

### Immigration and Citizenship in Japan

Japan is currently the only advanced industrial democracy with a fourth-generation immigrant problem. As other industrialized countries face the challenges of incorporating postwar immigrants, Iapan continues to struggle with the incorporation of prewar immigrants and their descendants. Whereas others have focused on international norms, domestic institutions, and recent immigration, this book argues that contemporary immigration and citizenship politics in Japan reflect the strategic interaction between state efforts to control immigration and grassroots movements by multigenerational Korean-resident activists to gain rights and recognition specifically as permanently settled foreign residents of Japan. Based on in-depth interviews and fieldwork conducted in Tokyo, Kawasaki, and Osaka, this book aims to further our understanding of democratic inclusion in Japan by analyzing how those who are formally excluded from the political process voice their interests and what factors contribute to the effective representation of those interests in public debate and policy.

Erin Aeran Chung is the Charles D. Miller Assistant Professor of East Asian Politics and Co-Director of the Racism, Immigration, and Citizenship (RIC) Program in the Department of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University. Previously, she was an Advanced Research Fellow at Harvard University's Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and a Japan Foundation Fellow at Saitama University in Urawa, Japan. Her articles on citizenship, noncitizen political engagement, and comparative racial politics have been published in the *Du Bois Review* and *Asian Perspective*. In 2009, she was awarded an Abe Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council to conduct research in Japan and Korea for her second book project on immigrant incorporation in ethnic democracies.



# Immigration and Citizenship in Japan

ERIN AERAN CHUNG

Johns Hopkins University





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521514040

© Erin Aeran Chung 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Chung, Erin Aeran.

Immigration and citizenship in Japan / Erin Aeran Chung.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-51404-0 (hardback)

Japan - Emigration and immigration.
Citizenship - Japan.
Assimilation (Sociology) - Japan.
Japan - History - 1945-.
Japan - Social conditions.
Japan - Politics and government - 1945-.
Title.

JV8721.C58 2010

325.52-dc22 2009026332

ISBN 978-0-521-51404-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

COVER ART: Antifingerprinting rally, 20 November 2007, Tokyo, Japan. Photograph courtesy of Lim Young-Ki. @ Mindan Seinenkai 2010.



To my parents, ChangBok Chung and ChoonHee Kim



## **Contents**

Tables and Figures		page viii	
Co	nventions and Abbreviations	ix	
Ac	knowledgments	xi	
	Introduction: The Contradictions of Japan's Immigratio and Citizenship Politics	n I	
I	Is Japan an Outlier? Cross-National Patterns of Immigrant Incorporation and Noncitizen Political Engagement	28	
2	Constructing Citizenship and Noncitizenship in Postwar Japan	60	
3	Negotiating Korean Identity in Japan	82	
4	Citizenship as Political Strategy	115	
5	Destination Japan: Global Shifts, Local Transformation	s 144	
	Conclusion	173	
References		185	
Index		199	

vii



# **Tables and Figures**

#### **TABLES**

Ι.1	Registered Foreign Residents in Japan by Nationality	page 5
1.1	Naturalization Requirements in the United States	
	and Japan	35
1.2	Foreign Populations and Alien Rights in Selected OECD	
	Countries (2006)	41
1.3	Annual Naturalizations in Japan	45
1.4	Naturalizations in Selected OECD Countries (2006)	46
<b>4.</b> I	Marriage Trends of Korean Residents in Japan	118
FIG	GURES	
1.1	Citizenship attribution policies in various OECD	
	countries	34
4.1	An interactive approach to citizenship	141
4.2	An interactive approach to citizenship (applied)	142

viii



### Conventions and Abbreviations

Japanese and Korean names are written according to East Asian convention (family name followed by given name) except in cases where authors have identified themselves with given names first, for example, in English-language publications. Transliteration of Japanese words follows the standard Japanese romanization system, and transliteration of Korean words follows the McCune-Reischauer system. I have made exceptions where individuals or organizations prefer a particular romanization (e.g., Kim Il Sung rather than Kim Ilsŏng) and for commonly used place names (e.g., Tokyo instead of Tōkyō).

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

DRPK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
HRKJ	Human Rights Association for Koreans in Japan
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
<b>ICESCR</b>	International Covenant on Economic, Social and
	Cultural Rights
JCP	Japan Communist Party
KCCJ	Korean Christian Church in Japan
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MOE	Ministry of Education



X

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-51404-0 - Immigration and Citizenship in Japan Erin Aeran Chung Frontmatter More information

Conventions and Abbreviations

NCCJ National Christian Council in Japan

NTT Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation

ROK Republic of Korea

SCAP Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers

WCC World Council of Churches



# Acknowledgments

The support of numerous people made the completion of this book possible. I owe a special debt of gratitude to the many individuals in Japan who provided candid, thoughtful answers to my questions and who welcomed me into their communities, organizations, and homes. Although I cannot fit the names of all of the people who assisted me during my field research onto these pages, I want to mention those who went out of their way to make my research in Japan productive and enjoyable: Bae Jung Do, Kang Seong Sil, Kim Kyu Il, Kim Su Ryang, Reverend Kim Sungjae, Ko Yi Sam, Pak Yŏng Ho, Suh Jung Woo, and Yang Hae-ja. I hope this book conveys their wisdom, energy, and contagious passion for justice. I am also indebted to Professor Fukuoka Yasunori for taking me under his wing and helping me establish contacts with members of the Korean community, introducing me to a wide array of researchers, and providing valuable suggestions for improving my research design and interviewing techniques.

