Changing Patterns of Student Mobility

from Uzbekistan to Japan in the Post-Soviet Period

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Jasur SOIPOV

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

In the last few decades, not only has the rate of growth of student mobility around the world increased but also it has encompassed so many more countries than in the past. Rather than the traditional model of students from third world countries streaking to more advanced countries in search of opportunities, there has been increased mobility among advanced countries, as well as migration into countries in Asia such as Japan, South Korea, and China. This research focuses on student mobility of Uzbekistani students to various countries around the world, but more specifically, student mobility to Japan. Although in the past, the few Uzbekistani students that went to Japan on account of Japanese government scholarships or self-financing focused on university education, in recent years, students with less educational qualifications have discovered a new pathway to living and working in Japan through Japanese Language Schools. This research made use of Japanese government documents and statistics as well as a 25-question survey and 7 interview questions to garner responses from 77 Uzbekistani students who have come to Japan mainly through Japanese language schools. Theories applied in the study of this phenomenon included a consideration of push-pull factors, networking, education migration industry, and student switchers. The study found that the pattern of migration from Uzbekistan to Japan has shifted from students at the higher echelons of the educational ladder to the lower rungs where almost anyone can quality to enter a Japanese Language School, which carries for many of the students, the important benefit of being able to work part-time in Japan to pay their way. Many of the students who come through Japanese Language Schools end up continuing their education at vocational institutions or the university once they recognize that there are potentially greater payoffs from this additional education. This research fills a much-needed gap in helping to understand the changing patterns of migration and student mobility for

people from post-Soviet nations such as Uzbekistan, but more than that, the research provides

new data that can help current and future researchers to explore not only the case of Uzbekistani

student migrants to Japan but perhaps extend the study into other countries from Central Asia

and what their patterns of migration are in this fast-changing world.

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Glossary of Abbreviations

DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IS	International Student
ISM	International Student Mobility
ITP	Industrial Training Program
JASSO	Japan Student Services Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
STATA	Statistics and Data
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
US	United States
U.S.	United States
WSA	World-Systems Analysis

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Chapter I   Introduction

1.1   Introduction to the Study

Migration is the quintessential human story. And student mobility has been a part of the migration story for centuries. Migrating to another locale, near or far, for education or work, is not a decision that is taken lightly, because migration often means leaving behind all that one holds to be true and dear. In terms of definition, "Student mobility is understood as the short-term stay abroad, usually one academic year of nine to twelve months' duration" (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002, p.1). While this is the conventional definition, it seems that some students are able to transmute what is supposed to be a short-term stay into something more permanent or something that stretches considerably beyond the one-year marker.

Over the last four decades, higher education around the world has globalized at an accelerated pace, resulting in a significant increase in the number of international students. For example, between 1975 and 2008, the number of international students abroad quadrupled, while from 2000 to 2008, there was a 70% growth in the number of students abroad (OECD, 2010). In addition, destinations of international students compared to the last two decades, have significantly increased and diversified, resulting in competition among receiving countries because of large potential benefits. For instance, besides the main destinations such as the US, the UK, Canada and Australia, Germany, France, and Japan continue to attract a stream of students from outside their borders. Now, other countries in Asia and the Middle East (Malaysia, Singapore, China, Saudi Arabia etc.) have also become major destinations for international students. Moreover, in the past, students went from developing to developed states for the purpose of education while at present, there is much more crisscrossing, with students from

developing countries going to other developing countries and even some going from developed countries to developing nations.

Rapid globalization of higher education has affected Uzbekistani students as well. In the last two decades after independence, the movement of Uzbekistani students abroad for the purpose of study steadily increased. However, in the last decade, that is, from 2014, the number of Uzbekistani students going abroad has increased significantly, as is the case with Uzbekistani students going to Japan. Between 2012 and 2017, Uzbekistani students traveled in large numbers to a number of destination countries, with the top being Russia. Whereas in 2012, there were 10,096 Uzbekistani students in Russia, in 2017, there were 20,862, an increase of 59.6%. Within that same period, the number of students going to Kazakhstan rose from 2,898 in 2012 to 3,818, an increase of 10.9%. Other destination countries with increases ranging from 1% to 5.8% include Ukraine, South Korea, Latvia, Turkey, Malaysia, Germany, Kyrgyzstan, the United States and France. In fact, Japan is not included in this statistic (Campus France).

1.2   Uzbekistan: A Brief Overview

The Russian revolution in 1917 rippled throughout Central Asia, culminating in the formation of Uzbekistan in 1924 (Khalid, 2019, p. 2). Following the breakup of the Soviet Union, "Between 1991 and 2000, an estimated nine million individuals left one county in the region and moved to live in another" (Radnitz, 2006, p. 654). In the years following Uzbekistan's independence, the government at the time took an approach of gradual social and economic reforms and used the still thriving agrarian base of the economy, in particular, cotton, "to maintain social services better than other Central Asian countries" (Tsereteli, 2018, p. 7). In the ensuing years, Uzbekistani, including ethnic Uzbeks and others, have been involved in

patterns of migration that extend to the   United States, Canada, North Africa, and Japan. In the case of Uzbekistan, Tsereteli (2018) lays part of the blame at the feet of inefficiency in governance, which contributed to "many illnesses in the Uzbek economy, including unemployment. As a result, several million migrants were forced to move abroad, primarily to Russia, in search of work. By the 2010s, Uzbekistan's social policies – once a source of pride – were perceived to be deteriorating" (p. 8). The current study focuses on those Uzbekistani who have found a place in Japan in the years since Uzbekistan declared its independence from the Soviet Union. The National Development Strategy adopted in 2017 sought reforms in five key areas: public administration, the judiciary, the economy, the social arena, security and foreign policy (Tsereteli, 2018). The government's efforts to modernize the economy also included paying attention to the small business sector, which employs a significant number of people, that is, almost "three out of every four employed persons in Uzbekistan work in small businesses, and more than 60 percent of those jobs are in rural areas" (Tsereteli, 2018, p. 35).

Uzbekistan is also a country with a large youth population. It is a perennial challenge for any government to ensure that each successive round of graduates is able to plug into employment of one kind or another. But the youth of Uzbekistan are not waiting around for jobs to be provided to them, though the government has been making an effort to provide such jobs not only in the major urban areas but also in the rural areas. Even so, for some time now, the number of people leaving the country in search of educational or employment opportunities abroad have exceeded the number of those who have decided to stay in the country. As Boltavoevich (2017) notes, "The number of labour resources in our country is rapidly growing under the influence of demographic factors" (p. 169).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

It seems that the constant stream of Uzbekistani migrants who are entering Japan for the purpose of education as a first step, has to be examined it its totality, that is, not just from the perspective of what drove them out of their country but also what factors exist in the host country that inform their choices to stay, either temporarily or permanently. When it comes to the reasons why students are leaving their home countries to go through all manner of challenges to settle elsewhere, the reasons are far from being a secret. As the Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016 report   states, in the past few years, "Job opportunities, labor shortages, resulting from falling birth rates, internal conflict and war, natural disasters, climate change, and improved access to information through phone and the Internet" (World Bank Group, 2016, p. iv) have played a part. Though a few attempts have been made to research issues surrounding Uzbekistani in Japan, the strands of research in this vein are both thin and limited in what they impart. This points to the need for more robust research to unearth more information of a primary nature from a sampling of those individuals who have taken the bold step of choosing Japan instead of the myriad other countries that migrants find attractive.

1.4 Research Gap

In the post-Soviet era, some research has focused on student mobility both in the central Asian context and that of Uzbekistan. Much of this, however, has centered on the relationship between the central Asian nations and one another or Russia, the major successor to the Soviet Union. (Sulaimannova, 2004). Rather than education, the primary focus of such research has centered on economic migration as, in the post-Soviet era, many Central Asian nations struggled to provide a stable economic environment for their citizens. But migration from countries such as

Uzbekistan have subsequently expanded to student migration, much of which has centered on attempts to go to neighboring countries or to the more advanced nation of the West. What has been distinctly missing has been an examination of why many Uzbekistani have been turning to Asian countries such as Japan, which has become a new front for migration that is connected primarily to student mobility and only secondarily to economic migration.

Japanese language schools have become a big part of the student mobility story not only involving Uzbekistani making their way into Japan but indeed migrants from many other countries. Information about the activities of these Japanese language schools and how they intersect with the migration dreams of foreign students to Japan cannot be found in peer-reviewed sources. Rather, snippets of such stories can be found in Japanese newspapers and perhaps newspapers from domestic sources of the sending countries. For example, an article in the *Japan Times* newspaper of August 1, 2019, reported that the Japanese government was going to "toughen eligibility standards for Japanese-language schools that can accept foreign students, effective Sept. 1" and that, "The stricter standards will require 70 percent or more of the students who complete the courses to proceed to universities, get jobs in Japan or certify through outside testing that their Japanese ability is above daily conversation levels." This directive is in response to anecdotal reports that some students use the Japanese language school visa only as a ploy and that their main reason for coming to the country is to seek employment and thus fail to fulfill the attendance or study goals of the schools through which they had obtained their visas.

Though there is increasing interest in Central Asia, especially since the post-Soviet era, in general, "Research on migration in Central Asia has been limited" (Ahunov, Kakhkhavor, Parpiev, & Wolfson, 2015). The increasing presence of Central Asians in general and Uzbekistani in particular in various migrant receiving countries such as Russia, Western Europe,

and Japan suggest a need for better understanding not only of the motivations that underlie these migrations but also how the migrations are achieved, the experiences of these migrant groups in their respective host countries, the influence of mediators, and the impacts of such migrations on the migrants themselves, their families, the sending country, and the receiving country. As more and more migrants have settled in Japan, this presents a unique opportunity to gain some insight into the changes in the migration patterns of Uzbekistani coming to Japan and to capture some salient pieces of information from such groups as a foundation for even more research and scholarship on this small but growing community in Japan. From 2010 figures, Japan is not in the top five target emigration countries for Uzbekistani (Migration Profile Light: Republic of Uzbekistan, 2015). This presents an opportunity to understand the relationship between Uzbekistani and Japan in these early stages of the relationship so that other future more complex relationships or changes can be mapped with greater accuracy.

What this research achieves is to bring in new data that can help illuminate the specific case of Uzbekistani students in Japan. In addition, the research is able to highlight an important trend that has been building over the past twenty years but that has not yet been properly documented in the research literature. Finally, the newcomers to Japan are somewhat different from the traditional crop of students who came to Japan in the past. Thus, the presentation of new data, new trends, and the nature of the new breed of Uzbekistani student coming to Japan should complement the small but growing literature on Central Asian migrants and students in general and Uzbekistani students in Japan in particular.

1.5   Research Questions

This research had its genesis in the researcher's personal experiences of being first a worker, and later, a graduate student in Japan. When I came to Japan in 2012, there were few Uzbekistani people. I lived in Shizuoka prefecture. I could not find information about Uzbekistani students in Japan and I did not know how to find out about them. I knew some former acquaintances had come to Japan. But I had no way of meeting them even in Tokyo. From the end of 2014, I started seeing more and more Uzbekistanis in Tokyo especially as convenient store clerks. I found out that several of them were going to Japanese language schools. As I continued to see even more Uzbekistani students in both 2015 and 2016, several questions came to mind. For example, why were most of them studying at Japanese language schools, how were they able to come to Japan, where were they learning Japanese, and could they survive without strong Japanese and English language skills? From what I knew in Uzbekistan, most Uzbekistani people came to Japan through scholarships that were provided by the Uzbekistan and Japanese governments or through exchange programs that were established between Uzbekistani and Japanese universities. I had heard of very few people who had come to Japan by themselves. So, the large number of Uzbekistanis coming to Japan through Japanese language schools was a bit of a surprise. This led me to the following two research questions:

1. What are the contemporary trends in student/educational mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan?
2. What factors explain the choice of Japan and Japanese Language Schools for Uzbekistani students?

1.6   Conceptual Framework

The paper recognizes the multiplicity of theories and frameworks that have helped to explain migration over the years, including World Systems Analysis (Gerbeau, 2017), a theory that integrates some of the previous theories pertaining to the migration of people into countries that were industrializing such as the United States. In addition, there have been others such dual-labor theory, which posits that some parts of the world have an abundance of work and capital but have few people to engage in the hard work necessary to move those countries forward. On the other hand, there are countries that may have an abundance of people but no capital or projects lined up that would absorb the energies of that population. The result is that people from those regions of the world where there is a surfeit of labor begin to move to those areas where the demand for the labor power is high. In addition, there are behaviorialist and value expectancy theories that posit that people who migrate make a conscious decision to improve their conditions by looking to which parts of the world can afford them the kind of opportunities that they believe they deserve in order to make manifest whatever abilities or potentialities they might have. In this paper, considering the economic conditions from which the respondents emerged, it was judged necessary to consider the use of **push and pull factors** and their intersection with structures such as the economy, agency, and the influence of family networks (Radnitz, 2006). As important as push and pull factors were, they were hardly the only theories that seemed to have a bearing on the student-mobility trajectory of the subjects of this research. Rather, another key theory was that of **networking** in that many of the respondents had access to people who had either lived in Japan before or knew someone who had. Thus, through this network of people either living in Japan at the time or having lived in Japan before, and their connections to others in Uzbekistan, information about the opportunities available for both work

and education traveled freely within the cohort of people who might be interested in exploiting these opportunities. Add to that, the availability of the Internet has facilitated the means for dissemination of information, either on a peer-to-peer level, within and among families, or through closed social groups on platforms such as Facebook. Even with the weight of push and pull factors and the information value of networking, it is unlikely that a large number of Uzbekistani could have taken full advantage of the educational opportunities afforded in Japan through Japanese Language Schools if they had to go through all the application processes by themselves. Solutions exist, however, under the **education migration industry theory**, involving agents of schools that play an active part in not only providing the basics of the Japanese language in Uzbekistan for interested parties but also actively help potential students with filling out forms that are often in Japanese. Once the students succeed in entering Japan, they are confronted with the reality that their success may not be achieved within a short time, and that they might have to revise their timeline. This is where the theory of **Student Switchers** becomes relevant; from the Japanese Language School, some students make the decision to continue their education into vocational schools or the university, and beyond that, decide to seek permanent residence or other means of long-term stay in Japan in order to truly achieve their ultimate goals of financial stability.

1.7   Methodology

The complex nature of student mobility suggests the need for a complex approach to capturing its realities. As such, I have decided to use the case study approach, which allows for the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative modalities for research. As Yin (2009) states, "the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics

of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, small group behavior, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, school performance, international relations, and the maturation of industries" (p. 4). Case study is often used in contradistinction to experimental research in that it focuses on observing and studying a phenomenon in its natural setting. In addition to helping to provide explanations, descriptions, or exploration of events or phenomenal, case study can "help to understand and explain causal links and pathways resulting from a new policy initiative or service development" (Crowe et al. 2011, p. 1). The complementary notion is that a well-done case study could also help to chart a new policy path for those in authority to do so. In trying to understand the background of Uzbekistani student migration it was important to resort to statistical data that had been collected over the years by institutions and authorities in Japan over the past several decades. But this is intertwined with responses from 77 respondents who allow for understanding the meanings and reasons behind the numbers. This mixed methods approach is underpinned by the assumption that such a combination can help "address some research questions more comprehensively than by using either quantitative or qualitative methods alone" (Tariq & Woodman 20,10, p. 1). Understanding what drives the mobility of Uzbekistani to study in Japan certainly falls within this remit.

1.8   Delimitations of the Study

The reason for doing this research is that this researcher is from Uzbekistan, and most of the Central Asian students studying in Japan are from Uzbekistan. Educational mobility from Tajikistan to Japan (Nazira, 2018), Kazakhstan to Japan (Rustemova et al., 2020) and other countries (Nurbek, 2013; Del Sordi, 2018), for example, have been studied. Also, there has been limited research on migration and educational mobility from Uzbekistan to developing countries

such as Turkey and industrialized countries such the US, the UK and others (Kondakci, 2011). In addition, even though there is some research on international relation between Japan and Uzbekistan (Dadabaev, 2014; Dadabaev, 2018), linguistic similarities and differences between the Uzbek language and Japanese (Straughn, 2009), as well as religious connection between the two countries (Frank, 1992; Hopkirk, 2001), there is practically no research studies on migration and education mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan, in particular. My study does not include children below the age of eighteen because the number of such children is small, and many such children are dependent of their parents.

1.9   Purpose and Significance

There are several benefits to this research study. First, it contributes to an understanding of the case of educational mobility studies in Uzbekistan, which is one of the post-Soviet countries struggling with population growth and the shift from a centrally-planned economy to a market economy. Second, from this research the Japanese government could learn about the reasons the students came to Japan, the experiences of the students, and how the students are impacted by Japanese government policy. Third, the government of Uzbekistan could learn why many students left Uzbekistan for Japan and their intentions after their studies in Japan. Fourth, students in Uzbekistan who are planning to go abroad for the purpose of the studying could learn about the Japanese education system, employment opportunities, benefits and challenges of studying in Japan, avenues for accessing educational opportunities in Japan. Also, newcomer students could understand what they need to do in preparation for going to Japan.

1.10   Originality of the Research

This research focuses on a group of respondents for whom there is currently no data available. This is a set of Uzbekistani students attending school in Japan, including university, vocational colleges, and Japanese Language Schools. This research was based on a combination of data garnered from survey questions and an interview. The availability of this new data will make it possible for future researchers to have a base of data with which to make comparisons with their own data. Thus, this research, in a sense, provides a base of material upon which future researchers can build into something more significant in the years to come. Another aspect of the data is an illumination of what has been happening in the education sector over the past few decades but for which there has not been any significant data amassed for the purpose of research. By focusing on Uzbekistani students in universities and Japanese Language Schools specifically, a new front for research has been opened as other researchers can begin to consider students from other countries who may be taking advantage of the same route into Japan and thus compare the experiences and perceptions of such students with that of the Uzbekistani students studied for this research.

1.11   Organization of the Study

Chapter one is regarding the introduction of the research study. It includes an overview of the study, a brief historical overview of Uzbekistan, statement of the research problem, research gap and research questions, theoretical frameworks, delimitation of the study, and also purpose and the significance of the study research.

Chapter two is dedicated to highlighting the methodology of the research. In doing this I refer to the concept of positionality, which helps me to define my place in the discourse of

migration and student mobility. In doing this, I exploited the concept of emic and etic stand point. The data collection and the data analysis stages were carried out by using mixed methodology. This allowed me to carry out qualitative and quantitative analysis. As the main source of the research is data, semi-structured interviews and other data collection tools such as survey questionnaires, statistical data from Japanese government bodies were used.

