The Actuality of Accepting Technical Intern Trainees in Japan and the Reconsideration of the Technical Intern Training Program

Yaqina TONG †

Abstract

The Technical Intern Training Program was established as a formal program in 1993 and was implemented with the “Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act” and related ordinances as its legal basis. The objectives and purpose of the Technical Intern Training Program are to transfer skills, technologies, or knowledge, etc. accumulated in Japan to developing and other regions and to promote international cooperation by contributing to the development of human resources who can play roles in the economic development of those developing region. However, in some situations organizers have deviated from the original intent of the program, so the “Act on the Appropriate Implementation ofTechnical Intern Training for Foreign Nationals, and Protection of Technical Intern Trainees” was promulgated in 2016 and came into effect on November 1, 2017 in order to establish the protection of technical intern trainees and achieve the original purpose of the program more smoothly than before. However, the “Basic Policy on Economic and Fiscal Management and Reform 2018” has made it clear that the Japanese government has changed its attitude towards the policies on human resources from overseas. The purpose of this study is to make clear about the discrepancy between the Technical Intern Program and the reality of employment situation of technical intern trainees. This study analyzed the geographical distribution and characteristics of technical intern trainees in Japan. Based on these analyses, I reviewed the Technical Intern Training Program in the timing that the Japanese government’s policy on human resources from overseas has already been changed to regular labor force in 2018. As a result of this study, the Technical Intern Training Program itself is now a dead letter and ought to be abolished since the original intent of the program has lost touch with reality.

Key words: Technical Intern Trainee, Technical Intern Training Program, Geographical Distribution, Labor Force

† Postdoctoral researcher, Center for Research on Regional Economic Systems (CRES), Hiroshima University
tongyaqina@yahoo.co.jp
1. Introduction

The Technical Intern Training Program was established in Japan as a formal program in 1993 based on the high evaluations of training programs conducted by overseas local companies and others in the form of employee education starting in the late 1960s. The particulars of the Technical Intern Training Program are intended to form employment relationships between corporations, sole proprietors, and other businesses in Japan with technical intern trainees so that the trainees can acquire, master, or enhance skills etc. that would be difficult to acquire in their home countries. Since the program is as a form of employment relationships between the mutual sides, the technical intern trainees can also be seen as a form of labor force from overseas to the local Japanese companies. It declares that this program has still remained the original purpose constant since its establishment in 1993, which is aimed at transferring skills, technologies, etc. to developing countries for the promotion of international cooperation and the economic development of those regions. According to the “Act on the Appropriate Implementation of Technical Intern Training for Foreign Nationals, and Protection of Technical Intern Trainees” (Amendment of Act No. 71 of 2018), the fundamental principle of the program is that “technical training shall not be conducted as a means of adjusting labor supply and demand”.

Meanwhile, in the 25th year of the program, the “Basic Policy on Economic and Fiscal Management and Reform 2018” (Basic Policy 2018) with the aim of realizing sustainable economic growth by overcoming the decreasing birth rate and aging population was approved by Cabinet Decision on June 15, 2018. In Chapter 2 “Major actions for realizing a strong economic” of the policy, “Acceptance of new human resources from overseas” is cited as one of seven measures in order to solve workforce shortages caused by depopulation, particularly in small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and small-scale entrepreneurs. To some extent, this approved measure means that the Japanese government has already changed its attitude on human resource policy from overseas.

Now, the policy is, quoting the Basic Policy 2018, “Workforce shortages particularly in small and medium enterprises and small-scale entrepreneurs is intensifying and may prevent sustainability of the economic social base in Japan…(abridged sentences) Additionally, it is necessary to construct a system that enables wide acceptance that foreign human resources who have a certain level of professional knowledge and skills can contribute immediately, by eliminating the traditional limitation of only accepting foreign human resources having special professional and technical skills”.

The policy has now been changed to accept regular labor force from overseas as labor supply to cover the demand of domestic workforce shortage immediately. Japanese labor market now needs complementary labor force to cover workforce shortage caused by depopulation. So here comes the divergence between the fundamental principle of the program and the Basic Policy 2018. Shall the Technical Intern Training Program be abolished or be maintained but still not as labor supply? If the program are not going to be abolished, how to re-define the human resources of technical intern trainees in the timing that the policy on human resources from overseas has been changed? Furthermore, how to conduct the management of the two different foreign labor force with specific distinction in the case that both are employed in the same industry?

