

AJ フォーラム 27

アジアの高齢化と人の移動の再編成

日時：2017年7月29日(土) 15:30～17:30

場所：世田谷キャンパス 34号館 3階 会議室 B

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本報告で取り扱う移住労働は、この2、3年頻繁に取り上げられるEUやアメリカの難民や労働移民とは異なり、ケアを主に扱い、家事、介護などを含む、「親密なる領域 intimate sphere」にかかわる人々の国際移動である。こうした移動する人々を取りあげるのは、少子高齢化といった人口構成の変化、女性の労働力率の向上により、こうした領域の国際移動の高まりが欧米だけではなくアジアでも大きく広がっているからである。アジア諸国におけるこうした領域の国際移動は、労働者としては短期滞在型の移住労働のレジームで特徴づけられる他、結婚移民という配偶者の身分で移動する人々が多い。移動するのは女性であり、ケアの担い手が女性という性役割分業を前提とした国際移動である。

ケアはいくつの特徴を持ち、製造業など既存の産業とは異なる側面をもつ。第1に、ケアは社会関係の中で営まれていることが多いため、無償労働としての側面が見られる。ケア自体は多義的な言葉だが、端的には親密なる領域でおこなわれてきた行為であったとあってよい。ケアはまた情緒的な言葉でもあり、心づかいとか愛といった側面も垣間見える。ところが、この情緒的な行動はいまや売買の対象となり、親密なる領域どころか、国家を超えた人々から、労働者、結婚、そして時には人身取引という強い求心力を伴った形で女性の国際移動を引き起こすようになった。第2に、消費と生産が一致するため、途上国で生産して高齢化の進む先進国で消費するといったことができない。したがって、高齢者が途上国に移動するというよりも、高齢化によりケア需要が増大すると、それ自体が国際移動を引き起こしやすい。

ケアはジェンダー化され、女性が関わることが多い。それが国際的に外部化された場合には、さらにジェンダー化が強化される。ケアに従事する外国人家事労働者を多く受け入れている香港、台湾、シンガポールともに、国内のジェンダー指標は日本のそれより高いが、外部化されたケアに関しては途上国女性に固定化されている。それは、こうした家事労働者がほぼ100%女性であること、結婚移民もほぼ女性であることからわかる。ここで外部化されているのは途上国の女性だが、代表的な送り出し国であるフィリピンも、アジアで最もジェンダー指標が高い国の1つである。

つまり、こうしたケアの外部化は、より強固な性役割分業を新たに生み出しながら進展している。そして女性の労働力化や高齢化によってケアニーズは毎年のように増大し、「ケアの不足」が経済化しているという点だ。また、先ほど既存の産業は資本と労働の代替性があるということ述べた

が、ケアにはそれが通用しない。資本と人の移動の代替性に困難があるのが、ケアを含む多くのサービス業である。サービス業は多くの場合、消費と生産の一致が原則である。ケアが不足しているからと言って、施設介護などの企業のオフショア展開ができない。この領域は生産性の向上が難しく、人が不足すれば生産を自動化するというのも容易ではない。繊維産業のように、国際競争力の乏しい産業を再編して付加価値の高い産業構造に転換するというのもできない。したがって、「『ケアの不足』は移住労働者に」という話になりやすいのである。

アジアにおける家事労働者

日本でも特区制度を通じて家事労働者の導入が始まったが、香港やシンガポールでは、さかのぼること1970年代には外国人の家事労働者の導入が始まっている。多くはフィリピン、インドネシア、ベトナム、ミャンマーなどが多い。あるインドネシア・スラバヤの斡旋業者を訪問したことがある。そこは香港向けの家事労働者の訓練をしているところで、広東語で子守唄を練習していた。彼女たちはよく見るインドネシアの女性たちの風貌とは異なり、みなピアスを外し、一様にショートカットに髪形をそろえていた。隣のインストラクターはスカーフをかぶりピアスをしている。対照的だった。つまり女性性を中性化し、イスラムを中性化することを通して、家事労働者としての商品に仕立て上げられようとしていたのだ。シンガポール、台湾、香港、マレーシア、タイだけで100万人もの女性が家事労働に従事するために国境を越えている。