The third chapter of the paper focuses on the review of literature on migration. Migration being quite an old phenomenon, has a considerable background information, some of which is presented at the beginning of the third chapter. Migration in general, and migration from Uzbekistan in particular, is very dynamic, which means that it is subjected to constant changes. This chapter also focuses on Uzbek migrants who travel abroad in general, and to Japan in particular. This migration process involves mediators who help to organize migrants' trips and the flow of remittances from the migrants back to their home countries.

Thanks to globalization, wide perspectives have been opened for international student migration. **The fourth chapter** talks about how students made use of these opportunities, the main patterns observed in this process, and the main factors which influenced them such as push and pull factors, their choice of destination country and their selection of educational institutions. In this respect, the chapter goes through the case of educational migration to Japan and the changing patterns of student mobility. As an outcome, this chapter examines the above-mentioned aspect of student mobility and the literature gap which exists in this field.

Chapter five discusses theoretical frameworks which were used in this research study. It mainly focuses on the conceptual frameworks of push and pull, networking, educational migration industry, and student switcher and discusses the reasons for choosing these conceptual frameworks for the research and adaptation of these theories for the research study.

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Chapter six focuses on findings of the research study and seeks to answer how student mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan has changed over the years: what the pattern of migration for students was before and what it is now, the main reasons for going abroad, and the current approach of Uzbekistani students choosing Japan, rather than other countries, and Japanese Language Schools, rather than other institutions, as their mode of entry into Japan. It also debates factors such as "networking" and "agencies" which caused a sudden increase in the number of Uzbekistani students in Japan, the foreign Language proficiency level of the incoming students, and the role of remittances. Moreover, it discusses the future plans of the students after their educational institutions in Japan and the reasons they came to these decisions.

Chapter seven focuses on the conclusion of the research study. It summarizes and discusses the significance of the findings. This section also speaks to the contribution of the research study in the field, suggestions for future research study, as well as the limitation of the thesis.

Chapter II   REVISITING MIGRATION

2.1   Introduction

One of the age-old questions surrounding the issue of migration is what drives it (Parkins, 2010). Throughout history, there have been migrations that stemmed from war, famine, or some other natural disaster. For many other migrations, particularly those that occur slowly over time, it might not be so easy to discern the reasons without the benefit of systematic inquiry.

Since migration has become a part of human history, Castles et al. (2014), ask, not why migration happens but how it is that "immigrants and their descendants can become part of receiving societies and nations. A second question is how the state and civil society can and should facilitate this process" (p. 264). Both of these questions have a bearing on this research in that, increasingly, Uzbekistanis are becoming parts of many societies around the world, with varying levels of welcome and reception.

Since the 1980s, the acceleration of the forces of globalization have given rise to new patterns of migration flows, not just involving the migrant who is solely focused on getting work abroad but also "the highly skilled worker, seeking professional added value or moving for study reasons" (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002, p. 2).

2.2   Migration Theories and Historical Background of Migration

The establishment of the state, which Kardulias and Hall (2005) date to "Mesopotamia some 5000 years ago" (p. 2), raised the challenges associated with humans moving from one place to another across the globe. Prior to that, even when forced by the pressure of economic circumstances, war, or natural disasters, it seemed very much like a natural act in that any group

of people under dire straits might be expected to take to the road or the sea in an effort to protect themselves. But the emergence of demarcations of territory injected into the concept of moving the idea of migrating as a "political act not just involving the individual but also states" (Gerbeau, 2017, p. 1).

The major argument that Gerbeau (2017) raises is that migration is 'neither directly driven and controlled by states nor a pure individual decision, but rather it is the consequence of the way the superstructure of global capitalism is articulated" (p. 1). In trying to make this point, Gerbeau (2017) notes the significance of the 16th century as a turning point, when capitalism came to dominate, not just as a powerful regional phenomenon, but rather, as a "global political-economic and ecological system dividing states (the main political actors of International Relations) depending on whether they belong to the core or to the periphery of the system" (Gerbeau, 2017, p. 1). The use of the 16th century as an important marker aligns with the contention of Massey (2003), that there have been four major periods of international migration in the recent history of the world, and that the period from 1500 to 1800, known as the mercantile period, "was dominated by flows out of Europe and stemmed from processes of colonization and economic growth under mercantile capitalism" (Massey, 2003, p. 1). The world-systems theory, which Gerbeau (2017) explains, and was first articulated by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974, suggests that those at the core are the possessors of capital and power while those at the periphery serve as a "variable capital provider of workforce and raw materials" (Gerbeau, 2017, p.1). This argument is bolstered by a sketch of three major migrations in history, namely, the Pre-Industrial, the Industrial, and the Post-Industrial. The Industrial period is also highlighted by Massey (2003), who points out that this period, which started at the beginning of the 19th century, was mainly a consequence of "industrial development in Europe and the spread

of capitalism to former colonies in the New World" (p. 1). In this period, as many as 48 million people are said to have left Europe. At the heart of the world-systems theory is an understanding of the elements that drive capitalism, namely, the so-called 'four cheaps' of "labor, raw materials, energy and food" (Gerbeau, 2017, p. 1). As a system, capitalism has also been observed to go through phases of expansion, stagnation, and recession, at which point, new elements from the four cheaps might be needed to regenerate the system. Thus, whenever there has been a change in the production model of capitalism it has necessitated an infusion of workforce to the core of the system from the periphery, in other words, "mass migrations to supply cheap labor needs in different ways" (Gerbeau, 2017, p. 1). The Atlantic Slave Trade served as the means for conveying cheap labor and raw materials to feed the engine of capitalism in the New World. In the Industrial Era, the cities served as the core where machinery and political power were accumulated and these centers of capital and power drew from the rural areas hordes of workers to man the machines that churned out millions of products from assembly lines. And when the rural areas were depopulated, countries such as the United Kingdom depended on workers from their erstwhile colonies to fill in the gap. The argument gains even more salience when one considers the incredible number of rural denizens that China has drawn into the cities to work in the factories in the cities and urban areas in the 21st century (Gerbeau, 2017).

There are indications from Central Asia that while the rural to urban migration has held true in many parts of the world, this may not necessarily have turned out as one might have expected because of other more powerful intervening factors. When the Central Asian countries of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia and Turkmenia were still part of the Soviet Union, the population in the rural areas was so much more than that in the urban areas. In fact, "More than

60% of the population of Central Asia was rural in 1988, whereas in the Russian republic and the Baltic region less than 30% of the population was living in the rural areas" (Patnaik, 1995, p. 147). In the urban areas, the government provided employment for the vast majority of the citizens; in the rural areas, agriculture was the dominant mode of earning a living. Considering that the supply of people in the countryside to handle agriculture was in the surplus, one might assume that this "could have created a rural push and an urban pull – the economic rationale for migration" (Patnaik, 1995, p. 148). The rural areas, in many cases, had larger families, and more poverty, which may have put them under great economic pressure. However, the majority remained where they were. While some scholars have surmised that, actually, the rural areas might have been successful and thus in no need for villagers to go to the cities, Patnaik (1995), suggests that the strong traditions in the rural areas, including the division of labor in the family, and the patriarchal system, kept rural families in place, with increasingly dire economic consequences. As Patnaik concludes, "By the end of the Soviet period in 1991, Central Asia's economic and social crises had deepened" (Patnaik, 1995, p. 166).

In the years since World War I, there was a four-decade period in which emigration from Europe was limited, in part, because of restrictions in the areas of "trade, investment and immigration to curtail international movements of goods, capital, and labor" (Massey, 2003, p. 3). The Great Depression then brought migration to the Americas to a near halt. The Post-Industrial era has been marked by greater global connectivity and technological sophistication but the world-systems theory, first articulated by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974, has been criticized as being too "economistic, ignoring individual actors" (Kardalius & Hall, 2008, p. 573). Holding on to world-systems as the only theory that explains mass migration might not be appropriate considering that it leaves out individual agency in the process of migration. After all,

the individual, in the end, has to be willing to take whatever risks might be involved in leaving the familiarity of hearth and home in order to explore possibilities without guarantee elsewhere. To accommodate exceptions, Kardalius & Hall (2008) highlight what amounts to a replacement of World Systems Theory, under the nomenclature of World-Systems Analysis (WSA). Beyond the Post-Industrial period highlighted by world-systems theory, Massey (2003), points to a fourth period of post-industrial migration, which started in the mid-1960s; migration at this time was not just largely confined to Europeans but became much more global in nature. In the 1970s, people from Africa, Asia, and Latin America increasingly sought destinations farther away from their homes in which to seek their economic fortunes. Among the countries that became recipients of a new wave of immigrants were Italy, Spain, and Portugal, whose immigrants came mainly from the Middle East and Africa and the Persian Gulf countries, which began to receive labor migrants. By the 1980s, Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, were also seeing an influx of migrants (Massey, 2003).

Whereas in the past, immigrant-sending nations were few and immigrant-receiving nations were few, there seems to have been an explosion both in "the number and variety of immigrant-sending nations" (Massey, 2003, p. 5). Massey (2003) reports that, "The largest absolute outflows are observed in Mexico, followed by Afghanistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Pakistan, China, Vietnam, and Colombia. (Massey, 2003, p. 5). When speaking in the aggregate, and considering the sheer numbers involved, countries such as Uzbekistan do not feature prominently. But in the last couple of decades, Uzbekistan may have inserted itself into the story of international migration much more forcefully than one might suspect. Lastly, Massey (2003) reports that following a study sponsored by the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, which examined some of the major migration and population theories in the

literature, including six bodies of theory, that is, neoclassical economics advanced by Todaro (1976), the new economics of labor migration articulated by Stark (1991), segmented labor market theory by Piore (1979), world systems theory explained by Sassen (1988), social capital theory Massey, Goldring, and Durand (1994), and theory of cumulative causation explained by Massey (1990), it was determined that international migration is rooted in "social, economic, and political transformations that accompany the expansion of capitalist markets into pre-market and non-market societies (as hypothesized under world systems theory)" (Massey, 2003, p. 11). In fairness, all the above theories make important contributions to our understanding of migration flows. For example, neoclassical economics explains how it is that people who are struggling to survive in their traditional livelihoods "seek to assure their economic well-being…by selling their services on emerging national and international labor markets" (Massey, 2003, p. 11-12). The urban-rural labor divide, as well as international wage differentials have also played their part in getting people to migrate but Massey (2003) is quick to point out that making more money is not necessarily the primary motivator. Rather, households that found themselves struggling to survive because of a shift in the economy that might be threatening their livelihood may, as suggested by the new economics of labor migration, see migration as a solution to their threatened circumstances.

2.3   General Patterns of Migration

Castles, De Haas and Miller (2014) identify six ways in which migration patterns have been changing in recent decades. The first, globalization of migration, has to do with the scope of migration both from the point of view of sending countries and receiving countries. In addition, migrants are coming from not just one socioeconomic group but from an array of

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"economic, social and cultural backgrounds" (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 16). The next is about the direction of migration flows, and observes that while for centuries, Europe was a major center for the outflow of migrants to other parts of the world, in recent years, it has been "transformed into a major global migration destination" (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 16). The third, differentiation of migration, notes that no one type of migration, be it family reunion, labor, asylum seeking or permanent residence dominates. Rather, one type of migration might eventually change into something else. The fourth, proliferation of migration transition, touches on the reversal of roles such as seeing a predominantly emigration nation itself become an immigration country that attracts other migrants. The reverse has also occurred when a country known for immigration has become one of emigration. Fifth is the feminization of labor migration, which has become so widespread that, "women workers form the majority in movements as diverse as those of Cape Verdeans to Italy, Filipinas to the Middle East and Thais to Japan" (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 16). And finally, there is the growing politicization of migration, in which domestic politics and relationships between countries are affected by the patterns of migration from one country to the other.

Between Assimilation and Integration

The world of migration is always in flux. This is because conditions around the world are also always in flux. And so, not surprisingly, the patterns of migration over a period of time might be "in reaction to changes in migrant policy, economic conditions or demographic pressures" (Sander, Rees, & Abel, 2014, p. 2). Two competing ideas connected to migrants and their acceptance in a society have to do with whether they will be integrated or not. For example, in the Gulf oil states, there is an assumption that migrants who come there to work are there

simply for the money and that they do not intend to put down roots there. The other side of the coin, however, may be, not that the migrants do not want to integrate but that members of the host nation believe that such immigrants ought not be integrated (Castles et al. 2014). One salient example of acceptance and incorporation is the British defeat "of Wales, Scotland and Ireland and of dealing with religious diversity…the United Kingdom required political loyalty, but a person's group identity could be Welsh or Scottish, Protestant or Catholic" (p. 265). This contrasts markedly with countries such as Japan and South Korea, who equate nationality with ethnicity and thus found it difficult, at least in the past, "to incorporate people of different backgrounds" (Castles et al. 2014, p. 266). There are indications, however, that in recent years, this attachment to some supposed purity and homogeneity of the nation is on the wane and that countries like Japan are becoming much more open to expanding the notion of migrants they attract and even the idea of citizenship. In extreme cases, some societies have demanded assimilation, in which case immigrants were expected to so adapt to their new society that the traditional markers of difference are erased, making them a part of "the majority population" (Castles, 2014, p. 266). Whereas the notion of assimilation seemed like a demand, the notion of integration was gentler, recognizing the simple fact that it takes time for someone whose background, culture, language, education, and viewpoint are totally different to appreciate the norms in the new culture within which they have settled. Countries such as Canada and Australia, both of which used to have immigration biased towards white Europeans, have gradually become more open to migrants from different parts of the world and even accepted multiculturalism and the rejection of racism as part of the ethos of their nations (Castles et al. 2014, p. 269).

2.4 Uzbekistani Migration: The Draw of Russia

When it comes to stories about illegal immigration, which involves entering a country that is not one's own, either in transit or to stay "in violation of the laws regulating the entry and exit procedure, or transit through its territory" (Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha, 2019, p. 184), perhaps the United States gets the lion's share of the coverage, both because of the size of the undocumented population in the country, and because of the frequency with which the issue flares up in the media. But the United States is certainly not the only country that grapples with this issue. Every state ascribes to itself rules governing the circumstances under which they will accept people from different national or territorial jurisdictions. And the reasons behind the migration often plays a part in whether the migrant is accepted with open arms or with some degree of reluctance. In addition to conditions like war, which serves as a strong force for people to take risks of migrating without the requisite documentation, there is the added issue of human trafficking or the movement of people for profit (Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha, 2019). In part to mitigate against illegal flows of migrants and to create a more orderly approach, countries such as Russia, have made an effort to sign bilateral agreements with the countries that supply most of their labor migrants. As Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha (2019), point out, "Russia is a rather popular centre of migration attraction in the world, the second after the United States, and the first in the post-Soviet area…In 2018, Russia was the most popular among citizens of Uzbekistan (2.4 million), China (1.7 million), Ukraine (1.15 million), Kirghizia (0.5 million)" (p. 190-191). In addition to those who might have been able to migrate legally, there are also "hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants in Moscow" (Yudina, 2005, p. 584), who are able to fill "the need for lower-paid, non-qualified labour and the unwillingness of local citizens to work in some industries" (Yudina, 2005, p. 585). The former countries of the USSR have often

served as a conduit for people who want to easily enter Russia because of non-visa entry arrangements between those countries and Russia; another method "is migrants overstaying the legal time period allowed for study, work or treatment in Russia" (Yudina, 2005, p. 585). It does not seem that Russia has strong legislative mechanisms for dealing with this issue or it may be that authorities turn a blind eye knowing that these illegal immigrants fill a certain gap in the economy.

A large number of intermediaries have also arisen to facilitate the flow of migrants into the Russian jobs sector. Foreigners who have lived in Russia for some time and do understand the workings of the economy are one group of intermediaries who are able to facilitate the influx of migrants; another intermediary comprises foreign national communities. In summary, "Illegal intermediary companies play the largest role in aiding workers from distant foreign countries, whereas national companies are responsible for helping those from foreign countries situated closer to Russia" (Yudina, 2005, p. 589).

The large number of Uzbekistani who made their way to Russia in the post-Soviet era necessitated an agreement between the two countries, which was signed on April 5, 2017, to facilitate "organized recruitment of Uzbekistan citizens for temporary employment in the Russian Federation" (Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha, 2019, p. 191). This agreement streamlined the process of migration for the Uzbekistani and imposed upon their government the necessity of training potential migrants before they left for Russia in order to facilitate their adaptation to their new environment. A measure of success of this arrangement might be seen in the fact that "the Russian-Uzbek experience of the organized recruitment of foreign citizens for temporary work activity synthesized a number of successful European practices and models" (Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha, 2019, p. 191). The wellbeing of the migrants is not considered

by the two governments; rather, numerous non-state actors, including human rights and religious organizations and even universities have taken an interest in this issue and are committed to fighting for better socio-economic standards for these migrants. The same agreement gives some preference to people who speak the Russian language and those who have developed special skills such as scientists (Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha, 2019, p. 191). There are also provisions to safeguard Russian security by imposing restrictions on the migrants with respect to the carrying out of illegal labor, illegal entry, the use of forged documents, and staying in Russian territory past the expiry date of one's visa. While highlighting the importance that political, military or ethnic clashes play in immigration, Burda, Gerasimova, & Ochacha (2019) also note that the "increasing difference in the economic capacity of states act as a starting point of population shift" (p. 12).

