Clemens, M. A., Özden, Ç., & Rapoport, H. (2014). op. cit. p. 121.

[138] Hart, G. (2010). "D/developments after the Meltdown." *Antipode, 41*(s1), 117-141, p. 119.

[139] Aniche, E. T. (2020), op. cit., p. 41.

[140] World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). *Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press.

end human poverty".[141] It is hardly surprising, then, that remittances have long been used to analyze international migration, particularly given their enormous growth since the late 1990s.[142] Many developing countries, notably those in Asia, which continue to be important sources of workers for other countries across the world, have promoted migration as a strategy of alleviating poverty and unemployment. Temporary migration, in general, was promoted as a strategy for advancing development in origin countries, based on the premise that migrant workers may gain experience and send remittances back home.[143] Indeed, remittances received by sending communities have frequently been highlighted in the existing migration literature as an essential element contributing to an improvement in the living standards of households and communities in the home countries. Improvements in educational and health facilities are examples of intermediaries that relate remittances to improved well-being and development at the local level, benefiting migrant and non-migrant households equally.[144]

Remittances, which are transfers of financial flows and goods from migrant workers to their families in their home countries, have grown in prominence as a significant source of income. With governments and international organizations increasingly focusing on this link as a possible development tool, remittances were described as the new "development mantra".[145] The growing realization of the role played by migrants was even described by the Global Development Finance report of 2003, which included the value of remittances for the first time.[146]

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[141] United Nations Development Program. (2003). *Human Development Report 2003. Millennium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty.* Oxford University Press.

[142] Sharma, A., & Knio, K. (2011). "Financial Globalization and the Mechanisms of Migrants' Remittance: Formed by Supply or Demand?" In T. Truong & D. Gasper. (Eds.) *Transnational Migration and Human Security* (pp. 103-115). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, p. 103

[143] Lenard, P. T. (2014). "The 'rights' of temporary labour migrants in Asian states." *Asian Ethnicity*, *15*(2), 157-173, p. 159.

[144] Taylor, J. E. (1999). "The New Economics of Labour Migration and the Role of Remittances in the Migration Process." *International Migration*, *37*(1), 63-88, p. 72-73.

[145] Kapur, D. 2003 ''Remittances: the new development mantra?'' *Paper prepared for the G-24 Technical Group Meeting, 15–16 September*, United Nations, New York.

[146] Raghuram, P. (2009). op. cit. p. 104.
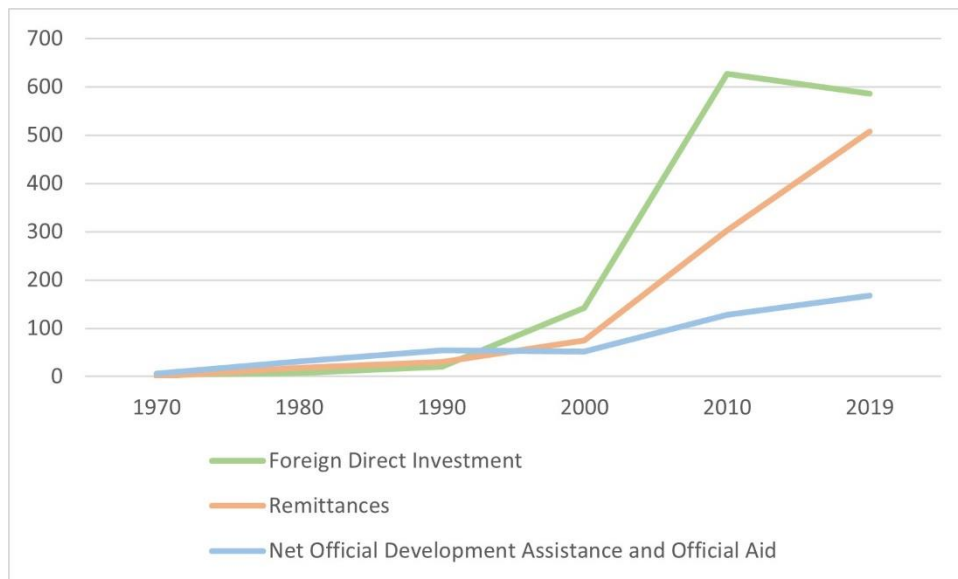
Figure 2.1 compares the growth of migrant remittances to that of official development assistance (ODA) and foreign direct investment (FDI) flows to low-middle income countries, revealing an interesting trend: although the volume of ODA stayed constant during the 1990s, documented remittances climbed significantly and surpassed ODA in 1996. This led to sudden global efforts to improve remittance infrastructure and ensure facilitated safe financial transfers. After the G-8 Summit in Sea Island, United States, in 2004, it was advocated for the development of prudential norms or guidelines for remittance services.[147] Three years later, the General Principles for International Remittance Services were released by the World Bank's Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems (CPSS) and were subsequently supported by origin states, international financial institutions, and NGOs. These norms and standards aim to enhance the functioning of the remittance industry by improving the information on remittance flows, facilitating transfers, and lowering fees.[148] Not only have these flows increased gradually over time but they have also been shown to be more stable than other private capital flows.[149]

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[147] Global Poverty Action Plan. (2004). "Applying the power of entrepreneurship to the eradication of poverty." *G8 Summit Georgia, USA.* Retrieved from http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2004seaisland/poverty.html. [Accessed 8 August 2021]

[148] Cirasino, M., & Hollanders, M. (2007). *General principles for international remittance services.* Bank for International Settlements and World Bank.

[149] Brown, S. S. (2006). "Can Remittances Spur Development? A Critical Survey." *International Studies Review*, *8*(1), 55–75, p. 56, 58.

Most certainly, remittances represent the most tangible link between migration and development at both the macro and micro levels, as they have a direct impact on key economic variables such as growth, productivity, and inequality, as well as labor supply, employment, and entrepreneurship.[150] Richard H. Adams and John Page's article provides a valuable review of the evidence of the positive impacts of remittance on poverty reduction in seventy-one labor-exporting developing nations for which data on poverty, inequality, international migration, and remittances could be collected since 1980.[151] While better measures and reporting by central banks can account for some of the rise, the overall amount stated is related only to remittances coming through official banking channels. According to recent data, as shown in figure 2.1, officially documented remittances were estimated to be around USD 507 billion in 2019, more than three times the volume of ODA (USD 167 billion) and almost equivalent in magnitude to FDIs (USD 587 billion), which remain the most important source of external funding for low-middle income countries. According to the World Bank, however, an equivalent proportion of remittances may travel through informal systems.[152]

While optimism about the importance of remittances was also present in the past, migration was viewed as either a separate issue from development or as the result of insufficient or failed development. The newfound positivity, on the other hand, was defined by the belief that, if the right policies were in place through international cooperation, labor migration would benefit everyone. In response, Kavita Datta and colleagues argue that eulogizing migrant remittances as a new "development mantra" is "inappropriate, unsustainable and unethical", as migrants are often discriminated against in destination labor markets and make substantial sacrifices to send money home.[153] Moreover, Richard Black and colleagues highlight how inconsistent many studies in this field are by offering an overview of case studies across Central America, Eastern Europe, West Africa, and South Asia. Their study underlines the challenges in properly assessing the impact of migration on inequality and highlights that its effects vary greatly across space both between and within these regions.[154] From this perspective, Arjan De Haan

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[150] Andersson, L., & Siegel, M. (2020). op.cit., p. 135.

[151] Adams, R. H., & Page, J. (2005). "Do International Migration and Remittances Reduce Poverty in Developing Countries?" *World Development*, *33*(10), 1645-1669.

[152] Skeldon, R. (2008). "International Migration as a Tool in Development Policy: a Passing Phase?" *Population and Development Review*, *34*(1), 1-18, p. 9.

[153] Datta, K., McIlwaine, C., Wills, J., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., & May, J. (2007). "The new development finance or exploiting migrant labour?: Remittance sending among low-paid migrant workers in London." *International Development Planning Review*, *29*(1), 43–67, p. 43.

[154] Black, R., Natali, C., & Skinner, J. (2005). *Migration and Inequality*. World Bank.

affirms that, notwithstanding the great relevance of remittances for many areas of origin and their potentials for development, these opposing views are not a result of "migration *per se*, but the forms of migration and the conditions under which it takes place that determine the outcome."[155] Furthermore, as Skeldon points out, the emphasis put on the promotion of "managed" migration tends to elevate international migrants into an instrumental role, diverting attention away from significant barriers to development found in both origin and destination countries' institutions.[156]

2.3 Beyond Remittances: Toward a "Capability Approach"

Not only do migrant workers send back remittances while abroad, but they also bring about new skills and perspectives with them whether they return or not. Because interest in migration and development largely has long centered on economic aspects of the migration experience, Gamlen argued that a new sort of pessimism has evolved in the last two decades as a criticism of what has become the dominant political rhetoric on migration, which is distinguished by simplification and exaggeration of the impact of migration on development.[157] Development, in particular, is frequently portrayed as a "solution" to projected migration issues, despite evidence that development itself tends to initially increase both internal and international migration. Migration transition theory, formulated first by Wilbur Zelinsky, provides a thorough explanation for this event, according to which demographic shifts, economic progress, and technological advancements initially enhance internal and international emigration. In fact, migration necessitates considerable social, cultural, and economic resources. Hence, development generally results in increased levels of migration since it gives individuals both the capabilities and the aspirations to migrate. Only as nations reach higher levels of development do emigration and immigration tend to decrease. Moreover, Zelinsky predicted that technology developments would not only reduce migration but would also eliminate the need to migrate.[158]

Criticisms, therefore, arose in connection to those parts of a person's life that were obscured by income-based indicators. In this context, Alan Simmons argued that the quantity of study on remittances was driven by the argument's consistency with the

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[155] De Haan, A. (1999), op.cit., p. 30.
[156] Skeldon, R. (2008), op. cit., p. 2.
[157] Gamlen, A. (2014), op. cit.
[158] It is also true, however, that today's increased accessibility to new forms of communication systems continues to fuel new aspirations to migrate. See Zelinsky, W. (1971). "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition." *Geographical Review*, *61*(2), 219-249. See, for instance, pp. 230-231.

contemporary neoliberal political and ideological framework.[159] New perspectives have stressed the need of locating migration within transnational processes, in contrast to more traditional views depicting migration as either a response to development disequilibria or as "a problem to be solved." In fact, over the last decade, research on the linkages between development and migration has expanded beyond remittances to include a larger variety of international development processes such as human capital investments, diaspora networks, and transfers of cultural norms.[160] This means that migration should be viewed as a social process sustained on many cross-border relationships that cannot be separated from broader change processes.[161] The definition of remittances has also changed, taking on new meanings: complementary with "financial remittances", Wellesley Levitt proposed the idea of "social remittances", defined as the "ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending-country communities", in a metaphorical way to draw attention to the socioeconomic ramifications of international migration.[162] The United Nations Development Program (UNDP)'s introduction of the Human Progress Index in its annual Human Development Report in 1990 reflected the need to identify not only the economic component of development but also the social one.[163] With its index on life expectancy and adult literacy, it emerged as one of the leading global assessments of the direction of development, which has expanded with the adoption of new indices, such as the Inequality-adjusted Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index.

In recent years, the emphasis transitioned to a view of development as "freedom" and a new school of thought in migration studies has emerged, emphasizing the agency and autonomy of individuals crossing international borders. In this regard, economist Amartya Sen proposed a conceptualization that differs significantly from classical development economists' definitions. Sen describes development as the "process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy."[164] He disagrees with development theorists' over-emphasis on economic growth and industrialization, arguing that they

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[159] Simmons, A. (2008). "Why International Banks Became Interested in Migrant Remittances. A Critical Reflection on Globalization, Ideology and International Migration." In C. Gabriel & H. Pellerin (Eds.), *Governing International Labour Migration, Current Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas* (1st ed., pp. 60–77). Routledge, pp. 66-70. See also Gamlen's work, which was previously mentioned.

[160] Clemens, M. A., Özden, Ç., & Rapoport, H. (2014), op. cit., p. 121.

[161] Nyberg–Sørensen, N., Hear, N. V., & Engberg–Pedersen, P. (2002), op.cit., p. 18.

[162] Levitt, P. (1998). "Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion." *International Migration Review*, *32*(4), 926-948, p. 927.

[163] United Nations Development Program. (1990). *Human Development Report 1990. Concept and Measurement of Human Development.* Oxford University Press.

[164] Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Anchor Books, p. 36.

should pay more attention to whether people's capabilities to control their own lives have grown, as evidenced by their capacity to live experiences they value and enhance the basic options available to them. In this context, the act of enhancing individual freedoms is viewed both as "the primary end and the principal means of development" and of further expanding human free agencies.[165] Significantly, Sen emphasizes that development entails a set of interconnected freedoms, including economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, as well as the enabling conditions of good health and basic education, the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives, and the ability to fully participate in public debate and decision-making processes.[166] In this light, people's access to material resources, social networks, and knowledge is increased as a result of human and economic development processes. Sen's capabilities approach broadens our understanding of mobility to include the power to select where to live, including the option of staying at home. From this perspective, people can have capabilities even if they never use them, since it adds to their liberties. Martha Nussbaum contributed to the expansion of this approach by linking it to global economic and political powers in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world, providing a new perspective on development in terms of providing people with "the necessary conditions of a life of human dignity."[167] While the notion of capacities in development theory was not conceived specifically for migration, it can be usefully applied to the field to get a better understanding of people's capabilities in the migration decision-making process. By accounting for the qualities of migrants and the many reasons for their migration decisions, what came to be known as the "capability approach" contributes to addressing the demand for widening the discourse on migration and development beyond a merely economic standpoint.[168]

Policymakers and academics are increasingly turning to the human development approach to the study of migration to address its complex and diverse nature. This is also to bridge the gap between functionalist and historical-structural theories, which both frequently fail to consider the effects of gender-segregated labor markets and social networks and the fact that factors such as social status, culture, education, and knowledge

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[165] Ivi, pp. 4, 36.
[166] Ivi, p. 5.
[167] Nussbaum, M. (2004). "Beyond the social contract: capabilities and global justice." *Oxford Development Studies*, *32*(1), 3-18, pp. 14-15.
[168] United Nations Development Program. (2009). *Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development.* United Nations Development Program.

are likely to have a significant impact on personal life aspirations and their perceptions of opportunities abroad. In particular, a fundamental article on the importance of aspirations and abilities in migration decision-making processes was published by Jorgen Carling in 2002. He used the expression "involuntary immobility" to illustrate the condition of many individuals in Cape Verde and other parts of the world who, despite their desire to migrate, are unable to do so owing to restrictive immigration regulations and other obstacles.[169] Despite that an increasing proportion of the world's population is exposed to the prospect of migrating, such factors are likely to influence who will be able to ultimately actualize this desire. For instance, Josh De Wind and colleagues show how, after the liberalization of immigration regulations in the 1960s, a greater number of South Koreans were able to travel to the United States, Canada, and Australia, compared to earlier decades when those countries had stricter immigration controls.[170] South Korea is only one example of an origin nation-state where growing ambitions of migrants were accompanied by increased ability to do so. This idea is equally relevant for discussing the case of individuals who "stay behind," who are just as involved in migratory dynamics as those who ultimately migrate. Not migrating may represent a sign of immobility caused by socio-cultural variables such as gender and religion, as well as economic factors such as relative poverty.[171] Migration aspirations reflect people's subjective assessments of opportunities abroad and this concept was further elaborated by De Haas with a comprehensive theoretical framework to conceptualize migration as "a function of aspirations and capabilities to migrate within given sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures."[172] Therefore, people must not only have the desire to migrate, but also the economic means to endure the expenses and risks of doing so. In addition, the diverse scenarios are significantly dependent on the conditions under which migration happens, the different geographical contexts, the individual social and class groups involved, and the level of analysis.[173]

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[169] Carling, J. (2002). "Migration in the Age of Involuntary Immobility: Theoretical Reflections and Cape Verdean Experiences." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *28*(1), 5-42.

[170] De Wind, J., Kim, E. M., Skeldon, R., & Yoon, I. J. (2012). "Korean Development and Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(3), 371-388, p. 379.

[171] McDowell, C. & de Haan, A. (1997) "Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods: A Critical Review of the Literature", *IDS Working Paper 65*, Brighton: IDS, p. 8.

[172] De Haas, H. (2021). "A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework." *Comparative Migration Studies*, *9*(1), p. 17.

[173] Ivi, pp. 9, 11.

2.4 Gender and Care Work in the Migration-Development Discourse

Women migrants and gender were already well established as integral components of the migration process when renewed interest in the relationship between migration and development emerged in the international community. Mainstream policy circles, influenced by conceptions of development as economic growth, have been inclined to concentrate mainly on the contributions of women in monetary terms, such as the stereotypical idea and gendered representation of women as "better remitters."[174] This approach generalizes, or rather ignores, both men and women migrants' personal experiences and cultural specificities, as well as the fact that remittance spending involves complex decision-making processes.[175] Indeed, while remittances have long dominated the discourse on migration and development, and at times overshadowed certain approaches to both research and policy, other dimensions also influence migration patterns. There has been a growing body of literature that examines how migration patterns are influenced by social and cultural institutions founded in local norms and ideology. Remittances can serve to alleviate poverty, but they can also deepen the economic dependence of origin countries as a source of foreign exchange for servicing debt and preserving the balance of payments.[176] As a result, economic reliance on labor migration tends to weaken migrants' rights and exacerbate existing inequalities at the micro-level, including both economic and social inequalities, such as gender and ethnicity. To fully address these domains, it is necessary to comprehend that local everyday experiences of identity may affect and be simultaneously influenced by larger social and political transformations.

Overcoming the dichotomy between agency and structure, the notion of aspirations and capabilities, may also be extended to how gender influences migration decision-making: while individual characteristics impact the desire to move, the amount to which this matters is governed by gender relations in the different communities of origin and destination.[177] Several scholars have looked at how gender roles influence migration decisions and how migration affects gender role expectations. According to Sara R. Curran and Abigail C. Saguy, gendered role expectations as well as position

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[174] Nyberg–Sørensen, N., Van Hear, N. V., & Engberg–Pedersen, P. (2002), op. cit., p. 10.

[175] Kunz, R. (2008). "'Remittances are Beautiful'? Gender Implications of the New Global Remittances Trend." *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(7), 1389-1409, p. 1403.

[176] Chi, X. (2007). "Challenging Managed Temporary Labor Migration as a Model for Rights and Development for Labor-Sending Countries." *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics*, *40*(2), 497-540, p. 525.

[177] Carling, J. (2002)., op. cit., p. 18.

within the household result from "complex negotiations between family members, the outcomes of which include both cultural expectations of each gender as well as the relative resources (power) available to each family member."[178] They argue, for example, that in Thailand, while both sons and daughters have the same probability to migrate, daughters are more likely to remit a portion of their earnings due to strong feelings of obligation to their families.[179] At the same time, as a result of migration, family expectations are colliding with new opportunities offered to women in the urban society, allowing space for gender roles to be redefined.[180]

Because the specific impact of migration is based on more general development conditions, changes in economic, social, cultural, and political situations in both origin and destination locations may alter migration expectations in a variety of ways. As stated previously, notwithstanding the benefits for families at the micro-and meso levels, migration and remittances alone are unlikely to overcome structural development barriers at the macro-level determined by the reforms undertaken by single nation-states. Migrants may invest and return if governments create an enabling context for them to do so. For instance, such a positive process has been witnessed in several countries, including South Korea, where some migrants have returned home to benefit from new prospects in a booming economy, while others have decided to improve transnational ties.[181] In Taiwan and China, states also played a role in creating a favorable atmosphere for return migration and transnational communities especially in the development of the high-tech industry.[182] Yet, in discussions about migration and development, more emphasis should also be placed on what happens to migrants in their final destination. The impact of migration on economic and human development is influenced by local institutions and regulations as well as cultures and norms, which may result in uneven repercussions on diverse categories of persons, such as care and domestic workers. The case study of Singapore, where households have been heavily reliant on migrants performing domestic labor to fill care deficits, is particularly illustrative owing to the process of enacting a mandatory weekly day off policy, as employers were not required to provide domestic

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[178] Curran, S. R., & Saguy, A. C. (2001). "Migration and Cultural Change: A Role for Gender and Social Networks?" *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2(3), 54-77, p. 57.

[179] Ivi, p. 56.

[180] Mills, M. B. (1997). "Contesting the Margins of Modernity: Women, Migration, and Consumption in Thailand." *American Ethnologist*, 24(1), 37-61.

[181] De Wind, J., Kim, E. M., Skeldon, R., & Yoon, I. J. (2012), op. cit., p. 380.

[182] Saxenian, A. (2014). "The Silicon Valley connection: Transnational networks and regional development in Taiwan, China and India." In E. Sridharan & A. P. D'Costa (Eds.), *India in the Global Software Industry: Innovation, Firm Strategies and Development* (pp. 164–192). Palgrave MacMillan.

workers a day off each week until 2013.[183] Separated from Singapore's labor legislation, migrant domestic workers are governed by the Employment of Foreign Manpower Act (EFMA), which offers a more limited set of welfare entitlements. This exclusion is based on the fact that the Singaporean state has persistently left the terms of employment of migrant domestic workers to be negotiated privately, which is partially ascribed to normative conceptions of filial piety and a cultural preference for live-in care over expensive institutional facilities.[184] Singapore's labor regulations were widely perceived to lag behind those of other locations, such as Hong Kong, where migrant domestic workers are instead protected by national labor laws, to the point where the two largest origin countries of migrant domestic workers, Indonesia, and the Philippines, enacted protective measures for better employment conditions for their nationals.[185] Other restrictions include the requirement for migrant workers to obtain prior approval from the Ministry of Manpower (MOM) before marrying a Singaporean citizen or permanent resident, and the requirement for female migrant domestic workers to undergo regular pregnancy screenings by the authorities, with pregnant domestic workers facing deportation.[186] The example of the case of Singapore demonstrates how structural inequalities based on the workers' status, gender, and place of origin determine their ability to migrate to improve their livelihoods. Nonetheless, it also illustrates how migrants' and international pressure to comply with global migrant labor norms, such as the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, can drive policy reforms to improve the working conditions of migrant workers.

The vulnerability of migrants often results from debatable migration policymaking and border measures, resulting in a mutual but significant asymmetrical relationship between migration and development: although migration is part of the broader transformation process, it is also true that dominant political and economic systems of origin and destination societies are less likely to be profoundly altered by

[183] Ministry of Manpower. (n.d.). "Rest days and well-being for foreign domestic worker." *Government of Singapore.* Retrieved from https://www.mom.gov.sg/passes-and-permits/work-permit-for-foreign-domestic-worker/employers-guide/rest-days-and-well-being [Accessed 24 October 2021]
[184] Yeoh, B. S., & Huang, S. (2009). "Foreign Domestic Workers and Home-Based Care for Elders in Singapore." *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, *22*(1), 69-88, pp. 74-75.
[185] Koh, C. Y., Goh, C., Wee, K., & Yeoh, B. S. (2017). "Drivers of migration policy reform: the day off policy for migrant domestic workers in Singapore." *Global Social Policy*, *17*(2), 188-205, pp. 193-194.
[186] Han, P. Y. (2020, March 6). *Il/licit Intimacies: Why the State Regulates FDW's Intimate Lives*. Singapore Policy Journal. Retrieved from https://spj.hkspublications.org/2020/03/06/illicit-intimacies/ [Accessed 24 October 2021]

migration.[187] Nonetheless, there has been a renewed focus on how migrants form their ties with both sending and receiving nations through their agency. In this respect, policymakers face a difficult task in facilitating the forms of migration that are most likely to reduce inequality while also safeguarding migrants from exploitation. The rights of migrants have always been a contentious subject, and the topic of welfare provision and social protection is no exception. It encompasses a wide variety of concerns, including social integration, and access to public services, and raises questions regarding the provision for migrants beyond the conventional framework of the nation-state.

Within the research on the migration of care workers, more attention is being focused on the responsibilities of states in structuring and transnationalizing care work, with a particular focus on the impact on welfare organizations. Mary Daly and Jane Lewis include care as a constitutive part of welfare state analysis and speak of care as a "mixed economy", that is "an activity and a set of relations lying at the intersection of state, the market, the family, and the voluntary sector."[188] In a world where people are constantly moving, a new set of analytical issues emerges in terms of how public policies intersect at the local, national, and global levels. As the "diversity of experiences described in the literature prohibits generalizations",[189] it is crucial to emphasize that the relationship between migration and development greatly varies both between and within regions, and there is no one-size-fits-all policy response. In consideration of both global conditions and local specificities, migration movements between specific nations in the Asia-Pacific region will be distinct compared to other areas of the world.