I am grateful to Leonard Schoppa and an anonymous reader for their careful reading of the entire manuscript and for their perceptive criticisms and insightful suggestions. This book is significantly improved as a result of their suggestions. Lew Bateman of Cambridge University Press has been a warm, brilliant editor who made the completion of this book especially rewarding.

The roots of this book go back to my dissertation, which I completed with the intellectual guidance of my committee members at

хi



xii

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-51404-0 - Immigration and Citizenship in Japan Erin Aeran Chung Frontmatter More information

Acknowledgments

Northwestern University. I thank Michael Hanchard, who is now my colleague at the Johns Hopkins University, for his dynamic engagement with my ideas and enduring support. I am indebted to Meredith Jung-En Woo, who helped shape this project and offered invaluable mentorship and incisive criticisms throughout the process. I also wish to thank Bruce Cumings, Bonnie Honig, Peter Swenson, and Jeffrey Winters for sharing their theoretical insights. Chalmers Johnson provided valuable feedback on a chapter that was published as a working paper by the Japan Policy Research Institute.

Special thanks are due to Chikako Kashiwazaki, who not only offered extensive comments and suggestions at every stage of this project, but also provided countless introductions and alerted me to numerous events in Japan. Youngmi Lim, Noora Lori, Riva Kastoryano, and Susan Pharr generously shared their research with me and commented on various portions of the manuscript.

For their advice and support at various stages of this project, I thank Jane Bennett, Irene Bloemraad, Mark Blyth, Mari Calder, Mark Caprio, Bill Connolly, Jennifer Culbert, Margarita Estévez-Abe, Kentaro Fukumoto, Siba Grovogui, Kathryn Ibata-Arens, Richard Katz, Margaret Keck, Tobie Meyer-Fong, Reuel Rogers, Bill Rowe, Sonia Ryang, Mark Sawyer, Frank Schwartz, Katherine Tegetmeyer-Pak, and Ji Yeon Yuh. I am especially grateful to my friend, colleague, and mentor extraordinaire, Kellee Tsai, for her painstaking guidance and encouragement.

I presented chapters of this book at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association and the Association for Asian Studies, as well as invited talks at the East-West Center-Washington, Georgetown University, Harvard University, MIT, the University of British Columbia, the University of Chicago, the University of Virginia, and Wesleyan University. I want to acknowledge, in particular, the suggestions and comments provided by Frank Baldwin, Thomas Berger, John Campbell, Julian Dierkes, Alexis Dudden, Carter Eckert, David Edgington, Shinju Fujihira, Mary Alice Haddad, Soo Im Lee, Hyung-Gu Lynn, Robert Weiner, Melissa Wender, and my dearly missed mentor, the late James B. Palais. I also benefited from the generous feedback of the participants in my graduate seminars on Comparative Racial Politics and Comparative Citizenship and Immigration at the Johns Hopkins University.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org



#### Acknowledgments

xiii

For their extraordinary research assistance, I thank Rameez Abbas, Adam Culver, Daisy Kim, Hitomi Koyama, Kyung Soo Rha, and Hanano Watanabe. Special mention must go to Taylor Percival for her speedy, superb work on the index. Any errors that remain are mine.

The Japan Foundation provided generous financial support for my field research in Japan from 1998 to 1999 and the Department of Liberal Arts at Saitama University provided me with administrative support. I also wish to thank the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations at Harvard University and the Department of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University for providing me with the time and resources to finish my manuscript.

Earlier versions of Chapters 3 and 4 were previously published in Asian Perspective (24, no. 4: 159–78) and Japan's Diversity Dilemma (Soo Im Lee, Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, and Harumi Befu, eds. [Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2006]). I thank the editors for their permission to reproduce portions of these publications in this book. I also wish to thank Lim Young-Ki of Mindan Seinenkai for providing me with the photograph that appears on the front cover of this book.

Finally, the completion of this book would not have been possible without the encouragement and love of my family. My mother, ChoonHee Kim, guided me through each hurdle of this project and continues to be my most ardent supporter and wisest teacher. I continue to strive to meet the benchmarks set by my father, ChangBok Chung, from whom I have learned the values of persistence, hard work, and writing at dawn. I dedicate this book to them with love and gratitude. My sisters, Loni and Sunglan, have sustained me with their unflinching encouragement and ingenious wit. My husband, Eric Clemons, has been my lifeline throughout this project with his patient support, candid advice, and tireless humor. My children, Daelia, Walter, and Nora, who were born at various stages of this project, are my sources of endless inspiration. I thank them for bringing laughter and joy into my life every day.



Immigration and Citizenship in Japan