While countries such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom often get all the attention when it comes to issues of immigration, Russia, since the breakup of the Soviet Union, has been going through its own confrontations with immigrants, particularly those from Central Asian countries, namely, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, and Turkmenia (Patnaik, 1995). In conformity with world-systems analysis, Russia has indeed become one of the core zones that attracts cheap labor from the periphery. In this regard, primary consideration is given to the individual worker whose function is to serve the needs of the industry. The needs of the individual, in so far as his or her family members might be concerned, are of no importance to the receiving country, thus creating uncomfortable tensions between the migrants and their hosts. Even when a country declares a measure of open access to labor migrants, this does not guarantee a peaceful existence in the host country. In looking at Russia's relationship with migrant laborers in particular, Nikiforova and Brednikova (2018), following a two-year study of

migrant workers to Russia from Tajikistan Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, notes that these migrants are not only considered deportable non-citizens but also, they are not allowed the right to remain in the host country indefinitely. Rather, their labor contribution is seen as temporary, and with that, less responsibility on the part of the state to express concern for their plight as might be the case with a citizen. Of course, this so-called temporary stay might last for years, during which the state and related companies continue to extract whatever economic value they can from the individuals involved. For migrants to places like Russia from Central Asia, there is a double burden: one imposed by the harshness of the work life the migrants have to endure, including long hours and less than stellar working conditions, and another, stemming from the traditional social obligations that these migrants feel tethered to, such as having to spend a lot of money on weddings (Nikiforova and Brednikova, 2018). There are concerns that members of the host country, still focusing on Russia, do not see their Central Asian labor migrants as true human beings but as slaves to be exploited, and "deprived of healthcare, workplace safety, education for family members, or any form of legal protection" (Nikiforova and Brednikova, 2018, p. 144). Families of migrants are not given a straightforward mechanism by which they can share in what little prosperity their breadwinning kin can garner. Research such as those by Nikiforova and Brednikova (2018) aim to close the gaping hole in research on migration outside of the United States-Mexico framework and the European Union-Africa/Middle East framework.

Migrants and Remittances

      Whatever the motivations of migrants, it has become abundantly clear that many of them care about their homelands and the people they left behind. Also, despite the economic benefits that often result from migrants entering a destination country where the economy offers a large

employment base, it must be acknowledged that migration can, at times, "put people and communities at risk, due to human trafficking the exodus of young people from rural areas, families left without spouses and parents, ethnic tensions in receiving communities, the loss of skilled labour from developing countries, epidemiological contagion and heightened fears of political extremism" (UNDP, 2017). Regardless of the reasons for which migrants leave their home countries, the two hundred million plus migrants around the world have become a force for contributing to poverty reduction in developing countries. As Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal (2008) point out, "Remittances are the financial counterpart to migration and are the most tangible contribution of migrants to the development of their areas of origin" (p. 6). Once they are settled in their new abodes, the amount of money that migrants from dozens of countries send back to their places of origin attest to the bonds that continue to connect these migrants to their relatives or friends back home. When one considers that the size of the migrant population worldwide is "more than 247 million people, or 3.4 percent of the world population" (World Bank Group, 2016, p. v), then perhaps, it is not so surprising to appreciate that an estimated $56.3 billion was remitted out of the United States in 2014, and that, "The six Gulf Cooperation Council countries accounted for $98 billion in outward remittance flows in 2014" (World Bank Group, 2016, p. vi). Japan is listed among the top countries from which migrants send money out" (World Bank Group, 2016).

The impact of such remittances may depend on those who are at the receiving end. Emigrants from Mexico are said to contribute as much as ten percent to the household income of those left behind whereas for seventeen percent of people in the Philippines who were surveyed, the contribution was as much as twenty-five percent (Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 32). For migrants who hail from agricultural communities, such remittances might go towards

investment in the farm, or hiring some workers to work on the farm. Conversely, access to migrant remittances might also decrease the attention that a household puts into agricultural work. For example, "Receiving households may choose to spend their additional income on increased consumption, investing in housing, education and health, as well as in entrepreneurial non-farm activities" (Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 32). Remittances have also been known to have an impact on the health and education of those left behind. There have also been cases where migrants from a particular locality have pooled their resources together to send a collective remittance for particular development projects in their hometowns. While hometown associations might serve primarily as an opportunity for people from a similar background to get together on a social basis, the offshoot could become their involvement in activities that benefit the locales from which they had been born and bred. The public nature of such collective investments often means that there are multiplier effects when compared to remittances that are sent for just domestic consumption of particular households ((Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 27).

Considering the relatively large amounts of remittances sent to countries such as the Philippines and Mexico, it is not difficult to see, then, why perhaps scholarly interest in Uzbekistani migration might be lacking. When there are so many other countries that command larger numbers of emigrants, the Uzbekistani story could easily become lost. But, for stakeholders in the Uzbekistani migrant story and the impact that related remittances might have, this is no less important because of the relatively small size of the migrants. In Central Asia, Uzbekistan makes it among the top remittance recipients with $2.3 billion having been remitted to the country in 2015 (World Bank Group, 2016). The dependence that countries such as Uzbekistan have on migrant remittances cannot be overemphasized when one considers that in

2013, remittances made up as much as 11.1% of GDP in Uzbekistan (Yun, 2016). A year later, economic sanctions imposed by the United States and its Western allies on Russia led to a drastic decline in the value of the Russian ruble, and a decline in remittances by half. In January 2015, the Russian government began to take a heavy-handed approach to its dealings with migrants. Work permits given to migrants were valid for only one year and required a raft of documentation, which could cost as much as $1,000 per year to secure. The one-year limit became a bane of the existence of many immigrants as large numbers of them were sent back. As Yun (2016) reports on the matter of remittances, "Uzbekistan, which sends the largest number of workers to Russia, was confronted with the steepest fall of 31.7% between June 2014 and April 2016" (Yun, 2016, p. 3). In addition, there was a devaluation in the Russian and Central Asian currencies that meant a loss in buying power for the existing migrants. In 2016, for example, the remittance to households in Uzbekistan ended up "over a quarter lower than in 2014 ($297 compared to $403)" (USAID, 2017, p. 18). The resulting high number of young unemployed people who have been deported has led to socioeconomic problems in Uzbekistan (Yun, 2016).

Though it might appear as though those with the least financial or material resources might have a greater propensity to migrate, the evidence suggests that this is not necessarily the case. This is because there is a cost to migration, which might be paying an intermediary for help or acquiring the cost of transportation. Those who tend to migrate are often those who have tasted a measure of success, albeit relatively little, and are keen to gain even more of those benefits. As such, quite often, migration is not just an individual decision. It is a household decision that takes into consideration the potential benefits and costs as well as the migration rules that might affect the potential success of the endeavor (Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 27).

Women have become a substantial part of the migration story as the demand for service-sector work such as the care of the elderly or of children have risen. Service jobs might also include work in restaurants, babysitting or taking care of the handicapped (Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 29).

Family Dynamics

No immigrant is an island. Often behind the individual struggles in a new land, either for work or education, is an army of family members whose own dreams are tied in with that of the migrant. Thus, even as the more advanced countries take advantage of the resources of the migrants, either as skilled or unskilled workers, the migrants also have to make their calculations, not just from their individual wishes, but often, in light of what is proper for their families. Thus, the long hours and sacrifices that migrants go through are not only for their own sakes but may be to serve a larger purpose of holding up the family. In this regard, Geddie (2003) describes transnational students as being multiply situated, which is to say that "most migrants, even those armed with considerable economic human capital, do not operate as footloose agents at the global scale" (Geddie, 2003, p. 198). The involvement of the family can be better understood when one considers that, in many cases, in order for the migrant to make his or her way to the host nation, money had to be raised in support of the endeavor. This means that a whole host of expectations rests upon the shoulders of the migrant, and so, decisions such as whether to stay in the host country and make more money or whether to return and contribute to the development of the country, are not the kind of decisions that can be made solely on the strength of personal whim and caprice.

2.5 Migrants and Japan

Japan and South Korea have traditionally been reluctant to encourage the influx of migrants ((Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 29), apparently because of the fear "of loss of ethnic homogeneity through immigration" (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014, p. 3). Successive Japanese governments balked on admitting refugees or foreign workers with the exception of those who fell into the category of "highly skilled professionals" (Akashi, 2014, p. 175). Part of the initial impetus for the lack of eagerness to admit unskilled workers seems to have been the presence of a significant number of Japanese who were out of the workforce. Thus, the government urged businesses to employ the elderly and women, who were under-employed (Kobayashi, 2014). Another longstanding lingering issue has been the matter of language; it seems that some Japanese have been concerned about how foreign residents without the proper language skills can integrate into a nation in which close to hundred percent speak Japanese. In fact, while industry groups such as *Keidanren* or Japan Business Federation, advocated the acceptance of migrant workers, a 2010 survey revealed that for the general population an understanding of the Japanese language and Japanese customs were deemed more important than the possession of technical skills (Kobayashi, 2014). These concerns, it must be noted, apply more to recent immigrants because Japan has a group of non-Japanese who have become integrated into Japanese society since World War II, and for whom language is certainly not a barrier. For this population, mostly Koreans, even the second and third generations, are not seen as Japanese though the vast majority of them are well integrated into Japanese society (Kobayashi, 2014). In 2007, however, the number of Chinese residents in Japan surpassed that of Koreans in the country. In the case of Chinese, there are four main categories, namely, students, skilled workers that are brought to Japan directly from China, technical interns, and spouses of

Japanese. The Japanese government has very much been in support of Chinese students who might have come first for the education, and later on, decided to work and stay. The Japanese government seems to have had a positive immigration policy surrounding students and skilled workers, in that, these two groups are seen as diligent people "who have also mastered the Japanese language and thus re-socialized in Japan, contributing not only to the Japanese economy, but to civil society as well" (Kobayashi, 2014, p. 4). Technical interns, on the other hand, usually come for short periods of time, often working in the farming and fishing sectors.

However, in recent years, the reality of a declining population has pushed the government to come up with various strategies that allow migrant workers to enter the country. The stark reality, portrayed in statistics, that the country's population is bound to drop below "100 million by 2028 and below 90 million by 2060" (Akashi, 2014, p. 176), has made recent governments more open to the possibility of admitting immigrants, either as permanent residents or for work assignments of varying lengths. The question of whether, in the face of the population decline, Japan will become a much more open society as far as immigration is concerned is raised by Akashi (2014). It seems that efforts towards admitting more foreigners to Japan have not simply been a government initiative. Rather, real labor needs in the country seem to have been behind the trainee system that was initiated in the early 1990s while the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) that governs the influx of nurses from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam has also been driven by the needs of the aging population (Akashi, 2014). Even with these problems, strict guidelines and requirements mean that though many are called, few are chosen, so to speak. A case in point is the requirement for nurses, which requires foreign nurses to pass the same test as Japanese, with the result that over a period of five years, only three hundred out of two thousand were able to pass (Akashi 2014).

Japan's success in the late 1980s and early 1990s made it a very attractive place for migrants (Akashi & Kobayashi, 2010). In the early stages, the manufacturing sector attracted many migrants, who had used both formal and informal channels to enter the labor market in Japan. Japan's Immigration Control Act in 1990 increased the range of possibilities for skilled workers from other countries. A revision to the Act opened the floodgates for descendants of Japanese who were based overseas to come to Japan to work. Many responded from Brazil and Peru, and at one point, as many as 360,000 (Akashi & Kobayashi, 2010) people responded to the call. Japan has continued to make changes to its immigration laws, making it possible in recent years, for more and more skilled workers to work and live in the country. A category of 'trainee' that allows migrant workers in labor-intensive jobs to live and work in Japan for limited periods of time has attracted a lot of attention as well as controversy. From an annual rate of between 30,000 to 50,000 trainees in the 1990s it rose to as high as 100,000 in 2007 before dropping off to 80,480 in 2009 (Akashi & Kobayashi, 2010).

One group from Central Asia that has found a haven of sorts in Japan are Tajikistani, some of whom have traveled to Japan for educational purposes. Since the country's independence, the country has sought opportunities to expand education for its youth. One group of students came to Japan through the efforts of various government departments in their country while others came through Japanese government scholarships (Sodatsayrova & Waljee, 2017). Among the reasons some of the students cited for choosing Japan were the need to enter a high-ranking university compared to homegrown institutions, the need to learn at a deeper level, and professional growth (Sodatsayrova & Waljee, 2017).

2.6 Uzbekistani in Japan

The increasing presence of Uzbekistani in Japan is not by accident. Of course, there are the conventional push and pull factors, some of which are rooted in the economic situation in Uzbekistan over the past couple of decades. But, while the government of Uzbekistan has played a part in facilitating the migration of its own citizens abroad, without a certain measure of reception in the receiving country, Uzbekistani are unlikely to be able to migrate into any country in increasing numbers. For one thing, Russia, which was a top destination country for Uzbekistani, has become tougher and tougher on its immigrants from Central Asia, with impositions of bans on migrants who break any number of laws. To that end, "the largest group of banned migrants are Uzbek nationals who have so far not been covered by regularization schemes" (USAID, 2017). One might imagine that this presents an opportunity for would-be migrants to explore other destinations where they can make their dreams come true.

The importance of these migrants to their home countries can be seen from the fact that some of the Central Asian governments whose citizens had come under ban in Russia, began to make efforts towards persuading the Russian government to reverse some of those bans so that their citizens could return to Russia. The government of Kyrgyzstan may have been the most ambitious in this regard, but beyond trying to get migrants to go back to Russia, quite a large number of "Kyrgyz citizens find employment through 151 licensed private employment agencies in Turkey, South Korea and Arab states of the Persian Gulf" (USAID, 2017, p. 21).

When one examines the case of Japan, one encounters efforts that Japan has made in the Central Asian region to increase its influence. In 1996, for example, the then Prime Minister of Japan, Hashimoto Ryutaro, began his so-called Silk Road Diplomacy (Dadabaev, 2018) initiative. This involved the provision of development assistance and loans. State to state

interaction between Japan and Uzbekistan has been ongoing with a range of cooperative activities under implementation (Dadavaev, 2016); in fact, in a 2005 survey among Uzbekistani, the number of people who "considered Japanese influence to be good or rather good stood at 52.2 percent" (Dadabaev, 2016, p. 29). Of course, the initial goal of the Japanese government was unrelated to drawing immigrants from the region; rather, the Japanese government sought to provide Uzbekistan and other countries in the Central Asian region with the assistance to develop their infrastructure through not only funds but also the transfer of "technology and knowledge" (Dadabaev, 2018, p. 38).

This chapter has considered the longstanding history of migration, the forces, benign and otherwise, that have driven human flows across the centuries. In addition, the issue of how migrants have been received in various countries, whether with hostility, acceptance, integration, or assimilation, have been addressed. Researchers have sought deeper understanding of historical migrant flows whether from one neighboring country to another or across vast distances such as from the countries of the South to those of the North, or more recently, the North-North migration phenomenon, and come up with theories such as World Systems theory, push and pull factors, and six other theories that were deemed to root international migration in the expansion of the capitalist market and the social, economic, and political transformations that have attended this massive expansion around the world. The specific case of the Uzbekistani people, particularly in the post-Soviet era (after 1991), are addressed with reference to the advantage many Uzbekistani people took of their previous political ties to seek employment in Russia. In more recent years, in view of strictures in Russia stemming from the country's economic struggles, Uzbekistanis have been seeking more fruitful pastures across the globe whether for work or education. While this chapter focuses on migrants as a whole, the next chapter focuses

more specifically on a particular subset of migrants, namely, students, and with particular

reference to Uzbekistani students and their choice of Japan as a destination for satisfying their

educational and career goals.

Chapter III Students as Migrants

3.1 Introduction

Throughout history, people have not been unwilling to leave their home countries to destinations far and near, lured by not just the opportunity to work, but to gain the kind of education that they believe, will fit them for the goals they have set for themselves. Whereas traditional migration is associated with settlement of a permanent nature, with uncertainty surrounding whether the migrant would ever return to permanently settle the original homeland, there have also been travelers, often from the upper echelons of society, who are able to travel freely, settle abroad for some time, and then return home at some point (Murphy-Lejeune 2002, p. 5). But this conception may also be on the way out, in that, increasingly, those on the move are not the elite, but people from the middle or even lower rungs of society, who, thanks to the Internet and other international networks, have become plugged into information flows that allow them to seek their own novel pathways in order to become part of the global student mobility phenomenon.

This phenomenon of student mobility is not confined to any one part of the world. For instance, there have been historical precedents of students going from to Germany to learn about medical advances that were unknown in their own country. Europe was, and continues to be a destination for students from Africa and other parts of Asia, who acknowledge that the educational system there, honed over many centuries, is in many ways, superior to what they might have access to in their home countries. The United States of America has also served this role for students from Africa and Europe, and in recent years, vast numbers of students from Asia, in particular, South Korea and China, have become a dominant presence in American

institutions of higher education. Japan, since World War II, though perhaps to a lesser extent than Europe or the United States, has also served as a target destination for students from various parts of the world, notably China, and in recent years, students from the liberated countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

3.2 Key Mechanisms and Main Factors Stimulating Student Mobility

In practice, student mobility is about opportunities that students have to either work or study abroad while pursuing a degree, either at the undergraduate level or at the graduate level. One-way mobility pertains to students from one region or country making their way to another country or territory without a reciprocal agreement either with a corresponding institution or government. On the other hand, many institutions around the world pursue two-way student mobility, recognizing that students from both worlds can expand their horizons to the benefit of not only the student but also the sending institution or nation.

Whether student mobility is being pursued as a one-way or two-way endeavor, it often requires a great deal of research in order to ensure fitness for purpose. It might require assistance from a wide variety of individuals and institutions in supportive roles to assure success. This is because even prior to departure, students have to contend with issues such as financial fitness, visa procurement, disruption associated with relocation, lack of time to put all affairs in order, and the impact of the departure on the family that is left behind.

Considering that studying abroad brings with it a host of challenges, including culture shock, communication challenges, and various feelings of distress, researchers must have wondered what the true motivations behind such endeavors might be. Researchers have not been oblivious to the manifold reasons that might underlie the decision to move abroad for study

purposes. The constellation of reasons includes push-pull factors, but it has also been noted that sometimes friends and family members in the host country serve as anchors for the newcomers (Chirkov et al., 2007). Jews who moved from Russia to Israel following the collapse of the Soviet Union identified three motives for embarking on that journey back to what they perceived as their ancestral homeland: self-preservation, that is, safeguarding themselves from potential harm; self-development, which includes exploring the limits of their abilities and capabilities; and materialism, which reflects the natural human desire to enjoy a better quality of life. There have also been considerations of self-determination tied to the intrinsic motivation to do something challenging, something that perhaps not all of one's peers are able to attain.