2.5 International Labor Migration Politics and Governance

Over the last two decades, there has been a rise in interest in the relationship between migration and development due to its political and economic significance. This has been reflected in greater attention dedicated to mobility in global politics and the gradual emergence of a global approach to international migration. The expression "global governance" refers to the consequences of interactions and interdependence among a variety of political actors outside of the nation-state level, intending to negotiate

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[187] Portes, A. (2010). "Migration and Social Change: Some Conceptual Reflections." *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, *36*(10), 1537-1563, pp. 1548-1550.

[188] Daly, M., & Lewis, J. (2000). "The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states." *The British Journal of Sociology*, *51*(2), 281-298, p. 296.

[189] De Haan, A. (1999), op.cit., p. 19.

solutions to common problems and seeking a unified global regulatory framework. The IOM[190] defines it as:

> "The combined frameworks of legal norms, laws and regulations, policies, and traditions as well as organizational structures (subnational, national, regional, and international) and the relevant processes that shape and regulate States' approaches with regard to migration in all its forms, addressing rights and responsibilities and promoting international cooperation."[191]

States are explicitly the primary actors in "managing" at the national and international levels. Nonetheless, citizens, migrants, intergovernmental organizations, the private sector, NGOs, and academia are all participants in migration governance. Improved governance also involves regional initiatives and partnerships between nations, as well as bilateral labor agreements and cooperation on ethical recruiting, and recognition of skills and social benefits. As a result, global governance implicates a wide range of areas of intervention founded on international norms and evidence-based best practices that must adapt to the different migratory realities.

Non-nationals have historically received limited protection outside the diplomatic services of their own country. New sorts of protection emerged as a result of the formation of an international human rights framework that established rights for all persons, regardless of their status. These frameworks include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which were both adopted in 1966. They both refer to the prohibition of "discrimination as to race, color, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property of birth or other status."[192] More specifically, the ILO has addressed economic migration since its establishment in 1919 in the aftermath of the Treaty of Versailles as an organization to promote social justice and workers' rights internationally,

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[190] Promotion of international migration law, policy discussion and advice, protection of migrants' rights, migration health, and the gender component of migration are all cross-cutting activities of the organization. See International Organization for Migration. (n.d.). *Who We Are*. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/who-we-are [Accessed 24 October 2021]

[191] Sironi, A., Bauloz, C., & Emmanuel, M. (Eds.) (2019), op. cit., p. 138.

[192] United Nations General Assembly. (1966). "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." *Treaty Series*, *999*, 171. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx; United Nations (General Assembly). (1966). "International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights." *Treaty Series*, *999*, 171. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx. [Accessed 24 October 2021]

including those of migrants and their families.[193] Ever since, the ILO has been involved in standard-setting operations, addressing a wide variety of priorities through conventions and recommendations. In this light, the ILO has developed a "rights-based approach" to labor migration based on the notion of "decent work". Yet, only lately have rights been brought up in discussions on development.

Aside from the emphasis placed on the importance of international cooperation, the agenda behind managing migration has primarily focused on the development of policies aimed at regulating the entry and exit of migrants to ensure labor market flexibility and "national security."[194] Controlling migration has been a top priority since the 1970s, and much more so since the late 1980s and 1990s, as a result of the perception of globalization as a significant challenge to nation-states, as well as long-held notions about their power. On a broad level, the difficulty of reconciling the sovereign right of states to safeguard their national citizens and their labor markets and the right of individuals migrating represent the most significant impediment to international migration. For instance, only 55 governments, the majority of which are countries of origin, have ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which also relate to migrant domestic workers. It has yet to be ratified by any destination country. Indeed, political will appears to be the most important underlying cause of the non-ratification or non-implementation of many international agreements.[195]

Nonetheless, a transformation connected with the establishment of international rights movements occurred in the 1990s, as evidenced by a succession of UN global conferences and the adoption of rights-based approaches. Though the UN Declaration on the Right to Development underlined the obligation of all states to promote a just and equitable environment for development in 1986, the end of the Cold War allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the integrated nature of rights, which was

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[193] In the preamble, "the protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own" is one of the objectives "to secure the permanent peace of the world". International Labor Organization. (1919). *Constitution of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)*. Retrieved from: https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ddb5391a.html [Accessed 25 October 2021].

[194] Grugel, J., & Piper, N. (2007). "Regulatory framework of economic migration." In J. Grugel, & N. Piper, *Critical Perspectives on Global Governance: Rights and Regulation in Governing Regimes* (1st ed., pp. 41–64). Routledge, p. 43.

[195] Chi, X. (2007), op.cit., pp. 513-514.

explicitly emphasized at the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights in 1993.[196] According to the definition provided by the UN:

> "A human rights-based approach to development is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights. It seeks to analyze inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development progress and often result in groups of people being left behind."[197]

Taking a rights-based approach that promotes international rights frameworks, including labor standards, would push for the improvement of the situation of many migrant workers, and, therefore, for human development. Since the adoption of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, Egypt, in 1994, which has led worldwide action on a range of population and development challenges, including international migration, debates concerning the need to govern migration have gradually grown. The ICPD was the world's largest international meeting on these matters, with unprecedented levels of interest and involvement from civil society.[198] The growing attention posed on international migration has coincided with the start of a wave of summits, and publications on the potential beneficial links between migration and development, which has led to the creation of new instruments at the international level. Most notably, in 1998, then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan urged development organizations to integrate and prioritize human rights into the development discourse above economic growth. He stated that:

> "A rights-based approach to development describes development not simply in terms of human needs or of development requirements, but in terms of society's obligations to respond to the inalienable rights of individuals,

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[196] Cornwall, A., & Nyamu-Musembi, C. (2004). "Putting the 'rights-based approach' to development into perspective." *Third World Quarterly*, *25*(8), 1415-1437, p. 1422.

[197] United Nations. (n.d.). "Human Rights-Based Approach. Universal Values Principle One: Human Rights-Based Approach." *United Nations Sustainable Development Group.* Retrieved from https://unsdg.un.org/2030-agenda/universal-values/human-rights-based-approach. [Accessed 25 October 2021]

[198] United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs & United Nations Population Fund. (1994, September 5). "International Conference on Population and Development." *United Nations Population Fund.* Retrieved from https://www.unfpa.org/events/international-conference-population-and-development-icpd. [Accessed 25 October 2021]

empowers people to demand justice as a right, not a charity, and gives communities a moral basis from which to claim international assistance when needed."[199]

From this perspective, Kofi Annan pushed for the establishment of the Global Commission on International Migration (CGIM) in 2003 to "provide the framework for the formulation of a coherent, comprehensive, and global response to the issue of international migration." [200] His appointment of Peter Sutherland as his Special Representative on Migration and Development for the inaugural High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in New York in 2006 was a defining moment in the evolution of migration as a topic. Sutherland explicitly stated that:

"Migration can be an enormous force for good: one of the great drivers of economic growth, individual liberty, and personal prosperity. As such, I am delighted to undertake this assignment for Kofi Annan. The goal is to maximize the benefits of migration and minimize the potentially negative impacts."[201]

This was immediately followed by the formation of a High-Level Dialogue of the United Nations General Assembly, and a regular GFMD organized by governments and civil society organizations. With the UN High-Level Dialogues on International Migration and Development in 2006 and 2013, the UN laid the basis for far-reaching international mutual effort in the context of international migration. In addition, in 2006, the Global Migration Group (GMG) was formed to better coordinate global migration governance efforts.[202]

These initiatives did, indeed, bring international migration to the forefront of the development debate, laying the groundwork for its inclusion within the SDGs. As a successor to the eight MDGs, announced in 2000, the United Nations General Assembly

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[199] Cited in Ljungman, C., & Forti, S. (2005). "Applying a rights-based approach to development: Concepts and principles." *Paper Presented to the Conference on 'Winners and Losers in the Rights-Based Approach to Development,'* 1–21.

[200] Global Commission on International Migration. (2005). *Population and Development Review*, *31*(4), 787–798. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3401537

[201] United Nations. (2006, January 23). "Secretary General appoints Peter Sutherland as a Special Representative for migration." *United Nations.* Retrieved from https://www.un.org/press/en/2006/sga976.doc.htm. [Accessed 25 October 2021]

[202] It is comprised of fourteen UN agencies, the World Bank, and the International Organization for Migration. See full list here: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/partners/gmg.asp).

approved the 2030 Agenda in September 2015. This adoption reflected the political turbulence surrounding the subject of migration at the time of negotiations, after a surge in mixed flows of refugees and migrants from 2014 to 2016. As it became clear that "no State can address migration alone"[203] and that, therefore, a collaborative approach was required to maximize the overall benefits of this phenomenon while also tackling its risks and challenges. Before the IOM joined the UN in September 2016, no UN agency had a particular mandate to engage in migration, except for the ILO's normative missions and the UNHCR's humanitarian missions. A month later, the New York Declaration was unanimously accepted as the High-Level Summit on Refugees and Migrants' concluding declaration, paving the way for the creation of two global compacts. The Global Compact for Migration (GCM), also known as the Marrakech Compact on Migration, is a negotiated agreement drafted under the auspices of the United Nations and rooted in the 2030 Agenda, that seeks to address all dimensions of migration. In particular, the immediate correlation with the SDGs is declared in objective 23 with the commitment of aligning its implementation with the 2030 Agenda and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda,[204] acknowledging that migration and sustainable development are multifaceted and interconnected. The Compact was formally adopted by the UN General Assembly a week after the conference in Morocco on 10 and 11 December 2018, making it the first agreement on a shared approach to international migration based on principles such as state sovereignty, responsibility-sharing, and human rights. Being a non-binding document, it contains twenty-three goals and commitments that are intended to serve as a roadmap for states to ensure favorable conditions that empower migrants to become fully integrated into society, such as ensuring that all migrants have proof of legal identity and documentation and safeguarding decent work conditions.

2.6 SDGs and the "Leave No One Behind" Approach

The SDGs, despite not being legally binding and, therefore, largely subject to the political commitments of nation-states, resolve the absence of migration in the preceding MDGs by acknowledging "the positive contribution of migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development" and highlighting the fact that "international migration is a

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[203] The full text of the Global Compact for Migration can be found on the UN website (General Assembly document A/ RES/73/195), at https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/73/195 [accessed 7 February 2021].

[204] The "Addis Agenda" is an international framework which was adopted in 2015. It aims to align financial policies with economic, social, and environmental concerns. In terms of international migration, it calls for reducing the average transaction cost of migrant remittances to less than 3 percent of the amount transferred by 2030 and requiring no remittance corridor to charge more than 5 percent by 2030.

multidimensional reality of major relevance for the development of countries of origin, transit and destination, which requires coherent and comprehensive responses."[205] It includes 17 SDGs and 169 supporting goals established through a participatory process including governments, global civil society, and several other stakeholders.[206] Notably, with more than three hundred organizations signing "Stockholm Agenda on Migrant and Migration Related Goals and Targets" at the GFMD Civil Society Days in 2014, civil society organizations around the world strongly pushed for migration to be included in the Agenda and for migrant rights to be addressed.[207] Between 2012 and 2015, the IOM was especially active in advocating for migration's inclusion in the SDGs, publishing several papers devoted entirely to migration and the Post-2015 Development Agenda.[208] The ILO also made a collective effort to ensure that labor rights for migrants were included in the SDGs, particularly concerning recruitment costs and the rights of domestic workers.[209]

As a result of these efforts, the Goals cover a range of sustainable development priorities, such as gender equality and climate change, and aim to be a comprehensive set of objectives that address poverty and inequality at the global level. As a result, international migration may be linked directly or indirectly to every Goal in the Agenda, as the SDGs demand equal access to health, education, decent work, and so forth, regardless of migration status. The 2030 Agenda's commitment to "leave no-one behind" emphasizes its universalism, inclusivity and cooperation, and interdisciplinary character, which seeks to fulfill the human rights of all people and to achieve development on all three levels of sustainable development: economic, social, and environmental. Furthermore, they acknowledge the significance of learning from one another's methods as well as a shared responsibility in the international community, since the SDGs apply to all nations, regardless of their development status.[210]

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[205] United Nations General Assembly. (2015). "Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." *United Nations: A/RES/70/1.* Retrieved from https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda. [accessed 14 March 2021].

[207] Migration and Development Civil Society Network. (2015). "Civil Society's Stockholm Agenda." *Made Network.* https://madenetwork.org/campaigns/civil-societys-stockholm-agenda. [Accessed on 14 March 2021]

[208] McGregor, E. (2017). "Intergovernmental organizations, migration, and the sustainable goals." Conference paper presented at the migrating out of poverty conference.

[209] Piper, N., & Foley, L. (2021). "Global partnerships in governing labour migration: the uneasy relationship between the ILO and IOM in the promotion of decent work for migrants." *Global Public Policy and Governance*, *1*(3), 256-278, p. 269.

[210] The 2030 Agenda and its objectives may be found here: https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda.

Among all targets of the 2030 Agenda, the IOM has designated SDG target 10.7, under the objective of decreasing inequality, as the focal point of migration, "to facilitate orderly[211], safe, regular[212] and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies." It considers a multi-stakeholder approach and acknowledges the need for global, regional, and national migration regimes and comprehensive policy frameworks to promote effective human-rights based and gender-responsive systems of labor migration. In addition, explicit recognition of remittances is defined in the 10.c objective, which reflects the Addis Agenda's goals and aims at minimizing sending costs by about 3 percent and to remove remittance corridor charges exceeding 5 percent. The costs of sending remittances may in fact discourage the use of formal channels, causing remittance income to be spent in ways that do not significantly promote economic development at the national level. Furthermore, remittance-related development initiatives should, therefore, recognize the importance of increasing financial inclusion for all migrants; this means strengthening financial literacy and improving access to regulated, reliable, and efficient financial services for all remittance senders and recipients.[213]

Other key targets related to international labor migration include decent work for all (Goal 8.5) and recognition of the value of unpaid care and domestic work (Goal 5.4), which recognizes the feminization of migration and also acknowledges the need to develop shared responsibilities within households. Targets 8.7 and 8.8 demand for improved governance and safe working environments to eliminate forced labor, human trafficking, child labor, and all other forms of labor exploitation for all, particularly for women migrants. In this view, many important gender elements are included in the challenges addressed by the SDGs. Goal 5 is to ensure that all women and girls can enjoy the full participation in all aspects of life and also emphasizes the elimination of violence against all women and girls (target 5.2). While acknowledging the benefits of migration for women and girls, it is also critical to support gender-specific initiatives and solutions

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[211] The IOM defines orderly migration as "the movement of a person from his or her usual place of residence to a new place of residence, in keeping with the laws and regulations governing exit of the country of origin and travel, transit and entry into the host country". This underlines a state's right to regulate entry as a basis for being able to ensure migrants' proper treatment, granting rights, enforcing law, and managing relationships with host communities.

[212] The IOM's definition of this term is "migration that occurs through recognized, authorized channels." The regularity of migration refers both to the method used to cross a country's borders and the moment when migrants find themselves in an irregular situation after a period of time.

[213] International Fund for Agricultural Development & World Bank. (2015). *The Use of Remittances and Financial Inclusion.* International Fund for Agricultural Development, p. 24.

to alleviate poverty and insecurity and improve women and girls' access to economic and sustainable growth, as well as justice, health, and education. In the context of transnational care political economy, besides the ILO's Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, international efforts included the approval of the Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2010 as a framework reference for all Member States. It promotes international collaboration and dialogue between destination and origin countries to encourage voluntary principles and practices for ethical international recruitment and equitable treatment of migrant health workers.[214]

Goal 16 encourages the promotion of "peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels." It calls for improving institutions by making them more transparent and participative and by supporting the rule of law. Not only does target 16.7 urge governments to ensure responsive, inclusive, and representative decision-making at all levels, but target 16.9 specifically asks governments to "provide legal identity for all, including birth registration." It acknowledges the right of migrants to seek citizenship or residence permits and the need to reduce illegal trends, all of which would aid progress toward target 10.2 related to social, economic, and political inclusion. In this context, target 17.18 encourages the improvement of high-quality data across migration topics "disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts." This aims to fill the gap and to overcome the low-quality, scattered or poorly disseminated information, which may challenge decision-makers around the world to create sensitive migration policy and also distort the public debate on migration. For example, reliable data on undocumented migrants, who represent a significant share of the migrant population in many countries, are especially difficult to obtain, making them statistically invisible. Improving the collection of data would help provide information on topics such as migrants' living standards, including access to health care, education, and social protection. This links to target 1.3 which calls to "implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all."

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[214] World Health Organization. (2010). *User's guide to the WHO global code of practice on the international recruitment of health personnel.* World Health Organization.

The inclusion of migration in the SDGs sets an important precedent for how migration governance can progress in years to come and paves the way toward greater collaboration between the migration and development sectors and toward greater policy coherence. This is also confirmed by target 17.14 which calls to "pursue policy coherence and an enabling environment for sustainable development at all levels and by all actors." Aside from working toward building durable solutions, achieving progress in targets on poverty (Goal 1), food security (Goal 2), climate change (Goal 13) among others have the objective to prevent the number of crises and disasters in the future, thus reducing the resulting displacement. In this scheme, according to the UN and migration-related international organizations, labor migration appears to be a powerful instrument for poverty reduction and economic and human development as well as a source of knowledge and skills transfer. Not only that, but it helps destination communities' economies by increasing the tax base and encouraging more entrepreneurship and innovation, among others. However, according to Nicola Piper, Stuart Rosewarne, and Matt Withers, the objective of ensuring "decent work" within this global development project, in particular, "draws attention to international labor migration as both a manifestation of, and a contributing factor to, underdevelopment and, therefore, highlights the necessity of engaging migrants' rights in their role as workers as an essential objective in the pursuit of global development."[215] This viewpoint may be reinforced by the fact that, due to a number of factors, including the high costs of migration, migrating to another nation may not always achieve its full potential, nor are the beneficial effects always visible. In this respect, more predictable and inclusive migration might allow migrants and their families to reap the advantages of migration more effectively.[216]

Making migration beneficial to everyone corresponds with the SDGs' overarching goal to "leave no one behind."[217] However, as Martin Geiger and Antoine Pécoud stated, because of the overall optimism surrounding international organizations' actions and their inherently ambiguous composition, there has been a paucity of investigation and criticism

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[215] Piper, N., Rosewarne, S., & Withers, M. (2016). "Redefining a rights-based approach in the context of temporary labour migration in Asia." No. 2016-11. *UNRISD Working Paper*, p. 10.

[216] Foresti, M., Hagen-Zanker, J., & Dampster, H. (2018). "Migration and Development. How human mobility can help achieve the Sustainable Development Goals." *ODI, Briefing*. Overseas Development Institute.

[217] Piper, N. (2017). "Migration and the SDGs." *Global Social Policy*, *17*(2), 231-238, p. 3.

of their role in migration politics.[218] The present phase of global migration discourse is premised on the notion that more access to legal migration channels will result in greater development for both origin and destination nation-states, as well as migrants themselves. While this overall optimism may be due to the common idea that they perform what they are supposed to do, which is to foster international cooperation between nations, there is still a lot of doubt regarding their capability to meet the problems they were designed to address.[219] In particular, few scholars have written about the correlation of migration to the specific Sustainable Goals, in particular concerning transparency for the defense of women migrant workers' rights and fair migration in the context of development.[220] The need for greater coordination of regulatory mechanisms for the internationalization of the workforce has also been underlined.[221]

Each country has the responsibility of governments to translate the SDGs into laws and policies and to establish an action program to reach them. It is critical to stress that, while the SDGs are global in scope, their accomplishments are determined by the effectiveness with which sustainable and inclusive development policies are implemented at the national level, particularly by local governments, given that cities play a vital role in supporting development, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, where thousands of individuals migrate to cities every day. Greater knowledge of policies that support effective migration governance will be required to work toward a safe, orderly, and regular migration process. The IOM has thus developed the Migration Governance Framework (MiGOF), which was adopted via resolution 1310 in November 2015 and became the first detailed articulation of planned policies that are aligned with international standards and best practices. According to this Framework, a state may guarantee that migration is orderly and beneficial to society if it follows international norms and respects migrants' rights, develops policies based on facts and reliable data, and engages with actors on multiple scales. In addition, the MiGOF lists three objectives: responding to the need to consider mobile categories of people while advancing their socioeconomic well-being; addressing their needs for assistance in the event of an

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[218] Geiger, M., & Pécoud, A. (2014). "International Organisations and The Politics of Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(6), 865-887, p. 872.

[219] Ivi, p. 874, 879.

[220] Gammage, S., & Stevanovic, N. (2019). "Gender, migration, and care deficits: what role for the sustainable development goals?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *45*(14), 2600-2620.

[221] Thompson, M., & Walton-Roberts, M. (2019). "International nurse migration from India and the Philippines: the challenge of meeting the sustainable development goals in training, orderly migration, and healthcare worker retention." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *45*(14), 2583-2599.

emergency and building resilience of individuals and communities; and, finally, ensuring opportunities for the State's economic and social health.[222]

As outlined in the GCM, "migration is a multi-dimensional reality that cannot be addressed by one government policy sector alone." In this view, a "whole-of-government" course of action and a "whole-of-society" approach to migration governance are required, as the GCM recognizes the need for joints efforts at different levels, especially locally, where the effects of migration are most felt. As a result, a system for international follow-up and progress evaluations, including at the local, national, regional, and global levels, exists to ensure the GCM's success. The Member States agreed in the GCM that the International Migration Review Forum will serve as the primary intergovernmental global platform to communicate, and exchange advancement on the deployment of its aspects, including the 2030 Agenda, every four years beginning in 2022.[223] The evaluation of the GCM's implementation has taken place at a regional level for the first time in the years 2020 and 2021, in preparation for the International Migration Review Forum.

The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) functions as the UN's regional center in the Asia-Pacific region. With 53 member states and 9 associate members, it represents the biggest regional intergovernmental platform. The Commission publishes reports, such as *Toward Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration in the Asia-Pacific Region* and *Asia-Pacific Migration Report,* to support preparations for global discussions related to international migration and to evaluate best practices, challenges, and emerging trends in a region characterized by the movement of millions of migrant workers and by origin, transit, and destination countries in rapid transformation.[224] The area has seen large intra-regional movements due to its considerable diversity, not only in terms of growth trajectories and income disparities, but also in terms of population dimensions, political regimes, and cultural and religious traditions. Consequently, it is not surprising that the region still lacks any form of regional integration concerning international migration governance mechanisms, besides ASEAN. In this context, the following chapter will examine the prospects and challenges to the advancement of migrant workers' rights, particularly concerning the so-called

[222] International Organization for Migration. (2015). *Migration Governance Framework*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration. [Accessed 27 October 2021]

[223] The full text of format and organizational aspects of the International Migration Review Forums can be found on the UN website (General Assembly document A/RES/73/326), at https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3813861 [accessed 10 february 2021].

[224] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2020), op. cit.

"commodification of care." A special emphasis will be placed on Japan as an "emerging migration state,"[225] where some pathways for Southeast Asian migrant care workers in institutional settings have formed in recent years. The consideration of development as "freedom," migration as a result of aspirations and capabilities, and the significance of a rights-based approach in global migration governance all highlight the relevance of care and labor migration in global social justice.

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[225] Hollifield, J. F., & Orlando Sharpe, M. (2017). "Japan as an 'Emerging Migration State'." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *17*(3), 371-400.

CHAPTER THREE

Historical Perspectives on International Labor Migration and Care in the Asia-Pacific Region

3.1 Overview of International Labor Migration Trends in the Asia-Pacific Region

Over 4.6 billion people live in the Asia-Pacific area, accounting for more than 60 percent of the world's population.[226] It includes the world's two most populous countries, the People's Republic of China (PRC, 1.4 billion), and India (1.3 billion),[227] as well as small island developing states and the fastest-ageing countries. The study of migration across the Atlantic, which is acknowledged as a crucial component of industrialization and development into the American frontier, has received a lot of attention, but migrations with similar demographic and economic shifts have occurred in the Asia-Pacific area.[228] According to the Asia-Pacific Migration report, 65 million international migrants were in Asia in 2019, accounting for one-quarter of the worldwide international migrant stock.[229] This vast region of the world serves as both a destination and an origin area for numerous migrants. The complexities characterizing the patterns and outcomes of international migration in the region are essentially a reflection of its diversity, which is distinguished by a wide range of social structures, political regimes, stages of economic development, and cultural and religious traditions. In particular, differences in development pathways and political regimes, ranging from liberal democratic states to centrally planned socialist and post-socialist capitalist economies, have both encouraged and prevented individuals from moving.