また、家事労働者をめぐる移動の特徴は景気にかかわらず増え続けていることである。共働き世帯の増加、少子化・高齢化を受けたケアの担い手不足、独居の増加、性の外部化といったことが、ケアの不足を助長しているからだ。第2はそれが国内労働市場においてほとんど競合しない点である。こうした労働は低賃金、あるいは激務とされていることも多く、国内労働市場では忌避される傾向にある。また、そもそも需要が増大しているため、国内女性の労働力率が上昇しても、競合しないという点で特徴的だ。第3は脆弱な労働者である点を挙げることができる。家庭内労働や性労働はそもそも賃金労働として認められているだろうか。国によって異なるが、多くの場合グレーゾーンに置かれている。家庭内労働を例にとると、労働法の枠内である香港、枠外であるシンガポールなどだ。これは労働として認められにくい危さを持っていることを意味する。つまり製造業と異なり、こうした親密圏の中に閉じ込められてきた活動が賃金労働に変わろうとしている。こうした労働上の特性だけではなく、家内労働としての密室性による虐待リスクや外国人であるがために欠如した権利が脆弱性をさらに深刻にしている。シンガポールは労働許可書を持つ女性に結婚・妊娠制限をかけている。

シンガポールで出会った女性は、恋に落ちて妊娠したが、シンガポールでは妊娠自体が禁止されているため、強制出国を恐れて、また斡旋費用のための借金を賄うため非合法的手段を取り中絶し、シンガポールでの就労を続けた。シンガポールのNGOで出会ったフィリピン人家事労働者はシンガポール人男性と恋に落ちた。シンガポール政府は家事労働者と市民の結婚を認めておらず、フィリピン人女性はインドネシアのタバム島に移住し、男性がインドネシアに通うことで、恋愛関係を維持させた。NGOは女性が大卒であり、経済的にも十分自立できることを理由に説得して、政府は最終的には婚姻を認めた。

日本における「白船」への対応

人口構成が大きく変わるさなか、ケアを誰が分担するかは大きな課題というのは日本も同じだが、日本は人口がアジア諸国の中では比較的豊富であることから、労働力の天井で悩まされることはそれほどなく、基本的には男性労働力で労働市場を構成してきた。このことが性役割分業を強固にする原因となった。そのため、ケアを移住労働者などに外部化する経験したのはつい最近のことである。また、性役割分業が強固な分、家族ケアに外国人労働者を導入する制度は基本的に持たないが、施設ケアに外国人を導入した。

基本的に日本は「国民化」を貫こうとした。2008年の経済連携協定において、インドネシアやフィリピンの看護師・介護福祉士の受け入れが始まった際には、外国人の受け入れは大方反対だった。日本看護協会、日本介護福祉士会、介護福祉士養成施設協議会、日本ホームヘルパー協会。いずれの職能団体も反対だったし、労働者を支援する連合も反対だった。反対の理由は、外国人の介護はその質を下げる、利用者に受け入れられない、労働市場に悪影響を及ぼす、労働は国家単位で考えるべきで国際化はなじまないというものだった。政府の肝いりで始まったにもかかわらず、当事者は四面楚歌の受け入れにさぞかし苦労したに違いない。

ところが、近年は外国人に対しては閉鎖的と言われる日本も大きく変わりつつある。EPAが10年を迎えるのにあたり、こうした疑問が杞憂であった結果が出ているからである。厚生労働省や国際厚生事業団の調査では、サービスの質が上昇したと考える割合が下降したと考えるより圧倒的に多い。近年の評価を受け、最近では受け入れ議論が改めて加速した。また、筆者による国際厚生事業団に対するインタビューにおいても、当初の外国人が受け入れられるか、サービスの質が低下しないかという懸念は杞憂だったとした*1。

安倍首相が日本再興戦略で外国人労働者の受け入れの積極化を進めると、その中に介護も含まれるようになり、技能実習、留学などで制度の見直しが始まった。2008年にあった移民受け入れ計画による大幅見直しというよりも、技能実習制度をそのまま活用して拡大するといった費用節約型であった。また在留資格介護が創設されるにつれ、職能団体や施設が大挙してベトナムやフィリピンなどの送り出し国を訪問し、斡旋に繰り出した。フィリピン政府はまだ始まっていない技能実習制度のために授業料を徴収する日本語学校などに警告を出す、青田刈りは収まらず、一部無節操な「人狩り」はやむ気配もない。ただ、これは日本だけのことではない。