The purpose of this study is to make clear about the discrepancy between the Technical Intern Program and the reality of employment situation of technical intern trainees by analyzing Japanese government statistics and political institutions. Based on these analyses, this study reconsidered the Technical Intern Program in the timing that the Japanese government’s policy on human resources from overseas has been changed greatly.
I analyzed these statistics and political institutions in order to expose how the actuality of accepting
Technical Intern Trainees in Japan has just lost touch with the intent of Technical Intern Training Program
as the originality in this study. This study also suggested that Japanese labor market should employ regular
foreign labor force directly instead of accepting technical intern trainees under the Technical Intern
Training Program for international cooperation and technical transfer nominally.

2. Data and Methodology

I analyzed the demographic characteristics and time-series changes by using Japanese government
statistics obtained from the “Press Release of Foreign Residents”, “Statistics of Registered Foreign
Residents”, “Statistics of Foreign Residents” which are all conducted by Ministry of Justice, “Regarding the
Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment Status” conducted by Ministry of Health, Labor and
Welfare (MHLW). The “Press Release of Foreign Residents” was posted annually from 2000 to 2012 only
with very few details. “Statistics of Registered Foreign Residents” was posted annually from 2006 to 2012,
and turned to be as “Statistics of Foreign Residents” being posted semiannually by the end of June and
December every year from 2013. The “Regarding the Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment
Status” was conducted from 1993 annually and was made mandatory to all employers from 2007 that they
are obliged to report the situation of foreign workers employment to “Hello Work” (Japanese English name
for the public institution “Public Employment Security Office” under MHLW) in order to establish the
improvement of employment management and prevention of illegal work by foreign workers.

Before 2010, technical intern trainees were granted with a legal status of residence named “Trainee”.
Then, a new status of residence named “Technical Intern Training” was established to replace “Trainee”
after the July 2010 Amendment to the Immigration Control Act. However, the status of “Trainee” is
maintained its name after 2010 but has been limited to training that does not involve on-the-job training
whatsoever and public training that is conducted as an operation managed principally by funding from the
national government or local government bodies in Japan. It is generally for a person who belongs to public
or private organization as a common technical trainee in Japan. Therefore, this study exclusively analyzed
the foreign residents who are granted under “Trainee” from 2006 to 2009 and the “Technical Intern Training”
from 2010 to 2017 as target subject when using these government data abovementioned.

By using these government statistics, I examined an overview of the demographic fluctuation and
characteristics of technical intern trainees by nationality, status of residence and prefecture. I also made
maps via ArcGIS 10.0 (Geographic Information System) to visualize these public data and find the trend of
their geographical distribution in order to know the tendency of their acceptance and residence.

3. Characteristics and Geographical Distribution of Technical Intern Trainees

3.1 Geographical Distribution

Human resources always concentrate intensely in big cities with advanced urban functions due to the
urbanization. Although in Japan, this phenomena usually can be seen in Tokyo Metropolis, the solo Tokyo
centralization was not found out from the distribution of technical intern trainees (Figure 1 and Figure
2)¹. Technical intern trainees distributed in regions with a high concentration of developed manufacturing
enterprises such as Kanto region, Tokai region and Hiroshima Prefecture in Chugoku region. The number of
technical intern trainees in Ibaraki Prefecture (13,841 people) and Hiroshima Prefecture (13,840 people)
are raking second after Aichi Prefecture (28,850 people).

¹The data classification methods used in Figure 1 and Figure 2 is “Equal Interval”, which divides the range of
attribute values into equal-sized subranges.
In thinly populated district like Tohoku region, Shikoku region, and the southern part of Kyushu region, Japanese residents and foreign residents both have very small population comparatively, but the ratio of technical intern trainees is conversely quite high in these regions (Figure 2). These trend of geographical distribution is mainly caused by the high concentration of manufacturing industries and SMEs which are serving as subcontractors for manufacturers in local region and suffering from a shortage of workers.

The most critical opinion against the Technical Intern Training Program is that some enterprises actually take advantage of technical intern trainees and treat them as cheaper and unskilled labor force to cover the workforce shortage so that they can reduce their labor costs. This situation is strictly criticized because this situation is quite far from the original purpose about technology transfer (Hashimoto, 2015; Idei, 2018).