More than half of the migrant population from Asia-Pacific countries moved to other countries in the region.[230] Certain countries are predominantly origin countries,

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[226] The term Asia-Pacific refers to the region that comprises East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Australia, and Oceania, depending on the context. In this case, the focus will be on intra-regional migratory flows in East and Southeast Asia. UNFPA. (n.d.). *Population trends*. Asia-Pacific UNFPA. Retrieved from https://asiapacific.unfpa.org/en/populationtrends [Accessed 30 October 2021]

[227] These two countries are also home to the world's greatest populations abroad. According to the Migration Data Portal, India has the most outmigrants (17.9 million), followed by the PRC (10.5 million).

[228] McKeown, A. (2004). "Global Migration, 1846-1940." *Journal of World History*, *15*(2), 155–189, p. 155.

[229] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2020), op. cit., p. 7.

[230] Ibid.

while others have transitioned from origin to destination status throughout the twentieth century. The Philippines has the world's most widely dispersed migrant population in the world,[231] while, Hong Kong is the destination country with the highest percentage of migrants if we exclude countries with small populations (39.6 percent of the total population in 2019).[232] Migrants constitute, in fact, a significant part of the population in several destination nations. Singapore and Australia, for example, saw an increase in their migrant share, 37.1 percent, and 30 percent respectively, as a result of the expansion of active immigration policies.[233] Furthermore, New Zealand and Australia have long allowed both permanent residency and family reunion, adding to the high proportion of foreign migrants in their respective territories.[234] In the meantime, South Korea is rising as a key destination country, and a recent legislative reform in Japan has opened up more opportunities for migrant workers.

It is home to Indonesia, the world's biggest Muslim country, from which several workers travel to other Asian destinations and the Middle East. Vietnam, a relative newcomer, is swiftly catching up with its more established neighboring nations. Its citizens originally traveled to Thailand and Malaysia, and now they are progressively migrating to other East and Southeast Asian markets, including Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos are other major origin nations located in Southeast Asia, with most migrants heading to Thailand. At the same time, both Malaysia and Thailand are key source countries, with many migrants traveling from Malaysia to Singapore and from Thailand to other destinations such as Taiwan. Brunei and Malaysia, two additional high-performing economies, also attract international workers. Other important countries of origin can be found in South Asia, namely Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, whose nationals mainly migrate to the Middle East, in particular to the oil-rich Gulf countries. International migration, as seen on the map (figure 9), has a considerable impact on all nations in the region, albeit at varying degrees of intensity.

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[231] Asis, M. M. B., & Piper, N. (2008). "Researching international labor migration in Asia." *The Sociological Quarterly*, *49*(3), 423-444, p. 425.
[232] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2020), op. cit., p. 26.
[233] Ivi, p. 27.
[234] Ivi, p. 56.
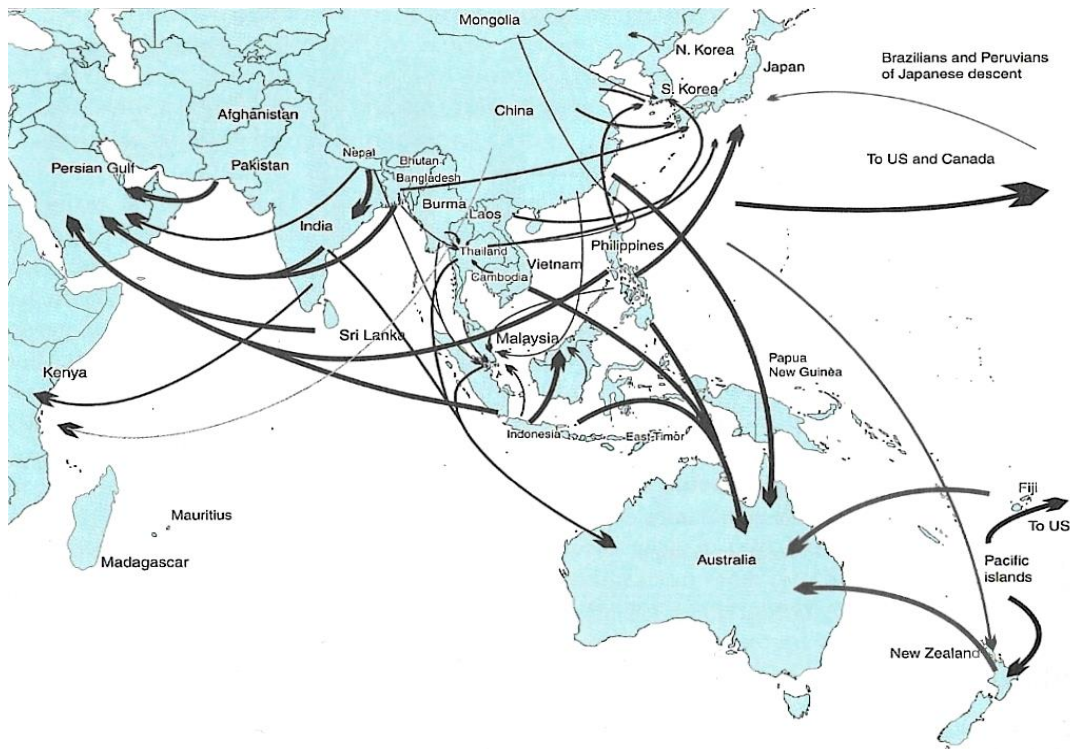
Intra-regional migration is increasing as a consequence of intermediate factors such as historical legacies, the establishment of recruiting agencies and programs that connect migrants in origin countries with employers in destination countries, and, in certain circumstances, linguistic similarities. One of the most distinguishing features of labor migration in the region is the predominance of temporary contracts in elementary and intermediate skilled jobs, primarily in manual sectors such as construction and agriculture, as well as service and domestic work.[235] Temporary visas have frequently resulted in a mismatch between migrant workers' expanding aspirations and restrictive immigration regimes. Government authorities have centered their actions on monitoring the departure and entry of migrant workers through schemes in which migrants are generally admitted for defined periods and one specific individual employer. Permission to reside is usually granted as part of an employment contract and migrants are expected to return to their home country when it terminates. This is not unique to Asia; destination countries in Europe and North America have similarly regulated migrant inflows through specific migration programs. However, while these countries have increasingly

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[235] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2020), op. cit., p. 8.

transitioned toward integration, offering pathways to citizenship, migration in Asia remains based on the concept of exclusion and immigration control and regulation.[236] Individuals are thus categorized according to specific schemes devised by nation-states, which wield differentiated authority over people based on specific credentials, such as education, skill, and wage levels, which do not always match the typology of the job performed, as discussed in the first chapter. In this context, the demographic trends are prompting economies constructed on myths of homogeneity such as Japan and South Korea to reconsider their immigration policy to hire more migrant workers in various fields, including health care. Both countries have historically taken a hard line on the subject, preferring to rely on the labor force provided by "ethnic return migrants," who are later generation foreign nationals "returning" to their ancestral homelands.[237]

On the other hand, origin governments have also firmly established policies geared at fostering the repatriation of financial and human capital. Within the region, the Philippines has been a pioneer in proactively implementing preventive and corrective measures to address the issues experienced by Filipino labor migrants overseas. Its government has created state-level institutions with partner organizations to monitor and manage return and reintegration efforts. Similar policies have been applied in Indonesia, reflecting its ideology of migrant workers as "remittance heroes." [238] Therefore, temporary migration under elaborated regulations is encouraged by governments of both destination and origin countries. This is due to a more favorable attitude toward temporary migration programs among low- and middle-income nations since circular migrants return a larger portion of their earnings because they typically travel alone and have a stronger connection to their home community. Scholars, on the other hand, have observed how this assumption, along with the high costs of migration, may allow or even encourage exploitation and abuse as well as diminish migrant workers' opportunities for social mobility.[239]

[236] Lian, K. F., Rahman, M. M., & Alas, Y. B. (2015). "Making Sense of Inter and Intraregional Mobility in Southeast Asia." In *International Migration in Southeast Asia: Continuities and Discontinuities* (1st ed., pp. 1–12). Springer, p. 3.
[237] Yamashiro, J. (2012). "Ethnic Return Migration Policies and Asian American Labor in Japan and Korea." *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community*, *10*(1), 21-39, p. 22.
[238] Bachtiar, P. P., & Prasetyo, D. D. (2014). *Return Migration and Various Reintegration Programs for Low-Skilled Migrant Workers in Indonesia.* SMERU Research Institute.
[239] Hugo, G. (2009). "Best Practice in Temporary Labour Migration for Development: A Perspective from Asia and the Pacific." *International Migration*, *47*(5), 23-74, pp. 25, 31.

The majority of foreign domestic and care workers, whose acceptance is constrained by rigorous immigration laws, are tied to the temporary classification of migrant workers. Domestic and caregiving activities, as well as other employment in personal services, draw a considerable number of migrant workers, particularly women. The feminization of migration has been more evident in the flows from specific origin countries, such as the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka, where women dominate legal channels of labor migration.[240] Domestic workers account for more than 53 million people worldwide, according to the ILO, including over 21 million in Asia and the Pacific. Women account for more than 80 percent of the workforce, many of whom are migrant workers who provide essential services and contribute considerably to the economic development and social well-being of destination countries.[241] These figures, however, do not include a significant number of care workers who perform tasks similar to those performed by domestic workers, such as caring for children, the elderly, and the disabled, as well as providing other home care and personal care services in private homes and institutions, and who are also part of the wider definition of care economy.

The four Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) and Japan, in particular, have been experiencing rapidly ageing populations and low infertility rates, resulting in greater demand for care workers.[242] This has been complemented by increased educational levels and new work opportunities for both men and women. One unique case has been represented by Japan, which has always been characterized as a country with a "closed-door" immigration policy. In contrast to Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, where foreign workers have been regularly hired by families in private homes in recent decades, South Korea, and especially Japan, have found it more difficult to establish this form of employment. This trend has been accompanied by increased personal motives as well as economic incentives for women from origin countries to seek work opportunities abroad. In this context, Ueno's work highlights the importance of research on women who utilize their "power to migrate" as a resource to make a

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[240] Asis, M. M. B., & Piper, N. (2008), op. cit., p. 427.
[241] International Labor Organization. (n.d.). "Domestic workers." *International Labor Organization.* https://www.ilo.org/asia/areas/domestic-workers/lang--en/index.htm [Accessed 22 November 2021]
[242] These countries present large proportions of the elderly population (ages 65 and above): Hong Kong SAR (18 percent), Singapore (13 percent), South Korea (16 percent), Taiwan (16 percent) and Japan (28 percent) This increase has been paralleled with low total fertility rates: Hong Kong (1.1), Singapore (1.14), South Korea (1), Taiwan (1.2) and Japan (1.4).

difference in their life, not just to support their family, but also to escape domestic violence, unhappy marriages, and social marginalization.[243]

Care migration has, therefore, been for the most part intraregional, pushing several nations to adopt bilateral agreements on migration, which, when combined with MoUs, help to expand legal channels for international movement. According to researchers, the degree of economic integration between nations through trade, investment, and production ties can have a positive or negative impact on cross-border migration.[244] In this respect, intra- and interregional connectivity have increased with strengthened economic cooperation and integration in subregional organizations such as the ASEAN, which has further facilitated the movement of people. In 2000, the Plan of Action on Immigration Matters has been prepared and adopted at the sub-regional level to facilitate skilled migration, enable authorized mobility among member nations, and combat human trafficking. In addition, the milestone ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers was signed in 2017, in which member states pledged to strengthen social protection and access to human rights for millions of international workers.[245] This has been accompanied by a rise in tourism across the region, as well as the circulation of East Asian pop culture in the form of movies, comics, and television series. Last but not least, the formation of strong activism by civil society on human rights protection for migrants and tendencies in favor of democracy and the rule of law have figured prominently at both the regional and local levels.

The chapter begins by delving into historical perspectives on labor migration in the region, specifically in East and Southeast Asia. The goal is to better comprehend some of the historical events that have influenced the diverse migration regimes, as well as beliefs about national identity and the perception of "multiculturalism." It then investigates the trends and some of the policies concerning the migration of care workers, emphasizing the importance of cultural and institutional characteristics in formulating national policy, which results in substantial variety in migratory patterns. The complexity of care connected to labor migration and the variety characterizing the region provides a

[243] Ueno, K. (2013). "Love Gain: The Transformation of Intimacy Among Foreign Domestic Workers in Singapore." *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 28(1), 36-63, p. 57.
[244] Kikkawa, A., Gaspar, R. E., & Park, C. Y. (2019). "International Migration in Asia and the Pacific-Determinants and Role of Economic Integration." Asian Development Bank Economics Working Paper Series, No. 592. Asian Development Bank.
[245] Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2018). *ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers.*

significant occasion for exploring distinct dynamics associated with gender, care, and migration. In consideration of the vast differences existing between and within countries, there will inevitably be generalizations on some concepts. However, this is important to offer regional context for a more in-depth discussion of the Japanese migration and welfare regimes.

3.2 Historical Legacies of Labor Migration in East and Southeast Asia

The patterns of contemporary international migration, as well as the considerable changes in the institutional and geopolitical structures under which it occurs, cannot be understood without first briefly delving into the history of the earlier mobilities of the Asia-Pacific region. For millennia, the region has been shaped by continuous interactions and movements of people from a diverse variety of backgrounds of cultures and languages. Merchants, authorities, scholars, and monks traversed its interconnecting trade corridors, which stretched across the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, enabling the flow of ideas, religions, and goods.[246] Over the last two thousand years, the Silk Road has connected East and Southeast Asia to South Asia, the Middle East, the Mediterranean Sea, and East Africa.

As early as in the thirteenth century, Chinese communities established themselves in Southeast Asia. For centuries, their cities served as significant trading hubs, and both Chinese and Indian influences expanded in several parts of the region through maritime commerce rather than conquest or colonization.[247] However, as the globe transformed in the nineteenth century, so did the speed and volume of migration. New technologies and modes of transportation, including the advent of transoceanic shipping, connected different parts of the world, and made long-distance travel more accessible to a broader number of individuals throughout this period. Knowledge of goods and locations spread even faster thanks to improved communication systems. Increased long-distance movement of settlers and employees was a result of the emergence of the global economy, which was concentrated on European, North American, and Japanese industrialization and military power. According to Adam McKeown, there were three main circuits of long-distance migration between 1846 and 1940, which created changes in the world's demographic distribution: migrations from Europe and Asia to North America;

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[246] Gordon, S. (2009). *When Asia Was the World: Traveling Merchants, Scholars, Warriors, and Monks Who Created the "Riches of the East."* Da Capo Press.

[247] Reid, A. (1988). *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680: Volume One: The Lands below the Winds* (Reprint ed.). Yale University Press, p. 6.

migrations from India and Southern China to Southeast Asia; and migrations from Northeastern Asia and Russia to Manchuria, Siberia, Central Asia, and Japan.[248] In this period, migrants traveled under various levels of coercion, but also through voluntary networks of family, friends, and villagers.[249]

More recent patterns of mobility have been influenced by the channels and networks created by earlier migrations. In the second half of the nineteenth century, labor migration in the region occurred together with the rise of global trade commodities and Western imperialism in Southeast Asia.[250] Older networks that existed in the region managed to adapt and expand their activities in the context of colonial trade and power. After slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834, Indian laborers continued to move under contracts of indenture across and beyond the plantation world of the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean.[251] Tens of thousands of Indian workers moved to Ceylon, British Malaya,[252] and Burma throughout the following decades. After the millenarian Taiping Rebellion (1851-64), the majority of Chinese emigrants traveled primarily from the Southern Chinese provinces of Fujian and Guangdong to Southeast Asia in large numbers primarily for Chinese employers. The Treaties of Nanking (1842) and Tientsin (1858) after the end of the Opium Wars, which opened the treaty ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai to international commerce and surrendered Hong Kong to the United Kingdom in perpetuity, added to the Chinese Empire's instability and deteriorating economic conditions. Approximately 20 million people from China and 30 million Indians relocated to Southeast Asian expanding cities and plantations.[253] In general, migration was primarily circular, with all of the major Western colonial powers employing indenture contracts in which employers imposed sanctions to enforce paid labor agreements.[254] Under such contracts, Chinese and Indian laborers worked in mines and plantations across Southeast Asia to meet the demand for commodities of regional and European markets, and many were also involved in the building and maintenance of transportation systems and public projects. During the same period, the Dutch hired

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[248] McKeown, A. (2004), op. cit., pp. 156-160

[249] Ivi, p. 167.

[250] Lian, K. F., Rahman, M. M., & Alas, Y. B. (2015). op. cit., p. 4.

[251] McKeown, A. (2011). *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*. Columbia University Press, p. 72.

[252] The former British colony comprising Singapore and Malaysia.

[253] Amrith, S. S. (2014). "Migration and health in southeast Asian history." *The Lancet*, *384*(9954), 1569-1570, p. 1569.

[254] Kaur, A. (2009). "Labor Crossings in Southeast Asia: Linking Historical and Contemporary Labor Migration." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, *11*(1), 276-303, p. 282.

Chinese workers for construction projects in Java, thus intensifying travel between the Indonesian archipelago and the Straits of Malacca.[255] According to Sunil Amrith, the labor movement of Chinese and Indian workers contributed significantly to the region's industrial revolution, capitalist development, and population geography.[256] Between 1911 and 1929, the total migration to Burma, British Malaya, and Thailand was estimated to be more than twice the number of migrants heading to the United States.[257] This development was immediately tied to the practice of the British, Dutch, and French colonial powers of maintaining an open immigration policy due to labor shortages and other demands of local economies.[258]

A little farther east, Japan, following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, opened up to the West and fully adopted modern industrial technologies as well as Western ideas and bureaucracy. The era known as *Sakoku*, which prohibited outsiders from entering the archipelago or Japanese nationals from leaving the country for more than two hundred years, came to an end.[259] By 1942, Japan had evolved into a major imperial power, conquering and occupying the whole western pacific, after triumphs over China (1895) and Russia (1905) and the full incorporation of Ryukyu kingdom (now Okinawa, 1879), Taiwan (1895), the Korean peninsula (1910) and Manchuria (1932). This was followed by the occupation of most of Southeast Asia during World War II, during which the country made extensive use of forced labor. Despite the majority of people traveling to the Americas, labor migration from Japan within the region mainly consisted of farmers and traders from the poorest areas of the Yamaguchi Prefecture to Korea between 1890 and 1920.[260] Following the occupation of Manchuria, Japan embarked on a large-scale campaign of Japanese national settlement, with a smaller number relocating in Taiwan and Karafuto (the southern part of Sakhalin), and young Okinawan men going to work in the hemp business in the Philippines.[261] The period was therefore characterized by Japan's aggressive economic and military influence, which gave rise to the imperialist

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[255] Ivi, p. 25.
[256] Amrith, S.S. (2017). "Colonial and Postcolonial Migrations." In G. Liu-Farrer & B. S. Yeoh (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Asian Migrations* (1st ed., pp. 21-32). Routledge, p. 28.
[257] Lian, K. F., Rahman, M. M., & Alas, Y. B. (2015). op. cit., p. 4.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Before the opening of the country, foreigners were mostly Dutch and Chinese and were allowed to stay only in Nagasaki.
[260] Fielding, T. (2015). *Asian Migrations: Social and Geographical Mobilities in Southeast, East and Northeast Asia*. Taylor & Francis, p. 38.
[261] Ibid.

concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere promoting the unification of the whole Asia-Pacific region.

It is worth noting that women migrants were likewise involved in the labor migration in the region. While adult males made up the bulk of the laborers, women also represented a substantial part of migrant flows, arriving from a variety of places and for different reasons. Chinese single women, notably from southern China, began working for Chinese families in the British colonies as domestic workers as early as in the nineteenth century. This trend continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century and expanded in the 1930s, when an increasing number of women migrated to Singapore and Malaysia, in response to immigration restrictions on male migration due to high unemployment in the region.[262] Female migration persisted until 1938, when colonial authorities placed similar restrictions on women, although population flows into Hong Kong increased owing to the extended Sino-Japanese conflict.[263] Many Asian women also migrated to and around Southeast Asia. The majority of the *karayuki-san*,[264] for example, were young Japanese women from poor rural areas, particularly western Kyushu, who migrated or were trafficked to various parts of the Asia-Pacific region and sent back remittances to support their families as well as the Japanese military during times of war. They were explicitly considered as proof of the success of Japanese imperialism, and some women even contributed to the establishment of Japanese overseas businesses and communities.[265] However, by 1909, they were ruled illegal with Japan's increase in power and national prestige internationally.[266]

Following World War II and the dismantling of British, French, Dutch, and Japanese empires, the majority of Southeast Asian countries became independent nation-states, joining Thailand. Hence, from the early 1950s through the early 1970s, postcolonial nation-building, and reconstruction, coupled with conflicts in Korea and Indochina, severely constrained economic movement and forced refugee migration across borders within or from Asia, with regional integration reaching rock bottom. Not only did

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[262] Oishi, N. (2005), op. cit., p. 22.

[263] Ivi, p. 23.

[264] The word *karayuki-san* was initially one of many used in northwestern Kyushu after the Meiji Restoration to designate emigrants of both sexes who left the region in search of jobs overseas. It was later applied to women who departed the country to work in Japanese-owned brothels abroad. See Mihalopoulos, B. (1993). "The making of prostitutes: the Karayuki-san." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, *25*(1), 41-56, p. 42.

[265] Ivi, p. 41.

[266] See Tagliacozzo, E. (2009). *Secret Trades, Porous Borders: Smuggling and States Along a Southeast Asian Frontier, 1865–1915* (Illustrated ed.). Yale University Press, p. 231.

the conflicts displace and drive millions of people to flee their homes across the area, but they also put a halt to patterns of migration that had existed for almost a century between India, China, and Southeast Asia. As Prasenjit Duara pointed out, throughout the majority of the Cold War, Asian nations' economic activities were oriented more toward the nation and the supraregion, characterized by either the capitalist or the socialist blocs, than the region itself.[267] After the Chinese Civil War ended in 1949, there was almost no overseas migration from China for the next three decades, except for Hong Kong, which became a popular destination for businessmen fleeing the PRC due to political persecutions by the Communist Party.[268] International migration from India, on the other hand, continued, albeit on a smaller scale, establishing new routes to the United Kingdom and later the Middle East. Other comparable kinds of job recruitment to former colonial powers included those from the former Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands and from Hong Kong and Vietnam to France.[269] Nonetheless, previous migrations left an important mark, which is demonstrated by the large Chinese and Indian populations still living in every Southeast Asian modern nation.[270]

Beginning in the 1970s, two large circuits emerged resulting from new opportunities and movement patterns. The first circuit developed as a consequence of the dramatic surge in the oil price in 1973 and the establishment of major infrastructure and development projects throughout the 1980s. Labor migration patterns formed in the Middle East, especially the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, causing mass recruitment of temporary contract workers from South and Southeast Asian countries, notably from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea. Engineers, nurses, and managers have similarly migrated to fill labor shortages in Gulf countries.[271] The second circuit established itself after the rapid drop in oil prices in the Middle East around the end of the 1980s, along with Southeast Asian countries' rapid economic expansion, which shifted the labor migration path to the East. Japan's rise to become the world's second-largest economy, with high annual growth rates from the early 1950s to the early

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[267] Duara, P. (2014). *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 253-254.

[268] Burns, J. P. (1987). "Immigration from China and the Future of Hong Kong." *Asian Survey*, *27*(6), 661–682, p. 661.

[269] Castles, S. (2009), op. cit., p. 450.

[270] It is even claimed that more than three-quarters of the Chinese diaspora, which figures approximately 60 million people, still live in Southeast Asia today. See Van Dongen, E., & Liu, H. (2017). "The changing meanings of diaspora: The Chinese in Southeast Asia." In G. Liu-Farrer & B. S. Yeoh (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Asian Migrations* (1st ed., pp. 33–47). Routledge, p. 33.

[271] De Haas, H., D. H., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020), op. cit., p. 178.

1970s, and the emergence of the "Four Asian Tigers," namely South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, transformed those countries into significant destinations for labor migration. Thailand and Malaysia soon joined them. Meanwhile, reforms in centrally planned socialist countries such as China and Vietnam toward a competitive market economy accelerated migration flows from these countries. In recent decades, both migratory routes have expanded in size, involving both men working in construction and women working in domestic work service and the leisure industry. A major tendency toward the feminization of labor migration emerged, with women often representing the majority of emigrants from several countries of origin, such as the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka.[272]

International labor migration in the region has been characterized by government regulation and bilateral agreements since the 1970s and economic integration has developed dramatically within the area, particularly in East Asia and Southeast Asia, and more recently in South Asia, following the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s. [273] The increasing macroeconomic interdependence alerted the governments to the importance of regional networks and cooperation, which has promoted an unprecedented movement of highly educated professionals and international students across national borders, owing to the increased demand for Information Communications Technology (ICT) experts and healthcare professionals, especially nurses. In recent years, several countries in the region have made moves toward granting permanent residency to some immigrants, mostly high-skilled migrants who are typically welcomed and given family reunification and other benefits.