2017年5月、台湾の施設関係者とベトナムを訪問する機会があった。技能実習制度は要件が類似していることから、台湾の介護職員確保にも影響を及ぼす。そこでその実態を見たいと考えていたからだ。台湾は1992年から外国人家事労働者を導入し、そのころに施設でも外国人の人材を導入している。施設介護は介護に関する知識が求められるため、外国人の介護職員の30%近くは看護師と推測されている(安里2007*2)。台湾はフィリピン、インドネシア、ベトナムから介護職員を導入している。当初はフィリピン人の介護職員が多かったものの、最近とりわけ増加しているのはベトナムである。これはベトナムの看護師が優れているからというわけではない。むしろ増加の理由は斡旋の過程にある。言い換えれば、他の国籍の人々を斡旋するよりもベトナムからリクルートする方が得をする人々の意向が反映されているからだ。斡旋の取り決めは各国によって制度や慣行が異なる。2017年の時点では、ベトナムから介護職員を導入する際の斡旋料は3000ドルが上限とされている。当然のことだが、斡旋業者は3000ドルを課すことが多い。また、台湾の受け入れ

施設はベトナムから1人を雇用する際に1200ドルを台湾側の斡旋業者に要求する。これは事実上、労働者本人が支払う3000ドルの中から1200ドルは台湾の受け入れの介護施設に支払われることを意味する。フィリピン、インドネシアにおいてはこうした習慣はなく、法律上も認められていない。こうした「うまみ」が雇用のインセンティブとなっているためベトナムからの受け入れが盛んなのだ。ただ、看護師のリクルートは急激に難しくなっている。ベトナムでもいくらかでもチャンスがあるため、わざわざ大金を支払って台湾に行く必要がなくなっているのである。ハノイ近郊には大型投資の案件も少なくない。ある地域では韓国企業のサムスンが6万人の雇用を創出した。給与は月400ドル。看護学校の卒業生も一部はこうした企業に就労する。こうして需給ギャップが発生しているため、近々1200ドルの支払いも消滅するか斡旋料自体見直されることであろう。急速に売り手市場に変化している。

この事例が示すのは国家をまたいで移動する人々の特性である。法令の異なる領域で国家をまたぐ金銭の授受が慣行化し、労働者は出身国の数十倍の給料の負担を斡旋料として支払わなければならない状況が作り出される。ある種の適性がゆがめられているのである。また、このゆがみが国際労働市場で生き残る政府の「政策」でもあり、膨大な利権が作り出されるのである。

国境が作り出す「ゆがみ」は、私たちの日常生活では気づきにくい、いくらかでも存在する。2017年、群馬県太田市で出会ったフィリピン人留学生は、日本語学校で1年学び、その間、介護施設で介護に従事していた。ホテル管理学を学び、4年制大学を卒業したAさんだが、来日してアルバイトを通じ、はじめて日本で「介護」を経験した。高齢者が好きなので、介護は自分の性格に合っていたと考えていた。1年間の日本語学校での留学を終えたが、在留期間はまだ半年残っていた。ところが、東京の入国管理局に行ってビザの手続きを行ったところ、卒業後の一切のアルバイトへの従事が禁止された。卒業後の就労は禁止されたのである。彼女は来日のために授業料や生活費の工面に苦労していた。授業料は年間70万円。アルバイトで得られるのは、月10万円がせいぜい。生活費や住居費を考えると、週28時間のバイトではどうにもならない。卒業後の今でも借金30万円が残っている。在留期間の半年間介護に従事して借金を返済したいと考えていたが、残ったのは借金だけで途方に暮れている。30万円という額は、フィリピンでは簡単に返すことのできない額だ。キャリアパスだと思ってきた日本留学で残されたのは借金だけ。在留資格があっても働けないというのは想定外だった。

留学と言えば聞こえはいいが、最近は債務に苦しむ留学生が増えている。留学生による単純労働への従事は少なくない。外国人労働者の出入国管理に関してはサイドドアがメインになっている日本の労働市場において、留学生は単純労働者の重要な担い手となっている。そればかりか、日本語学校や職業学校の学生確保という意味でも重宝されている。年間60-70万円の授業料負担は学校にとって重要だし、28時間の資格外活動でケアに従事することも介護職員の確保という点で介護施設にとって貴重な存在だ。ただし、授業料と生活費を週28時間の介護労働で賄おうというのには無理がある。週28時間の労働では生活をするのがやっつであり、授業料の負担は困難だ。2年間の滞在を経て残った借金は30万円。卒業後、6か月間の在留期間が残っていても資格外活動許可が下りなかったため、施設介護での就労をあきらめた。留学は借金が作られる構造だったのである。在留期間の就労が認められれば、彼女は借金は返済して帰国することはできるかもしれない。彼女の場合は、借金返済のため就労が認められなかった期間も工場労働に従事した。