And there are those who study abroad because of external factors such as pressure from parents (Duan, 1997; Ashley & Jiang, 2000; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2001; Chinaview, 2006; Yang, 2007; Tan, 2015). Many scholars who focus their studies on the effect that Chinese parents have on their children's higher education abroad, highlight that there is a significant positive influence of parents on their children's schooling abroad. For example, Yang (2007) demonstrates Chinese parents' influence on their children's education abroad as follows: "With only one child in most Chinese families, parents are making every effort to endure any financial burden to provide a good education for their children's future" (p.3). In China, higher education is considered the second major factor in their livelihood after food expenses because the Chinese people believe that, a good education will guarantee a better future (Duan, 1997; Ashley & Jiang, 2000). In the case of a foreign degree, it provides more options such as having superior skills, and further, being more employable in the marketplace compared to higher education in China (Zhang, 2001; Fam & Gray, 2000; Gareth, 2005). Tan (2015) argues that in China, parents influence their children's selection of their institution abroad. However, according to Mazzarol and Soutar

(2002), parents not only influence their children's choice of institution abroad but also the decision to study abroad is normally their parents' judgment. They also suggest that parents influence their children's choice of destination country, particularly, when their children are planning to pursue a bachelor's degree. Other scholars such as Findlay et al., (2006) and González et al., (2011) argue that the educational background of parents is also one of the main motivational factors for their children's education abroad.

Challenges and Opportunities

Regardless of the motivation, the student who finds himself or herself abroad has to deal with various challenges, and if the determination to succeed is strong enough, the student comes out of the experience more seasoned and in a better position to tackle the next stage of life, whether this be full entrenchment in the world of work or the resumption of studies at another level.

Despite such challenges, student mobility has continued to climb over the years, with the number of students travelling for educational purposes within the European Union climbing from 1.6 million in the year 2000 to about 3.4 million in 2012 (Sodatsayrova, 2018). It must also be noted that the study abroad trend is not only a matter of students from developing countries making their way to more advanced countries. In terms of push factors, conditions in a person's home country such as deteriorating educational infrastructure or lack of employment opportunities might function to accelerate the decision of students to leave. As Sodatsayrova (2018) suggests, however, such decisions are not unconnected to "larger local and global life and ideas" (p. 4) such as the need to be connected to excellence wherever it may be found. On the other hand, there are some institutions around the world that have distinguished themselves so

much that their reputations have become worldwide, sending a message from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, that anyone who can pass through the halls of that university has an assuredly successful future. One can count among such institutions, Harvard University, University of Oxford, Cambridge University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford University, and others. But quite apart from these elite institutions, many others lacking such cachet are good enough for aspiring students, knowing that the benefits of acquiring an education from even a mid-tier institution in the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom, far surpass any gains that might accrue to them if they stuck with domestic institutions. Another important factor influencing a student is the kind of university or college that they get to attend in the host countries (Moogan et al., 1999; Altbach et al., 2001; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Jacobson, 2005). Based on data analyses of a large set of countries (125) which were dedicated to the selection of international students, the United States emerged as the destination country of choice for the majority. Beine et al., (2014) argue that there are two reasons for the selection of the US by international students, namely, "the skill premium paid in the labor market and… the large number of US universities" (p.4). Altbach et al., (2001) highlight that in terms of "quality of faculty and the quality of curriculum," the American teaching method is thought to be the best among several countries in the world (p. 3). These opinions are also confirmed and supported by Moogan et al., (1999), Mazzarol & Soutar (2002), Jacobson (2005). However, Marginson's (2006) view is slightly different from the other scholars mentioned above. In considering the movement of international students into developed countries, and the reasons for their selection of highly-ranked schools in those countries, Marginson (2006) points out that, "international students were not currently studying at their current institutions because of the ranking but because of the ease of the admission and acceptance processes. Students believed that they could

not get acceptance from a higher-ranking institution and the ease of the admissions process was the second most important factor (recommendation from family and friends is the most important factor) in making the decision to study at their current institution" (p.8). As academic offerings, campus life considerations, facilities, research funding, the pursuit of research excellence, the opportunity to become fluent in English provided by higher-ranking institutions in developed countries exceed those offered by developing or less developing countries, many international students prefer to study in institutions of higher learning abroad (OECD, 2001; Benzie, 2010; González et al., 2011; Matthews, 2016; Choudaha, 2017; Beech, 2018).

Government and Political Situation as a Factor Affecting Student Mobility

Whether developed, developing, less or least developed country, the role of government in sending students abroad to study or receiving students from other countries is considerable and it cannot be measured or explained in a few words because it affects every area of the state (economy, policy, socio-culture, education, etc.) and both sending and receiving countries get large benefits from the mobility of students in or out of their countries for study purposes. As a result, international student mobility has become one of the most important topics that has touched many fields of research since the 1990s. No doubt, rapid globalization and internationalization of countries, institutions and people, have all played a part in this acceleration.

As a result, international student mobility in both sending and receiving countries is at the level of public policy and so, governments try to exert as much influence in this area as they can. Yang (2007) argues that the factor of pursuing education abroad was the primary motivation for Chinese students in the twentieth century. Currently, China is the largest exporter of international

students and it provides 15.2% of total international students. Besides, according to Hui (2005) and Wang (2002), it has been more than 100 years since China first sent its students and scholars to study abroad.

It is clear that a principal factor which encouraged students to migrate abroad was the pursuit of better education. However, we should also take into consideration such factors as favorable political conditions in the world. In the second half of the twentieth century the geopolitical situation in the world began to change. Gareth (2005) maintains that in the 1960s, with the change of the international political climate, the central government of China began to make adjustments in policies related to sending students and scholars abroad. Later, in 1978, the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping decided to expand the scope of sending students and scholars abroad (Gareth 2005). This might have been totally unthinkable in those years when China and the West seemed to be at loggerheads and expressed quiet disdain for each other.

Recently, the central government of China has been supporting the idea of student migration abroad not only in terms of government projects, but also on the ground of personal student initiatives. According to studies by Mazzarol (2002) and Marginson (2001), the Chinese government's policy on studying abroad has had a strong influence on the flow of Chinese students going abroad to study (Mok, 2003).

Another study carried out by DFAT (Department oof Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia), has found that among other influential factors, skilled migration policy has a great impact on students' choice of destination and program selection. The main reason for choosing accounting and information technology programs among interviewed students was its links with the prospects for future migration opportunity. The export of international education is also policy driven (DFAT, 2005).

Speaking about the effect of migration policies on international students in host countries, Beine, Noel, & Ragot (2014) maintain that policies in destination countries concerned with the management of international students can act on two complementary grounds. First, policy can focus on the attraction of foreign students. Second, one can attempt to influence the retention of students once they have graduated, in order to ensure a highly-skilled workforce.

Brain Drain and Brain Gain

Haupt, Krieger, and Lange (2010) deal with migration of students from the perspective of brain gain and show that brain drain cannot be only due to incentives to acquire human capital by individuals from developing countries but also by incentives in the rich countries to improve their education policy. The need for host countries to retain foreign students indeed leads them to increase the quality of their educational system in order to benefit from the externalities of human capital accumulation. It enhances the human capital of all students, including those who return home. As such, it can generate a brain gain.

International mobility of students and its effects have also been studied by Dreher and Poutvaara (2005), who found a positive correlation between flows of students and international migration as a whole.

In recent years, Western economies are increasingly seeking to both recruit international students and retain them after graduation because in an era of globalization, international students hold several short- and long-term gains for institutions and countries. In the first instance, with public per-student funding for higher education decreasing in many countries, universities and colleges are looking to diversify their generated income, and the revenue earned from overseas student tuition has become one important way of doing so. In the long term, and in

the wider socio-economic context, developed countries are looking to attract foreign skilled labor to supplement their rapidly decreasing and ageing populations. According to national immigration authorities, Australia will have 200,000 more jobs than people to fill them in five years' time. With one of the lowest birth rates in the OECD, Canada is expected to become increasingly reliant on skilled immigration to the country to boost the labor force. Close to 20% of current Canadian citizens were born abroad, an indication that the country is arguably already reliant on the skills of the more than 130,000 international students who annually enroll there. Tan (2015) maintains that some dynamics affecting the number of students studying abroad include a flexible immigration system, better research opportunities, and support services for international students at the university level.

Reasons for choice of educational destination

Among the factors which influence ISM (International Student Mobility), a destination is the most factor for international students compared to other factors. There are many studies regarding the effect of destination and almost all of them suggest a positive impact of destination country on ISM (Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; IIE, 2004; Chen 2006; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Li & Bray 2007; Kondakci et al. 2008). Also, scholars argue that there are many factors that influence the choice of study destination for international students. For example, Stewart (1991), who studied the reason for international students' choice of the U.S as their study destination place, found four main influencing factors for their selection, namely, "living cost, availability of financial aid from the school, opportunities for employment and academic requirements of the prospective department" (p.73). However, the analysis of Mazzarol et al., (1997) who are the main scholars on student mobility in higher education, and contributed

enormously to the international student mobility literature, found fifteen factors which have possible effects on student choice of study destination: "Reputation of the host country; Reputation of the host institution; Safety (e.g., crime rate); Cost/fees; Availability of scholarships or work; Ease of visa processing and visa cost; Historical or economic links between host country and home country; Availability of specific teaching programs (e.g., science and technology); Geographic proximity of host country; Lifestyle in host country; Climate in host country; Recognition of qualifications; Family and friends in host country; Plans for immigration; Overall value for money" (p. 29-30). However, it does not mean that all international students abroad choose all these fifteen factors above during the process of selecting a destination country. Factors may be differentiated country by country for students who are planning to study abroad based on students' backgrounds, family, both host, and home country conditions, or other reasons, that is, the influencing factors may be two, five, six, eight or even more than ten. These views are also confirmed and supported by other educational mobility scholars (Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994; Altbach et al., 2001; DFAT, 2005; Ziguras & Law, 2006; Marginson, 2006; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Yang, 2007; UNESCO, 2008; OECD, 2009; Kondakci, 2011).

It is well known that the USA, UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand are considered the core educational destination countries and are visited by most international students around the world for the purpose of study. Two opinions are presented by educational mobility scholars regarding the reason for the selection of these countries by international students. The first group of scholars argue that the preference of these destinations by International Students is because of the kind of higher education provided by these countries' institutions (Altbach et al., 2001; Yang, 2007; UNESCO, 2008; OECD, 2009). According to the second group of scholars, the selection

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of these countries by International Students is not only because of higher education but also other reasons such as the variety of academic programs, excessive capacity, financial aid, English language, ease of access, safety and the prospect of staying in the host country (Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994; DFAT, 2005; Ziguras & Law, 2006; Marginson, 2006; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007). In recent times, however, in light of the availability of excess research capacities, competitive lower tuition fees compared to traditional destination institutions, and having the capacity to provide some English-medium programs, some industrialized and highly-developed countries such as Germany, France, Japan, Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and China which are non-Anglophone, also have begun to receive IS and become attractive destinations for IS around the world.

The Importance of Climate

The climate in a host country plays an important role for international students during the process of selection of a host country before movement away from the homeland. Even though there is a lack of research about the influence of climate on international student mobility, some scholars argue that the climate in host destinations is also one of the main factors which influences the decision of international students when choosing a potential country for study abroad (Mazzarol et al., 1997; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; González et al., 2011). For example, according to Mazzarol & Soutar (2002), the "local environment" of the host country is one the major factors that influences IS and they describe the effect of climate on international student mobility as follows:

The climate, the lifestyle and whether the country is viewed as being quiet or 'studious' were seen as aspects of this 'environment.' Focus group discussions with students suggested that this environment could be a significant influence. Many students from South East Asia viewed Australia as a preferred destination to the United Kingdom, New Zealand or Canada because the weather was warmer. (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p.17).

However, for international students who were from the United States and Japan who had gone to Australia to get a higher education, the climate of Australia was found as a place of 'beaches and fun' (AGB, 1992). González et al., (2011) who conducted research under the title, "The determinants of international student mobility flows: an empirical study on the Erasmus programme," also argue that the climate of the host country plays a significant role for international students. Europe is divided into two broad climate types: Mediterranean or Continental/oceanic. According to them, many international students choose the Mediterranean countries as their destination places because the climate of the Mediterranean host countries is warm and seen "as a means of easily accessing leisure activities by students" (p. 427).

The Cost of Living

Another very important factor for international students is the cost (Bornsztein, 1987; Mazzarol et al., 1997; Yang, 2007; Beine et al., 2014). Based on a study of four countries (Taiwan, India, China, and Indonesia), which was conducted between 1996 and 2000, Mazzarol & Soutar (2002) found six factors (knowledge and awareness, recommendation, cost, environment, geographical proximity, and social links), to be vital to students' choice of host country, and among these factors, they demonstrate the cost aspect as follows:

The third factor related to cost issues, including the cost of fees, living expenses, travel

costs and social costs, such as crime, safety and racial discrimination. The presence of

students from the student's country (social cost) and the availability of part-time work

(financial costs) also formed part of this factor. (p.4)

Yang (2007), who studied the choice of Chinese students making Australia their

destination country, argues that besides future migration prospects, the key influences that

motivate Chinese students to choose Australia as a destination country are high quality of

education, competitive lower tuition fees, and cost of living. In the case of international students

who study in 13 OECD countries, cost factors, such as housing prices were a significant factor

for IS while registration or university tuition fees were not found to be important factors for them

(Beine et al., 2014). Also, for Chinese international students, traditionally New Zealand's largest

number of overseas students, cost was found to be one of the key factors (Verbik & Lasanowski,

2007). Cost is not only considered a major factor during the process of selecting a specific

country for IS, but it is also important when choosing a college or a university for study for IS.

According to Agarwal and Winkler (1985) and Bornsztein (1987), several transnational students

cannot enter the college or university they desire because the target colleges do not provide

financial assistance and the tuition fees at these colleges or universities are high.

Colonialism and Student Mobility

Despite the lack of extensive studies regarding the effect of colonial ties on international

student mobility, some scholars argue that international student mobility is also significantly

influenced by colonial route factors (Cummings & So, (1985); Rivza & Teichler (2007); Chan,

(2012); Madge et al., (2015)). For instance, according to Khadria (2001) and Raghuram (2009), a lot of students from the countries of Cape Verde and India travel and migrate to study abroad, especially to countries where they have colonial ties. Madge et al. (2009) suggest that annoying politics, inequalities, injustices during the period of colonialism significantly influenced the shaping of modern neo-colonial relations of education. This is also highlighted by Lahiri (2000) and Clover (2005). In the case of Asia before the 1990s, many Asian international students went to study abroad, specifically in Japan. Chan (2012) demonstrates the movement of Asian students into Japan as follows: "There are two major explanations for Japan's dominant position: its developmental level and its colonial history" (p. 3). It is the same with the movement of students from Central Asian countries including Uzbekistan. Despite the rapid increase in the number of Central Asian students who go to study abroad, most of them go to study in Russia, particularly because of colonial ties (Brunner & Tillett, 2007; Perna et al., 2015; Nazira, (2018.

The Language Factor

Language, mainly the English language, is also one of the major factors which influences international student mobility. González et al., (2011) describe the relationship between language and international student mobility as follows: "In terms of the results in relation to language, it seems that ESM, instead of being discouraged by the lack of knowledge of foreign languages, is actually used by the mobile students as an opportunity to learn or improve a major spoken foreign language" (p. 15). In terms of ISM, language plays an important role; specifically, during the process of selection of a country as a study destination. According to Mazzarol & Soutar (2002), on the one hand, the major direction of much of the international student stream is the historical or colonial links between host and homeland. On the other hand, this colonial

connection, rather than just being a matter of sentiment, has a practical element, namely, the language that the aspiring student from the homeland shares with the former colonial power, now dressed up in the cloaks of a benevolent mentor willing to share knowledge and technology through its educational institutions. From the last two decades, language has had a considerable effect on the changing patterns of educational mobility. In the past, a large number of international students went to study in countries such as the US, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada because of the higher quality of education, the strength of their quality institutions, the variety of academic programs which were provided by these universities, the commonality of the English language, which was considered a 'mobility barrier' to other countries, and other opportunities, which were provided by these destination countries (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Rosenzweig, 2006, Marginson 2006;2008; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Yang, 2007; OECD 2009). However, in recent years, with the significant increase in the total number of international students, the number of destination countries has also increased and diversified. The new destinations appear to have some benefits from receiving international students. As a result, to attract more international students, they have changed their migration policies for international students and have begun to provide them with more opportunities such as lower tuition fees and living costs compared to the US, the UK, and Australia and to introduce English as a medium of instruction (McMahon, 1992; Chen and Barnett, 2000; Chen 2006; UNESCO, 2008; Cantwell et al., 2009; Choudaha, 2017). Verbik & Lasanowski (2007) demonstrate the influence of English on destination countries by noting that, "the increasing use of English as a language of instruction is contributing to their growing popularity as an overseas student destination" (p.7). Currently, many countries such as Germany, France, Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Singapore, Egypt, Saudi Arabia have become main destinations for international students around the world

(Collins and Ho, 2014; Ma, 2014; Universities UK 2014; Asian Development Bank Institute 2014; Choudaha, 2017).

Intellectual Migration

Towards the end of the 20th century, Samanchina & Elebaeva (2015) saw in their research an explosion of migration tied to education, that is, intellectual migration. They make a distinction between scientists and other experts on the one hand, and various students and interns who are able to benefit from 'new socially economic opportunities' (Samanchina & Elebaeva, 2015, p. 135) while at the same time serving the labor needs of their host countries. One example they cite is that of Kyrgyzstan, whose young people have taken advantage of educational opportunities available to them from foreign governments such as Turkey. Turkey has made immense investments in its higher education sector, thus raising the profile of its institutions and thus making them attractive to students from countries that do not have access to top-notch educational infrastructure and training. For those who choose to return to Kyrgyzstan, the nation benefits from their enhanced professional and scientific attainments, their expanded horizons, new languages acquired, and culture. On the other hand, as more and more of such students decide to extend their stay in Turkey or elsewhere, the Kyrgyzstan nation is deprived of the potential contributions that such students might have made. For those who return and make their way into the ranks of the elite, they are able to serve the purpose of bridging the gap between their country and the other countries where they might have obtained their training, thus, potentially contributing to better human relationships and regional stability.