3.3 Japan's Emerging Role in International Labor Migration

Today, Japan has the lowest potential support ratio as well as fertility rates below replacement. By 2065, the population over 65 years old is estimated to rise from 26.6 percent in 2015 to 38.4 percent. More concretely, by 2030 Japan's population is expected to drop to 115 million and, by 2055, approximately 90 million. [274] These factors may lead to a fundamental crisis in Japan's society and economy, which will be defined by an increase in public spending on pensions, high dependency ratios between workers and

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[272] Hugo, G. (2005a). *Migration in the Asia-Pacific region*. Global Commission on International Migration, p. 17.

[273] Duara, P. (2014), op. cit., pp. 254-255

[274] National Institute of Population and Social Security Research. (2017). "Population Statistics of Japan 2017." Retrieved from http://www.ipss.go.jp/p-info/e/psj2017/PSJ2017.asp. [accessed 22 September 2021]

non-workers, and a slowdown in consumption due to a shrinking number of consumers. The projections indicate that Japan may suffer from a serious labor shortage in the next few decades, particularly among those who care for the elderly. In this respect, while the subject of women's work and care has long been dismissed as a personal obligation, it has progressively risen on top of the political agenda since the 1990s.

In the aftermath of the destruction caused by World War II, the Japanese government started a massive reconstruction effort to rebuild the country through an export-led growth approach. Furthermore, its strategy included active social investments in human capital and infrastructures, including universal public education, transportation, communication, and public healthcare systems.[275] In this light, its welfare system has been deeply integrated with the economic development priorities of the nation.[276] The role of a strong state in controlling and preserving strategic industries was particularly important in Japanese economic strategy, as the government steered economic growth by fostering tight collaboration between enterprises, government ministries, and politicians.

In terms of mobility, the conclusion of the war had a profound influence on the millions of Japanese people who returned to the country, as well as those who had moved to Japan in earlier decades. While Japan has been primarily an origin country in international migration for most of its modern history, the post-1868 building of a modern state in Japan engaged both domestic labor and foreign labor imported from the colonial periphery of Taiwan and Korea. The industrial boom that preceded Japan's entry into World War I prompted the active employment of foreign labor in construction work and coal mining, which was sustained throughout the Pacific War.[277] Many of such workers stayed in Japan after World War II, despite being deprived of their citizenship and losing their status and political and social benefits as a result of the Alien Registration Law, which took effect when Japan restored national sovereignty with the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952 after the end of the Allied occupation.[278] While they advanced in society and established their businesses, their descendants, who now a large group of Japan's

[275] Peng, I. (2014). "The Social Protection Floor and the 'New' Social Investment Policies in Japan and South Korea." *Global Social Policy*, *14*(3), 389-405, pp. 390-391.

[276] Peng, I. (2012), "Social and political economy of care in Japan and South Korea." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *32* (11/12), pp. 636-649. p. 636, 638.

[277] Weiner, M. (2003). "Japan in the Age of Migration." In M. Douglass & G. S. Roberts (Eds.), *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society* (pp. 52-60). University of Hawaii Press, pp. 53-57.

[278] Douglass, M., & Roberts, G. S. (2003). "Japan in a Global Age of Migration." In M. Douglass & G. S. Roberts (Eds.), *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society* (pp. 2–35). University of Hawaii Press, p. 5.

foreign resident population and are known as *zainichi*, are not yet considered Japanese.[279] Japan has long had an explicit anti-immigrant stance, based on a citizenship system based largely on the descent principle, defined as *jus sanguinis*.

While experiencing rapid economic growth from the 1960s through the 1980s, Japan remained mostly closed to immigration. Rather than recruiting immigrant "guest workers," as some European nations did, labor demand was met mostly by annual increases in the number of school graduates joining the labor force and internal migration from the rural areas of the country, enabling Japan to essentially postpone importation of foreign labor.[280] This began to shift in the late 1960s, with the gradual depletion of rural sources of industrial labor, followed by the post-oil crisis environment of the 1970s and the peak of the Japanese bubble economy in the 1980s. A combination of labor shortages and the growing value of the yen against the dollar caused serious cost-cutting challenges in the manufacturing and construction industries, making it difficult to compete in both global and domestic markets.[281] Moreover, Japan's rise as a major source of FDIs and ODA as well as a regional exporter of commodities, services, and culture contributed to the shift in other countries' perceptions of Japan.[282] Simultaneously, throughout this period, the demand for workers expanded, and Japan experienced an increase in the number of communities of foreign migrant populations.

The first change in direction occurred in the 1970s with women migrants. As Mike Douglass points out, the role of female migration has occupied a unique position in international migrant patterns both from and to Japan. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, women were at the forefront of Japan's imperialist expansion into Asia, and they also initially accounted for the majority of Asian migrants to Japan.[283] Many women, mainly Filipino and Thai hostesses, were recruited as "entertainers" in Japan's domestic sex industry, working in flourishing nightlife districts and places as the *onsen* (hot spring baths) resorts around the capital region, frequently under control of underworld organizations.[284] Several women arrived

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[279] Fielding, T. (2015), op. cit., p. 197.

[280] Weiner, M. (2003), op. cit., p. 57.

[281] Douglass, M., & Roberts, G. S. (2003), op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[282] Weiner, M. (2003), op. cit., p. 59.

[283] Douglass, M. (2003). "The Singularities of International Migration of Women to Japan." In M. Douglass & G. S. Roberts (Eds.), *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society* (pp. 91–119). University of Hawaii Press, p. 92.

[284] Mori, H. (1994). "Migrant Workers and Labor Market Segmentation in Japan." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *3*(4), 619-638, p. 625.

in Japan as *hanayome* (brides) to Japanese men in rural areas.[285] From the latter part of the 1980s, the movement of foreign women was paralleled by the immigration of men into low-wage positions, which became known as "the three K" jobs (*kitanai*, *kiken*, *kitsui* – dirty, dangerous, and difficult, which can be directly translated in English into the 3D jobs). In Japanese cities and countryside, workers from the Asia-Pacific region, notably Bangladesh, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, and China, began to be employed in the industrial and agricultural sectors.

By 1990, the number of people moving to Japan had exceeded the number of Japanese nationals leaving the country.[286] Until then, the immigration policy, based on the 1952 Immigration Control and Refugee Act (or Immigration Control Act), remained virtually untouched. Many migrants entered Japan through legal channels, for instance as tourists or students, but a high number of workers eventually became undocumented due to overstaying their visas.[287] Despite the government's implementation of a series of programs aimed at attracting foreign students, workers, and talent under the phrase "internationalization" (*kokusaika*), the dramatic increase of undocumented migrants was a consequence of the implementation of more restrictive immigration laws for unskilled foreign labor.[288] Moreover, when the Japanese government suspended bilateral visa exemption agreements with Iran and Bangladesh in 1989 and 1992 to reduce the flow of migrants from these countries, it harmed both the quantity and the vulnerability of migrant workers. In reality, Japan has relied on a "side-door" strategy[289] to address labor shortages in the manufacturing and service sectors, which is mostly motivated by concerns about

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[285] Celero, J. O. (2021). "Settling for Welfare? Shifting Access to Welfare, Migration and Settlement Aspirations of Filipina Single Mothers in Japan." In O. Ryndyk, B. Suter, & G. Odden (Eds.), *Migration to and from Welfare States: Lived Experiences of the Welfare–Migration Nexus in a Globalised World* (pp. 87–104). Springer, p. 88.

[286] The Japanese government adopted the two International Covenants on Human Rights in 1979 and the UN Refugee Convention in 1981. Between the 1980s and the 2000s, Japan hosted a small number of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. These accords also gave foreign citizens already in Japan more equality and access to social privileges. See Takenoshita, H. (2016). "Immigration Challenges in Japan: How Has Japanese Society Coped With Immigration?" In T. Mizukami, E. Healy, & D. Arunachalam (Eds.), *Creating Social Cohesion in an Interdependent World* (pp. 95–112). Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 96-97.

[287] Ivi, p. 17.

[288] In 1998, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that "the government's policies on the acceptance of foreign workers decided by the Cabinet in July 1992 [is that] it will not allow the entry of unskilled workers, in view of the wide-ranging long-term impact that would be caused by their entry, as well as the difficulty social systems will have in responding to their acceptance". See Douglass, M. (2000). $The singularities of international migration of women to Japan." *Japan and global migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society*, 91-119, p. 98.

[289] Peng, I. (2016). "Testing the Limits of Welfare State Changes: The Slow-moving Immigration Policy Reform in Japan." *Social Policy & Administration*, *50*(2), 278-295, pp. 283-284.

the country's homogeneity being disrupted as a result of the arrival of a large number of immigrants.[290]

The Japanese government revised the Immigration Control Act in 1990, prioritizing highly skilled migrants under specific visa categories,[291] and created a new visa classification of "long-term resident" to allow admission of Japanese descendants, or *Nikkeijin,* up to the third generation.[292] This new provision permitted foreign nationals to stay in Japan for one to three years with no restrictions on the types of activities pursued.[293] This amendment was predicated on the assumption that ethnic return migrants would be more easily integrated into Japanese society than immigrants from other cultural backgrounds, while also bringing in necessary unskilled labor. [294] However, such circumstances have resulted in cultural marginalization and social exclusion equivalent to ordinary labor migrants, particularly in a country such as Japan where acceptance into society requires not only ethnic heritage but also complete cultural and linguistic proficiency. Furthermore, due to the nature of the scheme, most *Nikkeijin* have been offered low-status jobs, even though they may have come from well-educated communities before migrating, resulting in detrimental psychological consequences on their identities as well as disappointment.[295]

This is not surprising as Japanese language proficiency is also highly significant in terms of high-skilled migration. Despite the Japanese government's positive reception of migrants with the necessary education and abilities, Oishi observed that the country does not have a large number of highly skilled migrants due to many companies being concerned about the language barrier.[296] Other perceived barriers to their integration are

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[290] Douglass, M., & Roberts, G. S. (2003), op. cit., p. 7.

[291] These categories included "business manager", "legal/accounting", "medical services", and "intercompany transferee."

[292] Emigration of Japanese people to South America began in the late nineteenth century and lasted in large numbers until the early 1960s. Nikkeijin are the descendants of Japanese emigrants to Brazil, Peru, and other countries, who have been granted special long-term visas according to the jus sanguinis connection to Japan, and, therefore, favored due to assumed cultural affinity, even though most of them spoke little or no Japanese. It is necessary to prove that at least one grandparent was a Japanese national. Many Japanese people in these countries, particularly in Brazil, formed a relatively wealthy ethnic minority as a result of their professional advancement.

[293] Yamashiro, J. (2012), op. cit., p. 22.

[294] Ivi, p. 24.

[295] T., T. (2020). "Ethnic Return Migration in East Asia: Japanese Brazilians in Japan and Conceptions of Homeland." In G. Liu-Farrer & B. S. A. Yeoh (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Asian Migrations* (pp. 103–113). Routledge, p. 105.

[296] Since the late 1980s, the Japanese government has demonstrated a willingness to admit highly skilled foreign workers, who enjoy a number of advantages: highly skilled migrants can work in Japan permanently

communications and social relationships among coworkers.[297] This is also influenced by Japan's rigid labor market, which includes seniority pay and lifelong employment based on paternalistic notions of the employer-employee relationship. Due to a lack of gender equality and work-life balance, highly qualified migrant women have been discouraged from working for Japanese firms. Some have experienced sexual harassment, while others have questioned the fairness of promotion evaluations in a male-dominated workplace.[298] Career prospects for women remain weaker than those for men, despite the introduction of the Act for Equal Employment Opportunity of Men and Women of 1986 in response to the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). This is another illustration of how gender plays a significant role in the migration decision-making process.

Consequently, the Japanese government managed to establish a legal and institutional framework for strict immigration control, leaving migrants with relatively few options for entering the country. For instance, educational migration became popular in the 1990s as a way to break into the Japanese labor market since the Japanese visa system allowed for long working hours while studying.[299] Moreover, differential treatment of immigrant workers has remained over time, with skilled workers and those of Japanese origin being given preferential status until recently. "Technical trainees" were first allowed to work in Japan in 1993 with the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP), which varied from the Nikkeijin in that they had a "short stay" status.[300] As concerns about the shrinking population were confirmed in the late 2000s, awareness of the need to adopt a less restrictive approach toward migrants with different skill levels

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once they find a job for which they are qualified, as long as they renew their visas, and they can enjoy quick reunification and no labor market test. They are now entitled to seek for citizenship after just five years of residency under the point system adopted in May 2012. See Oishi, N. (2012). "The Limits of Immigration Policies: The Challenges of Highly Skilled Migration in Japan." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(8), 1080-1100.

[297] Ivi, p. 1090.

[298] Oishi, N. (2012), op. cit., p. 1093.

[299] Green, D. (2017, March 28). "As Its Population Ages, Japan Quietly Turns to Immigration." *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/its-population-ages-japan-quietly-turns-immigration. [Accessed 20 November 2021]

[300] The scheme gives the possibility to employers to recruit short-term workers, particularly from emerging Asian countries, who in turn are provided with Japanese technical and business know-how, which is intended to be transferred back to their home countries. It has been the subject of increased national and international scrutiny following allegations of labor rights violations. See, for instance, Kyodo. (2014, August 12). "Japan's foreign trainee program suffering from shocking lack of oversight." *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/08/13/national/japans-foreign-trainee-program-suffering-shocking-lack-oversight/#.V8GM0HjXerV. [Accessed 4 January 2022]

gradually became a reality, as indicated in the Third Basic Plan for Immigration Control of 2005:

> "Accepting foreign workers in fields that are not valued as professional or technical at present will also be given consideration in light of the decrease in the productive population, while also taking into account the need to maintain Japan's economic vitality and national living standards, the public consciousness and the existing conditions of the nation's economy and society. […] As for nursing-care workers who will be in growing demand due to the ageing of the population, consideration will be given to whether and how to accept foreign workers in the field while paying careful attention to the acceptance of such foreign nationals under economic partnership agreements with foreign countries and taking into account nursing-care jobs being created for Japanese workers."[301]

It is clear from this passage that the acceptance of care workers and nurses began to be taken into consideration in anticipation of persistent labor shortages in the sector. In 2008, Japan opened its borders to foreign nurses and caregivers to work in accredited eldercare institutions under the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Despite considerable legislative reforms in recent years to open up the care labor market to workers with a variety of qualifications, the Japanese government has been cautious about "taking into consideration nursing-care positions generated for Japanese employees."[302] Furthermore, continued demands for a more liberal and inclusive immigration policy led the Japanese government to partially modify the Immigration Control Act in 2009. The new amendment increased the maximum stay period from three to five years while also reducing paperwork, facilitating the residence for ethnic Japanese and other long-term resident visa holders.[303] However, the 2008 global economic crisis, which followed the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers, caused several employers to dismiss their foreign workers and prompted the Japanese government to launch a repatriation program to encourage *Nikkeijin* to return home by

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[301] Ministry of Justice. (2005). *Basic Plan for Immigration Control (3rd Edition)*. The Ministry of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.moj.go.jp/ENGLISH/information/bpic3rd-03.html. [Accessed 20 November 2021]

[302] The Plan also addressed the need to consider "the positive and negative impacts on Japan's industry and public welfare which stretch over a wide range of factors covering domestic security, the domestic labor market, industrial development and restructuring and social costs."

[303] Yamashiro, J. (2012), op. cit., p. 26.

giving cash compensation.[304] In terms of high-skilled migrants, their recruitment has been explicitly approved and encouraged by the Japanese government through the enactment of the Points-based Preferential Immigration Treatment for Highly Skilled Foreign Professionals in 2012 and its revision in 2013.

The last decade has witnessed the strong leadership of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) led by Shinzo Abe (2012-2020), whose administration has prioritized economic recovery. Under its "Abeconomics" program, the Japanese government extended the 3-year TITP period to a maximum of 5 years through the revised Act on the Proper Implementation of Technical Intern Training of Foreign Nationals and the Protection of Technical Interns. Furthermore, the 2018 revision of the Immigration Control Act has led to the creation of two new visa categories, Specified Skill Worker (i) and (ii) (from now on, SSW1 and SSW2 respectively). Through this new reform, the Japanese government has opened its doors to thousands of migrant workers to address labor shortages in fourteen specific industry fields, including nursing, to balance economic and industrial concerns with Japan's demographic crisis and labor shortage. However, public and civic society reactions to the latest immigration decision were split, with many concerned about the exploitation of migrant workers.[305]

[304] Green, D. (2017, March 28), op. cit.
[305] Rich, M. (2018, December 7). "Bucking a Global Trend, Japan Seeks More Immigrants. Ambivalently." *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/07/world/asia/japan-parliament-foreign-workers.html. [Accessed 20 November 2021]
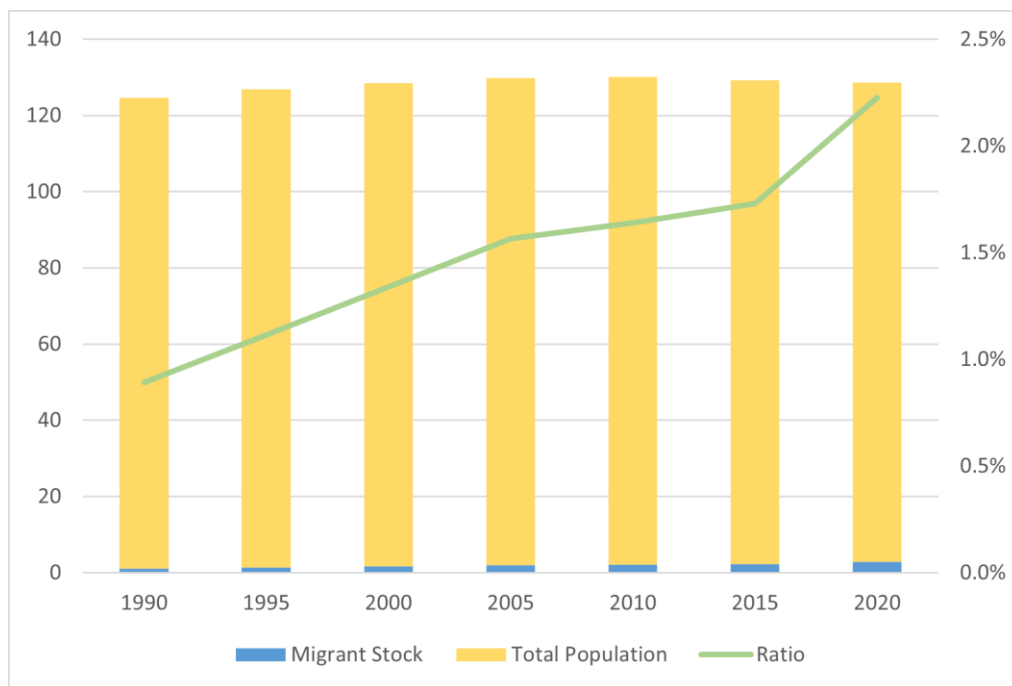
Over the previous three decades, the number of foreign residents in Japan has steadily increased. Figure 3.1 depicts the rise in the number of immigrants from 1990 to the end of June of 2020, which illustrates the shifts in Japanese immigration policy over the years. Around 2.89 million foreign nationals were registered in Japan in 2020, accounting for around 2.3 percent of the total population, with approximately 1.72 million foreign workers. Over 80 percent of foreign residents come from the Asia-Pacific region, with Chinese and Vietnamese residents constituting the largest groups in terms of nationality. They were followed by immigrants from the Philippines and Brazil. The number of Indonesian and Nepalese inhabitants has also risen in recent years.[306]

Despite an increase in the quantity and diversity of nationalities since the 1990s, foreign workers are mostly composed of what David Green refers to as "desirable" immigrants for the Japanese economy, with only a limited number of refugees allowed to enter.[307] According to Reiko Ogawa, the entry of care workers into Japan, in particular,

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[306] According to the latest official data published by the Japanese government, in June 2020, Chinese residents were 786,830, followed by Vietnamese (435,459), Filipino (282,023), Brazilians (211,178), Nepalese (95,367), Indonesian (66,084) and Thai (53,344) residents. Retrieved from https://www.e-stat.go.jp/stat-search/files?page=1&layout=datalist&toukei=00250012&tstat=000001018034&cycle=1&year=20200&month=12040606&tclass1=000001060399. (in Japanese) [Accessed 20 November 2021]
[307] Green, D. (2017, March 28), op. cit.

has been accomplished through the development of four channels for admitting migrant labor that is neither coordinated nor harmonized.[308] Nonetheless, over the years, their presence, which is supported by several NGOs, has compelled Japan to reconsider its policies and the protection of immigrants in general. This has been even more relevant in the last two years with the spread of the Covid-19 virus, as the Japanese government has been highly criticized for its restrictive entry decisions.

3.4 Japan in Transnational Care Migration

While largescale female migration date back to the nineteenth century, with women migrants supporting their families from abroad, expanded globalization in the Asia-Pacific region in the last few decades has resulted in fast social transformations, with an increasing number of women being recruited as domestic workers, nurses, and entertainers. The demand for care has emerged not only from increased levels of longevity and low fertility but also from the traditional gendered and familialistic characteristics of East Asian societies. In this context, migration and welfare state policies have evolved concurrently in Japan and the other newly industrialized East Asian nations. In comparison to longer-established medical professions, such as nursing, which was institutionalized in the nineteenth century with Western colonization, "the history of social care is shorter and discursively constructed."[309] Care work includes both "direct" care activities such as medical intervention and nursing, as well as "indirect" care activities such as cooking and cleaning. Therefore, the care workforce includes a diverse spectrum of personal service professionals, including nurses, teachers, doctors, personal care workers, and domestic workers.[310] Migrant workers started to enter into the East Asian care labor market in large numbers in the 1970s, initially in Hong Kong and Singapore, resulting from the establishment of policies encouraging native women to enter the formal labor force. Beginning in the 1990s, Taiwan eventually followed Singapore's example and started accepting live-in care workers as part of its industrial policies, while South Korea developed a legal framework for Korean Chinese to work in the care industry. Finally, since 2008 Japan has integrated the mobility of nurses and care "candidates" within its free trade agreements.

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[308] Ogawa, R. (2020). "Migrant Care Workers, Skill Regimes, and Transnational Subjects in East Asia." In Merviö, M. M. *Recent Social, Environmental, and Cultural Issues in East Asian Societies* (pp. 169-187). IGI Global, p. 172.
[309] Ivi, p. 171.
[310] International Labor Organization. (2018, June). *Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work*. International Labor Organization, p. xxvii.

In many parts of the Asia-Pacific region, the family has traditionally been the main source of support for the elderly. However, a variety of institutional mechanisms targeted at expanding paid care through market expansion or social insurance systems have begun to be implemented, indicating a greater recognition of public responsibility in meeting people's care responsibilities and demands. Ito Peng distinguishes between two approaches. The first is defined as a "liberal private market approach," which was adopted by Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These nations have actively pushed for women's participation in the national labor force and liberalized immigration regulations as well as provided families with financial and tax incentives to recruit foreign domestic and care workers. [311] The second approach has been described as a "regulated institutional approach," involving Japan and South Korea. Taiwan has recently joined them, with a newly implemented insurance system. Instead, these countries have created public programs and subsidies to assist care for childcare. Since the 1990s, long-term care insurance (LTCI) has been introduced as a scheme that provides community and institutional-based care services to address the needs of the elderly. In comparison to the other nations under consideration, Japan and South Korea have been more reluctant to accept migrant workers and have created selective temporary foreign worker programs to recruit foreign nurses and care workers for geriatric facilities. [312] Besides the different titles, such as "domestic workers" or "care workers," the formal occupational categories of these foreign employees and the services they provide also differ.