ケアは有償労働を通じて生産されるものではなく、「原初的」には社会関係を通じて親密圏内部で生産されるもので無償性があるのが特徴として存在した。結婚が1つの例である。ところが、結婚も商品化され国際結婚として国境を超えることが珍しくなくなった。例えば、日本、台湾、韓国などの東アジア諸国では生活の本拠を離れ、異国の地でケアの従事する結婚移民が多く存在する。結婚の商業化に伴い、独身男性は途上国女性を配偶者として迎えることが多くなった。

秋田県に嫁いだ女性からメールが来た。彼女は結婚で農家に嫁いだ、嫁としての役割、あるいは義理の両親に対するケアの他に、農家として無償労働に従事していた。嫁役割は我慢できるが、重い農作物を胸に抱えて「女性として」の体形を壊す農作業にはひどく耐えられないと言っていた。彼女の「おこずかい」は月1万円。労働の対価とはとても言えない。だから、仕送りもままならない。そして、無償労働はフィリピンの家族との紐帯を断絶する。先進国である日本に嫁いでおいて本国への仕送りが無いのは、それこそ本国の親に「ケア」しない親不孝者になるからだ。耐えかねた彼女は、真冬であるにもかかわらず逃げることを決意した。私は国際交流協会などに電話連絡を取ったが、プライベートなことに関与することはできないと一蹴された。彼女は結局、仙台の友人をあてにして家を飛び出した。手に握っていたのは携帯と数千円の現金のみ。携帯は無料のWifiがなければつながらないため、彼女が電車に乗っていても私から連絡することはできない。どうにか彼女は仙台に逃げ出した。フィリピン人の友人の夫の理解があり、居候させてもらっていた。在留期間がまだ1年以上残っているので生計をたてなおしたいという。ところが、今度は別の問題がまっている。外国人配偶者が逃げ出して就労しているとなると、入国管理上問題がある。また居候先の日本人男性も「不法」を助長するのではないかと心配していた。ところが、一旦逃げることを決意すると止めるのは難しい。何もしないで日本にいること自体、居候をしたり友人から生活費を借りたりと借金を生み出すことになる。結局別の友人からお金を借り、親戚が働いている名古屋に行くという。名古屋は合法・非合法を問わず外国人が助け合って働ける場所でもある。非合理的な環境に置かれた彼女は逃げ出し、私のアドバイスを振り切って、ある種合理的な選択をした。

2015年、学生とフィリピン政府在外フィリピン人委員会を訪問した際、身元がよくわからない人と結婚している10代の女性がいるので、調べてほしいという案件があった。日本人男性の職業がよくわからないというので、ネットで検索して調べた。男性は福島県のある市にある「デリバリーヘルス」のオーナー。いろんな性的サービスがオプションとして価格が掲載されている。飛び切り高い年収を稼いでいるようだと不審に思ったフィリピン政府職員が私に聞いてきたのだ。断定はできないが、女性がこうした職業に従事するようになる懸念があるとのコメントを伝えた。カウンセラーは彼女の結婚が真正であるか聞き取りから推測した。判断はクロだった。しかし、彼女は強硬に結婚が愛にもとづいていると主張し、人の幸せを台無しにするような政府の姿勢に強く抗議した。「人には恋愛する自由がある。結婚する自由がある。そして日本に行く自由がある。人の幸せを政府が阻害することはできない」。彼女の主張はこういったものだった。最終的に彼女は日本に渡航した。同委員会がクロと判断しても、日本国大使館がビザを発給している以上、彼女の渡航を止めることは容易ではないのだ。

以上のように、親密圏内部で生産されてきたケアは、これまで見てきた例の通り、商品化され、取引されるようになった。これは移動する人にとっては、社会的・経済的な地位の上昇を求めたものである。しかし、国境は人々の脆弱性を作り出す装置でもある。言語・文化的な違いだけではな

く、学歴や資格も認められず、就労する権利、滞在期間も制限され住居を確保することもままならなくなる。いわんや福祉の受給はなおさら限定的である。特にケアは労働契約になじまないこともあり、労働者としての確立が容易でない領域である。したがって、複合的な意味において脆弱性が作り出されるのである。とはいえ、ケアの需要はこれからも増大するため、求心力を持ったケアをめぐる国際移動の問題は、これからも続くことになる。そのためジェンダー、職種、シチズンシップにもとづいた脆弱性の克服が課題となる。