However, for accepting technical intern trainees under the program legally, many office procedures are necessary and the travel expenses from sending countries, the skill training, Japanese education, lifestyle guidance and management for trainees also take a lot of cost. Therefore, in perspective, the enterprises are not always necessarily for reducing the labor costs greatly by hiring cheaper technical intern trainees.

Figure 1. Distribution of Technical Intern Trainees
Data from “Statistics of Foreign Residents” by Ministry of Justice (Dec. 2017)
from overseas instead of Japanese workers, the root cause of that is the serious workforce shortage (Kamibayashi, 2015). These root cause was also analyzed by a research (Japan Finance Corporation, 2017) on food-related enterprises (not only the manufacturing, but also the wholesale, retail, eating-drinking industries relating to food and drink). It was reported that “only very few jobseekers apply for the available job” was the fundamental reason of workforce shortage (86.4% of enterprises replied this answer). The enterprises need employable labor force immediately. Since the employment and the stable maintenance of employment about Japanese workers are both increasingly difficult for regional SMEs to accomplish, they have to turn to accepting technical intern trainees from overseas unwillingly but inevitably in order to cover the workforce shortage, which is as a direct result of the serious decline in the labor population simply due to the decreasing birthrate and aging of the Japanese population especially in depopulated rural region.

Figure 2. Ratio of Technical Intern Trainee Population to Foreign Residents
Data from “Statistics of Foreign Residents” by Ministry of Justice (Dec. 2017)
3.2 Comparison with Different Statuses

The number of technical intern trainees is increasing rapidly as more as 13 times from 1996 (20,883 people) to 2017 (274,233 people). While, compared with other foreign residents who are permitted to work with or even without restriction\(^2\), the situation appears to be quite different. The other group with different statuses of residence are increasing much more rapidly than technical intern trainees. “Permanent Resident” has the biggest population and also has an overwhelmingly high rate of population increase (Figure 3). The status of permanent residence is granted when certain conditions have been satisfied by foreign nationals who reside in Japan under another status of residence and who have applied for change of status of residence to permanent residence or by those who have applied to acquire status of residence due to birth or renouncement of Japanese nationality. If a foreign resident is authorized to stay in Japan on a permanent basis, he/she will stay in Japan with the status of residence “Permanent Resident” indefinitely and do any kind of work in any industry provided that his/her behavior is never with illegal acts and violations of discipline. Therefore, the status of residence “Permanent Resident” provides much more advantageous treatments than other statuses of residence because it does not limit the status holder’s activities or period of stay. The group of “Permanent Resident” has been increased about more than ten times larger from 1996 (72,008 people) to 2017 (749,191 people) and exceeded “Special Permanent Resident” from 2007 becoming the most majority group of foreign residents. Both of the two groups are

\(^2\) A person who is under the status of residence granted “Student” is in principle not permitted to work, but if he/she obtains the Permission to Engage in an Activity Other Than That Permitted by the Status of Residence Previously Granted, then he/she can do activities (part-time job) within the scope of the permit for no more than 28 hours per week.
based on civil status and position in Japan without restrictions on activities and time limit on residence, and the holder may engage in any type of employment activity as long as it is legal.

Conditions are quite different from residence based on the nature of foreigners’ activities like “Technical Intern Training”, “Student”, etc. Under the Technical Intern Training Program, acquisition of skills is conducted pursuant to technical intern training plans in a maximum period of five years if the technical intern trainee pass the specified Technical Intern Training Evaluation Examination on every stage in the first year and third year after their entry. Returning to the sending countries is set as the precondition of accepting technical intern trainees and the occupations (80 types) and work subject (142 types) are also strictly specified in ordinances of the competent ministries. Consequently, considering the population size, work subject and employment duration, the contribution from “Permanent Resident” to Japanese labor marker is actually bigger and wider than technical intern trainees. In one word, the Technical Intern Training Program institutes like an on-the-job training system within limited scope for short-term employed person from overseas as less skilled labor.

Although the original purpose of the program is to transfer skills, technologies, or knowledge, etc. accumulated in Japan to developing and other regions and to promote international cooperation by contributing to the development of human resources who can play roles in the economic development of those developing region, do enterprises really have the motivation from the very beginning to invest on-the-job training and education for short-term employed person with necessary expenditure and cost in every five years just for so-called technical transfer? As we all know as common sense, the answer is in the negative.