The care regimes of these states will be briefly summarized, as a comparative study will be helpful in better understanding the Japanese immigration and care policies. Firstly, the government of Hong Kong established a legal channel allowing domestic workers from other Asian countries to work in the city in 1974.[313] The territory, which was under British administration until 1997, has had a rather open attitude regarding the admission of foreign workers, with no restriction on the number of foreign domestic workers hired if the requirements of employment contracts are met, including meeting

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[311] Peng, I. (2018). "Explaining Exceptionality: Care and Migration Policies in Japan and South Korea." In S. Michel & I. Peng (Eds.), *Gender, Migration, and the Work of Care: A Multi-Scalar Approach to the Pacific Rim* (pp. 191–214). Palgrave Macmillan.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Previously, migration channels were solely accessible to unskilled laborers from mainland China.

income criteria and the precondition for domestic workers to live in the employer's residence.[314]

The high expenses of institutional facilities and the lack of work policies benefitting the families in firms were the primary triggers that led Singaporeans to seek the assistance of foreign domestic workers. Domestic workers from Thailand, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines were initially recruited in 1978, and the number has continued to rise since then. The Singaporean government has liberalized its policy on hiring foreign domestic workers in a variety of ways in recent years, including levy concessions for families with senior members that hire domestic employees, instead of relying on institutional facilities.[315] In 2019, the Agency for Integrated Care (AIC), which was first founded under the Ministry of Health in 1992, introduced a Home Caregiving Grant, replacing the previous Foreign Domestic Worker Grant and providing monthly cash payments to middle and low-income elderly households who are not residing in a residential long-term care institution to assist with caregiving expenses. It also offers caregiving training to those who are responsible for caring for elderly or disabled family members.[316] In Singapore, the usage of foreign domestic and care workers is so common that one out of every six homes hires one.[317]

Taiwan adopted a Foreign Live-in-Caregiver program in 1992, under which a significant number of migrant workers have been employed as caregivers for the elderly, sick, or disabled, and typically reside in the employer's residence rather than medical or care institutions. This decision, made in a similar context to that of Hong Kong and Singapore, was heavily influenced by the employment environment that encouraged female participation in the workforce. It also reflected a political decision motivated by Taiwan's geopolitical location and historical tension with the PRC, as former President Lee Teng-Hui sought to consolidate economic ties with Southeast Asia, opening its labor market and signing bilateral agreements with the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia in 1992 and Vietnam in 1999.[318] Live-in migrant care workers are typically

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[314] Cortes, P., & Pan, J. (2013). "Outsourcing Household Production: Foreign Domestic Workers and Native Labor Supply in Hong Kong." *Journal of Labor Economics*, *31*(2), 327-371, pp. 332-333.

[315] Yeoh, B. S., & Huang, S. (2009), op. cit., p. 75.

[316] Agency for Integrated Care. (n.d.). "Home Caregiving Grant." *Agency for Integrated Care.* Retrieved from https://www.aic.sg/financial-assistance/home-caregiving-grant [Accessed 25 November 2021]

[317] Ho, K. (2019, November 11). "Half of Singaporeans think domestic helpers should be paid less than SGD 600 a month." *YouGov: What the World Thinks.* https://sg.yougov.com/en-sg/news/2019/11/11/half-singaporeans-think-domestic-helpers-should-be/. [Accessed 25 November 2021].

[318] Ogawa, R. (2018). op.cit., p. 189.

recruited through private agencies and are generally exempt from the national labor law governing working hours.[319] Taiwan recently approved the Long-Term Care Services (LTCS) Act in 2015, which introduces universal and income-tested old-age support programs to supplement the incomes of medium and low-income households with senior members. However, such schemes have not been sufficient to cover the costs of a private home or institutional care and have instead promoted the employment of foreign live-in caregivers.[320]

In contrast to these three countries, foreign care workers in Japan are almost entirely recruited to work in elder care institutional settings, with care workers in private family homes being exceptionally unusual. Nonetheless, Japan and Taiwan signed bilateral arrangements with Southeast Asian nations both to strengthen economic cooperation and to promote the entry of migrant workers into the country. The Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam have become increasingly important in international labor migration of care and in defending their citizens' rights.

3.5 The Roles of Origin States and Southeast Asian Care Workers

Southeast Asian countries, as well as numerous South Asian countries, have all increasingly emerged as key sources of labor for the region. Several of these nations have established specific ministries and agencies to govern recruitment and protect nationals working abroad, but more importantly to manage domestic and economic tensions, as international labor migration is seen as a source of remittances, to alleviate unemployment, and to get industrial experience.[321] In this context, as Rochelle Ball stated, "the systematic export of workers is an export-oriented industry of great significance for many Asian nations."[322] Three key origin sending countries in the care migration literature are the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Until the early 2000s, the Philippines was the leading sending country of domestic and care workers to Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Since then, Indonesia, and more recently, Vietnam, have acquired a considerable market share in the domestic and care worker supply. These workers, the majority of whom are women, enter the destination countries under specific programs that provide them temporary visas allowing them to work solely in this sector. Therefore, a powerful push factor for women to migrate as domestic and care workers has been

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[319] Ivi, p. 190.
[320] Peng, I. (2018), op. cit., p. 196.
[321] Hugo, G. (2005a), op. cit., p. 28.
[322] Ball, R. (1997). "The Role of the State in the Globalisation of Labour Markets: The Case of the Philippines." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 29(9), 1603–1628, p. 1605.

represented by the combination of labor export policies promoted by the governments of origin countries and the establishment of migration channels in destination nations.

Since the 1970s, a "culture of migration" has arisen in the Philippines, with an increasing number of individuals emigrating to several places around the world.[323] According to the most recent data upload in January 2021, 6.1 million Filipinos were estimated to be living abroad.[324] The development of a legal and institutional framework of labor migration has considerably encouraged this trend, with the Philippine government playing a prominent role in protecting the rights of migrant workers as well as regulating the recruitment sector. Furthermore, remittances have become an increasingly essential contribution to the economic growth of the country.[325] Manila, which had been under Spanish colonial control for more than three centuries, was ceded to the Americans at the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898 and was later declared independent in July 1946, following the Japanese occupation of World War II. Following the 1973 economic crisis, the Philippine government enacted the Labor Code 1974. The legislation, established by then President Ferdinand Marcos, provided an official national framework for its overseas employment program, and serve as the cornerstone for the Philippines' labor migration scheme. In this way, the state acquired a monopoly over the migration industry by creating government agencies including the Bureau of Employment Services (BES), the Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB), and the National Seaman Board (NSB).[326] Although private sector operations were reintroduced in the following years, they were nevertheless monitored by the government. The Labor Code, which was supposed to be a temporary solution to the country's economic crisis and unemployment concerns further worsened by lack of capital investments and corruption, became crucial in meeting the demand for Filipino labor overseas. Over the years, Filipino women outnumbered men as labor migrants as demand for domestic and other service sector workers grew.[327]

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[323] Asis, M. M. B. (2006, June 1). "The Philippines' Culture of Migration." *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/philippines-culture-migration. [Accessed 10 January]

[324] United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2020). "Total number of emigrants at mid-year 2020." *Migration Data Portal*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationdataportal.org/data?i=stock_abs_origin&t=2020. [Accessed 10 January 2022]

[325] The Philippines is the fourth largest recipient of remittances, after India, China and Mexico.

[326] Acacio, K. (2008). "Managing Labor Migration: Philippine State Policy and International Migration Flows, 1969–2000." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *17*(2), 103-132, p. 112.

[327] Beginning in 2006, the Philippines enacted a variety of policy measures to professionalize domestic work, including 216 hours of training with a final certification from the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).

The Philippines appears to be the only country with an official nurse export program, and it is currently the world's largest provider of nurse labor, which has been accompanied by an increase in nursing school enrolment in anticipation of future demand for healthcare professionals.[328] Throughout the twentieth century, the United States and its Pacific possessions were the main destinations for Filipino workers. Nursing education, in particular, was established and sponsored by the US colonial government in the Philippines at the same time that public health was being introduced in the early twentieth century. It was linked to new employment and educational opportunities for young Filipinas in the United States which were previously unavailable.[329] The establishment of a hospital training system laid the foundation for the social and cultural foundations of the Filipino nursing labor force abroad, considerably contributing to the contemporary feminization of migration and gendered assumptions about nursing and care work.[330] According to Ball, the Philippine state's commitment to labor exports has given the nation access to global markets and foreign exchange. However, in its ambition to globalize, the modern nation-state has tended to weaken its legitimacy and national regulatory policies as well as induced misdistribution of trained professionals, resulting in "brain drain" in the interest of increased labor export.[331]

The necessity of higher standards of welfare and safety for migrant workers was eventually recognized in 1995. The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act finally passed following the national outrage over the execution of Flor Contemplaciòn, a domestic worker in Singapore who was accused of murder, and over the case of Sarah Balabagan, who was also sentenced to death for murdering her employer during a sexual assault in the United Arab Emirates. In this context, the Philippine government managed to enact legislation aimed "to establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress, and for other purposes." Furthermore, the law states "the protection of the Filipino migrant workers and the promotion of their welfare, in particular, and the protection of the dignity and fundamental rights and freedoms of the Filipino citizen abroad, in general, shall be the highest priority concerns of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Philippine

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[328] Boquet, Y. (2017). *The Philippine Archipelago* (1st ed. ed.). Springer, pp. 391-392.
[329] Choy, C. C. (2003), op. cit., pp. 17-18.
[330] Boquet, Y. (2017), op. cit., pp. 34, 44, 188-189.
[331] Ball, R. (1997), op. cit., pp. 1623-1625.

Foreign Service Posts."[332] According to Kristel Acacio, there was a shift in the institutional rhetoric with the 1995 Migrant Workers Act, in the sense that "labor export was no longer considered to a be a legitimate means for national development, but rather was "encouraged" as a rational choice among individual migrants."[333] NGOs and social networks have played the most important role in safeguarding Filipino workers by providing resources and aid to migrants while also pushing for their rights.[334]

Indonesia, the world's fourth-most populous country, has pursued a similar approach, encouraging the movement of millions of Indonesian workers abroad by establishing private recruiting agencies as part of its development plan. According to the World Bank, more than 9 million Indonesians worked abroad in 2016.[335] Reflecting on its historical ties with the rest of the region, the archipelago has always drawn migrants, including merchants and adventurers. Its influence was further expanded with the colonization by the Dutch East India Company before the Japanese occupation, which lasted until the end of World War II. Since the 1970s, the proportion of women grew rapidly, undertaking domestic, care, and service jobs in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Middle East.[336] Although more slowly, Indonesia has followed in the footsteps of the Philippines in enacting labor migration laws and initiatives aimed at the protection of nationals abroad, including the institution of a National Agency for Placement and Protection of Migrant Workers as part of the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration and the establishment of regular inspection visits by Indonesian officials to workplaces abroad.[337] Moreover, the Indonesian government has had a significant influence on the slowing of labor deployment to destination nations. In 2005, for example, it prohibited sending workers to Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates.[338] The feminization of migration, which has been encouraged since Suharto's authoritarian regime, has

[332] Philippine Overseas Employment Administration. (1995) "Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act." *Sec. 27.* Retrieved from https://www.poea.gov.ph/laws&rules/files/Migrant%20Workers%20Act%20of%201995%20(RA%2080 42).html. [Accessed 28 November 2021]

[333] Acacio, K. (2008), op. cit., p. 114.

[334] Asis, M. M. B. (2006, June 1), op. cit.

[335] World Bank. (2017). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunities and Risks.* World Bank, p. 11.

[336] Palmer, W., & Missbach, A. (2018, September 19). "Indonesia: A Country Grappling with Migrant Protection at Home and Abroad." *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indonesia-country-grappling-migrant-protection-home-and-abroad. [Accessed 3 January 2022]

[337] Ibid.

[338] Hugo, G. (2007, April 1). "Indonesia's Labor Looks Abroad." *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indonesias-labor-looks-abroad. [Accessed 3 January 2022]

dominated migration flows from Indonesia. In this context, women have motivated the creation of NGOs, which have played an important role in providing information and training, as well as raising public awareness to Indonesian women migrants.[339]

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, whose current boundaries were established with the reunification of North and South Vietnam in 1976, is a relative newcomer to international labor migration. Following the conclusion of the Vietnam War, Vietnamese migration consisted mostly of humanitarian migrants accepted by Western and adjacent Southeast Asian nations, as well as student and labor migrant flows to Vietnam's communist allies.[340] Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the nation embarked on a series of Doi Moi reforms aimed at opening the country and establishing a "socialist-oriented market economy," including the relaxation of some migration restrictions. [341] The Vietnamese Department of Overseas Labor (DOLAB) of Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA) establishes and signs bilateral agreements with other countries to ensure minimum standards in defense of Vietnamese migrant workers' rights, similar to the Philippines and Indonesia's governmental agencies. With this reform, the previous ban on female migration was lifted in 1999, although only for a limited number of destinations.[342] The greatest increase in Vietnamese emigration has been to Asia-Pacific countries such as Malaysia, South Korea, and Taiwan, and especially to Japan, which has recently become the most popular destination for employment abroad for Vietnamese workers. [343] While women still make up a smaller percentage of the Vietnamese migrant labor force, they have grown increasingly important, with the majority of women in Taiwan working as caregivers and in Malaysia in light manufacturing.[344]

In terms of international norms, the Philippines and Indonesia both ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families, as well as the UN

[339] Yazid, S. (2015). "Indonesian labour migration: Identifying the women." *Global Strategies*, *9*(1), 49-62, pp. 55-59.
[340] Hong, K. T. (2021). "Sending More or Sending Better Care Workers Abroad? A Dilemma of Viet Nam's Labour Exporting Strategy." In O. Komazawa & Y. Saito (Eds.), *Coping with Rapid Population Ageing in Asia* (pp. 102–125). Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, p. 103.
[341] Miller, K. (2015, April 29). "From Humanitarian to Economic: The Changing Face of Vietnamese Migration." *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/humanitarian-economic-changing-face-vietnamese-migration. [Accessed 10 January 2022]
[342] Oishi, N. (2005), op. cit., p. 81.
[343] International Labor Organization. (2018). *TRIANGLE in ASEAN quarterly briefing note.* International Labor Migration.
[344] Miller, K. (2015, April 29), op. cit.

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. As of now, Vietnam has ratified the latter. The Domestic Workers Convention, on the other hand, has only been ratified by the Philippines, which has been at the forefront of ratifying multilateral migration as well as cooperating among major origin countries to defend the rights of migrant workers. For example, in 2003, the Philippines led a coalition of six countries, including Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka, in urging Hong Kong to withdraw its wage cuts for foreign workers.[345] The Philippines also investigated the working conditions of domestic workers in other destinations, discovering that unjust labor practices were widespread.[346] Finally, as previously stated, NGO's initiatives have intensified in recent decades, leading to the formation of significant regional networks. Migrant Forum in Asia, conceived in Hong Kong in 1990 and formally organized in Taiwan in 1994, and CARAM Asia, founded in Malaysia in 1997, are just two of the many examples of networks connecting organizations in both origin and destination countries. In this context, migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong, particularly Filipina and Indonesian women, have grown increasingly involved in political advocating for their rights.[347] These emerging initiatives and dialogues at international, regional, and local levels point toward greater possibilities of international cooperation for the protection of migrant workers, particularly for migrant women employed as care workers.

3.6 Connecting the Rights-Based Approach to East Asian Care and Welfare Regimes

Following the striking realization of globalization challenges that emerged from the financial crisis of 1997-98, significant welfare state and migration regime reforms have taken place in the fast-growing Asian countries. Industrialization and urbanization have been accompanied by transformations in gender ideology and family values, which have brought into question several traditional ideas in Asia about private and public responsibilities for care. The problem of care provision has become more prominent in numerous disciplines of academic research as well as political debates in the region, which has seen a tension between women's economic participation and care responsibilities, between "production" and "reproduction" labor, especially during the

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[345] Oishi, N. (2005), op. cit., p. 185.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Constable, N. (2009). "Migrant workers and the many states of protest in Hong Kong." *Critical Asian Studies*, *41*(1), 143-164.

previous few decades.[348] Concerning the importance of embedding gender equality into public policies and social norms, Gita Sen wrote on the occasion of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995:

> "A gender perspective means recognizing that women stand at the crossroads between production and reproduction, between economic activity and the care of human beings, and therefore between economic growth and human development. They are workers in both spheres – those most responsible and therefore with most at stake, those who suffer most when the two spheres meet at cross-purposes, and those most sensitive to the need for better integration between the two."[349]

The recruitment of migrant care workers has helped address several social reproductive costs of destination countries, such as individual work-life balance and the expenditures of health created by an ageing society. The transnational nature of this phenomenon, on the other hand, has an impact on all the people involved in the international movement, affecting the support for caring for children and the elderly who are left behind, as well as social benefits and portability of pensions of women migrant workers across national borders.

In the 1990s, the welfare state in East Asian economies transformed by expanding and reinforcing its benefits and coverage. In this context, considering the type of welfare regime is important not only to explain the way social security is provided to its citizens but also to explain the extent to which migrants are accepted, as well as their possession and exercise of rights, are recognized in destination countries. Immigrant rights, particularly those of care workers, are influenced by notions and institutions anchored in the East Asian welfare state.[350] Although social services have increased in response to families' decreased ability to give care, states are wary of expanding their spending. The predominance of the family as the center of care, according to Elizabeth Hill, Michele Ford, and Marian Baird, reflects the ideology of "gendered familialism" that dominates

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[348] Baird, M., Ford, M., & Hill, E. (Eds.). (2017). *Women, Work and Care in the Asia-Pacific*. Taylor & Francis, p. 1.

[349] Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era. (1995), *Markers on the Way: DAWN Debates on Alternative Development,* DAWN'S Platform for the Fourth World Conference on Women, p. 21.

[350] Kim, K. (2021a). "An intersection of East Asian welfare and immigration regimes: The social rights of low-skilled labour migrants in Japan and Korea." *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *30*(2), 226-238, p. 226.

in all Asia-Pacific countries.[351] Accordingly, the state and society, and hence the care regime, expect the family, particularly women and girls, to bear the primary duty for private care to children and the elderly and to engage in unpaid reproductive labor. This is of course not limited to the Asian and Oceanian countries. It is characteristic of many societies around the world and has evidenced a shift in recent years. For instance, Mediterranean countries similarly consider care as a family responsibility but have increasingly relied on foreign workers, leading to a general acceptance of outsourcing family care to non-family caregivers.[352] Nonetheless, while East and Southeast Asian countries face the same challenge of balancing a familialistic ideal of care with the increase in female labor participation and expanding paid care sector, the model of provision and the type of workforce differ cross-nationally and has lately evolved from country to country. As previously stated, alternative options for dealing with the "care crisis" are currently being developed, either through private market solutions or through social insurance systems, both of which have a significant impact on the nation's migration policy.[353]

It is undoubtedly difficult to present a single explanation of the diverse welfare systems in the region. Drawing on Gøsta Esping-Andersen's classification of conservative-liberal-social democratic typology of welfare capitalisms, the scholarship on East Asian welfare regimes has highlighted a particular form of welfare that is frequently observed in these countries. Catherine Jones proposed the expression "Confucian Welfare States," referring back to the common precepts and ideals of Confucianism. Essentially, they are based on family values and the idea of "filial piety," with "ascending orders of duty and obligation, and descending orders of responsibility and care." [354] In such countries, good governance is defined by hierarchy, duty, compliance, consensus, order, harmony, and stability.[355] Similarly, the strong idea of the family is shared by Ian Holliday, who states that it is a unique element of contemporary East Asian welfare systems. Holliday and other scholars, including Huck Ju Kwon, have reiterated that these economies share the "productivist developmental" feature of welfare capitalism, which is defined as a growth-oriented state that subordinates social policy to

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[351] Ivi, p. 12.
[352] Bettio, F., Simonazzi, A., & Villa, P. (2006). "Change in care regimes and female migration: the 'care drain'in the Mediterranean." *Journal of European social policy*, *16*(3), 271-285.
[353] Peng, I. (2018), op. cit.
[354] Jones, C. (1993). "The Pacific challenge: Confucian welfare states." In C. Jones (Ed.), *New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe* (1st ed., pp. 184–202). Routledge, p. 188.
[355] Ibid.

economic development. [356] In this view, the productive segments of society, such as workers in large-scale enterprises, which were considered strategic for economic development and serving an efficient labor force, primarily benefitted from such social protection, while the less productive sectors were left to the care of the family.[357]

Ian Gough's research on Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand has also emphasized the importance of social investment in education and health to sustain high rates of economic growth while also contributing to nation-building and legitimation as well as the state's role as a regulator rather than a provider of social protection.[358] This has resulted in low public expenditure on welfare in favor of greater involvement of the family and private sector as well as neglect of social services directed toward women.[359] In the case of Japan, Ogawa explains how, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the process of constructing a modern family coincided with the formation of a modern state. In this context, women's primary roles were encapsulated in the phrase "good wife and wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo),* which was coined and promoted through public education. Coherently to the "Confucian Welfare State" model, this was supposed to metaphorically link the family to the state apparatus, since filial piety and devotion to the parents were associated with patriotism, and the state was regarded as the extension of the family and the local community. This mindset has persisted to the present day, resulting in a male breadwinner model and workplace gender segregation, with women serving as primary family carers and men working long hours as "corporate warriors."[360] It began to shift in the 1990s as a consequence of increased competition, flexibility, and labor market liberalization, which resulted in a higher number of women entering the workforce.

In this light, Kyunghwan Kim defined the policy process in Japan dealing with labor migrants as being made up of two major types of policy ideas: policy legacies on the one hand, and alternative policy ideas on the other. Policy legacies relate to the

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[356] Holliday, I. (2000). "Productivist Welfare Capitalism: Social policy in East Asia." *Political studies*, *48*(4), 706-723, p. 709, 711.

[357] Kwon, H. J. (2009). "The reform of the developmental welfare state in East Asia." *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *18*(S1), S12-S21, p. S13.

[358] Gough, I. (2004). "East Asia: The Limits of Productivist Regimes." In I. Gough & G. Wood (Eds.), *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Contexts* (1st ed., pp. 169–201). Cambridge University Press, pp. 190-191.

[359] Hong, I. (2014). "Trends and Determinants of Social Expenditure in Korea, Japan and Taiwan." *Social policy & administration*, *48*(6), 647-665, p. 650.

[360] Ogawa, R. (2017). "Japan: From Social Reproduction to Gender Equality." In M. Baird, M. Ford, & E. Hill (Eds.), *Women, Work and Care in the Asia-Pacific* (pp. 199–213). Taylor & Francis, pp. 199-200.

underlying beliefs and common concepts that have guided the development of East Asian welfare and immigration regimes, such as productivism and ethnic nationalism, and have typically been backed by conservative political parties and economic bureaucrats. The ideal of ethnic homogeneity, especially in Japan where racial nationalism has been promulgated since the Meiji period, causes a public perception of individuals who are ethnically and culturally distinct as a severe threat to the social order, leading to restrictive legislative responses. Conversely, alternative policy ideas are represented by human rights and multiculturalism, supported by opposition parties, municipal governments, and grassroots organizations, that challenge prevailing policy paradigms.[361] Importantly, the Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan (SMJ) was founded in 1998 to connect NGOs, religious organizations, labor unions, medical and legal organizations, and civil society groups to support migrants and advocate for improvements in policies affecting the rights and livelihoods of foreign residents.[362] In addition, local governments in collaboration with civil society organizations have become important actors in providing social provision and support for foreign residents after the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication (JMIC) established the "Plan for Promoting Multicultural Coexistence in Local Communities."[363]

Pro-immigrant activists have been prominent in Japan since the late 1970s, coinciding with Japan's emergence as an economic power and the nation's growing international involvement. According to Gurowitz, the Japanese government has sought to meet the demands of internationalization (*kokusaika*) by strengthening relationships with Western countries and by ratifying several international treaties and conventions on migrants' human rights. The explanation is that "the Japanese government, since 1868, has been highly sensitive to international opinion and to the accusation that the country is not sufficiently internationalized."[364] While it was done to build links with foreign nations, it was also seen as a vital step toward opening the Japanese domestic market and facilitating trade. This shift was accompanied by Tokyo's intention to establish a stronger presence in the Asia-Pacific region and its intention to establish its relations with the

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[361] Kim, K. (2021b). "Framing Immigrant Rights in Politics: Comparative Evidence From Japan and South Korea." *Pacific Focus*, *36*(2), 287-315.

[362] Hosoki, R. I. (2015). "The Potential Role of Migrant Rights Advocacy in Mitigating Japan's Demographic Challenges." In S. R. Nagy (Ed.), *Japan's Demographic Revival: Rethinking Migration, Identity And Sociocultural Norms* (pp. 285–336). World Scientific, p. 297.

[363] Kashiwazaki, C. (2013). "Incorporating immigrants as foreigners: multicultural politics in Japan." *Citizenship studies*, *17*(1), 31-47, p. 42.

[364] Gurowitz, A. (1999). "Mobilizing International Norms: Domestic Actors, Immigrants, and The Japanese State." *World politics*, *51*(3), 413-445, p. 445.

Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam through economic bilateral agreements reflect not only the need to address Japan's ageing population and shrinking labor force but also the intention to pursue its own economic and foreign policy in the ASEAN region.[365]

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[365] Ogawa, R. (2012). "Globalization of Care and the Context of Reception of Southeast Asian Care Workers in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *49*(4), 570-593, p. 581.

CHAPTER FOUR

International Cooperation, Bilateral Agreements, and Development: Southeast Asian Care Workers in Japan

4.1 Regional and Bilateral Mechanisms of Care Migration in East and Southeast Asia

Traditionally regarded as entirely a family and private household responsibility, care in East and Southeast Asia is gradually becoming outsourced and socialized. It is being outsourced to migrant workers to varying degrees among nations, based on the historical and institutional legacies that have shaped national care, migration, and employment regimes. In this regard, Japan has inherited both powerful institutions and long-standing labor ideologies, both of which have had a significant influence on the circumstances for reaching new immigration policy reforms and achieving work-life balance for both women and men. The gendered labor market has seen significant changes, particularly in light of rising female labor-force participation and the large number of persons aged 65 and over, accounting for 28.79 percent of the total population, the most among OECD nations.[366] It is becoming clear that the proportion of the population potentially in need of geriatric healthcare will increase, while the share of working-age people and those who can deliver care services to the elderly population is gradually decreasing. As a result, Japan is looking to women to compensate for its shrinking workforce, which has resulted in increased care needs and broader demands from such a fast-ageing population.

Long-term care is and will continue to be a labor-intensive job requiring a high degree of responsibility, yet it has historically been underpaid and associated with low social status. In this context, the capacity to attract and keep a sufficient number of carers, whether in official care settings or within families, will be critical in meeting the rising need for this sort of care. Transnational care is becoming increasingly significant for governments aiming to promote the international mobility of nurses and care workers.

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[366] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2022). "Elderly population (indicator)." *OECD Data.* Retrieved from https://data.oecd.org/pop/elderly-population.htm. [Accessed 23 December 2021]

There is no global migration governance framework for care migration at the global level, but it is increasingly being explored in global health discussions as well as high-level development and migration debates. As mentioned in the second chapter, the ILO, World Health Organization (WHO), and the IOM are debating care migration as part of their larger mandates and have implemented policies and efforts to enhance capacity and encourage state collaboration in this field. In May 2016, the World Health Assembly endorsed the Global Strategy and Action Plan on Ageing and Health, which includes a call on governments to commit to action and outlines the need to align health systems to the needs of older people by developing sustainable and equitable long-term care systems. Other international instruments, such as the WHO Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel (Global Code), provide guidelines for ethical recruitment practices that consider both the impact of the care chain on origin countries' health systems as well as the rights of health workers. The Global Code, in particular, views the phenomenon as a matter of workforce planning and sustainability, urging countries to ensure that migrant health workers have the same legal rights and obligations in terms of employment and working conditions as domestically educated health workers and to base policy on strong and rigorous evidence.[367] The significance of the care economy and investment in health and social sectors, especially for women migrant workers, was highlighted in the second report of the UN Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment, which affirms that:

> "Also recognized is the imperative to formalize and promote quality paid care—childcare, elder care, health care, education and domestic work are critical sectors of the economy that contribute to human development and gender equality. Care workers' wages, skills, and labor rights must be respected accordingly. This is crucial in contexts where there is a growing informal market for care, and where migrant and home country workers are drawn into casual and precarious forms of work in the care economy—which is not covered by effective labor and social protections, national labor laws, and adequate migration policies, and sometimes is not even recognized as work. Ensuring that organizations representing all workers, including care workers, and women's rights organizations can represent their needs and

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[367] The full text can be found here: https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/nri-2021#:~:text=Adopted%20in%202010%20at%20the,through%20improved%20data%2C%20information%2C%20and.

concerns in decision-making at all levels is essential in order to incorporate care into policymaking and to ensure that paid and unpaid caregivers have a voice in establishing quality care and decent conditions of work."[368]

The inclusion of care work in the global debate on gender equality and empowerment has resulted in a new understanding of gender segmentation in labor markets and women's migration. Care of migration reflects the national differences in development in the Asia-Pacific region, with large destination nations for care workers such as Singapore and Taiwan, as well as key origin countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia. Although the regional human rights framework is fragmented and does not provide more complete protection than the global system, it has witnessed some progress in recent decades. At the sub-regional level, the ASEAN, which promotes intraregional free trade and skilled migration through its Economic Community, is the primary multilateral framework overseeing international labor migration in the Asia-Pacific area. Improved mobility of health workers within a regional health services labor market is enabled by the ASEAN Mutual Recognition Arrangements (MRAs) on Nursing Services, which was first developed in 2006.[369] It has been a top priority for several countries in the Southeast Asian region to achieve successful regional cooperation in light of the rapid ageing and the increasing socio-economic gap among ASEAN countries.[370] In this context, ASEAN aspires to regionalize and harmonize healthcare regimes, while simultaneously supporting circular and temporary migration as a developmental means in labor migration.[371] Many international agreements controlling international migration, in particular, are reached on a bilateral basis. International organizations support bilateral labor agreements (BLAs) and MoUs as essential to achieving safe, orderly, fair, and regular migration results.[372] Furthermore, bilateral agreements have been acknowledged

[368] United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel. (2017). *Leave No One Behind Taking Action for Transformational Change on Women's Economic Empowerment*. United Nations, p. 9.

[369] The MRA on Nursing Services promotes ASEAN member states to work together to address the challenge of rapid ageing and widening socioeconomic disparities. This is accomplished through facilitating regional mobility of nursing professionals as well as the sharing of information and expertise on standards and qualifications. See Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2006). *ASEAN Mutual recognition agreement on nursing services.* Retrieved from http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20150119183446.pdf. [Accessed 27 December 2021]

[370] Kyoko, S., Naruse, K., & Puangrat, B. (2020). "Does the mutual recognition agreement on nursing services accelerate nurse migration in member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations?" *Nursing Open*, *7*(4), 1187-1196, p. 1188.

[371] Yeates, N., & Pillinger, J. (2018). "International healthcare worker migration in Asia Pacific: International policy responses." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *59*(1), 92-106, p. 95.

[372] International Labor Organization. (n.d.). "MOUs, BLAs and declarations related to migration." *International Labor Migration.* Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/how-the-ilo-works/WCMS_161105/lang--en/index.htm. [Accessed 27 December 2021]

as having the potential to be diplomatic instruments useful to strengthen international relations and enable regional integration between regions and countries. However, several shortcomings are also acknowledged, such as financial costs and organizational burdens, as well as a failure to meet the most basic requirements for foreign workers.[373]

There are substantial differences in the text and quality of agreements, their emphasis on managing labor rights, and how bilateral agreements are implemented in practice. Furthermore, such economic agreements may result in and support social development. By 2021, Japan has established comparable agreements based on economic cooperation with twenty-one nations and areas, including ASEAN and seven single Southeast Asian countries, and three more are now being negotiated.[374] However, not all of these international economic arrangements contain provisions for migrant workers. Although such EPAs are primarily concerned with tariff reductions, they also feature a bilateral health migration regime. Japan and Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam established bilateral EPAs to allow a quota of nurses and nursing experts to work in Japan. The EPA between Japan and the Philippines was signed in September 2006, whereas the EPA between Japan and Indonesia was reached in 2007, with Indonesian workers entering first since the latter was implemented earlier. In general, these bilateral agreements should address the needs of both parties: for the origin country, such EPAs assist to reduce unemployment and increase remittances; for the destination country, they address labor shortage issues. The procedure is more complicated, however, because such agreements incorporate not just trade motivations, but also involve the education and training for candidates to obtain qualifications in Japan, as well as management of the movement of migrant workers. In fact, they outline various steps carried out in partnership with the governments of the respective countries: a specialized recruitment procedure, language study, and on-the-job training with exam preparation. These Southeast Asian workers were required to attend Japanese language classes, while simultaneously serving as care workers or assistant nurses in hospitals and nursing homes for the elderly.

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[373] Plotnikova, E. (2014). "The Role of Bilateral Agreements in the Regulation of Health Worker Migration." In WHO Regional Office for Europe, J. Buchan, M. Wismar, J. Bremner, I. A. Glinos, & C. D. Control (Eds.), *Health Professional Mobility in a Changing Europe* (pp. 325–344). World Health Organization, p. 333, 337-339.
[374] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2020). *Free Trade Agreement (FTA) / Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and Related Initiatives.* Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Retrieved from https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/fta/index.html. [Accessed 27 December 2021]

However, as a result of this arrangement, numerous nurses have returned to their home countries with concerns about inadequate working conditions and support.[375]

The labor shortage in Japan is not restricted to the care sector; rather, it is part of a larger problem that impacts the whole economy, which has prompted Tokyo to further expand the labor market for care work to foreigners. The establishment in 2017 and 2019 of a dedicated migration stream for care workers, the Care Work visa, as well as a more general stream targeting other shortage occupations, including nursing care, represented by the TITP and the SSW1 visa, confirm this trend. Before the recent introduction of such routes, the predominant care worker migration channels were embodied by student and traineeship schemes. Not only are care workers providing care for the elderly included, but foreign housekeeping services on a non-live-in basis under the temporary work visa category were also integrated into the 2017 reform.[376] The policy is experimental, but it reflects a shift in migration policy and has the potential to transform care norms in the country.

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the EPA's migration-related provisions and to illustrate the reasons that have urged the Japanese government to provide an exemption to its otherwise severe restrictions for admission. It seeks to contextualize the migration of Southeast Asian workers to Japan within the broader debate on care worker migration in the context of globalization, development, and the relevance of gendered dimensions in migration decision-making. In addition, it assesses whether the enrolment and training scheme for healthcare worker candidates is fully realizing the EPAs' goals of temporary worker migration as well as strengthening international relations between signatories. This will be done by first exploring the evolution of care and migration reforms in the country, especially looking at the gendered dimension in the Japanese labor market to evaluate the institutional changes which paved the way for a shift in Japanese immigration policy. Migrant workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam working in the healthcare sector are of central importance in this study of how the care labor market intertwines gender and migration in different ways in the context of the Japanese labor market. In this light, population ageing has acted as a

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[375] Yagi, N., Mackey, T. K., Liang, B. A., & Gerlt, L. (2014). "Policy Review: Japan–Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA)—Analysis of a failed nurse migration policy." *International journal of nursing studies*, *51*(2), 243-250.

[376] Peng, I. (2018). "Shaping and Reshaping Care and Migration in East and Southeast Asia." Critical Sociology, 44(7-8), 1117-1132, p. 1129.

powerful "pull" factor in international migration patterns, with international care worker migration having an increasing influence, leading to a steady shift in Japanese immigration policy and growing acceptance of intermediate and lower-skilled labor migration just in the last few years.

4.2 Changing Norms: From Care to Immigration Policies

Because the Japanese state was primarily concerned with industrial and economic growth throughout most of the twentieth century, the Japanese welfare system has limited social expenditures and relied on private, informal care supplied by families. Since the 1990s, which came to be known as the "lost decade" due to the end of the rapid economic growth, the Japanese government has undergone significant transformations. A series of unprecedented policy changes were implemented aimed at increasing state support for the expansion of public childcare and elder care facilities toward more women-friendly social policies in response to changing household patterns and public attitudes toward elderly care. [377] Indeed, the reform was motivated by substantial institutional and ideological shifts brought about by the transition away from the male breadwinner paradigm that became popular during the 1960s era of rapid growth. As previously stated, the family's well-being has traditionally been predicated on the moral responsibility of women to bear the burden of dependent care. In particular, women, whose duties were summarized in the slogan "good wife and wise mother," were encouraged to withdraw from the labor market and expected to undertake their care obligations while men fulfilled their role as main wage earners. The early development of Japanese welfare may be considered as a continuation of the patriarchal system based on "*ie*" ideology, which was first established by the Civil Code during the Meiji era and remained prevalent until the end of World War II.[378] This ideology was embodied by a three-generational patrilinear family, with the father bearing all responsibility for the members' well-being while the wife or daughter-in-law provided care.[379] Consequently, the Japanese labor market has long been characterized by occupational segregation and the largest income gap between

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[377] Peng, I. (2002). "Social Care in Crisis: Gender, Demography, and Welfare State Restructuring in Japan." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 9(3), 411-443.
[378] Makita, M. (2010). "Gender roles and social policy in an ageing society." *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life*, 5(1), 77-106, p. 82.
[379] Ibid.

men and women in the world,[380] making work-life balance difficult to attain. Japanese women, as they have long been excluded from many leadership positions due to cultural norms, are still disproportionately concentrated in part-time, low-paying jobs.[381] Yukari Matsuzuka points out that this difference in wages is explained by the length of employment, as most Japanese companies use a seniority payout system. The length of women's employment is mostly influenced by career interruptions due to maternity, following which many do not return to their prior position and instead choose part-time temporary work.[382] These historical and political beliefs have not only prevented women from following professional paths and continuing their employment after childbirth, but they have also discouraged men from seeking more involvement in the household.

The introduction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1985, which outlawed any sort of gender discrimination in the stages of employment, was a watershed moment in addressing gender inequality in the Japanese labor market. Despite some persistent trends in unfair treatment between genders, the number of female employees has increased considerably in recent decades, accompanied by changes in marital status and educational background within the female workforce.[383] The family-centered welfare system began to be questioned by many stakeholders as a result of limited welfare support, the onset of a rapidly ageing population, and women's expectations in Japanese society. During a period when the LDP[384] was in decline, these reforms were especially made possible thanks to the lobbying efforts of organizations led by women such as the Women's Association for a Better Ageing Society and the Life Club Cooperative Society in Kanagawa. Both groups contributed to the creation of the new system from distinct perspectives, resulting in a model that "sought to combine the public character of welfare services, grounded in social solidarity, with the market orientation necessary for practical

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[380] According to the 2021 Global Gender Gap report, Japan ranks 120th out of 156 nations, making it one of the lowest-ranked countries in the Asia-Pacific region. See World Economic Forum. (2021, March). *Global Gender Gap Report 2021.* World Economic Forum.
[381] Catalyst. (2020, November 24). "Women in the Workforce: Japan (Quick Take)." *Catalyst*. Retrieved from https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-the-workforce-japan/. [Accessed 12 December 2021]
[382] Matsuzuka, Y. (2020). "Feminization of Japanese Higher Education and Career Pathway: From 'Interruption' to 'Upward Mobility.'" In C. Fontanini, K. M. Joshi, & S. Paivandi (Eds.), International Perspectives on Gender and Higher Education: Student Access and Success (pp. 147–170). Emerald Publishing, pp. 158-160.
[383] Ivi, p. 75.
[384] Except for two brief periods in 1993 and 1994 and from 2009 to 2012, the LDP has been in power nearly permanently since its founding in 1955. It was formed by the merging of two right-wing conservative political parties in Japan, the Liberal Party, and the Japan Democratic Party, in order to form a unified front against the then-dominant Japan Socialist Party (which became the Social Democratic Party in 1996).

and effective care service management." [385] Their actions and viewpoints received widespread support from the mass, resulting in a legal framework aiming to promote gender equality in both the household and the workplace by implementing several "family-friendly" policies.[386] The LTCI (*kaigo hoken*), in particular, was implemented in 2000 to provide universal elder care and to establish a larger range of welfare providers, with the primary goal of relieving families, particularly women, of the task of shouldering an ageing society. At this point, it became obvious that societal and individual transformations in post-industrial Japan not only enabled the formation of new social care programs but also emphasized the need for a more reasonable plan for women.

The acceptability of healthcare as a responsibility to be performed not only by family members but also by public and private entities has risen dramatically. In the last few decades, the elderly's reliance on informal family care has also decreased: whereas nearly 70 percent of those aged 65 and over cohabited with their children in 1980 (52.5 percent with married children and 16.5 percent with unmarried children), by the time the scheme was implemented, the proportion had dropped to 48.4 percent (27.4 percent with married children) and was around 36 percent in 2019 (only 10 percent with married children).[387] The LTCI transformed the concept of social care for the elderly into a rights-based universal insurance scheme.[388] Individuals receive a certification for the approved amount of care based on an assessment and receive a wide range of services from a network of facilities. This program also gave local governments greater autonomy. [389]

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[385] Eto, M. (2001). "Women's Leverage on Social Policymaking in Japan." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *34*(2), 241-246, p. 241.

[386] These policies include: the Angel Plans of 1994 and 2000, which were followed by the Plus One Policy in 2009, with the goal of improving childcare and family support services; the Child/Family Care Leave Law in 1991 and 1999, which was recently revised in 2021 to encourage fathers to take parental leave immediately after the birth of their children; the Act on the Advancement of Measures to Support Raising the Next Generation of Children, enacted in 2003 and modified in 2014, requires firms with 101 or more workers to develop action plans to achieve employees' work-family balance; finally the Basic Act for Measures to Cope with a Society with a Declining Birthrate in 2003.

[387] Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan. (2019b). "Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions." *Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan*. Retrieved from https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-hss/cslc-report.html. [Accessed 14 September 2021]

[388] The former social assistance system for the elderly, which was implemented in 1963, was intended for low-income persons who did not have an extended family or live in close-knit communities. Elderly people were eligible if they satisfied the criteria laid forth in a means test.

[389] The LTCI covers care services for those over the age of 65, as well as those aged 40 to 64, who require assistance due to age-related disabilities, regardless of their income or family circumstances. Contributions are required for those over the age of 40, and the program covers a wide range of community-based and institutional care services, with coverage varying depending on the severity of disability. Municipalities and special wards in metropolitan areas administer the program, while services are provided by both for-profit and non-profit organizations. See Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan. (n.d.). *Long-term*

This was seen as a feasible approach for tackling ageing issues through the redistribution of personal care between the state, the market, and the family, establishing a consensus between key policy actors, represented by the government, women's movements, and social service recipients, as well NGOs.[390] To relieve the strain on family carers, particularly women, and to encourage professional, formal care, service provision was favored above cash payment.[391] According to Reiko Abe Auestad, this scheme is based on the idea "to create social services of 'high quality' by promoting 'competition'."[392] Furthermore, John Creighton Campbell optimistically assessed that "the scope and generosity of *kaigo hoken* gives Japan one of the most highly developed long-term care systems in the world."[393] The care regime, and geriatric care in particular, which has socially been characterized as a gendered type of kin work, started to become an institutionally structured type of intimate labor performed by non-family personnel.

The number of Japanese caregivers has been identified as one of the most serious concerns deriving from a graying population. While the number of caregivers has increased over the previous two decades, it has not kept up with the fast-increasing demand, resulting in a sector with a chronic labor shortage. Moreover, caregiving positions are mostly unattractive, as they are regarded to be the most physically and psychologically demanding employment in Japan, with patient ratios of 1:20-25; yet, it is also among the lowest paid in Japan.[394] To address this issue, the Japanese government began recruiting nurses and care workers from Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam through bilateral EPAs. In this context, the regulated migration policy of care workers follows the regulated institutional mechanism based on the LTCI system, whose law stipulates that only publicly certified elder care institutions, and qualified care workers can provide care within the LCTI system. Adult social care professionals must meet

Care Insurance in Japan. Retrieved from https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/topics/elderly/care/2.html. [Accessed 27 December 2021]

[390] Peng, I. (2002), op. cit, pp. 428-430.

[391] Peng (2017), op. cit, p. 203.

[392] Auestad, R. A. (2010, April). "Long-Term Care Insurance, marketization and the quality of care: 'good time living' in a recently established nursing home in a suburb of Tokyo." *Japan Forum*, *21*(2), pp. 209-231, p. 210.

[393] Campbell, J. C. (2008). "Politics of Old-Age Policy-Making." In F. Coulmas, H. Conrad, A. Schad-Seifert, & G. Vogt (Eds.), *The Demographic Challenge: A Handbook About Japan* (pp. 653–665). Brill, p 661.

[394] The monthly compensation of full-time workers is approximately JPY110,000 less than the industry average. See Mizuho, A., (2016). "Nursing Care Workers Hard to Find but in Demand in Aging Japan." *Japan Times.* Retrieved from https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/06/27/reference/nursing-care-workers-hard-to-find-but-in-demand-in-aging-japan/. [Accessed 27 December 2021]

rigorous training and national certification requirements under Japan's LTCI system.[395] For instance, to qualify for long-term stay, foreign care workers employed under this scheme must pass the same Japanese certification within a certain time frame. However, the admission number is relatively small and has even decreased in recent years, owing to the high entry threshold and lack of long-term career security. Furthermore, immigration policy reform has been achieved slowly since 2008 despite the substantial support from the Japan Business Association (*Keidanren*), the country's largest employer association, and demands of elder care institutions to expand the admission of foreign workers. Instead, coherently with Japan's historical migration policies, *Nikkeijin* and foreign wives of nationals have been hired to care for the elderly.[396]

4.3 ASEAN-Japan International Cooperation and the "Movement of Natural Persons"

Southeast Asia has always played an important role in the Japanese foreign policy agenda since the conclusion of World War II, and economic relations have grown significantly since 1967, the year the ASEAN was created by the founding five governments (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, and Thailand). In the early 1950s, the Japanese government initiated diplomatic and economic relations through war reparations with nations damaged by the Pacific War, and official prime ministerial visits have marked Japan's political ties with ASEAN. [397] The long-standing cooperation has evolved in response to Japan's foreign policy strategy, which is founded on the ideas of the Fukuda Doctrine. In 1977, then Japan's Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda made a speech in Manila underling three important principles: Japan would not become a military power again; Japan would conduct its relations with Southeast Asian states through "heart-to-heart" dialogue; and Japan would pursue an equal relationship with ASEAN by cooperating positively through mutual understanding.[398] Fukuda's main objective was to demonstrate Japan's willingness to make amends for its past practices and to promote peaceful coexistence. It was a watershed moment in Japan's relations with Southeast Asian countries since it focused not only on economic growth through trade, investments,

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[395] The Japanese state defines all fees for such services, which are paid through local governments. See Peng, I. (2018), op. cit., p. 1121.

[396] Peng (2017), op. cit., p. 197.

[397] The first ASEAN-Japan dialogue took place in 1973, with a forum on Synthetic Rubber. During his tour to Southeast Asia, then-Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka encountered anti-Japanese protests, causing Japan to reconsider its diplomatic ties in the area.

[398] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (1977). "Chapter Three: Diplomatic Efforts Made by Japan," in *Diplomatic Bluebook for 1977: Review of Recent Developments in Japan's Foreign Relations.* Retrieved from https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/1977/1977-3-1.htm. [Accessed 12 January 2022]

and aid, but also on community building and mutual understanding, as well as regional integration through a variety of projects and funds. In this context, Japan's FDIs and trade policies with ASEAN countries have aimed at establishing a long-term interdependent structure within Asia and developing a mutually advantageous framework through trade links.

The postwar international economic system has certainly been defined by trade and investment liberalization, and East and Southeast Asian sub-regions are no exception, with FDIs, international migration, tourism, and remittances all acknowledged to be structural aspects of this area.[399] The foundation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) at the end of 2015 envisions ASEAN as a single market and manufacturing base, intending to make it a competitive economic area through integration into the global economy and the facilitation of skilled labor flows across member states. In this view, the 5th ASEAN Summit in 1995 in Bangkok identified immigration as an area where cooperation could be strengthened even further. It is stated that "ASEAN shall focus on promoting sustainable tourism development, preservation of cultural and environmental resources, the provision of transportation and other infrastructure, simplification of immigration procedures and human resource development."[400] This summit was followed by more determination to strengthen ASEAN cooperation with its external partners with the adoption of the ASEAN Plan of Action for Cooperation on Immigration Matters in 2000, which included elements such as "seek technical assistance from ASEAN Dialogue Partners and relevant specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations, particularly with regard to training" as well as "establish working relationship with immigration officials from other more developed countries using advanced immigration systems to ensure ASEAN immigration authorities to promote awareness of latest developments on immigration matters."[401] In this light, the promotion of trade, investment, tourism, and human capital development has been advanced by the ASEAN-Japan Centre. Founded in 1981, it continues to play a vital role in stimulating people-to-people contacts through a variety of activities ranging from seminars and workshops to research and policy analysis, with a mission to contribute to the

[399] Muhammad Al, M., & Kameyama, Y. (2019). "Effects of FDI & Remittances on the International Migration and Tourism from Asian Countries to Japan." *Japan Social Innovation Journal*, *9*(1), 1-19, p. 1.
[400] Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (1995, December). *Bangkok Summit Declaration of 1995 in Bangkok.* Retrieved from https://asean.org/bangkok-summit-declaration-of-1995-bangkok14-15-december-1995/. [Accessed 12 January 2022]
[401] Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2000). *ASEAN Plan of Action for Cooperation on Immigration Matters.*

achievement of the SDGs through its operations.[402] Other initiatives have been taken to promote human resources as means to protect the rights of migrant workers. For instance, since 2003, the ASEAN Plus Three[403] High-Level Officials Meeting on Caring Societies has been a significant initiative in enhancing human resources in health and social welfare in the region.