* 1 国際厚生事業団に対するインタビューより 2017 年 10 月 23 日。

* 2 安里和晃, 2007 「施設介護に従事する外国人労働者の実態——雇用主の評価をもとに——」『Works Review』Vol.2、リクルート・ワークス研究所、132-145 頁。

AJ Forum 27

Ageing Asia and Reconfiguration of International Migration

Date : 29th, July, 2017, SAT 15 : 30 ~ 17 : 30

Venue : Setagaya Campus, 34th Building, 3F Conference Room B

Lecturer : Wako ASATO (Associate Professor, Division of Transcultural Studies,
Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University)

Coordinator : Masaki Tosa (School of Asia 21)

The issue of migrant labor examined in this report differs from the issues of refugees and working immigrants in the EU and the US frequently examined in the past two to three years; rather, migration is the international movement of people who are involved in the intimate sphere, which primarily deals with care, and including housework and elderly care. The reason behind migration is due to changes in population composition such as decreasing birthrate and aging population, and the improvement in the labor force participation rate of women, the rise in international migration in these areas has spread widely not only in the West but also in Asia. Characteristic of this international migration in the intimate sphere of Asian countries are workers who use short-term migration regimes, as well as many others who retain spousal status through international marriage. Those who migrate are women, and this international migration is premised on the gender division of labor with women taking on the role of caregiver.

Care work has several characteristics, and differs from existing industries, such as manufacturing. The first being that care work is often carried out within a social relationship, making it uncompensated labor. Care work is an ambiguous word; however, here it will definitively refer to work performed in the intimate sphere. Care is also an emotive word, and this gives us a glimpse into its other facets: compassion and love. However, this emotionally-invested work is now subject to transaction and trading, beyond the intimate sphere from people across the country sparking the feminization of migration, which is accompanied by an integrative force emanating from moving beyond national borders in the form of labor, marriage, and on occasion, through human trafficking. Secondly, since consumption and production are at conformity with each other, production in developing countries and consuming in advanced countries with an aging society is not possible. Therefore, rather than the elderly moving to developing countries, if the demand for care expands due to the rise in aging society, this will actually tend to trigger international migration.

Care work has become gendered as many women take part in it. Should care work be outsourced internationally, this will only strengthen the genderizing trend. Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, who accept numerous foreign domestic workers for jobs in care, and are also ranked higher on the domestic gender gap index than even Japan, have been solidified by women from developing countries as destinations for outsourced care work. It is also apparent that nearly 100% of these domestic workers are women, and that almost all immigrants through marriage are women. It is the women in developing countries who are being outsourced, and the Philippines—the representative country of origin for immigrant domestic workers—also ranks highest in Asia on the gender gap index.

This outsourcing of care work is creating a new and more persistent gender division of labor as it advances in the world. Also, with every year there are more and more women entering the workforce and a growing need for care work, a shortage of care becomes a social issue. Moreover, as mentioned earlier of the substitution of capital and labor in existing industries, it does not apply to care work. The service industry, which includes care work, faces difficulty in substituting capital for the migration of people. In many cases in the service industry, it is a rule that consumption matches production. To say that care is lacking, companies such as institutional facilities, cannot be offshore deployed. Productivity is difficult to improve in this sphere and it is not easy to automate production if there is a shortage of people. Unlike the textiles industry, an industry poor in international competitive capacity cannot be reorganized and transformed into one that produces high value-added services. Therefore, it is easier to say that the lack of care work is given to migrant workers.

Foreign domestic workers in Asia

The introduction of foreign domestic workers began in Japan through a special zone system, while it also began for Hong Kong and Singapore going as far back as the 1970s. Many of these workers are from the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Myanmar. When the author visited an intermediary for such in Surabaya, Indonesia, he found women there training to be domestic workers in Hong Kong by practicing children's lullabies in Cantonese. Their features differed from what one would often see among Indonesian women; they removed their piercings and had all cut their hair short. The instructor beside wore a headscarf and had piercings. It was quite the contrast. In essence, by neutralizing their femininity and their Islamic faith, they were being prepared as products for household work. A million women are moving beyond borders to take up household work in Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Thailand alone.