3.3 Benefits of Student Mobility

According to scholars of international student mobility, there are diverse and plentiful be benefits from students studying abroad (Williams, 2005; Agarwal et al, 2007; Luchilo 2009; Spilimbergo 2009; Collins, 2010; Knight, 2012; Waters, 2012; Raghuram, 2013). Tan (2015) argues that the benefits of international student mobility happen at three diverse levels: institutional, national, and international levels (p. 2). In terms of the university level, international students are sources of income, research and teaching talents (Tysome, 2004; Bolsman & Miller, 2008; Lasanowski, 2009). For example, Galway (2000) suggests that there are three large benefits from the international students for universities of host countries. According to the scholar, international students abroad produce economic revenue, increase heterogeneity, and raise international trade links. For example, in the case of the U.S., international students "provide revenue to the U.S. economy and individual host states for living expenses, including room and board, books and supplies, transportation, health insurance, support for accompanying family members, and other miscellaneous items" (IIE, 2012, p. 16). According to Open Doors 2013, the contribution of international students to the overall United States economy was nearly US$24 billion (IIE, 2013). Lasanowski (2007) and Verbik & Lasanowski (2007) however, highlight that in addition to the universities, the host countries also benefit from the international students who study in these countries and they divide these benefits into short and long term. In the short term, international students bring several benefits to universities while in the long term, they cover the declining and aging population of the host countries as a provision of the skilled labor force. Based on the national immigration data source of Australia and Canada, Verbik & Lasanowski (2007) describe these countries' situations as follows: Australia will have 200,000 more jobs than people to fill them in five years' time. With

one of the lowest birth rates in the OECD, Canada is expected to become increasingly reliant on skilled immigration to the country to boost the labor force. Close to 20% of current Canadian citizens were born abroad, an indication that the country is arguably already dependent on the skills of the more than 130,000 international students who annually enroll there (p.3). Conversely, home countries also acquire large benefits by sending their students abroad to study, including the expertise that foreign students are able to bring in if they build a business back home while traveling back and forth between their new abode and their original homeland. In recent years, Indian and Chinese professionals who are well established in the United States have also built businesses in their home countries and are able to travel back and forth, and shar ethe benefit of their expertise, technological and otherwise with their home country.

To get back to the benefits accrued to host countries, in particular the United States, which attracts some of the best and brightest from around the world, such students contribute to the research capacity in the United States. According to Goodwin (1993) and Rosenzweig (2006), developing nations send their students to industrialized countries to study in order to acquire the latest and most advanced stage knowledge and experience and bring them back to contribute and develop education investments in their homelands. For example, Wang (2002) and Hui (2005) suggest that more than one hundred years ago, China sent its first students and scholars to study abroad in order to bring home new knowledge. According to them, at that time, the Chinese government believed that international education (new knowledge and skills) could assist in development and make the motherland a strong country. Foreign education that is acquired by international students could contribute, ''to faster creation of new knowledge and help other people acquire skills without any direct costs'' (Kim 1998, p. 338). Students themselves also acquire large benefits from international education abroad. Besides the

acquisition of new knowledge, it could provide them with better skills, work at the destination country, help with career enhancement and, in general, offer an opportunity for them to become more employable in the market place (Ashley & Jiang, 2000; Zhang, 2001; Gareth, 2005; Teichler, 2007; Franklin, 2010). There are also other benefits from foreign education acquired by international students. In addition to raising national economic growth and productivity (Kim 1998), it could assist in the enlargement of the internationalization of democratic values (Spilimbergo, 2009), and the civilization of human rights practices (Atkinson 2010).

Stay or Return (one paragraph)

Though some of the students who migrate to more advanced societies for their education might have had the goal of returning to their home countries in order to further development, the lure of better jobs, better facilities and generally, a higher quality of life, often intervene to turn what might have been a temporary sojourn into long-term residence. In recent years, many of the advanced countries that have hosted these 'foreign' students, have come to discover that the skills and expertise that they impart might as well better be used to continue to advance their societies. As such, the push to force students to return to their home countries has given way, in recent years, to incentives for them to stay and make contributions. It is notable that about 80% of students from India and China who obtained science and engineering degrees at the highest level from United States universities were still working there in 1995 (Liu-Farrer 2009). An example of a country that has taken full advantage of this new opportunity to benefit from migrant labor and skills is Australia. The so-called 'Student-Switching' pathway has made it easier for international students to switch from student status to permanent residence status. Not surprisingly, with such policies in place, "migration options have clearly become both a key

motivation and a key outcome for many international students who undertake degrees in Australia" (Robertson, 2011, p. 103).

3.4 Japan as a Host to International Students

Some of the advanced countries, noting the benefits that accrue to them, through this educational channel of migration, have sought to take full advantage of it. One such country that has benefited from the skills of students is Japan. While Japan was able to depend on its domestic labor for many years following World War II, in the 1980s, the juxtaposition of a declining population and a galloping economy opened the way for discussions to begin on whether migrants could fill the gap. As noted earlier, there was a great deal of resistance on the part of the Japanese government to directly import foreign labor. But a 'side-door' strategy was enacted in the form of Industrial Training Program (ITP) for Japanese, which ostensibly was 'for the purposes of international transfer of skills, technology, and knowledge' (Liu-Farrer 2009, p. 180) to developing countries but came to be criticized as a way for the nation to import unskilled or semiskilled labor. The impact of this program can be seen from the fact that as of 2006, over 90,000 people in the 'trainee' category stood 'as the most populous entry category of long-term immigration in Japan' (Liu-Farrer 2009, p. 180). One of the biggest groups to take advantage of this program was the second and third generation descendants of Japanese who had emigrated to Brazil. The so-called *Nikkejin* came to support Japan as manual laborers and semiskilled workers in factories across Japan.

A less well-known program that triggered a new wave of 'migrants' was the Japanese government's 'Plan to Accept 100,000 Foreign Students before the Beginning of the 21st Century.' This program was initiated in the middle of the 1980s and became the impetus for the

growing number of students from all over the world who have come to find Japan a place where their own dreams of prosperity and the good life might be found. The students who came through language schools have also made it possible for Japan to continue to benefit from a low-wage workforce.

Intermediaries

In recent years, recruitment agencies have become quite formidable in helping to guide students to the destinations of their choice. The growth in such businesses can be seen in their growth in China, from only four in 1979, to "about 3,000 licensed recruitment companies that dispatched around 600,000 workers" (Xiang, 2014, S123) a couple of decades later. Data from Australia show similar growth, with migration advisory services "experiencing continual growth at an annualized rate of 6.2 per cent with over 7000 professionals and an industry revenue of AU$887 million" (Khan, 2019, p. 298). In the Philippines, for example, recruitment agents, both legal, and otherwise, have played a significant part in the huge number of Filipinos residing in other countries. In Uzbekistan, as well, the influence of recruitment agencies is large. These organizations make outlandish claims and promises to entice potential recruits. For those who might be considering leaving Uzbekistan, it is difficult to resist the lure of the information that one could potentially make $3,000 to $5,000 a month in Japan. Because of competition among the recruiters, each of them has to make a claim that surpasses that of their competitor, thus, leading to a situation in which potential recruits find themselves flooded with fake news that they have really no way of directly ascertaining for themselves, except to travel and see for themselves.

Culture

Culture also plays an important role in the popularity and growth of the number of international students around the world. Despite the lack of widespread studies regarding the effect of culture on international student mobility, some researchers claim that the international student mobility is also influenced by cultural aspects (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Chirkov et al., 2006; Stephens, 2007). Their views are also confirmed and supported by Nazira (2018) who describes the influence of culture on educational mobility as follows: "Educational mobility is influenced by various factors before, during, and after mobility, and culture becomes an important factor in the process of mobility. Cultural beliefs can sometimes become motivating factors for mobility or at the same time can limit it" (p.4). While the lure of top-notch schools in the advanced countries continues to draw myriads of students from all over the world, students from countries such as the United States have also discovered another dimension of studying abroad that has put this matter of culture on the upward trajectory. For example, it is reported that the number of American students that chose to study abroad rose from less than 100,000 in 1997 to almost 250, 000 in 2007 (Anderson et al. 2007, p. 39). And these students are often backed by their own institutions who get the benefit of making their university much better known around the world and using the program as a recruiting tool. The benefits to participating students may include intercultural development and the ability "to understand the complexities of global issues, to apply disciplinary knowledge in a global context, to develop linguistic and cultural competency in another language, and to work with people of other cultures" (Anderson et al. 2007, p. 41). Sodatsayrova (2018) undertook a study of Tajikistani students in Japan to unearth the motivations behind the students' choice of Japan as a study destination. The attraction for Japan among Tajikistani students seems to be the twin benefits of education that is

as advanced as what one might obtain from Western nations such as the United Kingdom, Australia, the United States or France and with the added benefit of having Asian cultural values. More than that, however, "the attraction of international students is not as much about Western or Eastern education systems as it is about opportunities and recruitment policies" (Sodatsayrova, 2018, p. 10).

3.5   Choice of Japanese Language Schools

One of the more salient elements about inbound immigration and student mobility in Japan in recent years is a shift from the educational elite to the middle class. Difficulties some countries are having in keeping up with educational demand have turned into a gain for Japan as an increased number of students of varying stripes choose the country as their study destination. Rather than going directly from their home country institutions into various institutions of higher learning in Japan, the recent student migrant to Japan heads to a Japanese language institution or a specialized training college (Kuroda 2018). Of these students, cost is an increasingly challenging factor with, in one case, slightly more than 70% of students indicating that the cost of living in Japan was a challenge for them. This means that the students, despite having to work part-time, also depended to some extent on their families. As Kuroda et al. (2018) highlight, "On average, privately financed international students reported receiving 57 percent of their monthly expenses from remittances by family members, 55 percent from part-time work, and 22 percent from scholarships" (p. 25). While there are scholarships for students studying in Japanese language schools and specialized institutions, these are far less compared to those that are available for those studying at the higher levels of the university.

3.6   General Student Mobility Trends in Asian Countries besides Japan

Chinese students form a large proportion of student populations in countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia. But even as Chinese students fan out around the world to study, students from a wide variety of countries also make their way into China to fulfill their educational dreams. Whereas in 2001, about 75% of students studying in China were from other parts of Asia, by 2016, the number was 60%, but with about 16% of students coming from Europe, another 13% from the Americas, and about 8% from Africa (Kuroda et al., 2018). The vast majority of Asian students who choose China as a study destination come from South Korea, which has itself become a popular destination for others. As Kuroda et al. report, "In 1999, 2,869 students studied abroad in South Korea, with 2,318 from Asia (81 percent). By 2015, the number of international students studying in South Korea had increased nineteen-fold to 54,540, including 49,230 from Asia (90%)" (p. 17). In an interesting reversal, the vast majority of foreign students in South Korea come from China, followed by students from Japan, the U.S. and those from Southeast Asia.

ASEAN countries have also seen an increase in the number of incoming students. Whereas in 1999, there were about 9,500 foreign students in the region, by 2015, this figure had grown to almost 64,000 (Kuroda et al., 2018), with the top destinations being Malaysia and Thailand.

3.7   International Student Mobility Trends in Japan

In recent years, it seems that student mobility trends, while increasing around the world, have also become prevalent in Asia. A big part of the mobility within Asia is internal, that is, "intra-regional mobility" (Kuroda et al., 2018, p. 4). Japan and China, being two economic

powerhouses in Asia, have held a certain attraction for students who want to be exposed to the technological and cultural amenities of these two powerful nations. But, interestingly, the trend of student mobility in the 21st century has not been the province of only these two key players. Rather, countries like South Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore, have also had significant influxes of students from around Asia and indeed from other parts of the world. But the mobility has not been one-sided; between 1986 and 2016, outbound mobility has also increased substantially (Kuroda et al., 2018). In terms of driving forces, Kuroda et al. (2018) suggest that one of the key factors relates to needs that may not be met locally or domestically.

Going back a few decades to see the student mobility trends in Japan, Guruz (2011) reports that there were 2,159 foreign students in Japan in 1950 but by 1985, this figure had grown to 15,009. And then, by 2000, foreign student enrollment in Japan stood at 64,011, a number that did not meet the target that the government had set in 1983 to have as many as 100,000 foreign students in the country. The 100,000 number, however, was surpassed in 2003 as the 2004 figure recorded was 117,302 and "123,829 in 2008" (Guruz, 2011, p. 268). A further breakdown shows that in 1983, those on Japanese government scholarships comprised 20% of the student population, while 74 percent were financing themselves and 6 percent had the support of their country's government (Guruz, 2011). The Japanese government, realizing the paucity of students to Japan from less developed countries, made the decision to increase support for students from such backgrounds. Using 2008 figures, one notes that 73.3 percent of the 123,892 foreign students in the country were studying in private institutions whereas 24.6 percent were in national institutions and 2.1 percent were in local establishments (Guruz, 2011).

The above figures belie the oft-stated notion that Japan, as well as South Korea, has been reluctant to encourage the influx of migrants (Vargas-Lundius, Lanly, & Villarreal, 2008, p. 29),

apparently because of the fear "of loss of ethnic homogeneity through immigration" (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014, p. 3). Successive Japanese governments balked on admitting refugees or foreign workers with the exception of those who fell into the category of "highly skilled professionals" (Akashi, 2014, p. 175). It seems that Japan had been partial to an educated group that supposedly could make some important contributions to the country. But, over time, it seems that the country realized that it is not only the highly educated who can benefit a nation. After all, it takes people from many different backgrounds and with different skillsets to make sure that every part of society is functioning as part of the whole. Also, it does not hurt that people who might have come into the country with low levels of education are able to avail themselves of Japanese education and to learn to fit into the society.

To delve deeper, Kuroda et al. (2018) note that as far back as 1978, there was a record of 1,132 international students studying in Japan, from backgrounds that included about 30 percent from North America, and single-digit percentages from Central and South America, Europe, Middle and Near East Asia, and Africa. By contrast, almost 60 percent of those students came from other parts of Asia. This situation has not changed. Rather, it has held steady, with the majority of Asian students to Japan being of Chinese and South Korean extraction.

Before 2011, the Japanese government distinguished between "College Student" and "Pre-College Student" both of whom received student visas. Since 2011, however, there is the one category of "College Student" qualifying for a student visa. There are indications that, at least, since 2010, an increasing number of people have made the decision to study in Japan on a short-term basis, meaning, six months or less, and this has been taken up at both the undergraduate and graduate levels (Kuroda et al. 2018).

One group from Central Asia that has found a haven of sorts in Japan are Tajikistani, some of whom have traveled to Japan for educational purposes. Since the country's independence, the country has sought opportunities to expand education for its youth. One group of students came to Japan through the efforts of various government departments in their country while others came through Japanese government scholarships (Sodatsayrova & Waljee, 2017). Among the reasons some of the students cited for choosing Japan were the need to enter a high-ranking university compared to homegrown institutions, the need to learn at a deeper level, and professional growth (Sodatsayrova & Waljee, 2017).

Japanese Support of Uzbekistani Education Efforts

At the governmental level, Japan has been making efforts to support the education of Uzbekistani students in order to help the country develop much-needed skills including management. As reported by BBC Monitoring Central Asia on July 5, 2003, the government of Japan provided 58 million yen for fiscal year 2003 "to organize Uzbek students' studies in Japan." Further, in 2007, Japan allocated 307 million yen for Uzbek students to study in Japan (Japan to allocate nearly 3 m dollars to Uzbek students). While this is very hopeful news, the details on exactly what these students studied in Japan and whether they returned to Uzbekistan or remained in Japan is scant. One assumes that such government support is going to education at the highest levels, but it would be useful to have a more detailed breakdown of what the funds were for and for whom it supported. In recent years, however, when Uzbekistani students have been in the news, it has not always been because of their stellar educational output in Japan, though there are bound to be some. The Japanese government has created a whitelist of countries whose nationals are largely compliant with Japan's immigration laws. As Nikkei Asian Review

reports, "According to a 2018 survey by the Japan Student Services Organization, foreign students in Japan included about 6,200 from Indonesia, 2,300 from the Philippines, and 2,100 from Uzbekistan, all of which are not included in the whitelist." As of February 11, 2020, Uzbekistan was listed as one of 80 countries that are "subject to the immigration agency's tougher screening process for foreign students" (Japan intensifies crackdown on student visa over stayers).

3.8 Summary

This chapter examined the literature review on student mobility, some of which focused on the motivations for which students in general have been willing to leave their countries in search of educational opportunities abroad. Some of these migrations have been from the South to the North while others have been from North to North as more and more countries begin to look at student mobility in terms of the cultural literacy it provides those who have the chance to participate in it. More narrowly, the countries in Central Asia have been struggling to provide pathways to educational attainment for their citizens, which has made many people from these countries look abroad for the potential to better themselves through education or to secure better economic conditions through work.

In one sense, the failures of the Uzbekistani government to quickly provide a foundation of education that is both broad and deep enough to equip students for the real world, is behind the departure of an increasingly large number of Uzbekistani students. The chapter has also focused on the challenges some students have faced as they tried to enter various other countries for the purpose of furthering their education. The existence of barriers to migration for people from developing countries such as Uzbekistan is highlighted, along with the reasons why more

and more of them have been willing to consider destinations that have not been traditional such as the United States or Europe. As the presence of these students has grown in Japan, there has, unfortunately, not been enough focus on doing research in order to understand the real reasons are that might have caused these students to take the leap into a land whose culture may be completely different from what they have experienced in their own lives. This research should help to fill some of the gaps that currently exist when it comes to understanding not only why an increasing number of Uzbekistani are making their way to Japan but specifically why they chose the educational route rather than other means.

Chapter IV Conceptual Framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on migration and mobility theoretical frameworks and their relevance to this research. Migration for educational purposes is a many-sided subject. Therefore, it concerns such fields as social sciences, political science, sociology and geography. According to Samers (2010), mobility is a manifold phenomenon which can be viewed in cultural, economic, political and social angles. Migration for educational purposes involves such concepts as push and pull factors, brain drain and brain gain, globalization and internationalization. It readily describes and explains the process of migration from political, social, economic viewpoints (Sheller, 2011; Rizvi, 2011; Varghese, 2008; Teichler, 2004; Knight, 2003; Umakoshi, 1997). Importantly, educational migration is not only about where the students go but also their general backgrounds. This is due to the fact that the decision to travel abroad heavily depends on the student's origins and backgrounds such as family, culture, language, etc. At first glance, educational migration seems to be nothing more than physical transition of students from their homelands to the countries of their destinations. However, a deeper analysis of this phenomenon reveals the non-material aspects of the matter. In other words, educational mobility plays an important role in a student's progress in terms of academic degrees and personal development. Speculating about the subject of educational migration, it is important to note that there are both voluntary and involuntary forms of mobility. Briefly speaking, the former means mobility on an individual's own free will; the latter, however, implies mobility carried out by force. From the cases considered, it can be understood that all Uzbekistani student migrants to Japan travelled on a voluntary basis.