The role of trade and economic integration policies in encouraging the movement of workers in the service sector is becoming more well recognized. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), a multilaterally approved framework agreement in 1995 for the trade of services applying to all member states of the World Trade Organization, is one of the key tools for regulating and creating reliable trade and economic integration policies, including labor migration. The GATS classifies and regulates service supply through four modes: modes 1-3 govern cross-border trade, consumption abroad, and commercial presence, respectively; mode 4 governs "presence of natural persons," which refers to foreign nationals entering the territory of another member to supply a service. The Annex on Movement of Natural Persons indicates that governments are free to implement permanent rules relating to citizenship, residency, or access to the labor market.[404] While the inclusion of services in international trade agreements was initially pushed by industrialized economies as a method of gaining access to other markets, it has also provided developing countries with greater leverage than unilateral or seasonal worker programs. In this setting, East and Southeast Asia have seen a proliferation of Free Trade Agreements (FTA) not only within but also beyond subregions, culminating in the formation of an ASEAN+3 Free Trade Area in 1997. Preferential trade agreements, in particular, have facilitated international cooperation via the inclusion of terms that go well beyond tariff reductions, particularly in areas of regulatory coordination such as labor standards.[405]

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[402] ASEAN-Japan Centre. (n.d.). *About AJC*. Retrieved from https://www.asean.or.jp/en/ajc/. [Accessed 12 January 2022]

[403] The ASEAN Plus Three is an international cooperation platform that brings together ASEAN, Japan, South Korea, and China.

[404] World Trade Organization. (n.d.). "The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS): objectives, coverage and disciplines." *World Trade Organization.* Retrieved from https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/serv_e/gatsqa_e.htm. [Accessed 14 February 2022]

[405] Bakhshi, S., & Kerr, W. A. (2010). "Labour Standards as a Justification for Trade Barriers: Consumer Concerns, Protectionism, and the Evidence." *Estey Journal of International Law and Trade Policy*, *11*(1), 153-181, pp. 163-164.

In this atmosphere, such procedures have arisen as a popular means of gaining access to migrant labor in the healthcare sector, since they allow a more flexible manner of opening up the labor market than multilateral agreements.[406] Despite projections of severe labor shortages in the healthcare sector, Japan has been the most hesitant. Despite the introduction of the "medical service" visa in the 1989 Immigration Law, very few foreigners came to Japan to work as doctors and nurses. The reason was represented by the fact that, until the mid-2000s, foreign care workers had to be long-term residents, as the Japanese Immigration Control Act prohibited healthcare workers without citizenship or permanent residency from working after seven years of work experience, even after passing the Japanese national exam.[407] Therefore, before the implementation of legal agreements allowing the admission of healthcare personnel, the majority of foreign care workers were immigrants, mainly Filipino, who had obtained permanent residence visas and registered in private educational institutions to receive training in the field of care.[408] The Home Helper license is awarded after study and vocational training by the municipal government, the National Council of Social Welfare, or the prefecture, and is divided into several levels based on the curriculum.[409] Filipino women who came to work in Japan in the 1980s and 1990s, mostly as entertainers, saw care work not just as a source of income but as a way to "be of service to others" and to "to be recognized by the Japanese society." [410] This highlighted how this occupation provided them with a feeling of self-worth and a desire to establish relationships with local communities.

Proposals for immigration policy change in the care sector emerged in the 2000s at a time a substantial shortage of geriatric care workers emerged as a result of the public care sector's rapid expansion. Moreover, the shift in view on the acceptability of migrant workers came with the report *The Frontier Within: Individual Empowerment and Better Governance in the New Millennium*, commissioned by then Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and published in 2000, sparked social and policy discussion about the future direction of

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[406] Ramjoué, M. (2011). *How Do People in Asia and the Pacific Migrate Legally for Work? An Overview of Legal Frameworks: GATS mode 4, PTAs and Bilateral Labour Agreements*. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, p. 10.

[407] Naiki, Y. (2015). "Labour Migration under the Japan-Philippines and Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreements." In M. Panizzon, G. Zurcher, E. Fornalé, & G. Zürcher (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of International Labour Migration: Law and Policy Perspectives* (pp. 341–358). Palgrave Macmillan, p. 343.

[408] Vogt, G., & Holdgrün, P. (2012). "Gender and Ethnicity in Japan's Health-Care Labor Market." *ASIEN: The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, *124*, 69-94, p. 84.

[409] The Home Helper level 2 license, in instance, is obtained after 130 hours of study.

[410] Carlos, R. D. (2010). "Filipino careworkers in ageing Japan: Trends, trajectories and policies." In *Migration: A World in Motion. Conference Paper* (pp. 18-20), p. 16.

Japan. The report discussed the necessity for a more explicit immigration system owing to the inadequacy of the acceptance process of international migrants.[411] Nonetheless, despite significant pressure from Japanese business stakeholders to liberalize the labor market, Japan began implementing nurse and care worker migration plans without directly amending its immigration regulations.[412] In an attempt to fill the gap, a series of EPAs signed with the Philippines (also called JPEPA), Indonesia (JIEPA), and Vietnam (JVEPA),[413] key origin countries in the Asia-Pacific region in the period from 2006 to 2011.[414] Aside from trade and investment liberalization, key features of these accords concern what Maragtas S.V. Amante defines as the "labor component"[415] which includes: human resource development; the "movement of natural persons," defined as "a natural person who resides in the other Party or elsewhere and who under the law of the other Party is a national of the other Party"; and work standards, as well as compliance with international and domestic labor law norms, such as acceptable working conditions in terms of minimum salaries, working hours, and occupational safety and health.[416] In particular, the annex about the movement of natural persons contains specific requirements of entry and qualification for both parties' nationals "who engage in

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[411] Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the Twenty-first Century. (1999) "Chapter 3: Achieving a Contented and Enriching Life." In *The frontier within: individual empowerment and better governance in the new millennium*. Tokyo: The Cabinet Office of Japan, p. 11.

[412] In 2003, the Japan Business Federation (*Keidanren*) published a document titled *Japan 2025: Envisioning a Vibrant, Attractive Nation in the Twenty-First Century*, which advocated for the internationalization of Japanese business society. Furthermore, the federation has stated since 2007 that EPAs should be expanded to cover workers in sheet metal processing, welding, and shipbuilding, which are industries where Japanese firms have been experiencing a labor shortage. See Vogt, G. (2007). "Closed Doors, Open Doors, Doors Wide Shut? Migration Politics in Japan." *Japan Aktuell*, *5*, 3-30, pp. 21-22.

[413] Despite the fact that JVEPA entered into force in 2009, talks with Japan over the prospect of accepting Vietnamese certified nurses and care workers were finalized the following year. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA). (April 17, 2012) *Japan-Viet Nam Exchange*. Tokyo, Japan. Retrieved from https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001465.html. [Accessed 12 January 2022]

[414] In 2011, Japan and India signed a similar agreement to allow the entry of nurse and care professionals. In this regard, the EPA noted that "Japan shall enter into negotiation with India… regarding the acceptance of Indian qualified nurses and certified care workers by Japan, with a view to reaching a conclusion of the negotiations within one year, if possible, but not later than two years, after the entry into force of this Agreement." Despite the fact that the EPA has been in effect for more than 10 years, neither party has renewed its negotiations so far. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (February 16, 2011). *Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement between Japan and the Republic of India. Japan-India.* Retrieved from https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/fta/india.html. [Accessed 13 January 2022].

[415] Amante, M. S. (2007). "Labor Dimension of the Japan-Philippine Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA)." *Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization.*

[416] Article 103 of the JPEPA recognizes the need to promote decent work in trade and that "…it is inappropriate to encourage investment by weakening or reducing the protections afforded in domestic labor laws." Both parties are committed to (a) the right of association; (b) the right to organize and bargain collectively; 86 (c) a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor; (d) labor protections for children and young people, including a minimum age for the employment of children and the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor; and (e) acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health.

supplying services as nurses or certified care workers or related activities, on the basis of a contract with private or public organizations, or on the basis of admission to public or private training facilities."[417] Although this rule applies to healthcare personnel from both nations, the majority involves nurses and care workers migrating to Japan.[418] It goes without saying that such an arrangement has opened up many opportunities for both sides. EPAs were created to provide reciprocal benefits to both origin and destination countries, to increase economic and employment benefits.

4.4 Opportunities for the Recruitment and Training of Foreign Care Workers

Two types of care workers were admitted under specific commitments and requirements: nurse (*kangoshi*) trainees, who must obtain a nursing license in their home country and possess two years minimum of working experience as a nurse; and certified caregivers (*kaigo fukushishi*), who must have graduated from a nursing college or vocational school or acquired a caregiver certificate from the home government. The EPAs negotiated established quotas for each country: the JPEPA and JIEPA stipulated the entry of 1000 health professionals (400 nurses and 600 caregivers) in Japan from each country within two years of the beginning of the scheme.[419] The inclusion of care workers was eventually incorporated in all of the instances as a consequence of multiple rounds of negotiating. In the instance of the JPEPA, the agreement was reached in 2006, but the Philippines required another two years to ratify it in 2008. The postponement was caused by intense internal resistance from Filipino civil society, in particular the "Junk Japan-Philippines EPA" association, which argued that qualified nurses would be exploited as cheap workers and discriminated against.[420] Furthermore, the Philippines proposed that Japan allow not just nurses but also nannies and domestic workers to work there. However, only nurses and care professionals with qualifications were eventually admitted, in conformity with the Japanese immigration policy favoring highly skilled migrants.[421] Similarly, Japan and Indonesia had a series of preliminary consultations in 2005, during which Indonesia requested that Japan recognize Indonesian qualifications for a variety of

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[417] The agreements expressly state that it does not oblige either party to take any actions in accordance with immigration laws and regulations.
[418] Each agreements provides two distinct sections dedicated to "natural persons of Japan as well as to "natural persons of Indonesia", "natural persons of the Philippines" and "natural persons of Vietnam."
[419] Amante, M. S. (2007), op. cit., p. 26.
[420] Yagi, N., Mackey, T. K., Liang, B. A., & Gerlt, L. (2014), op. cit., p. 244.
[421] Ogawa, R. (2012), op. cit., p. 575.

occupations in the service sector; however, Japan was less accommodating due to their low skilled status.[422]

Nonetheless, the EPAs gave Southeast Asian nations the power they needed to compel Japan, a major player in the international community, to accept more migrants in exchange for access to their markets.[423] The Philippines' Senate Economic Planning Office published an assessment affirming that, given Japan's need for healthcare workers, opening the Japanese labor market to Filipinos would create job opportunities, facilitate training and improve the competitiveness of Filipino workers, while also boosting remittances from overseas contracts workers.[424] Stakeholders in Indonesia were also very optimistic about the signing of the EPA as an opportunity to learn from Japanese care sector development and as a temporary solution to the country's temporary surplus of health professionals.[425] Although Indonesian hospitals and health facilities continue to face a serious nurse shortage and inadequate healthcare access for their populations, nursing students continue to graduate in large numbers every year.[426] In this regard, it was a significant step forward for Indonesia since the agreement included measures not just for trade liberalization but also for market access facilitation and technical collaboration.

After completing six months of language training, the first group of Indonesian care workers arrived in Japan in August 2008 and began working as nurse and care worker candidates in hospitals and care institutions. Language training in their home country is the first step on their journey to becoming certified nurses and caregivers. When they arrive in Japan, they are expected to work and study the Japanese language and culture to pass the Japanese Nursing Examination, established by national law in 1988, under nearly the same conditions as Japanese candidates. The test is composed of 240 multiple choice questions regarding technical skills as well as Japanese language proficiency concluded

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[422] Ivi, p. 237.

[423] Ford, M., & Kawashima, K. (2016). "Regulatory approaches to managing skilled migration: Indonesian nurses in Japan." *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 27(2), 231-247, p. 234.

[424] Senate Economic Planning Office of the Philippines. (2007). *Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA),* PB-07-01.

[425] Bachtiar, P. P., & Tirtosudarmo, R. (2017). "From Domestic Workers to Care Workers, Understanding the Dynamics of Indonesia's Overseas Labour Mobility." *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development*, 27(3-4), 142-158, p. 145.

[426] Anderson, I., Meliala, A., Marzoeki, P. & Pambudi, E. (2014) *The Production, Distribution, and Performance of Physicians, Nurses, and Midwives in Indonesia: An Update.* World Bank Group, Washington, DC.

in over seven hours.[427] This qualification as a certified nurse or caregiver is especially important for foreign care workers aiming to permanently stay in Japan after the program, otherwise, they will have to leave the country. A nurse candidate may take the exam three times within three years, while care worker candidates may take it during their fourth year of arrival in Japan. Those who pass the exam are given permanent employment and a visa for "designated activities," as well as the opportunity of family reunion.

Both the Japanese government and the receiving hospital care institutions bear the expense of migration, which includes costs for recruiting, matching, travel, and Japanese language training. Due to the high expenses, the duration and locations of the program were later changed to three months of pre-departure training provided by private organizations in the Philippines and Indonesia, and six months in Japan. In the years afterward, the curriculum was expanded, and now Japanese language preparation is offered for 6-12 months before entry, followed by additional 2.5-6 months of training in Japan.[428] A significant component of the program thus comprises language education, which is crucial not just for facilitating communication and documentation, but also for delivering respect when speaking formally to the elderly.

Hospitals and care facilities that are eligible to accept the applicants must follow specific standards and are required to give consistent training throughout the training period to the candidates for them to pass the exam.[429] In fact, these institutions are carefully sanctioned by the Japan International Corporation of Welfare Services (JICWELS), a semi-governmental entity designated by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (MHLW) as the sole matching agency and acceptance support, which is also in charge of educating and managing EPA applicants, as well as promoting communication between employees and employers. The recruitment is done by the collaboration between the JICWELS and government-led agencies in destination countries, represented by the National Board for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers, the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration, and the Vietnamese Department for

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[427]Efendi, F., Mackey, T. K., Huang, M. C., & Chen, C. M. (2017). "IJEPA: Gray area for health policy and international nurse migration." *Nursing Ethics*, *24*(3), 313-328, p. 317.

[428] Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan. (2019a). op.cit. p. 7.

[429] Ogawa, R. (2012). op. cit., 577-579. Until they pass the exam, migrant caregivers who occupy such roles are considered "candidates", which means they can practice legally without a license. Moreover, because the workplaces eligible within the EPAs must meet specific criteria, they are only permitted to work in highly regulated institutions.

Overseas Labor Management. Applicants are recruited by bodies in origin countries, while the JICWELS compiles a list from which institutions are asked to select applicants based on minimal information such as their names, educational and employment backgrounds. The Japanese hospitals and caregiving facilities that seek to accept such individuals must also meet certain criteria. Finally, the terms and conditions of foreign skilled employees must be the same as those of native laborers, so candidates for the EPA are granted a wage equivalent to that of unlicensed Japanese caregivers and are protected under national labor law. This program allows international caregivers to compete on an equal basis with Japanese caregivers in the Japanese care labor market, representing therefore an upright migration scheme that balances migrant workers' rights with developmental objectives. Exploitation by brokers, labor irregularities, and illegal recruiting are all quite infrequent as a result of such a state-to-state approach.

4.5 Challenges to Migrant Care Workers' Aspirations and Skill Recognition in Japan

In contrast to the other six categories of professionals permitted to enter into Japan under the EPAs, the introduction of the category of nurses and caregivers represented a novelty. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the Japanese government was very cautious in introducing EPA candidates, by imposing specific requirements. Their acceptance is the policy outcome that arose as a result of discussions not only between the governments of Japan and Southeast Asia, which made strong requests along this line but also as a compromise between several Japanese ministries with opposing views on their recruitment. [430] Under these circumstances, unexpected obstacles arose during the implementation stage that were not anticipated during the negotiations, and various researchers noted several issues with the program's performance.

Firstly, while the program also served a developmental function, the passage rates of the Japanese Nursing Examination have remained low more than a decade after the initiative's launch. Already at the beginning of the implementation of the scheme, Takayoshi Shintani, chairman of Aoikai Group, a medical service company that sponsors EPA nursing applicants outside of Tokyo, affirmed that "the exam is to make sure the foreigners would fail."[431] Unsurprisingly, only 18 percent of Indonesians passed the exam

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[430] Ogawa, R. (2012). op. cit. p. 576.
[431] Tabuchi, H. (2011, January 2). "Japan Keeps a High Wall for Foreign Labor." *The New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/03/world/asia/03japan.html [accessed 12 September 2021]

between 2010 and 2014, while 7.18 percent of Filipino employees passed between 2009 and 2011. As the national exam tends to evaluate skills and knowledge deeply ingrained in local language and culture, the national examination has been regarded as a major obstacle for these workers. According to Asis and Carandang's study of 31 migrant workers, language discrimination is one of the stressors at work, reducing their career prospects and hampering their personal growth. [432] The Japanese government acknowledged the low passing result and amended the conditions to allow candidates to stay in Japan for an additional year and retake the test.[433] Other changes included the adjustments to the examination, adding easier phrases, phonetic characters to aid the reading of Chinese characters, and English translations where possible.[434] Yet, the low passing rate has brought attention to the high costs of the scheme and administrative requirements for both the Japanese government and accepting institutions. As stated by Nozomi Yagi and colleagues, "under these circumstances, accepting hospitals have significant sunk costs […] that create disincentives for participation and severely limit the effectiveness and attractiveness to participate in the program."[435]

As candidates, most migrant care workers work as nurse's aides whose duties include much fewer technical tasks. Therefore, they are not permitted to perform professional nursing duties they would have otherwise performed in their home countries. Many care workers who returned to the Philippines and Indonesia after working in Japan for years felt they had lost not just their nursing abilities but also their confidence. The subsequent understanding of the working differences between nurses and care workers in particular, as well as between Japanese, Indonesian, and Filipino concepts of care work, resulted in dissatisfaction, as they felt as though they were experiencing a sense of downward mobility. No medical or nursing interventions are authorized, thus one of the participants described their duty as "only feeding, bathing, and taking patients for a walk".[436] This is further emphasized by the notion of care as a cultural practice to learn

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[432] Asis, E., & Carandang, R. R. (2020). "The plight of migrant care workers in Japan: A qualitative study of their stressors on caregiving." *Journal of Migration and Health*, *1*, 100001.

[433] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2017, February 3). "Extension of Period of Stay for Candidates for Nurses and Certified Careworkers from Indonesia, the Philippines and Viet Nam Based on Economic Partnership Agreements." *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.* Retrieved from https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001465.html. [Accessed 15 January 2022]

[434] Shinohara, C. (2016). "Health-care Work in Globalization: News Reports on Care Worker Migration to Japan." *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, *25*(1), 7-26, p. 12.

[435] Yagi, N., Mackey, T. K., Liang, B. A., & Gerlt, L. (2014), op. cit., p. 247.

[436] Kurniati A., Chen C.M., Efendi F. and Ogawa R. (2017). "A deskilling and challenging journey: The lived experience of Indonesian nurse returnees." *International Nursing Review*. 64(4): 494–501, p. 497.

about "Japanese care work," such as how to "respect toileting style and custom," as well as to appreciate the smells of unique Japanese food and comprehend the proper ways to put on a kimono.[437] The emphasis put by institutional care on Japanese traditional values demonstrates that the EPA curriculum relates professionalism in the care sector to a comprehensive knowledge of Japanese culture and etiquette.[438]

Another unintended consequence is that a growing number of trainees have returned to their home countries despite passing the exam. Various studies have been undertaken to investigate the factors that influence return migration. According to a study of fifteen Indonesian nurses, some were forced to return due to family responsibilities and other health and psychological concerns, particularly after facing problems and being overworked while continuing to live and work full-time in Japan.[439] Working hours and the status hierarchy are often so rigorous and demanding that the curriculum in 2012 included ninety hours on "understanding and adjusting in the Japanese workplace," with a concentration on standardized procedures and paperwork for care personnel.[440] Some migrant workers have experienced discrimination and voiced their unhappiness with their care facility's treatment, as they are generally put at the bottom of the hierarchy based on their age, experience, and citizenship.[441] Furthermore, research conducted on Indonesian nurses found that the returning nurses experience some difficulties in being promptly hired in the nursing field upon their return. Nonetheless, several returning nurses made use of the financial and human capital earned in Japan to support their life in their home country. The acquisition of Japanese language proficiency and a disciplined work ethic, in particular, has benefitted them in getting jobs in Japanese corporations and healthcare institutions.[442] In fact, after attending classes on Japanese culture and society, EPA employees were able to grasp the notion of care through the perspective of Japanese clients.[443]

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[437] Lan clearly provides the curriculum for EPA candidates and its implication in her work. See Lan, P. C. (2018). "Bridging ethnic differences for cultural intimacy: production of migrant care workers in Japan." *Critical Sociology*, *44*(7-8), 1029-1043. P. 1035-1036.

[438] Ibid.

[439] Kurniati A., Chen C.M., Efendi F. and Ogawa R. (2017), op.cit., pp. 497-498.

[440] Lan, P. C. (2016). "Deferential surrogates and professional others: Recruitment and training of migrant care workers in Taiwan and Japan." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, *24*(1), 253-279, p. 269.

[441] Asis, E., & Carandang, R. R. (2020). op.cit.

[442] Kurniati, A., Chen, C. M., Efendi, F., & Ogawa, R. (2017), op. cit., p. 499.

[443] Lan, P. C. (2016). op. cit. p. 269.

Workplace difficulties include work-life balance and cultural friction between migrant and local caregivers. Caregiving occupations, in particular, have characteristics that reflect social norms about how the elderly should be cared for in each country. Lan described the workplace as a "zone of cultural friction" where personal connections are hampered by cultural differences. While the Japanese work ethic has been described as hardworking but overly bureaucratic, foreign caregivers' otherness is defined by so-called "affective labor" and "affective capital," which include smiles, physical contact, and emotional expressions that have the power to revitalize an ageing community.[444] In a different study, a Japanese care worker narrated that "the elderly are pleased to have a cheerful person in their boring daily lives."[445] According to a 2010 survey conducted by the Kyushu University Research Team of fifty-three Japanese care facilities that accepted the first batch of Indonesian candidates, more than half of the institutions were satisfied with their performance for reasons such as "the workplace became revitalized" and "the elderly became livelier." Moreover, nearly 80 percent reported that they "motivated Japanese staff to understand different cultures."[446] Nonetheless, Lan has argued that such essentialist discourse harms migrant workers by reducing affective labor to a "natural inclination" of Southeast Asian women to care for others, rather than the result of professional skills or knowledge.[447]

The gendered perspective on care labor, which has been heavily impacted by the aforementioned Japanese cultural and social practice, is also important in influencing migrant workers' experiences. While women make up the majority of care migrant workers, ideologies have helped to maintain this trend, as seen by a preference for female healthcare workers in Japan. For instance, 86 Indonesian care workers, 66 of whom were men, were unable to be matched and secure employment with hospitals and nursing care facilities during the recruitment process. Furthermore, whereas 40 percent of the healthcare professionals in the initial group of Indonesians were men, the picture painted in the Japanese press and media was dramatically different. Only women were shown on television, emphasizing their feminine characteristics, and describing them with

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[444] Lan, P. C. (2018), op. cit., 1038.
[445] Ogawa, R. (2012), op. cit. p. 581.
[446] Ivi, p. 580.
[447] Lan, P. C. (2016). op. cit. p. 271.