Further, a characteristic of the migration surrounding domestic workers is that it continues to grow regardless of the economy. Increase of dual-income households, lack in care workers due to declining birth rate and aging population, increase in individuals living alone and the outsourcing of intimacy promotes the lack of care work. A second characteristic is absence of

competition in the domestic labor market. This kind of labor is often viewed as low-paying and difficult, creating an aversion to it in the domestic labor market. Moreover, since demand for care work has been on the rise for some time, the distinguishing mark of this trend is the lack of competition despite an increasing number of women entering the workforce. A more fragile workforce can also be given as a third characteristic. Can household work and sex work even be considered as wage labor? It varies by country, but in many cases they are in the grey zone. There are countries that work within the framework of labor laws, like Hong Kong, and others that do not, like Singapore. This implies that there is a danger that this work will not be recognized as labor. In sum, unlike the manufacturing industry, the activities that have been confined to the intimate sphere are transitioning to become paid work. This is not merely a labor-specific issue, but this also means an increased risk of behind-closed-doors brutality and a further weakening of the status of domestic workers who lack rights as foreign nationals. Women who work as domestic worker in Singapore are restricted from marrying or becoming pregnant.

A woman I met in Singapore fell in love and became pregnant; however, since pregnancy is prohibited for her in Singapore, she feared being deported and having to take up extralegal means to cover the debt for her agent's expenses, so she had an abortion and continued to work in Singapore. A Filipina domestic worker I met through a Singaporean NGO fell in love with a Singaporean man. The Singapore Government does not permit marriages between domestic workers and citizens, so she moved to Batam Island in Indonesia, and the two continued their relationship with the man commuting to Indonesia. The NGO made a case that the woman was a university graduate and could easily support herself financially, and the Singaporean Government ultimately permitted their marriage.

How Migrant Care Workers are dealt with in Japan

With a population composition undergoing major changes and the issue of who will take on the responsibility to provide care, Japan is in the same position. The population of Japan is comparatively well off among Asian countries, and there has been little concern over a ceiling for labor capacity, which has led men to be the primary component of the labor market. This has been the cause of a persistent sexual division of labor. Thus, it has been only recently that we have experienced an outsourcing of care work to migrant workers. Moreover, due to the persistent nature of the gender division of labor in Japan, there is no system here to introduce foreign workers into family care work; however, foreign workers have already been brought into care facilities as well.

Japan has remained firm on their stance to keep Japanese nationals as care workers. When Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) were signed between Japan and Indonesia, and Japan and the Philippines in 2008, that began the acceptance of nurses and care workers from respective country, MHLW and craftsmanship associations in Japan were adamantly

against accepting foreign nationals. The Japanese Nursing Association, the Japan Association of Certified Care Workers, the Japan Association of Training Institutions for Certified Care Workers, and the Japan Home Helpers' Association—all of the professional associations and even the unions who support the workers were against this. The stated reasons for opposition were that elderly care provided by foreign nationals would be lower in quality, that patients would not be able to accept it, that it would have an adverse influence on the labor market, and that the labor market should be considered on the level of the nation-state and that its internationalization would remain unfamiliar. Despite the government facilitating the beginning of accepting foreign national care workers, the care workers most certainly faced difficulties with their acceptance being rebuffed from every quarter.

However, in recent years, Japan, which has been said to be closed off to foreigners, is in the midst of large changes. This is due to the fact that as the EPA approaches its 10th year, the doubts towards accepting foreign workers have proven to be groundless. According to a study by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare and the Japan International Corporation of Welfare Service (JICWELS), an overwhelmingly large percentage of respondents answered that they felt that care quality had risen than those who felt it had fallen. Influenced by the positive reception of recent years, the arguments for accepting foreign workers have begun to accelerate again. Furthermore, in an interview the author had with JICWELS, it was stated that the initial concerns of whether the quality of care service would diminish if foreign workers would be admitted had been baseless *¹.

As Prime Minister Abe presses forward with the active acceptance of foreign national workers in the Japan Revitalization Strategy, also including elderly care, and a review of systems, including Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) and exchange studies, has begun. Rather than this being a major review through the 2008 plan to accept migrant workers, this has been a cost-saving move to utilize and expand the TITP. Additionally, accompanying the establishment of the care worker resident's status, many professional organizations and facilities have visited the countries of origin, such as Vietnam and the Philippines, and have engaged in mediation there. The Government of the Philippines has issued warnings to language schools that collect tuition for technical intern training systems that have not yet begun, but this has not curtailed the aggressive recruiting drive, and there seems no signs of this unscrupulous headhunting abating. Yet, this is not limited to just Japan.