Besides, according to the new actions for acceptance of new human resources from overseas on the Basic Policy 2018, one of the actions is the creation of new status of residence for foreign people. It mentioned that technical intern trainees who completed three-year technical intern training are exempted from technical examination and he/she can change the status of residence from “Technical Intern Training” to the new one if he/she is deemed to have a sufficient level of technical skills and Japanese proficiency. The details such as the evaluation criterion for the new status of residence, the maximum period for working, the criterion for the acquired level of technical skills, the ceiling on the number of acceptance, etc. are still being discussed (until the submission of this article), but since the precondition of accepting technical intern trainees is still returning to the sending countries, if these actions will be approved and established legally, technical intern trainees are allowed to change to the new status of residence after three years, the current Technical Intern Training Program itself has to be reformed inevitably. Yet, no matter how the Technical Intern Training Program is going to be improved, this still does not lead to finding a fundamental solution to prevent enterprises from treating technical intern trainees as labor supply because the whole country is suffering from the rapid advancement of aging society with lower child birthrates and serious decline in the labor force population. Japanese labor market needs labor supply urgently.

3.3 Time-series Changes in Characteristics of Technical Intern Trainees

The age of technical intern trainees ranges widely from 18 to 56 but the median age is at the age of 25. The male technical intern trainees outnumbered the female by about 30 thousand people (sex ratio: 1.24) with an evident trend that the number of female trainee is two times larger than the male from the age of 35-year-old (December, 2017). In other words, the majority of technical intern trainees are young people

---

3The newest approved occupations for transfer to Technical Intern Training (ii) and (iii) till the submission of this article has been updated on November 16, 2018 https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/000403027.pdf (Acquired on December 14, 2018)
in their twenties while have a characteristic that the number of middle-aged female is quiet larger than the male over their late thirties. The very young technical intern trainees, compared with local Japanese labor force, are mainly composed of Vietnamese, Chinese from Mainland China, Indonesian, Filipino, Thai (Figure 4), etc. Generally, the incentive that prompt people to leave their home and go another country to work in a peaceful age is, first of all, earning money. Most of them come from Asian developing countries and also the neighboring countries to Japan geographically. Economic disparity between Japan and the sending countries also means a higher wage level in Japan. Higher wage always plays a role in the movement of human resource as pull factor, so this is a direct incentive for young people, especially the young single people, to leave their counties to do blue collar work in Japan. Until 2017, the international economic disparity between Japan and the sending countries of technical intern trainees still remains large (Figure 6). The GNI per capita, PPP of Thailand (17,040 dollars), which is comparatively higher than the other sending countries, is only less than 40% of Japan. China has experienced rapid economic growth through Chinese economic reform since 1978, rising from 990 dollars in 1990 to 16,760 dollars in 2017, but still remains quite lower than Japan.

Chinese technical intern trainees had an overwhelming number (ranging from 60% to 75% to the total)
until 2014 and was exceeded by Vietnamese trainees from 2016. China is geographically close to Japan so the travel expenses for Chinese trainees are lower than the other Asian countries generally. This is an immediate cause that enterprises do want to receive technical intern trainees from China for saving the necessary expenses. In addition, the similarity on appearances won’t make Chinese trainees attract too much attention on factory in local region, and to some extent, the process of training can be accomplished more efficiently and the communication can be performed more easily because the Chinese understand Chinese characters in Japanese and usually have no religion so that they can work in food-related manufacturing industry, which is seriously suffering from workforce shortage comparing with other manufacturing industries.

Furthermore, foreign labor cooperation is an important part of international economic cooperation in China as sending country, so Chinese side also offers pre-training service such as Japanese education in order to meet the need from Japanese side. These are advantages of Chinese trainees for Japanese local enterprise as accepting side (Kamibayashi, 2015). However, the number of Chinese trainees has recently
shrunk to about 77 thousand people (less than 30%) in 2017, almost decreased to the same number as it was in 2010. The principal reason for the decreasing is the rapid economic growth in China. China has achieved a significant economic development in the past ten years and, no needless to say, it led to minimum wage increasing domestically. The reduction of economic disparity between Japan and China led to the reduction of Chinese technical intern trainees in Japan, although the gap is still huge.