Over the years, a number of major theories have been propounded to explain the migration of one group of people to another. Among the most prominent of these is push and pull theory (Grigg, 1977), which is intuitively easy to understand in that people are forced by the pressure of circumstances to leave one place while being drawn to another place that has a number of clearly attractive factors. This is expressed in another form as economic labor migration, which involves people moving from one territory or country mostly for the purpose of taking advantage of work opportunities that might not be open to them in the same way in their own country. The dual labor theory (Piore,1979) is an economic theory that recognizes that some parts of the world provide greater access to job opportunities, thus, serving as a draw to those who are ill-served by the lack of opportunities where they might happen to live. Other theories that have drawn the attention of scholars include behavioralist (Wolpert, 1965) and value expectancy (Crawford, 1973), both of which depend on migrants making conscious decisions to change the circumstances of their existence either for the purpose of bettering their economic circumstances or by living in an environment of greater security or autonomy. Furthermore, a migration industry has emerged that makes it relatively easy for those who have formed the intention to migrate to be able to translate their intention into reality in a way that might not have been possible without such a big business behind them. Yet another theory is human capital theory which emphasizes how an improved opportunity for higher education leads to an enhancement in not only skills but also higher productivity (Tan, 2014). The theories that are identified in this research as having been the most pertinent ate push-pull, networking, education migration industry, and student switchers.

4.2   Push and Pull approaches of migration

One of the mainstream approaches which explains migration in general is **Ravenstein`s Law of Migration.**   This theory propounded by Ernst Georg Ravenstein, but popularized by many other scholars like H.C Darby, Everett S. Lee, among others, is not just considered primary but core to the foundation and development of many other migration theories. For this theory, the major reasons for migration are higher wages and better work conditions. (Grigg, 1977). Ravenstein`s law of migration theory includes almost all the reasons related to migration, positive and negative consequences which occur in the course of moving from one geographical area to another. In addition, Ravenstein`s work provides us with information about the classification of migrants which includes "short-distance," "stage-migrants," "long-journey," and "temporary migrants". The theory is built around eleven laws (Lee, 1969), as follows:

> The majority of migrants go only a short distance; Migration proceeds step by step; Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce or industry; Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current; The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas; Females are more migratory than males within the Kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond; Most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate out of their county of birth; Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase; Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves; The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centers of industry and commerce; the major causes of migration are economic.

According to Ravenstein there are two sets of factors - push and pull - which play significant roles in people's decision to migrate. While push factors motivate people to migrate from one country, particularly less developed countries, regions, cities or even villages to others, pull factors attract people to come into another geographic area. "Push factors might include rapid demographic growth, ethnic cleansing, environmental crises, political repression, poverty, and war or other forms of violence. Pull factors might include job opportunities, a better standard of living, medical treatment, freedom from political repression, and even the ability to just buy and sell goods". It seems that the latter approach provides a more complete picture of the situation.

As international students form a large part of migrants, they are also motivated by these push and pull factors. For example, lack of educational institutions and difficulty of entrance exams, low quality of education, lack of facilities, low standard of living, and lack of job prospects in their fields and low salaries at home countries considered as push factors for students to go abroad to study. On the other hand, in more economically developed countries and institutions in these countries, the main pull factors for international students are high wages, high quality of education, a range of courses, alliances or coalitions, use of information technology, resources, language proficiency and career opportunities after finishing educational institutions in the host countries.

In order to understand changing patterns of student mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan, push and pull approaches help explain in part the questions: Why do Uzbekistani students go to abroad to study? What factors in Uzbekistan pushed them to go to another country to study? What factors in destination countries attracted them to come to there to study? However, this push and pull approaches have their own weaknesses. Even though they can explain the main

reasons of the movement of Uzbekistani students abroad or choosing a specific country as their educational destination, they cannot identify the reasons why the number of Uzbekistani students in Japan has increased significantly in the last few years? Why the number of Uzbekistani students has increased considerably in some educational institutions in Japan rather than others? As a result, the research study considers and uses some other theoretical frameworks which explain and answer the questions of why the number of Uzbekistani students in Japan has increased so much since 2015 in particular.

4.3   The Network Theory of migration

Movement of people from one geographic place to another can occur with diverse motives: economic, political and social reasons. These and several other factors can explain why people move from their original place to another place. However, they cannot explain the factors (for example, the development or increase of migration types, patterns and so on) which are interpreted deeply and clearly through the migration network theory. According to Arango (2000), migration networks are a "set of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home. They convey information, provide financial assistance, facilitate employment and accommodation, and give support in various forms" (p. 113). Under the influence of such networks, opportunities for migration are further expanded and it leads to increase and development of movement of people between countries and continents around the world. The networks reduce costs and risks related to migration and assist people who are planning to migrate, to get information (jobs, accommodations, salaries, etc…) and various kinds of assistance regarding the destination (Taylor, 1986; Massey et al., 1993, 1998, 1999). Network has a positive effect on the sending

country as it makes out-migration of potential migrant workers less stressful, boosts it, with the eventual result of increasing remittance. Scholars who are engaged in international student mobility research, also argue that there is a huge positive effect of networking on the number of international students abroad (Massey et al. 1993; Knight, 2012). The findings of the survey and semi-structured interviews with 77 respondents also show that the number of Uzbekistani students increased and diversified by visa types. There is a huge influence of networking (see Table 1). According to the semi-structured interviews, for most Uzbekistani students, the first reason for coming to a decision about going abroad to study is because of the networking of their family members, friends, relatives who had lived before or were living at that time in Japan. As a result, according to the respondents, several of them came to Japan because of the availability of huge network. However, even though there is a large network, it is not enough to make it possible for them to come to Japan easily. What networking cannot give them is provided by the educational migration industry. For example, some students cannot prepare the required documents by themselves and so they need to go to someone or some agencies that can prepare their documents for a fee. Data findings of the research study also show that more than half of the respondents used services of the educational migration industry in Uzbekistan after getting information from their network. The data findings of the research study also show that in the case of Japan as an educational destination, services of the educational migration industry in Uzbekistan are focused on Japanese Language school students in particular rather than other educational institutions in Japan.

4.4 Student Switching

The notion of student switching is becoming more and more important in the literature on both migration and student mobility. As many people face traditional barriers in trying to migrate to countries that offer potentially better economic circumstances, many have found that they are more welcome in their target countries if they first present themselves as students rather than as people seeking economic benefits. By going first as a student, it is relatively easy to eventually switch status and join the ranks of the migrant labor workforce (Robertson, 2008). Countries such as Canada and Australia have enacted policies that are very friendly towards students, and with these students having been immersed in the education and cultural mores of their target country, they are then given the chance to stay on a longer-term basis, including having the chance to attain permanent residence status (Robertson, 2011). Though many immigrants might eventually hope to return to their home countries, an opportunity to live for a longer period as a permanent resident offers them a chance to increase their economic capital. In this research as well, there are indications that many students harbor hopes of not only educating themselves in Japan but also seeking the opportunity for a longer stay in the country even as they maintain that one day, they might return to their home countries.

4.5 Education Migration Industry

Scholars such as Baas (2007) and Collins (2012) indicate that international migration is a large-scale business which involves literally millions and millions of individuals. As this process consists of numerous steps, there are people who provide their services at various stages of international migration such as educational agencies and language learning centers (Baas, 2010; Marginson et al., 2010; Robertson, 2013). One aspect of this business focuses specifically on the

education sector. Countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia are all benefiting from channeling large numbers of students through their educational systems. This approach has worked because whereas there is institutional resistance towards opening up the country to migrants that want to work and better themselves, the chance for educational institutions to reap huge profits through the enrolment of foreign students and for the mediators to these schemes to likewise enrich themselves, helps to facilitate the constant flow of these students. Also, it appears, at least on the surface, that populations that are normally hostile to 'foreigners' coming in to take domestic jobs, are less antagonistic when those same foreigners come in as students. To be sure, there have been criticisms, including the purported charge that standards are being lowered to allow more and more paying students to enter the target countries (Baas, 2007). Despite these charges, however, the flow of students has continued unabated. Japan has been a prime location for the growth of the education migration phenomenon (Liu-Farrer & Tran, 2019), because as with some of the countries mentioned above such as Australia, the government has been less than open to welcoming migrants, whilst on the other hand, they have not been unwilling to allow the education migration sector to flourish, probably because of the tax revenues and employment opportunities it provides within the country. This research points out how Uzbekistani students have benefited from this aspect of migration, which has been very little researched.

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework

Push Factors →	**Pull Factors**

Push Factors:

Economic difficulty

Low quality of education

Difficulty of entrance exams

Higher tuition fees

No prospects after finishing university

Uzbekistani families → **Students** ↔ **Networking Educational Migration Industry** ↔ **Japan**

Borrow money

Savings

Sell property

Students

Student Switchers

Pull Factors:

High wages after finishing university and possibility to cover all costs with part-time job salary

Employment opportunities in the future

Access to higher education

Higher quality of education

Educational scholarships

Chapter V   Methodology

5.1   Introduction

Following the introduction and literature review, this chapter is dedicated to the methodology part of the research. The first section of the methodology centers on the conceptual framework. After that, the positionality of the researcher is presented. The next section is about why mixed-method, which includes quantitative and qualitative approaches, was chosen specifically, for this research. After that, I present information on data storage and multiple data collection tools which were used for the research. The last section includes quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

5.2   Positionality: Emic and etic

As human beings, we all carry biases and prejudices, some of which we might not even be aware of**.** However, as a researcher, it is important to bring a sense of greater awareness to one's task. This means reflecting on one's self and one's assumptions so that one can "carefully self-monitor the impact of their biases, beliefs, and personal experiences in their research; and maintain the balance between the personal and the universal" (Berger, 2015, p. 2). I am from Uzbekistan, and I have been in Japan about 7 years, first, as a worker, and later, as a graduate student. Therefore, I think I might understand some of the experiences of the people in my research sample, who are Uzbekistani in Japan. There are three parts to being an insider (emic) researcher like myself. As an insider, it is easy for me to gain access to the community of Uzbekistani in Japan. Access to the field of research is one of the advantages cited by Berger (2015), as is a certain level of comfort that the respondent might have with the researcher

because of their shared roots or characteristics. A worrisome aspect to this shared identity the potential for the researcher's position to shape the construction of knowledge, starting from the kinds of questions that are posed, which may then shape the conclusions that are drawn (Berger, 2015). For example, a researcher might be concerned about presenting a group in a negative light and thus refrain from asking pertinent questions, or worse, hiding important information on account of personal feeling rather than scientific relevance. It must be noted that the so-called advantage that the emic researcher possesses is only a matter of perspective. There are also those who believe that the insider "may be perceived as being untrustworthy because of his or her knowledge of and connections to the community under study" (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010, p. 17). There is also the question of what is being researched and what might be revealed. If the researcher is dealing with sensitive questions, such as crime, then, the respondents have reason to consider whether the researcher is the kind of person they can trust or wonder if he or she is the kind of person who will betray them. While I am able to understand the perspectives of my research subjects as migrants in Japan, I have to strive to be objective in order to ensure the validity of the knowledge generated.

5.3 Mixed-method: philosophical assumptions

Researchers have to consider the issue they are confronted with and choose carefully what methodology might help them to come to an understanding of the issue at hand. Some topics, as Padgett (2008) notes, such as the public's perception about mental illness "are manifestly quantitative" (p. 221), whereas others, such as the initiation rites that gang members go through, "are undoubtedly qualitative" (Padgett, 2008, p. 221). The recent acceptance of the mixing of qualitative and quantitative methods is a triumph of pragmatism and the realization

that there are situations where a marriage of the two could yield greater insights than a focus on each methodology separately might offer. In simple terms, mixed-method research "involves both collecting and analyzing quantitative and qualitative data" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2008, p. 7) and by "mixing the datasets, the researcher provides a better understanding of the problem than if either dataset had been used alone" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2008, p. 7). Whereas the voices of participants in quantitative research are not directly heard and qualitative research is considered too subjective by some, the mixed methods approach "provides more comprehensive evidence for studying a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research alone" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2008, p. 9).

This research applied the case study method, which in essence, is built around "why a given decision was taken, how it has worked out, and what happened as a result" (Schramm, 1971, p. 7). While there are many kinds of case study research, it can "be part of a mixed-methods study" (Yin, 2018, p. 32), which can, as in this research, allow for conducting deep investigation of the changing patterns of Uzbekistani student mobility in Japan over the years and the almost singular focus of recent Uzbekistani students on Japanese Language Schools. Precedence for the use of the case study method in migration and student mobility research has been well established though not for the particular population that is the subject of this research. For example, Baranchenko, Yukhanaev, and Patoilo (2016) undertook a case study of student mobility within the Erasmus programme that provides student exchanges among European countries. That research was centered on finding out what could be learned from "a student involved in Erasmus mobility programme" (p. 1). The methodology employed was a single case study approach and involved highlighting the real-life experience of a student in the Erasmus programme. The researchers followed the subject of the research over a period of one year and

used participant observation as a means of data gathering. The target student also kept a diary that acted as a supplement for the researchers' information gathering efforts. Considering the interest that many governments exhibit in sponsoring student mobility programmes, Perna et al. (2015) made use of case study methodology to seek understanding of the particular context of the Bolashak Scholars Program, which is an international Program, sponsored by The Republic of Kazakhstan. This enquiry lines up with the two-fold definition offered by Yin (2018) that a case study "investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within the real-world context" (p. 45) and "relies on multiple sources of evidence" (p. 45). Case study research methodology is also flexible in that it can accommodate a researcher that might make use of a "constructivist approach in designing and conducting your case study – attempting to capture the perspectives of different participants and focusing on how their different meanings illuminate your topic of study" (Yin, 2018, p. 46). The three questions that guided Perna et al. (2015) related to the characteristics of the program participants, characteristics that influenced program participation, and how other contextual characteristics influenced program participation. Perna et al. (2015) used a variety of data sources including documents, and interviews with "current and former program administrators, ministry officials, program recipients, and employers" (p. 177). The current study examines a group of Uzbekistani people who went to Japan for the purpose of study, and their motivations and experiences before and during their educational sojourn in Japan.

As Padgett (2008) explains, a concurrent design is one in which the data-collection stage includes interviews and survey questions. In this regard, the qualitative part was chosen because it focuses on the individual's real-life understandings, beliefs, experiences and their meanings

(Bauman et al., 2002; Henn et al., 2006; Bob & Ross, 2010). Mack (2005) describes qualitative approach as follows:

The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the "human" side of an issue – that is, the often-contradictory behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent (Mack, 2005, p. 1-2).

In addition, there is a quantitative aspect, in that, according to Matthews & Ross (2010, p. 142), there are significant differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches. To them, in quantitative research "research design/strategy is usually fixed before data collection" while in qualitative "research design/strategy these may be fluid and evolutionary" (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 142). They also contend that while quantitative research is objective, qualitative research is subjective. According to Payne & Payne (2004, p.182), in quantitative approach "patterns of behavior can be separated out into variables and represented by numbers (rather than treating actions as part of a holistic social process and context)". In this research, quantitative approach is useful as more than half of the data collected are taken from government statistical data sources, and use is made of fixed survey questions that are analyzed using statistical software tools (STATA, R) and other quantitative tools.

As a result, in order to explore deeply the changing patterns of student mobility among Uzbekistani in Japan, factors which were responsible for shaping the increase in the number of Uzbek citizens under new visa type categories in Japan, push and pull factors which motivated them to come to Japan, changes in their lives, choices and the motivations behind these choices,

the effects of such choices, mixed method research, which includes quantitative and qualitative approaches, was chosen as the most appropriate way to conduct this investigation. Quantitative data yields information about the categories of Uzbek migrants in Japan and the changing patterns in these categories over the years. However, these statistical data sources do not explain Uzbek immigrants in Japan in-depth. For example, the push and pull factors surrounding their migration, their educational and family backgrounds, their life experiences in Japan, and how their experiences have shaped their outlook on life. So the qualitative aspects help to fill this gap, making the mixed method approach a more complete and practical methodology for this kind of research.

Though both the quantitative and qualitative approaches have a long history in research, mixed-methods research has emerged as an important third path based on the philosophy of pragmatism (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). As Tedlie and Tashakkori (2009), point out, pragmatism does not subscribe to paradigm wars but support mixed methods and the values of the researcher himself or herself.

5.3.1 Research Sampling

As there have been very few research studies undertaken on the mobility of Uzbekistani students abroad, and particularly in Japan, the first few months of investigation were focused on the gathering and analysis of the statistical data sources between 1994 and 2018 from the Ministry of Justice Japan, and later, statistical data sources of the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) because of the limited information regarding students that had been obtained from the sources of the Ministry of Justice Japan. After analyzing and dividing Uzbekistani students into groups attending different educational institutions in Japan, the study

focused on the selection of respondents and the conducting of surveys and interviews with them. Before starting the surveys and interviews, all student respondents were informed orally about the purpose of the research. For the research, potential respondents were selected who currently held a minimum 6-months validity on their visas and wished to extend their visas in the following semesters. Those with tourist visas were excluded. Also, all of the respondents should have either experienced enrollment at a Japanese institution before or studying at that moment because the study focused on understanding similarities and differences between push factors from Uzbekistan and pull factors from Japan, reasons for choosing Japan rather than other countries, the reason for choosing particular schools, and the role that agencies played in helping Uzbekistani students to come to Japan.