In May 2017, the author had the opportunity to visit Vietnam with a representative from a care facility in Taiwan. The TITP there has similar requisites, thereby also affecting Taiwan's ability to secure care workers. Taiwan began the introduction of foreign domestic workers in 1992, and also began introducing foreign care workers in facilities around the same time as well. Since facility care requires more specialized knowledge, it is estimated that close to 30% of foreign care workers are nurses (Asato 2007 *²). Taiwan has brought in care workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Initially, many of the care workers were from

the Philippines; however, there has been a particular rise in workers from Vietnam recently. This isn't necessarily because Vietnamese workers have superior skills. Rather, the reason for the increase can be found in the recruitment process. Which is to say that this trend reflects the desire to find labor and recruiting workers from Vietnam is cheaper than going through intermediaries for workers from other countries. The systems and practices of recruitment agreements differ by country. As of 2017, the upper limit set on recruitment fees for bringing in care workers from Vietnam is set at US \$3,000; and, naturally, many intermediaries levy a \$3,000 fee. Moreover, when a facility in Taiwan accepts one worker for employment from Vietnam, the Taiwanese facility demands \$1,200 from the intermediary. This is a de facto payment of \$1,200 made from the \$3,000 paid by the worker, herself, to the Taiwanese care facility accepting her. No such practice like this exists in the Philippines and Indonesia, nor is it not permitted by law. This kind of kickback is the incentive to employ workers from Vietnam, thus accounting for the thriving acceptance of workers from Vietnam. However, the recruitment of care workers is becoming dramatically more difficult. Since there are already many working opportunity in Vietnam in and around Hanoi City with ongoing several large investment projects. In one area, the South Korean company Samsung has generated employment for 60,000 people. They have a monthly salary of \$400. Some graduates of nursing school also work at companies like this. This gap in supply and demand is likely causing a rethink of whether the \$1,200 mediation fees will soon also be scrapped. It is rapidly shifting to a seller's market.

This case demonstrates the characteristics of care migration across national borders. As the paying and receiving of money across borders in regions with differing laws becomes engrained as a custom, so comes the circumstances of workers having to pay recruitment fees that are ten times the wages of their native country. There is a warped sense of normalcy in this. Moreover, this warped normalcy has also become policy in the governments that survive in the international labor market, and this generates massive interests.

This "distortion" generated by borders is obscured from us in our daily lives; but, it does exist to some extent. A Filipina student studied at a Japanese language school for one year residing in Ota City, Gunma in 2017, did care work at a care facility as a part-timer shortly after arriving in Japan. She liked the elderly and believed that elderly care was a match for her personality. She completed one year of studies at her Japanese language school and still had half of her stay period remaining. However, when she went to the Tokyo Immigration Bureau to fill in visa paperwork, she was told that she was forbidden from taking any part-time work after her graduation. She went through struggles to raise money to pay her tuition and living costs before coming to Japan. Her annual tuition fees are 700,000 yen. She can only earn around 100,000 yen a month doing part-time work. Considering her cost of living and rent, an allowable 28 hour per week part-time job just won't cut it. Even now, after having graduated, she is still 300,000 yen in debt. She had intended to work in care for the half year remaining of her stay to pay back her debt, but she is now at her wit's end of what to do about the remaining

debt. 300,000 yen is not a sum that can be easily repaid by working in the Philippines. She believed her studies in Japan would be her career path, but she has only ended up in debt. Not being able to work in Japan despite having status of residence is something that no one could have foreseen. Later on, she decided to overstay and keep on working for fear that there would be no more opportunity to return debt if she went back to her country.

Studying abroad sounds good to the ear, but the number of foreign students who are having difficulties with debt recently is increasing, and foreign students performing unskilled labor is not a rare. Foreign students are playing a crucial role to securing unskilled labor in the Japanese labor market, where side-door access is the main entrance in terms of immigration of foreign workers. But not only that, this is also useful for Japanese language schools and vocational schools to gain students. Tuition fees of 600,000 to 700,000 yen per year are crucial to schools, and gaining care workers that can also perform care work for the 28-hours a week they are permitted to do on their visas is another importance aspect for care facilities. However, it is impossible to cover tuition and living costs on 28 hours per week of care work. Twenty-eight hours per week of work barely covers living costs, making the burden of tuition problematic. The Filipina girl has an outstanding debt of 300,000 yen after two years in Japan. With only six months of her stay remaining and not receiving permission to engage in activities outside of her visa after graduation, she abandoned the idea of working in a care facility. She has been left only in debt, and her study abroad has turned out to be a scheme to put her in this situation. If she had been permitted to work during her period of stay, she would likely have been able to pay back the debt and return to her home country. In her case, during the period that she was not allowed to work, she worked at a factory in order to pay back her debt.