As the incentive to Chinese trainees has turned to be lower than before, enterprises started actively to receive technical intern trainees from Vietnam from 2010. The Vietnamese trainees have increased as more as 24 times from 2006 (5,148 people) to 2017 (123,563 people) and became the largest (45%) among the other countries. The rapid increase of Vietnamese trainees contributed to an overall increase and made the number of the total technical intern trainees increased nearly four times. From 2010 to 2017, the number has greatly increased in all 47 prefectures (Figure 5) and 40 prefectures have increased double times or more. Aichi Prefecture always has the most numerous technical intern trainees (Figure 1) and has been increased to 28 thousand in 2017, which is 11% of the total technical intern trainees in Japan.

While, the number in Okinawa Prefecture, which is not even in one of the four largest islands in Japan, has increased from only 82 (2010) to 1,330 (2017) by an overwhelming rate of increase (1522%) comparing

---

1The data classification methods used in Figure 5 is “Natural breaks (Jenks)”, by which the classes are based on natural groupings inherent in the data, because there are relatively big differences in the data values like Okinawa Prefecture (1522%).
3.4 Relationship with Other Program for Employment

The demand in construction industry has greatly expanded being affected by the rebuilding efforts after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, the 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games, and there are 36,589 trainees working in construction industry (“Regarding the Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment Status”, Oct. 2017). Japanese government designed the Foreign Construction Worker Acceptance Program to accept readily available foreign construction workers as a fixed-term urgent measure. The public notice on Foreign Construction Worker Acceptance Business was promulgated by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT) on August 13, 2014 and said that this business is separate from the Technical Intern Training and the status of residence granted is named “Specified Activities”.

Meanwhile, it is also said that trainees who have completed the Technical Intern Training Program are eligible for this foreign construction worker acceptance business. A worker shall satisfy two requirements that he/she has participated in the Construction Technical Intern Training Program for approximately two years and has a history of good conduct during the Technical Internship. Under the Foreign Construction Worker Acceptance Program, the worker may change the status of residence from “Technical Intern Training” to “Specified Activities” after he/she have completed Technical Intern Training Program in construction industry. The worker shall return to the sending country for a fixed period lasting not less than 1 month or 1 years depending on his/her course, and then are allowed to go back to Japan to do construction-related work until 2022. Returning to sending country ultimately is also set as the precondition of acceptance just like the Technical Intern Training Program. This new Foreign Construction Worker Acceptance Program has been amended since November, 2017 and actually extended the fixed-term of foreign workers’ working experience in Japan after their technical intern training. After all, this new program is aimed at keeping foreign workers who are finished his/her apprenticeship in Technical Intern Training Program and let them work regularly in Japan as readable employable labor force. There were 287 foreign workers who were granted the status of residence “Specified Activities” working in construction industry since its establishment in 2015 and it has been rapidly increased to 1,988 people in 2017 (“Regarding the Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment Status”, Oct. 2017). No matter how the original purpose of the Technical Intern Training Program is emphasized as technology transfer, labor supply is obviously the key factor that enterprises do want to receive them. Because if not, why was this Foreign Construction Worker Acceptance Program established?

4. Reconsideration of the Technical Intern Training Program

4.1 Supervision System of Accepting Technical Intern Trainees

There are two types of procedures for accepting technical intern trainees, which are individual enterprise type and supervising organization type. Individual enterprise type is, a format whereby enterprises and other businesses in Japan (implementing organizations) accept employees of overseas local subsidiaries, joint venture companies, or trading partners (dispatching companies) for technical intern training by the status of residence named “Technical Intern Training (a)”. Supervising organization type is, a format whereby non-profit organizations such as business cooperatives and societies of commerce and industry (supervising organizations) accept technical intern trainees from dispatching companies (business enterprises, etc. that located overseas) and send them to the affiliated enterprises (implementing
organizations) under a memorandum of cooperation between the government of sending country overseas and the Japanese government. This supervising organization type is by the status of residence named “Technical Intern Training (b)” and more than 90% of technical intern trainees were accepted as this type (Figure 4).

Implementing organizations must prepare a technical intern training plan and receive accreditation of the suitability of the plan and receive guidance from the supervising organization that supervises the training. Accreditation of technical intern training plan is performed by the Organization for Technical Intern Training (OTIT) and if a violation occurs, the organization will be subject to an order for improvement or cancellation of accreditation. There are upper limits on the number of technical intern trainees that in implementing organization can accept and training courses of studying on related laws and Acts, training management, lifestyle guidance, etc. are also required to them in order to implement the technical intern training smoothly.