As it was impossible to gather and conduct survey and interviews with all Uzbekistani students in Japan, a sampling method was chosen for the research. According to Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003), sampling in research includes "selecting units of analysis (e.g., people, groups, artifacts, settings) in a manner that maximizes the researcher's ability to answer research questions set forth in a study" (p. 715). Here, units of analysis are the individual case or group of cases which the researcher wants to understand. Sampling in mixed method research includes quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to answer the research questions. Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009) argue that there are four broad categories of sampling in the social and behavioral sciences: probability sampling; purposive sampling; convenience sampling; and mixed methods sampling (p.170). Besides these forms of sampling, there are several sub-sampling strategies that differ from each other. Moreover, these sub-sampling strategies themselves can be broken down further. Among them, this research used "purposive sampling," which Maxwell (1997) explains as follows: "particular settings, persons, or events are

deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices" (p. 87). Also, purposive sampling is useful when choosing units (e.g., people, groups, artifacts, settings) in order to answer specific research study questions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). In the research, the purposive sampling method (snowball sampling (chain sampling) was used not only because of "cost and time factors" (Adams et al., 2007, p.89) but also because of the difficulty of finding potential students who would agree to participate in the survey or interviews. Even though there has been a significant increase in the number of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan, particularly, in the case of Uzbekistani students entering Japan between 1994 and 2018, many participants lead busy lives and committing to an interview for which there is no direct benefit to them is not always easy. Also, as the research topic is, "Changing Patterns of Student Mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan in the Post-Soviet period," the "snow-ball sampling" method was useful to find out potential students in different educational institutions in Japan so as to properly elicit and compare the similarities and differences of these students' motivations. In practical terms, the snow-ball sampling method in the research was useful in two ways. In the first place, some individuals who went through the process of being interviewed, voluntarily introduced their friends, relatives or classmates from Uzbekistan to participate in my survey and deep interviews. A few of them assisted me to find potential participants by asking their friends or relatives whether they could participate or not in my research. For example, Sherali [not the real name] who is from the Andijan region of Uzbekistan and currently studying at a vocational college in Japan, contacted two of his friends who had overstayed in Japan, explained my research to them, and asked their permission on my behalf whether they could participate in my research. Subsequently, he shared their contact information with me. In the second place, after interviewing some potential students, I could gain

access to see their friends on Facebook, and determine which of them were living in Japan; I decided to befriend them in the groups. For those who accepted my friend request, I explained to them that my research was on Uzbekistani students in Japan. For those who agreed, I asked them to decide on whether to do the survey and interview in person or online. I also tried to find out which days were favorable to them either for an online interview or for a face-to-face one. After determining the exact time that would suit both me and them, I conducted my survey and interviews with them either through an online program or face to face. The snow-ball sampling method was considerably useful to me when it came to finding more potential participants, and helped to reduce cost and time (Adams et al., 2007).

In all, a total of 77 students participated in answering my survey questionnaire and 36 respondents among them also agreed to do interviews.

Table 1. List of Respondents (not real names)

#	Pseudonyms	Regions they came from	Gender	Arrival year	Education in Uzbekistan
Japanese Language School Students					
1	Said	Bukhara	Male	2018	Incomplete higher education
2	Akmal	Andijan	Male	2016	Undergraduate degree
3	Ali	Samarkand	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
4	Bilol	Samarkand	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
5	Feruz	Samarkand	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
6	Yusuf	Samarkand	Male	2018	Academic lyceum
7	Jasur	Samarkand	Male	2019	Academic lyceum
8	Doston	Djizzak	Male	2018	Academic lyceum

9	Akram	Djizzak	Male	2019	Undergraduate degree
10	Giyos	Andijan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
11	Muhammad	Namangan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
12	Ikrom	Andijan	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
13	Dilshod	Djizzak	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
14	Rustam	Samarkand	Male	2019	Academic lyceum
15	Sardor	Namangan	Male	2018	Academic lyceum
16	Botir	Namangan	Male	2018	Academic lyceum
17	Javlon	Namangan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
18	Sardor	Namangan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
19	Inom	Andijan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
20	Forhod	Andijan	Male	2019	Secondary vocational education
21	Izzat	Andijan	Male	2019	Secondary vocational education
22	Shuhrat	Samarkand	Male	2019	Secondary vocational education
23	Mirjalil	Samarkand	Male	2018	Academic lyceum
24	Abdulhamid	Andijan	Male	2018	Academic lyceum
25	Sirojiddin	Andijan	Male	2019	Secondary vocational education
26	Sardor	Namangan	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
27	Umid	Samarkand	Male	2016	Undergraduate degree
28	Oybek	Bukhara	Male	2017	Undergraduate degree
29	Said	Andijan	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
30	Zohid	Namangan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
31	Farida	Andijan	Female	2018	Undergraduate degree
32	Gilomqodir	Samarkand	Male	2019	Secondary vocational education
33	Nodir	Samarkand	Male	2019	Academic lyceum
34	Farruh	Andijan	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree

					Vocational School Students
35	Mirkomil	Samarkand	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
36	Amir	Samarkand	Male	2015	Secondary vocational education
37	Shavkat	Samarkand	Male	2016	Academic lyceum
38	Islom	Syrdarya	Male	2016	Secondary vocational education
39	Botir	Samarkand	Male	2016	Undergraduate degree
40	Mansur	Tashkent	Male	2016	Academic lyceum
41	Aziz	Samarkand	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
42	Shuhrat	Andijan	Male	2016	Secondary vocational education
43	Doston	Samarkand	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
44	Zohid	Andijan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
45	Umar	Samarkand	Male	2017	Academic lyceum
46	Muzaffarbek	Samarkand	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
47	Feruz	Samarkand	Male	2016	Secondary vocational education
					University preparatory course students
48	Anvar	Tashkent	Male	2016	Master's degree
49	Giyos	Andijan	Male	2016	Undergraduate degree
					Exchange program students
50	Mirkomil	Tashkent	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
51	Abdugani	Tashkent	Male	2018	Master's degree
					University Students
52	Maftuna	Tashkent	Female	2016	Academic lyceum
53	Bahrom	Andijan	Male	2017	Academic lyceum
54	Jumavoy	Fergana	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
55	Inom	Samarkand	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
56	Kamol	Tashkent	Male	2017	Undergraduate degree

57	Jamilahon	Tashkent	Female	2016	Undergraduate degree
58	Diyora	Kashkadarya	Female	2016	Academic lyceum
59	Rahmonali	Fergana	Male	2017	Secondary vocational education
60	Sarvinoz	Samarkand	Male	2019	Undergraduate degree
61	Miraziz	Tashkent	Male	2017	Academic lyceum
62	Abdulhamid	Syrdarya	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
63	Umid	Samarkand	Male	2017	Undergraduate degree
64	Vohidbek	Bukhara	Male	2017	Undergraduate degree
65	Hurshid	Namangan	Male	2018	Secondary vocational education
Workers					
66	Yusuf	Samarkand	Male	2018	Undergraduate degree
67	Zarifa	Samarkand	Female	2006	Undergraduate degree
68	Odilbek	Samarkand	Male	2016	Undergraduate degree
69	Suhrob	Samarkand	Male	2004	Secondary vocational education
70	Olim	Kashkadarya	Male	2016	Master's degree
71	Mansur	Khorezm	Male	2008	Undergraduate degree
72	Abdusamad	Samarkand	Male	2015	Secondary vocational education
73	Nurullo	Andijan	Male	2016	Academic lyceum
74	Bektemir	Samarkand	Male	2015	Undergraduate degree
75	Rustam	Samarkand	Male	2015	Secondary vocational education
Dependents					
76	Zoirbek	Samarkand	Male	2006	Undergraduate degree
Spouse of Japanese National					
77	Jalil	Samarkand	Male	2007	Undergraduate degree

Developed for this research

During the period from April to November 2019, I contacted 176 individuals using several means and administered my survey questionnaire and interviews with them; out of this number, 77 agreed to take part in the research study. However, these 77 participants were also divided into two groups. Although all 77 participants initially agreed to answer the survey questionnaire, among them only 36 agreed to take part in both the survey questionnaire and the interviews. In addition to the methods of finding potential respondents outlined above, I found an online group of Uzbekistani in Japan on Facebook which is Uzbek Society in Japan. From this group, I learned of an Uzbekistani student event at the Uzbekistani Embassy in Tokyo, from friends and their friends on Facebook. Survey and interview questions were distributed to them by email and hard copies in envelopes with the researcher's address on a return stamped envelope were given to potential respondents encountered at the aforementioned Uzbekistani student event at the Uzbekistani embassy in Tokyo. In addition, students who were then living and studying in Tsukuba city and known to me were contacted. Some answers to the survey questionnaires were received by e-mail (63 respondents), (snail) mail (2 respondents) and by hand (12 respondents). In the case of interviews, while 13 among the 36 interviews were conducted face-to-face, the remaining 23 interviews were conducted via Facebook messenger calls, and Imo calls. The length of interviews ranged from 40 minutes to 90 minutes with respondents. However, with one particular student, the length of the interview was 4 hours because of his many experiences in Japan and his having assisted about 1000 students to come to Japan. In order to secure respondents' data confidentially and anonymously, all respondents' names and their hometown information in Uzbekistan were coded - pseudonyms were used and attached to hometowns in Uzbekistan in ways that would make it impossible for anyone to identify any of the respondents. All of the research respondents were students at the time or they

had studied at some Japanese educational institutions in the past; their ages ranged from 18 to 44 which means that most of the respondents were relatively young (see Table 1). There was a big difference in the gender of respondents. Among 77 respondents, 72 were male and only 5 participants were female (see Table 1). The data also revealed the different educational backgrounds of Uzbekistani students who had come to Japan through different programs. For example, some groups of students with academic lyceum (22%) or secondary vocational education backgrounds (39%) in Uzbekistan are encouraged to study in Japan through Japanese Language School programs while others from the same backgrounds come to Japan with incomplete higher education, undergraduate or master's degrees through different educational programs such as exchange, undergraduate, master's or doctoral degree programs (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Respondents' Educational Attainment in Uzbekistan
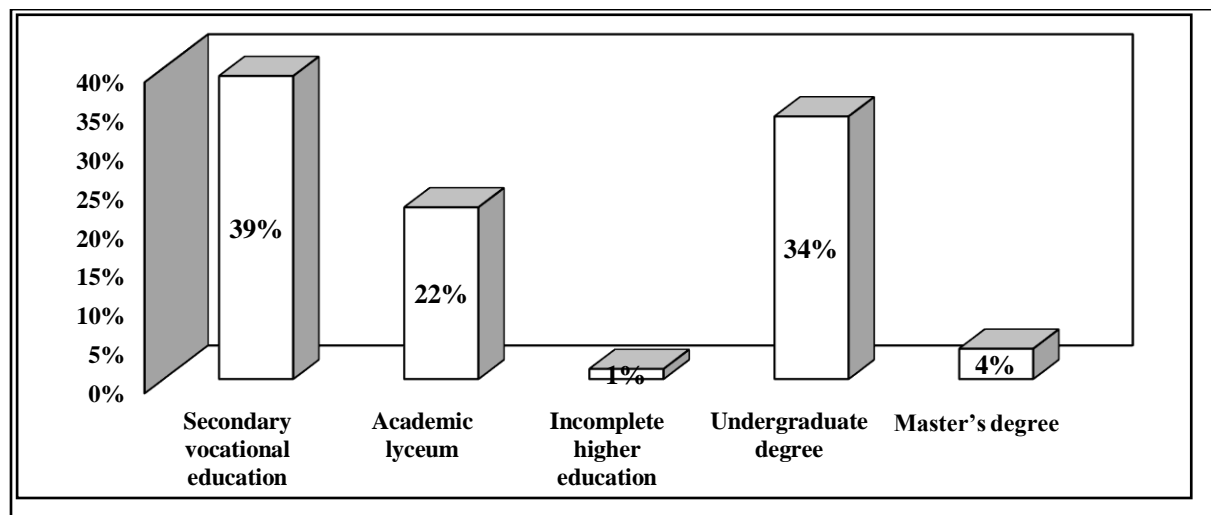
Developed for this research

As for their marital status, most of the participants were single (69 respondents) while a few of them were married (8 respondents); for the married ones, almost all of them lived with

their families in Japan. In addition, the origins of participants in Uzbekistan varied. But most of respondents came from the Samarqand, Andijan, Namangan and Tashkent regions of Uzbekistan (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3. Participants' Origins in Uzbekistan by Region
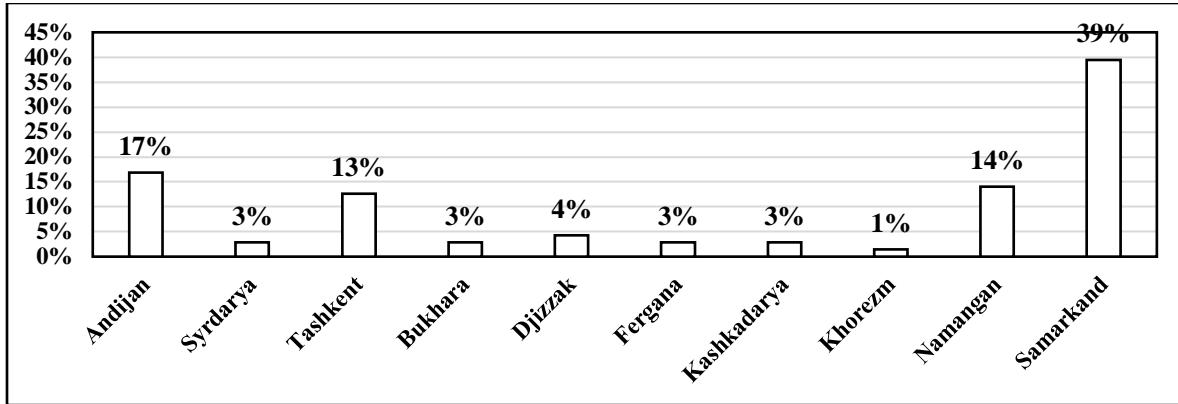
Developed for this research

5.3.2 Data storage

Though data storage and security are of particular concern in the health field, all researchers need to be aware of the importance of protecting respondents' privacy and to be serious about ensuring that data, including names, do not get into the wrong hands. The researcher kept all paper-based data locked and used a computer and communication systems that were encrypted. The director-general of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which advises governments on migration issues, has said: "We are in uncharted waters when it comes to communicating facts about migration. A more rational debate about migration needs reliable data and analysis while upholding the right to privacy and protecting personal data, as mentioned in the Global Compact on Migration" (International Organization for Migration

https://www.iom.int/data-protection). Respect for this notion guided me throughout the research process.

5.4 Method of Data Collection

Several data collection tools were used in the research including semi-structured interviews, a survey questionnaire, and government documents, all of which are discussed below.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are the most often used and make for easy data collection in qualitative research (Wengraf, 2001; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Matthews & Ross (2014) describe semi-structured interviews as follows: "They are most typically associated with the collection of qualitative social data when the researcher is interested in people's experiences, behavior and understandings and how and why they experience and understand the social world in this way" (p.221). For the qualitative data collection, semi-structured interviews were chosen in order to ensure flexibility with responses. Allowing for some flexibility would make it possible to gather detailed and in-depth information about respondents' lived experiences before leaving Uzbekistan and the motivational factors which pushed them to go abroad, the reasons for choosing Japan rather than other countries, particular schools in Japan they finally settled on as well as their lived experiences in Japan. Also, as a common rule of semi-structured interviews, questions that are asked of participants are determined and created before conducting interviews and these questions are formulated using a set of interview prompts (Mason, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Matthews & Ross, 2014). In this regard, semi-structured interviews are very

convenient and are a good match for a research study that seeks to understand and know respondents' experiences, behavior and understanding of specific issues at a deep level.

Data Collection Tools

Several data collection tools were used to gather quantitative and qualitative data for the current research study. These included face-to-face interviews, Skype, Facebook Messenger calls, Imo calls, Telegram calls, e-mail, snail-mail as well as access to government documents.

Face to Face Interviews

Until now, the interview has been the most significant and the most commonly-used method of data gathering in qualitative research study (Creswell, 2007; Creswell & Poth, 2016). According to Kvale (1983), the purpose of the interview in qualitative research "is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (p. 174). In terms of methodological features (types of interview questions, length of interviews, and whether it is group or individual interviews) research interviews in qualitative study are multifarious (Cassell & Symon, 2004). Currently, face-to-face interviews, telephone or online interviews (Skype, Facebook messenger calls, Imo calls, etc…) are also commonly used in qualitative research studies.

Until the 1990s, face-to-face interviews were considered to be the leading interview technique in qualitative research studies. According to Opdenakker (2006), the main characteristics of face-to face interviews is its synchronous conversation in time and place. From face-to-face interviews, you can understand what the respondent is saying not only from the word but also from their body language and social cues (voice, intonation, etc.). In the research,

because of the reasons mentioned above, I used face-to-face interviews. Among the 36 respondents, 13 agreed to do face-to-face interviews because 11 of them were living and studying at Japanese language schools in Tsukuba or attending Tsukuba university which suited me as a resident of Tsukuba city. The other 2 respondents lived in the Tokyo area and invited me to go over and interview them face-to-face. Some interviews were conducted in Tsukuba university because the participants were studying in Tsukuba university. Others were conducted in respondents' homes in Tsukuba city or restaurants in Tokyo.

Most of the respondents were living in the Tokyo area, and others were in places such as Hokkaido, Miyagi, Nagoya, and Osaka prefectures. Because of time, cost, and long distance (Cater, 2011) we decided to use online communication tools such as Facebook Messenger calls, Imo calls, Telegram calls, Emails, and regular mail.

From the last three decades, there have been many changes and developments in technology, especially the internet. This has created several opportunities for researchers in every field to take advantage of resources, techniques, and even subjects and respondents from different parts of the world (Hooley, Wellens, & Marriott, 2012). Some examples of the new developments are Skype interviews, Imo, Telegram calls, and Email which are being used to conduct research. These internet technological developments assisted me to conduct my survey and do the interviews with most of the respondents online. In the research, based on qualitative interview considerations (confidentiality, respondents' consent to recording interviews), I conducted most of my online interviews by video and a few of them by audio only.

Government documents

Documents, especially government documents, were among the first of my data collection methods. I started to collect the government data sources first because I needed to understand the changing patterns of Uzbekistani students in Japan in the past couple of decades, their total number, prefectural locations, ages, division by educational institutions in Japan as revealed in the statistical data sources. In the beginning, I contacted the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Japan regarding intergovernmental agreements on universities and students between Uzbekistan and Japan, and also sought annual statistical data sources about Uzbekistani students in Japan. However, the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Japan could not provide me with the information I had requested of them. Then I tried to search and gather information on Uzbekistani students in Japan from Japanese data sources. Most of this information came from three major sources: Ministry of Justice of Japan, Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), and The Association for the Promotion of Japanese Language Education. At first, I searched and obtained the statistical data sources on the number, visa type categories, gender, and the locations of all Uzbekistani migrants in Japan from the online data sources of the Ministry of Justice in Japan. However, as the online data sources of the Ministry of Justice in Japan had started from 2006 and the period of research studies included the years between 1991 and 2018, the data sources were not enough for the research. As a result, I contacted the Ministry of Justice in Japan and informed them about my research study and the lack of online statistical data sources which were needed for the research. They told me where I could obtain the data for the remaining years. With that in mind, I went to the Ibaraki prefectural library and obtained the whole statistical data sources regarding Uzbekistani (1994 - 2018) migrants to Japan. Even so, the large and diverse data sources of the Ministry of Justice in Japan did not include detailed

enough information about foreign students. It contained just the number of students. After that, based on guidance from the Ministry of Justice in Japan, I contacted the Japan Student Services Organization, and gained detailed information about Uzbekistani students in Japan in terms of types of educational institutions that they attended: graduate schools, university undergraduate, junior college, college of technology, professional training college, university preparatory college, and Japanese language institutes (between 2009 and 2018). In addition, from the Association for the Promotion of Japanese Language Education, I obtained statistical data about Uzbekistani migrants studying in Japanese language institutes from 2005 to 2018.