Care work does not produce anything through compensated labor, rather, it produces something in the intimate sphere, *primordially*, through social relations, and has existed as an uncompensated profession. Marriage is one example of this. However, it is becoming more common for even marriage to be commodified and to traverse national borders. For example, in East Asian countries like Japan, Taiwan and South Korea, there are many married migrants who leave their home country and perform care work in other countries. Accompanying the commodification of marriage, the number of single men whose wives are from developing countries has increased.

The author had the following e-mail correspondence with a woman who married into a family in Akita Prefecture. She married into a farm family, and, in addition to her role as wife and care-giver to her in-laws, she also engaged in uncompensated labor on the farm. She said that she was able to put up with the role of wife; however, she could not bear the farm work, which involved carrying heavy farming implements and destroyed her “womanly figure”. She received *spending money* of 10,000 yen per month. This did not even come close to matching the work she put in. Therefore, this prevented her from making any remittances back to her home country. This uncompensated labor will break off her relations with her family in the Philippines, as

marrying into a family in Japan and not sending money back to her home country will prevent her from *caring* for her family in the Philippines and make her undutiful to her parents. Unable to bear this situation, she resolved to run away from her Japanese family, despite the dead of winter setting in. The author tried to contact the International Exchange Center of the prefecture; but, the author was told that they could not become involved in private matters. She ultimately relied on a friend in Sendai and fled her home in Akita. She left with only her mobile phone and several thousand yen. Since she could not use her mobile phone without access to free wifi, the author could not contact her even when she was on the train. She somehow made it to Sendai. The husband of her Filipina friend showed understanding, and she was allowed to lodge with them. She still had over one year remaining on her visa, and she says she would like to start over. But another problem awaited her. There are immigration issues that come into play when a foreign spouse leaves their home and begins to work. The Japanese man where she was living with now also feared that this situation would encourage her to remain illegal. However, once a worker decides to flee a situation, it is difficult to stop them. Remaining in Japan without doing any work, staying at a friend's place and borrowing money from them to live will lead to debt for the foreigner. She ended up borrowing money from another friend, and left for Nagoya where she had a working relative. Nagoya is also an amenable destination to foreigners for work, regardless of their legal status. She fled her precarious situation, ignored my advice and made a rational choice in a certain way.

In 2015, when the author went with a student to visit the Commission of Filipino Overseas of the Government of the Philippines, the author was asked to look further into the case of a teenage girl who was married to a man whose identity was uncertain. Since his occupation was not clear from his CV, I searched for it on the Internet. He was actually the owner of a call girl service in a city in Fukushima Prefecture. There were various sexual services on offer at a price. He was making a lot of money each year, and an official of the Government of the Philippines was suspicious of the matter and asked me about it. Even though it was not certain that this could be trafficking the author told them that there may be a possibility that she will perform this type of work. After hearing about the situation, a counsellor made an assumption on the validity of the girl's marriage, and that judgment was negative. However, the girl vehemently protested that her marriage was based on love, and accused the Government of the Philippines of trying to ruin her happiness. She asserted: "We are free to love whom we want. We are free to marry whom we want. And we are free to travel to Japan if we want. The Government cannot stand in the way of someone's happiness." She, ultimately, travelled to Japan. Despite CFO giving a negative assessment of the marriage, it was not easy to stop her from travelling to Japan when the Japanese Embassy had issued her a visa.

As we have seen above, care work produced in the intimate sphere has come to be commodified and transacted. This trend is a result of the migrants seeking to elevate their social and economic status. However, borders also function to make people more vulnerable.

This vulnerability does not stop merely with language and cultural differences, but also extends to a lack of recognition for their educational background and credentials, and restrictions to their rights to work, their period of stay, and their abilities to secure a place to live. The situation is even worse in the limitations they face to receive welfare benefits. This is particularly difficult in the case of the field of care work, where proper labor contracts are rare making it difficult to establish status as a worker. Consequently, this generates worker vulnerability on multiple levels. Despite this, the demand for care work will continue to rise, ensuring that the problem of international migration surrounding the care industry will persistently continue. Thus, overcoming the vulnerabilities born of gender, occupation and citizenship will be the issue to contend with in the future.

* 1 From an October 23, 2017 interview with JICWELS.

* 2 pp. 132-145. Asato, Wako (2007). “*shisetsu kaigo ni juuji suru gaikokujin rodosha no jittai—koyounushi no hyouka wo moto ni* [The Conditions of Foreign Nationals Working in Care Facilities—Based on Employer Reviews]”. *Works Review*. Vol. 2. Recruit Works Institute.