Although, this supervision system sounds rigorous, it is actually not very sound on management, particularly on wage problems. Since the technical intern training is as a form of training skills and education to the trainees, the wage paid for trainees is always lower than the minimum wage level in the region. The absconding problems and malpractice behavior regarding technical intern training, which may threaten the public safety, have turned to be the biggest issues domestically and even internationally. More than 7 thousand trainees were missing in 2017 and “unpaid wages” was the most reported reason for their disappearance (46.5%) (Ministry of Justice, 2018).

Besides the issue about unpaid wages problem, the issues regarding liberalization of movement and human rights for natural person are also strictly criticized. Technical intern training is conducted in a maximum period of five years and no family members are allowed to accompany. It is reasonable on any country’s human resource policy considering the public safety. But the point is that the trainees cannot select their employers and even the location in which prefectures by themselves before their entry. Technical intern trainees are less skilled with lower educational background so they also do the same blue collar work in their home countries. They are actually not like highly skilled professionals that can decide their movement much more voluntarily, being impelled to move for better pay and on-the-job training experience abroad, but only have to give up the family union, or even endure social, cultural or personal alienation from the Japanese community. They even know very few about Japan due to the information divide. Japanese labor market needs labor supply, but labor force comes as human being who deserves human rights.

4.2 Statistics relating to Technical Intern Trainee

The government statistics regarding foreign residents is not with great precision (Figure 7). The deviation between the “Regarding the Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment Status” by MHLW and “Statistics of Foreign Residents” by Ministry of Justice during 2011 to 2017 is around about 20 thousand. Great precision in statistics is the first step on developing a better policy or amending Acts, program, etc. Data must be collected accurately. “Regarding the Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment Status” was made mandatory to all employers from 2007 that they are obliged to report the situation of foreign workers employment to “Hello Work” in order to establish the improvement of employment management and prevention of illegal work by foreign workers. An employer who has failed

The collection of “Regarding the Notification Status of Foreign Workers’ Employment Status” by MHLW is by the end of October every year. “Statistics of Foreign Residents” by Ministry of Justice is collected by the end of December every year, which is only two month later than the former.
to make the notification shall be punished by a penal fine of not more than 300,000 yen, but the precision is still not very good enough. It is also a problem caused from the management and supervision on enterprises.

5. Conclusion

It will be the 26th year of Technical Intern Training Program in 2019. Though Technical Intern Training Program has been amended for several times since its establishment, there are many opposition to this program. This study analyzed the geographical distribution, characteristics of technical intern trainee and reconsidered the supervision system of Technical Intern Training Program for accepting technical intern trainees. According to these analyses, this study clarified the actuality of accepting technical intern trainees in Japan and found that the Technical Intern Training Program is now lost touch with its original intent and even untimely after the Basic Policy 2018 was adopted. This study also emphasized that Japanese labor market should employ regular foreign labor force directly instead of accepting technical intern trainees under the Technical Intern Training Program for international cooperation and technical transfer nominally.

Instruction, adequate remuneration and avoid taking advantage of lower salaries are vital when we are attracting human resource to come and work with them. Promote, and when necessary, strengthen quality apprenticeship systems that ensure a high level of implementation. In order to achieve the original
objectives of the program, it is necessary to optimize its operation in line with the original intent and, at the same time, to review the program itself. Now, almost every developed country is facing the situation of depopulation and aging society, the program itself in Japan is no longer suitable in this particular time. It is time to think about some better systems else to take the place of it.

References
Kamibayashi, C (2015), Accepting Foreign Workers in Japanese Society-The Dilemma of a Temporary Immigrants Program, University of Tokyo Press
Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (Amendment of Act No. 113 of 2014)
Ministry of Justice (2018), Press Release about The Actuality of Technical Intern Training Program (Issues on Fraudulent Acts and Disappearance), http://www.meti.go.jp/policy/mono_info_service/mono/fiber/ginoujisshukyougikai/180323/4_moj-genjyou.pdf#search=%27%E6%B3%95%E5%8B%99%E7%9C%81%E6%A8%80%E8%83%BD%E5%AE%9F%E7%BF%90%E7%94%9F+%E5%A4%B1%E8%8D%AA%E8%80%85%27 (Acquired on December 14, 2018) (in Japanese)

* Publication of this article depends on judgement of two anonymous referees. (本稿は，2人の匿名レフリーバによる査読を経て掲載したものである。)