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adjectives such as "kind," "cheerful" and "smiling." [448] According to Philip Brasor, they "conveyed the impression that they were Florence Nightingales coming to Japan with the purest charitable intensions to comfort its ageing population."[449]

4.6 Trade or Migration Policy? Policy Gaps in EPAs' Implementation

The ILO has recognized the JIEPA plan for its emphasis on skill and capacity development.[450] However, migrant care workers' experiences in Japan have revealed that promises of skill enhancement and opportunities for more permanent kinds of migration are only partially achieved. This may be due in part to a policy and intention discrepancy among stakeholders during negotiations, which resulted in the provisions concerning migration within the trade agreement being poorly constructed and enforced. The entrance of health professionals was not without controversy. As their inclusion was a result of a trade agreement, and not as a result of immigration or labor market regulations, it has been placed at the crossroads of several policy fields, which reflect the different agendas and interests involved in the EPA negotiations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (MIETI) were the principal proponents of JPEPA and the development of a migration scheme. Both governmental agencies, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), recognized the need for short-term labor migration, particularly of medium and low skilled workers, to balance Japan's shrinking national workforce.[451] Likewise, the Ministry of Economics, Trade, and Industry identified the demands voiced by hospitals and caregiving facilities in need of qualified workers. [452] As previously stated, the *Keidanren* was also in support of easing entrance restrictions for migrant workers, including nurses and caregivers, and had renewed its requests and position of increasing the number of foreign employees in the care sector in July 2012 in preparation for the approaching JIEPA renegotiation.[453] By contrast, the MHLW was initially reluctant to accept the employment of foreign care workers as it has insisted that migrant workers

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448 Brasor, P. (2008, August 17). "Indonesians put to the test on the job in Japan." *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2008/08/17/national/media-national/indonesians-put-to-the-test-on-the-job-in-japan/. [Accessed 22 January 2022]
449 Ibid.
450 See Ford, M., & Kawashima, K. (2016), op. cit., p. 239.
451 Vogt, G. (2007), op. cit., p. 17.
452 Ivi, p. 18.
453 Japan Business Federation. (2012). "Call for the renegotiation of the Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement." (in Japanese) *Keidanren*. Retrieved from https://www.keidanren.or.jp/policy/2012/054.html. [accessed 25 January 2022]

were not necessary for geriatric services. The MHLW's stance was supported by organizations such as the Japanese Nursing Association (JNA), the national professional association for midwives and nurses, and the Japanese Federation of Medical Workers' Unions (JFMWU), a trade union representing workers in the healthcare sector in Japan. They were outspoken in their opposition to the Ministry of Economics, Trade, and Industry's proposal for reciprocal recognition of nursing certifications between Japan and partner nations, naming worries about the deterioration of Japanese nurses' working conditions and professionalism. [454] They pushed for improving overall working conditions in the caregiving sector rather than establishing new immigration programs.[455] Similarly, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ), which oversees the Immigration Bureau, had long been opposed to immigration as a response to labor shortages, owing to concerns about compromising social and border security. [456] This was consistent with Japan's immigration policy and stance on the denial of a section dedicated to the entry of low-skilled workers during EPA negotiations with the Philippines and Indonesia, in which the Ministry of Justice rejected new reforms in favor of maintaining Japan's strict border control. Rather than permitting low-skilled workers from other nations to enter Japan, the Ministry of Justice has campaigned for hiring Japanese women and NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training) youth, as well as *Nikkeijin*, to meet labor shortages.[457]

Subsequently, the structure of the EPAs was defined by a political compromise reached amongst government agencies. The MHLW vehemently rejected the existence of a nursing and care staff deficit, arguing that EPA personnel were invited only to suit national goals in trade liberalization. In this regard, the MHLW stated that:

> "Approving potential nurses and caregivers from Indonesia and the Philippines is not a response to the labor shortages in the health service; this training program has been agreed, on the basis of strong requests from the trading partner countries, in order to strengthen economic partnerships."[458]

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[454] Lan, P. C. (2016), op. cit., pp. 265-266.
[455] Vogt, G. (2007), op. cit., pp. 18-19.
[456] Ford, M., & Kawashima, K. (2013). "Temporary labour migration and care work: The Japanese experience." *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 55(3), 430-444, p. 434.
[457] Vogt, G. (2007), op. cit., p. 19.
[458] See Naiki, Y. (2015), op. cit., p. 344.

This clearly demonstrated that Japan's participation in the temporary labor migration market was portrayed as a step toward deeper regional economic integration, rather than as a way of addressing the severe labor shortage in the care sector. Despite acknowledging a deficit, it was exactly the JNA that advocated for requiring Southeast Asian care workers to pass the National Examination and viewed migration not as a way of sustaining the Japanese healthcare sector, but as a "matter of addressing the trade imbalance between the two countries by adding professionals as a subject of import and export."[459] The JNA largely defined the framework of migration of care under the EPAs, as they proposed four important conditions regarding the trade agreements: (1) to qualify for the Japanese nursing license, foreign nurses must pass the Registered Nurse National Board Examination; (2) foreign nurses must obtain good Japanese language proficiency to provide safe nursing care; (3) foreign nurses must be employed in conditions that are equal to or better than those of Japanese nurses; (4) there must be no mutual recognition of license. While the Ministry of Justice hesitantly consented to accept care professionals, it denied providing a "medical visa" to nurse and care worker applicants, preferring to maintain control over the scheme by issuing "designated activity" visas.[460] The Minister of Justice defines the terms of such visa, which has been granted to "trainees" and a small number of domestic workers employed for foreign expatriates and embassy and diplomatic staff.[461]

Acceptance of care workers was therefore heavily impacted by differing perspectives on EPAs as a means of increasing economic cooperation and expansion in Southeast Asian nations, or as a source of or threat to the Japanese domestic labor market and social security. According to Ogawa, this reflects the political decision in foreign policy to expand Japan's market to Southeast Asia and to maximize economic opportunities.[462] She argues that the Japanese government established maximum quotas while considering the potential impact on the local labor market, to promote the export of Japanese goods despite the need to alleviate the labor shortage in many care institutions, especially in small-sized hospitals and those in rural areas. Yuko O. Hirano, Kunio Tsubota, and Shun Ohno looked at the factors that influenced the recruitment of EPA care

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[459] Japan Nursing Association. (2008, March). "JNA News" *No. 38*. Retrieved from www.nurse.or.jp/jna/english/news/pdf/38.pdf. [Accessed 13 January 2022]
[460] Suzuki, N. (2007). "Carework and migration: Japanese perspectives on the Japan-Philippines economic partnership agreement." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *16*(3), 357-381, pp. 366-367.
[461] Ivi, p. 367.
[462] Ogawa, R. (2012). op.cit. p. 571.

workers among hospital managers. They observed that institutions are not well informed on them, and several reported having difficulties recruiting them despite their desire to do so.[463] Rather, many institutions have looked for different ways to deal with labor scarcity.[464] As they conclude, "in bartering Toyota cars with Filipino nurses and liquified petroleum gas with Indonesian nurses, they disregard the challenges of hospitals as well as those of EPA nurses." [465] This underlines the disparity between the Japanese government's and the JNA's perceptions of the domestic labor market and the conditions and immediate capacity demands of Japanese hospitals and care institutions.

Japan was therefore put in a position entangled between the domestic and international interests in an increasingly globalized economy. From a rights-based perspective, the regulatory approach of such scheme and protection of labor standards make EPAs interesting as they provide a safe route for labor migration as well as more entitlements and benefits for migrant workers. However, the way the training is developed has had both intended and unintended consequences for the economic and human development of the countries involved as well as migrant workers. The program has proved to be costly for both the states and hosting institutions due to the low passing rate and the high expectations at the beginning were not met in terms of skill development.

4.7 New Pathways for Migrant Care Workers in Japan

Since the modification of the Immigration Control Act in 1989, the admittance of migrant care workers within the Japanese border through the EPA program has constituted a significant step toward opening the labor market to move from abroad. Although the EPAs appear to be unable to address all of the demands of the current Japanese nurse shortage, such trade agreements have the potential to serve as a starting point for future international standards in bilateral and regional free trade agreements to provide safe channels for economic migration as well as to enhance international cooperation. Despite the modest number of care workers and the high costs shouldered

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[463] Hirano, Y. O., Tsubota, K., & Ohno, S. (2020). "Factors associated with the recruitment of foreign nurses in Japan: a nationwide study of hospitals." *Human Resources for Health*, *18*(1), 1-9.

[464] They make the example of the International Medical Human Resource Foundation established by the Japan Hospital Association, one of Japan's biggest hospital associations. The organization seeks for qualified Chinese nursing students who will be taught Japanese for one to three years before arriving in Japan. They have an advantage in the Nursing National Examination not only thanks to the longer preparation, but also because they can read Chinese characters, as opposed to Filipino, Indonesian, and Vietnamese staff who use the Latin alphabet.

[465] Hirano, Y. O., Tsubota, K., & Ohno, S. (2020), op. cit., p. 7.

by the state and hosting institutions, the program remains in force, and each spring welcomes numerous Southeast Asian employees seeking employment in the care sector in Japan. There have been considerable delays due to the closure of Japan's borders to foreign nationals in 2020. Nonetheless, some candidates were permitted to enter after the relaxation of entry restrictions.[466] The most recent ceremony for the commencement of the Preparatory Japanese Language Training for the 14th Batch of Filipino applicants was conducted online in November 2021.[467]

The labor shortage of care workers is expected to reach 690,000 by 2040.[468] The apparent acknowledgment of the EPA system's unsatisfactory outcomes has created new opportunities for migrant workers to work in the nursing care sector, where the ratio of available jobs to applicants is substantially greater than the all-industry average.[469] In particular, the *Japan Revitalization Strategy* was published in June 2014 by the Abe administration. Remarkably, its objectives underlined the necessity to assess foreign worker training programs, as well as the acceptance of foreign domestic workers and the employment of foreign students in nursing care services.[470] In this light, since September 2017, international students with high Japanese language proficiency who have graduated from a vocational college or equivalent institution and have passed the care worker qualification have been granted a new working visa under the "nursing care" residence status. This visa was created in 2016 as part of a modification of the Immigration Control Act to address the issue of foreign people graduating from Japanese welfare colleges with care worker qualifications but not being able to work in Japan.[471] It differs from the

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[466] According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the 7th Batch of Vietnamese workers (193 care worker and 38 registered nurse candidates) arrived in Japan in early November 2020, while the 8th Batch (166 care workers and 37 nurse candidates) arrived in early September 2021; 280 care worker candidates and 23 nurse candidates arrived from Indonesia in the second half of December 2020.

[467] Embassy of Japan in the Philippines (2021, November 25). "14th Batch of EPA nurse and care worker candidates to undergo Preparatory Japanese Language Training." *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.* Retrieved from https://www.ph.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/11_000001_00646.html. [Accessed 31 January 2022]

[468] Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan. (2021). "Required Number of Nursing Care Staff Based on the 8th Long-Term Care Insurance Business Plan." (in Japanese). Retrieved from https://www.mhlw .go.jp/content/12004000/000804129.pdf. [Accessed 31 January 2022]

[469] Kyodo. (2020, October 15). "Interest in nursing care jobs grows in Japan as pandemic drags on." *The Japan Times.* Retrieved from https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2020/10/15/national/social-issues/nursing-care-jobs-coronavirus/, [1 February 2022]

[470] Prime Minister's Office of Japan (June, 2014). "Overview of the Revision of Japan Revitalization Strategy" Retrieved from https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/keizaisaisei/pdf/10challenge01gaiyouEN.pdf. [Accessed 31 January 2022]

[471] López, M. I., & Ohno, S. (2021). "The Case of Japan: How COVID-19 Impacted the Procurement and Lives of Migrant Healthcare Workers." *The International Journal of Social Quality*, *11*(1-2), 262-288, p. 272.

"designated activities" visa provided to EPA employees in that it permits foreign students to get a degree and stay for up to five years, with the option of extending their term and reuniting with family members. Furthermore, it has been deemed as "more practical" compared to the "strict conditions" of EPA Designated Activities visa and may be issued independently as long as the applicants and care facilities meet certain requirements.[472]

Revisions to the TITP in 2017 enabled the entrance of Technical Intern Trainees in the care sector, predominantly from designated Asian countries, as a temporary scheme with a developmental objective.[473] The introduction of care workers represented a novelty since, before 2017, such trainees, who can only stay for a maximum of five years, were only accepted by industries recognized by the government to have labor shortages, such as construction, agriculture, and manufacturing. Vietnam has the highest number of trainees (3,523), accounting for 40 percent of the total number of nursing care trainees, followed by trainees from Myanmar and Indonesia.[474] According to a recent study on institutions that provide long-term care services, the number of foreign students and technical interns has risen in recent years, outnumbering the number of EPA care workers.[475] This has also resulted from a new pathway, which has been offered to care workers candidates with "specified skills" through a newly established residence status since April 2019. The Japanese Immigration Control Act was updated in December 2018 to create new visa residency statuses for migrant workers with "specified skills" ("Specified Skilled Worker") defined as specialists with a certain level of knowledge or experience in a specific industrial field. In addition, candidates must pass a Japanese language exam and a skills test to be eligible. They are then allowed to work in Japan for up to five years if they work in one of the 14 job categories designated by the government as "in serious labor shortage," such as nursing care, food service, and automobile repair and maintenance.[476] As a result, the new visa encompassed low-skilled jobs, indicating a substantial shift in the Japanese government's policy attitude on immigration reform.

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[472] Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan. (n.d.). "Caregiving Visa Q&A." Retrieved from https://kouseikyoku.mhlw.go.jp/kantoshinetsu/houkatsu/english.pdf, [Accessed 31 January 2022]
[473] Eligible countries are China, Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Peru, Laos, Sri Lanka, India, Myanmar, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, Nepal, and Bangladesh.
[474] López, M. I., & Ohno, S. (2021), op. cit., pp. 270-271.
[475] Ivi, p. 274.
[476] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (n.d.). "Japan is looking for Specified Skilled Workers!" *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.* Retrieved from https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/ca/fna/ssw/us/index.html. [Accessed 31 January 2022]

The *Japan Revitalization Strategy* anticipated an immigration system that would fulfill domestic labor demand while also providing help to Japanese working families, particularly working women, in areas other than eldercare. For this purpose, in June 2014, the Japanese government announced that "housekeeping support workers" would be accepted into six National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs) to increase women's labor participation by allowing the entry of foreign domestic workers.[477] As previously mentioned, the government has only issued such work permits to foreign housekeepers directly engaged by diplomats and other foreign personnel. NSSZs are zones that have been designated as having a high priority for obtaining more free-market-oriented economic policies to boost international competitiveness.[478] Although Osaka and the greater Tokyo area began accepting applications in 2016, recruitment of foreign workers has slowed due to the reluctance of most Japanese families to welcome them into their homes, as well as institutional overregulation, which delayed the arrival of the first group of 25 international housekeepers to spring 2017.[479] Most Japanese families are cautious about allowing strangers into their homes, but recruiting organizations in Indonesia and the Philippines have launched rigorous training programs to create highly prepared workers. Migrant housekeepers must be engaged full-time for a maximum of three years by Japanese companies that are permitted to operate in NSSZs, and they must be paid salaries that are equivalent to or greater than their Japanese counterparts.[480] In addition, the recruits must be trained in their home countries so that they can acquire the Japanese language, household skills, and cultural etiquette, supporting their skill advancement.[481]

Government agencies play an important role as intermediaries in the operation of the transnational care system. The government's role was critical throughout the introduction of EPA candidates, which included quotas, a country-by-country recruitment approach, and the provision of expensive rigorous training programs. However, this is not

[477] The zones include the greater Tokyo, the Kansai region around Osaka, Okinawa, and the cities of Fukuoka, Niigata, and Yabu. See Johnston, E. (2014, July 21). "Osaka zone a litmus test of foreign worker policy." *The Japan Times*. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/07/20/national/osaka-zone-a-litmus-test-of-foreign-worker-policy/. [Accessed 21 December 2021]

[478] Niki, I. (2020). "Policymaking Process for Foreign Care Workers in Contemporary Japan: Changes and Continuations." *New Sociology: Journal of Critical Praxis*, *1*(1), 17-36, p. 10.

[479] Lan, P. C. (2018), op.cit., pp. 1029-1030.

[480] Nomura, H. (2020, May 30). "Can Foreign Housekeepers Help Japanese Women Shine'" *Nippon.Com*. Retrieved from https://www.nippon.com/en/column/g00346/, [Accessed 31 January 2022]

[481] Reynolds, I. (2017, January 10). "Learning to bow: Japan reluctantly opens door to foreign housemaids." *The Japan Times.* Retrieved from https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/01/10/national/learning-bow-japan-reluctantly-opens-door-foreign-housemaids/#.XJpW1C17HEZ. [Accessed 31 January 2022]

as straightforward as it may appear, as care worker migration continues to be a controversial matter. In particular, the EPAs are great instances of how split government agencies and industry federations are when it comes to a new framework for labor migration in Japan, as well as how divisive acceptance of migrant laborers, particularly in critical areas for the local economy, is in general. The political decisions made in Japan as a result of the compromise of various stakeholders also represented the policy gap and intention that had been developed between Japan and the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Origin countries saw EPAs as a significant opportunity to pursue professional services provisions to promote skill and knowledge transfer and potentially opening a new market for Indonesian, Filipino, and Vietnamese workers despite strict requirements. Japan, on the other hand, does not seem to consider such agreements as having the same purposes of international cooperation, reflecting the country's conflicted sentiments about hiring migrant labor within its national borders. Rather, it appears that Japan's goal in the Southeast Asian region is to enable trade liberalization while still pursuing its own economic and diplomatic strategy.

Despite the rising number of male care workers, the role of women as "affective laborers" is so deeply embedded in local culture and language that even those with the required credentials may not be able to find employment or may eventually choose to resign. Even in the provision of care and housekeeper services, Filipina maids are portrayed as having always a "positive mindset and approachable character"[482] and as "human resources who have both 'hospitality' and 'experienced skills', equipped with English skills that allow them to work globally and are capable to meet the high service quality required in Japan."[483] In this regard, as stated by Lan, the migration regime has long remained unchallenged as the Japanese government continues to view these workers as "candidates," "trainees" and "human resources."[484] Women and men wishing to engage in care and domestic labor, in particular, where language competence is necessary to converse with patients, are obliged to make a significant commitment to increase their own capabilities before coming to Japan, and they should be recognized as qualified professionals with great aspirations.

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[482] Pinay Housekeeping Service. (n.d.). "Message from the President." *Pinay*. Retrieved from https://pinay.jp/en/about/topmessage/. [Accessed 31 January 2022]
[483] Kurashinity. (n.d.). "Why Kurashinity employs Filipino housekeepers?" Retrieved from https://www.kurashinity.com/en/feature/reason/housekeeper/. [Accessed 31 January 2022]
[484] Lan, P. C. (2018), op. cit., p. 1039.

Each channel has different recruiting systems and provides different institutional settings. While the introduction of new migration channels has expanded the number of care workers in Japan, they also demonstrate that Japan still employs the "regulated institutional approach" in which foreign migrant workers are highly controlled. In this view, comprehensive approaches and constructive debates involving the efforts of both origin and destination nations are required to support the orderly and regulated migration of care workers. However, efforts must be supplemented by different actors at multiple levels who can contribute to the success of safe migration governance and the promotion of productive and reproductive employment for all, not only high-skilled workers. This means that, not just for the Japanese healthcare sector, but also for the country's labor market in general and the economic and human development of origin countries in Asia, understanding the interests of local stakeholders, who are also confronting with a changing reality, particularly those in remote regions, is vital to have sustainable socio-economic development for present and future generations. Efforts include providing migrant workers with adequate social protection regardless of their status since their contributions are and will continue to be critical in the emerging globalized economic system. Labor exploitation of migrant workers within the TITP program has come into sharp attention in the local and international media, putting Japan under severe international jurisdiction. These issues might be addressed by establishing a more coherent immigration policy that adheres to international labor law norms and human rights legislation. This includes ratifying the ILO's Convention on Domestic Workers if Japan wants to allow domestic workers. Of course, this is not unique to Japan; it affects all countries, and the Covid-19 pandemic has made it even more relevant in the last two years.

CONCLUSIONS

The overview of migration routes into Japan's social care demonstrates a complex stratification of pathways, each with different purposes, such as labor shortages and development cooperation, that are pursued in a responsive rather than thoroughly planned manner. While the Japanese experience is still relatively new, gendered relations and demographic shifts are critical to comprehending the entangled relationships between female migration, women's labor force participation, and cultural traditions. The analysis of historical legacies is also essential for interpreting the effects of such policies at the national level, as well as international relations at the regional level. The ratification of the EPAs, for example, was anticipated by a previous influx of Filipina workers beginning in the late 1970s who arrived as entertainers. Many of them stayed and worked as caregivers. Migrant workers confront challenges in their career development, and the emergence of a multicultural society continues to raise concerns among companies and destination societies about growing diversity. Nonetheless, according to the surveys included in this study, despite language barriers, women migrant care workers make significant contributions to the care sector by delivering competent employment with their skills and technical backgrounds. While the feminization of migration has been the primary emphasis in this work, it does not seek to dismiss the role of male migrants and their experiences. Indeed, one sign of the changing occupational and gender prescribed roles is the increasing engagement of men in female-dominated areas of the labor market. They are also key actors in the care industry, and they should be given considerably more attention.

Even though these conclusions cannot be generalized, they highlight the global significance of these topics. This research intended to provide an overview of international labor migration at different levels, moving from a case study on transnational care in the Asia-Pacific region and Japan, as well as to integrate migration and development into a wider discussion about care work. The topic of why individuals move has been at the heart of migration research, which has accelerated and become more complicated as migrant aspirations, and in some ways capabilities, have grown in tandem

with globalization and the greater degrees of interdependence between populations and social systems around the world. Furthermore, the care sector has been at the center of global and neoliberal economic restructuring, including reforms in welfare state systems, as well as the remaking of political action and collaboration on a larger scale. Nation-states have distinct demographic trends and labor markets, resulting in a variety of long-term care systems and cultural care preferences, all of which impact their immigration schemes and the consequent sovereignty confrontations between the national and supranational level. Japan, which has traditionally been seen as a "closed" country, has also been pressed to open its doors to more foreign workers, which may create challenging transitions toward more multicultural communities.

In this framework, migration of care work cannot be understood solely in a national context, but it must also be placed in global and regional perspectives, as multilateral and bilateral governance systems coexist and collaborate within the same policy domain. The international movement of people is also impacted by a variety of agreements, initiatives, and plans of action that result in various strategic alliances. As a result, policies undertaken in or by one nation or region can have major consequences in other countries or regions due to the spill-over and interdependence effects. The explicit inclusion of international labor mobility in the SDGs, including decent work and gender equality, demonstrates a recognition that rights must accompany people to allow safe cross-border movement based on human rights and labor and social protection for all the categories of migrant workers. Regional frameworks and guidelines, such as those developed by the UNESCAP in connection to the SDGs, help to represent regional issues, identify shared solutions, and generate flexible responses. These initiatives put the principles of shared responsibility and multi-stakeholder ownership of the Goals into action at a regional level. They also represent efforts to foster a discussion capable of advocating for and enacting effective policy measures to address health worker shortages in both origin and destination countries.

The experience of Japan and the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam demonstrate that there are differences of opinion on the extent to which trade agreements may be utilized in labor migration. It appears that both origin and destination countries may benefit from such agreements. They allow origin countries to selectively expand their labor markets while reducing domestic opposition. Concurrently, the origin country may use its competitive advantages in natural resources and labor to generate job opportunities

for its citizens free of political immigration discussions. Significantly, they allow both parties to maintain a high level of regulation over who enters which labor market and through which channels. The formulation of legally binding agreements enabling the intake of foreign workers in the context of services trade constitutes a fundamental advance for both the international trade system and the regulations surrounding international migration. On the other hand, it may be extremely questionable since it supports a policy that overlooks and rather promotes structural factors such as migrant labor market segmentation and gendered dimensions of occupational activities. The Japanese case, therefore, represents an illustrative example of such contrast. The EPAs' emphasis on training, equal pay, and working conditions norms and prospects for long-term employment greatly exceed other schemes in East Asia. However, the difficulties encountered during the initial few years of implementation of the plan, as well as other training programs, raise doubts about the efficacy of such trade agreements for care workers, especially women migrants, whose agency in terms of aspirations and capabilities have nonetheless the potential to change norms as well as their living conditions.

The migration-development nexus presents a significant dilemma for researchers seeking a cohesive framework to appropriately explain its numerous components. Several scholars have underlined the importance of increased international cooperation to meet the long-term care needs of ageing populations without jeopardizing economic development and health worker shortages in emerging nations. In recent years, the SDGs have made an important contribution to a holistic approach to migration by addressing the entire migration cycle, and they could be a significant steppingstone in improving migrant conditions by developing appropriate indicators around decent work, better access to health and education, and adequate social protection. The diverse range of labor migration initiatives that exist internationally have the ability to constructively contribute to conversations about the contradiction between increasing migration aspirations and growing political reluctance in destination countries to welcome and integrate migrants. Interventions should be developed with migrant workers in mind, and analyses of legal paths, as well as collaboration across nations and various sectors within a country, are important to maximize the economic and human development potential of international labor migration. Finally, national policies and programs should consider the particular needs and aspirations of people who require long-term care as well as those who would

offer such care, who are often migrating to improve their lives and the lives of their families. Addressing national interests as well as migrant individual goals will continue to be one of the most pressing policy concerns in light of future global transformations.

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