5.5 Quantitative data analysis

After selecting statistical data sources, I started with the data from the Japanese Ministry of Justice. This included all statistical data about immigrants in Japan. The information was categorized by age, visa type, as well as the location of immigrants in Japan. Because my research focuses on Uzbekistani students in Japan, I extracted this data, which was from 1994 to 2018. The whole data was in Japanese; I translated it into English. Then, I organized the data carefully but without altering anything and thus jeopardizing the integrity of the data. From this data, I came to understand that students constituted a large proportion of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan. As such, I sought more information about students from the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) and they provided me with data on the number of students from Central Asia. From this data, I extracted the data pertaining to Uzbekistani students in Japan from 2004 to 2018. In addition, from the Association for the Promotion of Japanese Language Education, I obtained data on Uzbekistani students in Japanese language schools. The data covered the years 2005 to 2018. Once again, as the data was in Japanese, I translated it into English. From this

collection of data, I tried to find changing patterns through the use of various excel tools such as tables and graphs.

By contrast to qualitative inquiry, the quantitative data collection from the survey questionnaires is based on descriptive statistical analysis tools. First of all, because my survey questionnaire was in Uzbek language, I had to translate the responses into English language. Next, I created an Excel database. Then, I coded my data and then, using SPSS and STATA, transformed them into frequencies and percentages. After that, I copied the results into Excel files and changed coded numbers into easily understandable names. Following that, I deleted unnecessary items and converted the data into charts, figures, and tables. Finally, I inserted this information into my research. From the survey questionnaire administered to the respondents, descriptive statistics were created to get a sense of the backgrounds of Uzbekistani students in Japan in terms of elements such as age, gender, regions of origin, and their education level in Uzbekistan. These statistics also revealed information about the students' current circumstances such as their level of satisfaction with life in Japan, their living situation, and common problems they encounter in Japan. In addition, statistics revealed information about their Japanese language ability, types of part time jobs, and their experiences of making remittances to Uzbekistan.

5.6   Qualitative data analysis

For the interview part, all the interviews were conducted in Uzbek language. Before each interview, I informed them that the interviews would be recorded. All the recordings were transcribed by me. Then I coded the transcribed recordings and categorized them. The first part of the coding involved identification and labelling. The second stage involved refining (Bazeley,

2013). I coded each interview into chunks of data or units of meaning. Such coding can be useful

to facilitate asking new questions, keeping track of data, building an idea or "keeping an audit

trail" (Bazeley, 2013, p.131). Each interview was assigned a number, so that the codes could be

linked back to specific respondents. The total number of interviews was 36. In creating the

codes, I was mindful of the research questions, so that I could extract meanings relevant to the

research. From the codes, categories emerged, after which these were refined into themes.

Chapter VI Findings

6.1 Introduction

Like most developing countries, Uzbekistan has been sending out its most promising students abroad to educate themselves and bring back to the country the benefit of their learning and education. In the past, this was manifested in studies at the advanced levels, such as, at the graduate school level. These efforts were successful in large part because countries like Japan often aided developing countries and the selected students by offering scholarships. Over time, however, as people have begun to take their educational fortunes into their own hands, and to rely less and less on what the government can do for them, the attempt to enter graduate school has become less important, and it seems, any other avenues that promise some desired future for the aspirants have become acceptable. Thus, we see a steady decline in the number of Uzbekistani students coming to graduate school in Japan. This is covered through the statistics presented in Part I of this section.

Part 2 focuses on the students' choice of Japan rather than other countries. Around the world, many people in developing countries recognize the United States and the countries of Europe as having a predominant position in the world of education in general and technology in particular. So, these countries have often been the preferred destinations for thousands of students, from Afghanistan to Zambia. But, increasingly, Uzbekistani students seem to have turned their attention away from those countries, either by design or by force of circumstances, and embraced Japan as a more preferred destination.

Part 3 also focuses on why Japanese Language Schools, rather than direct university education, whether undergraduate or graduate, has gained greater ascendancy among Uzbekistani

making their way to Japan. The factors that make Japanese Language Schools more attractive are explored in this section.

Part I

6.2   Changing Patterns of Educational Mobility: from Graduate Schools students to Japanese Language Schools students

After selecting all data about Uzbekistani immigrants in Japan from the data sources obtained from the Ministry of Justice of Japan, Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), and from The Association for the Promotion of Japanese Language Education, I moved to the second step, which was the analyzing process. First of all, I started to analyze data that had been provided by Japanese Ministry of Justice. The information from the Japanese Ministry of Justice, as seen in Table 2, included the years from 1994 to 2018 in the leftmost column. The second column included the total number of Uzbekistani immigrants for each year. From the third column, row 1 to the last column, there are 28 categories such as diplomats, professors and students. Under each of these categories is the number for the different years. During the creation of Table 2, I deleted some categories, which did not include information about Uzbekistani immigrants. I took note of which year Uzbekistani immigrants began to come to Japan.

Table 2. Uzbekistani Immigrants in Japan by Visa Type

Year	Total	Dip	Off	Pro	Art	Jou	HSP	I/BM	Res	Ins	Eng	SH/IS	Ic/T	Ent	S/L	TIT	CA	TV	Stu	Tra	Dep	PR	DA	S/ChJN	S/ChPR	LTR	WASR	TR	Oth
1994	20			2					1			1							6		9			1					
1995	22			2								1					1		7	3	7			1					
1996	29			2					1			1					1	1	10	2	10			1					
1997	47			3					1	1		1					3		27	2	7			2					
1998	80			1					2					1			3	1	55	3	11			2			1		
1999	103			2					2					1			2	4	63	3	23			3					
2000	184			5					4			1	1	15			3	33	81	3	27			8		2			1
2001	201			4					2	1		4	1	1			3	30	101	7	32			10		2	1		2
2002	262			7					2	1		8	1	12	3		2	24	122	11	45	1	4	14		3			2
2003	341			6	1				1		3	20	1	19	5		3	34	137	12	65	3	6	18		3	2		2
2004	376			6				2			3	29	2	23	1		3	41	157	9	55	5	3	27		4	1		5
2005	495			5		1		2	2	2	5	42	2	51	1		1	48	172	30	69	6	3	40	2	6			5
2006	527			5	1	1		2		1	6	52	3	12	1		5	33	219	18	92	11	5	43	2	9	9	9	9
2007	620			6		1		3			8	72	2	6	1		2	28	275	9	112	14	7	52	2	12	4		4
2008	655			8		1		2		2	8	87	2	6	1		10	19	264	8	130	15	8	63	2	12	3		4
2009	727			8		1		3		2	7	108	2	6	1		11	21	251	6	180	22	9	64	2	15	6		2
2010	832			8		1		3		4	13	123	2	4	1		8	11	286	4	232	35	6	63	3	15	8		2
2011	840			9	1	1		2	1	4	17	151	2	3	2		5	7	256	4	228	47	15	60	5	18	1		1
2012	1060	33	16	9		1		3	1	2	17	167	1	3	1		5	67	284	6	276	55	13	70	8	22			
2013	1197	26	14	11	1	1		4	1	2	19	176	3	2	1		9	50	352	1	340	74	14	63	10	23			
2014	1415	23	14	11	1	1		5		2	19	181	4	2	1		4	43	477	2	386	86	38	69	15	31			
2015	1599	24	12	11	2	1	2	8	1	2		212	4	2	1		7	59	583	2	404	115	27	68	14	38			
2016	1986	25	9	10		1	3	9	1	2		233	3		2		9	76	868	2	427	164	24	68	12	38			
2017	3068	26	14	10			10	9	1	2		280	3	1	1	17	4	106	1759	3	468	200	33	73	12	36			
2018	3951	26	16	9			12	13	1	2		395	4	2	3	9	4	136	2366	3	547	226	49	72	15	41			

(Source) Ministry of Justice of Japan, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html (compiled by authors using *Zairyu Gaikokujin Toukei r*eports from 1995 to 2018).

According to Table 2 above, Uzbekistani individuals started to come to Japan from 1994, which was a reflection of the previous year or a few years earlier. In that year, the total number of Uzbekistani immigrants in Japan was only 20 individuals. I also noticed how the total number of Uzbekistani immigrants in Japan increased over the years. According to Figure 4 below, the number of Uzbekistani immigrants in Japan grew steadily, from 20 immigrants in 1994 to 3,951 in 2018, an increase of almost 200 times.

Figure 4. Number of Uzbekistani Immigrants in Japan (1994-2018)
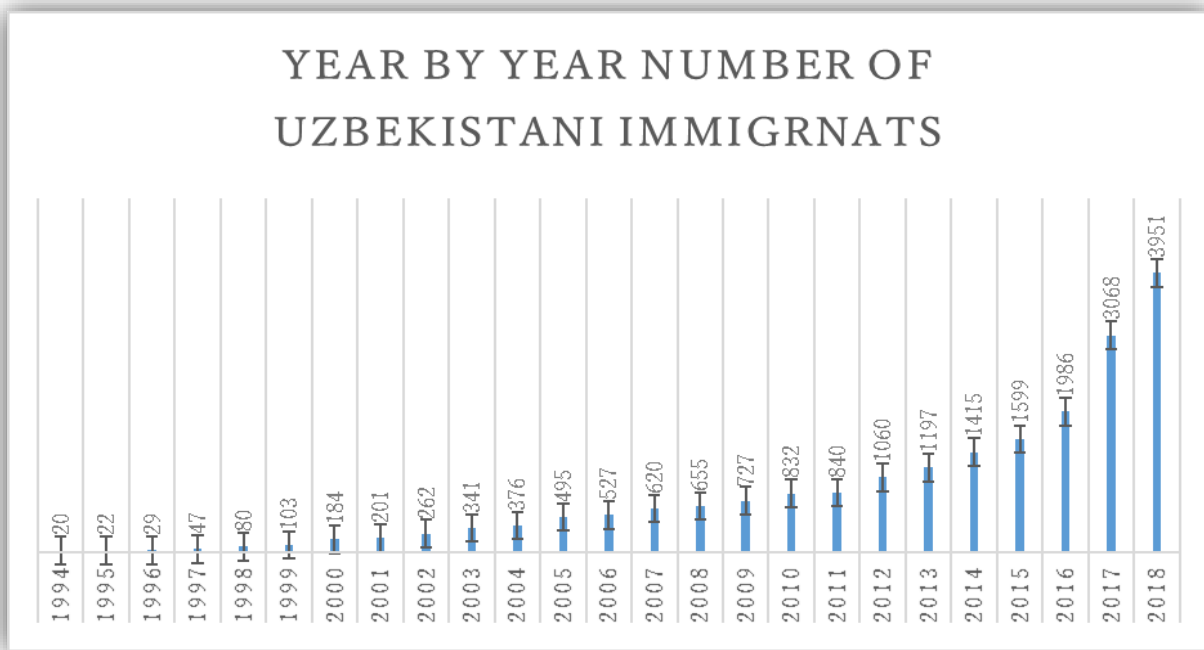
(Source) Ministry of Justice of Japan/ chart created by the researcher for this thesis).

http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html

(compiled by using Zairyu Gaikokujin Toukei reports from 1995 to 2018).

I also noticed that for some categories, in some years, few or no Uzbekistani immigrants were represented, for example, in the categories of artists, journalists, and highly skilled

professionals. However, for some categories, there was a year-on-year increase in the number of Uzbekistani immigrants from 1994 to 2018, for instance, in the category of students. For some categories, the numbers from year to year fluctuated. This was the case in the following categories: professors, cultural activities, dependents, and specialists in humanities/international services.

While there were big increases in the number of categories such as specialist in humanities/international services, dependents, and permanent residents, by far the biggest increase was in the number of students. From Table 2 above, you can see that there was about a 400-fold increase in the number of students between 1994 and 2018.

I was surprised why the number of Uzbekistani students in Japan was so large compared to the other categories. From Table 3, you can see the detailed information that was provided by JASSO. According to the table, there are seven types of institutes where Uzbekistani students' study. Looking at the main point, for graduate school the number of Uzbekistani students increased by only forty students between 2004 and 2018. However, in the case of university undergraduates, the number of Uzbekistani students grew by nearly 12 times — from 25 students in 2004 to 292 individuals in 2018. In addition, for university undergraduates, there was a large increase in the number of Uzbekistani students in professional training colleges during this period. On the other hand, the smallest growth in the number of Uzbekistani students occurred in the institutes of junior college and university preparatory courses. It was surprising to see a very large increase in the number of students at Japanese language institutes. As can be seen in table 3, there was no data for Uzbekistani individuals in these schools between 2004 and 2009. The data for Japanese language institutes starts from 2010 with 22 students and ends in 2018, with 1427 students, a 65-fold increase.

Table 3. Number of Uzbekistani Students by Institution Type

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Graduate school	100	106	107	109	125	130	126	117	121	124	117	135	134	125	140
University (undergraduate)	25	32	32	46	50	49	57	60	59	70	121	150	172	200	292
Junior college	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	8
College of technology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Professional training college	0	0	0	11	30	44	25	13	22	22	33	50	74	111	258
University preparatoty course	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	11	3	0	1	3	7
Japanese language institutes	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	35	28	54	84	136	258	606	1 427
Total	127	139	139	167	205	223	230	226	231	281	358	471	641	1 047	2 132

(Source) Obtained from Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) by e-mail enquiry, received on September 5, 2019/ Institution types translated from Japanese to English by the researcher

The table below shows the total number of Uzbekistani students who came to Japan on government scholarship or at their personal expenses between 1991 and 2019. The table also shows different institutions attended by Uzbekistani students during this period. According to the table, there was a considerable increase in the number of Uzbekistani students who came to Japan at their own expense compared to those who came on government scholarships. The table also shows that in the case of government scholarship, even though smaller compared to students who come to Japan at their own expense, the number of Uzbekistani students increased at the level of graduate schools while in the case of private students, the number of Uzbekistani students increased significantly at the level of undergraduate level.

In general, in the case of government scholarships, there was 6.8% (1991-2000), 44.4% (2001-2010), and 55.1% (55.1) increase, while during the same period, in the case of private students, there was (8.6%), (103.8%), and (370.9%) increase for the corresponding periods. This means that the number of private students increased significantly compared to those who came on government scholarships.

Table 4. Government sponsorship versus personal responsibility for fees (1991-2019)

	Government sponsored					Personal expense					
	University (undergraduate)	Graduate school	College of technology	Professional training college	Total	University (undergraduate)	Graduate school	Junior college	College of technology	Professional training college	Total
1991		—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	0
1992	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	0
1993	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	0
1994	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	0
1995	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	3
1996	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	4
1997	1	6	0	0	7	0	3	2	0	0	5
1998	2	9	0	0	11	6	5	2	0	0	13
1999	3	17	0	0	20	11	17	2	0	0	30
2000	1	21	0	0	22	15	14	2	0	0	31
2001	4	21	0	0	25	12	37	1	0	0	50
2002	3	23	0	0	26	16	50	3	0	0	69
2003	4	30	0	0	34	19	52	2	0	0	73
2004	5	31	0	0	36	20	69	0	0	0	89
2005	8	33	0	0	41	24	73	1	0	0	98

Number of Uzbekistani students in Japan under government sponsorship or at personal expense by institution type (1991 – 2019)

Year											
2006	9	32	0	0	41	22	76	0	0	0	98
2007	12	33	0	0	45	32	78	0	0	11	121
2008	11	41	0	0	52	36	87	0	0	30	153
2009	15	53	0	0	68	28	83	0	0	44	155
2010	16	60	0	0	76	37	70	0	0	25	132
2011	11	58	0	1	70	46	62	0	0	12	120
2012	9	57	0	1	67	48	66	0	0	21	135
2013	6	50	0	2	58	63	75	0	0	20	158
2014	6	41	0	2	49	115	76	0	0	31	222
2015	7	44	0	2	53	142	92	0	0	48	282
2016	8	44	0	1	53	164	90	2	0	73	329
2017	4	41	0	0	45	196	84	2	0	111	393
2018	7	48	0	0	55	284	93	8	0	258	643
2019	4	42	0	0	46	401	96	12	0	547	1,056

*From 1991 to 2003, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology; since 2004, according to a survey by the Japan Student Services Organization (from "Survey on the Enrollment Status of International Students")

*1991-1997, breakdown of enrollment numbers by institution not given.

* Of the government-sponsored international students, the undergraduate level includes undergraduate students and Japanese language / culture training students. The graduate level includes research students, teacher training students, and Young Leaders Program students (founded in 2001).

*Only higher education institutions are surveyed (not including Japanese language education institutions).

Data text translated from Japanese to English by the researcher for this research.

Table 5: Age distribution of Uzbekistani immigrants in Japan

Year	Total	Total M	Total F	0~4 M	0~4 F	5~9 M	5~9 F	10~14 M	10~14 F	15~19 M	15~19 F	20~24 M	20~24 F	25~29 M	25~29 F	30~34 M	30~34 F	35~39 M	35~39 F	40~44 M	40~44 F	45~49 M	45~49 F	50~54 M	50~54 F	55~59 M	55~59 F	60~64 M	60~64 F	65~69 M	65~69 F	70~74 M	70~74 F	75~79 M	75~79 F	Over 80 M	Over 80 F
1994	20	13	7	2	1		1	1	2			3	1	2		2	2	1		2																	
1995	22	15	7	1	1	1	1			1	1	3	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	1																	
1996	29	19	10		1	4			2			5	1	2	3	3	2	3	1	2																	
1997	47	34	13			1	1	1	1	6		11	6	2	2	4	1	4	2	2				2						1							
1998																																					
1999	103	68	35	4	2	1	2	3		2	1	29	16	19	6	4	2	3	5	1		2									1						
2000	184	126	58	6	3	1	2	4		2	5	39	24	39	11	10	7	10	4	10	1	4					1	1									
2001	201	125	76	9	3	1	2	1	1	3	3	37	37	45	18	14	9	7	2	6	1							1				1					
2002	262	151	111	9	4	2	8	1	2	5	6	44	36	50	37	26	10	5	5	6	1	1								1	1	1	1				
2003	341	193	148	8	7	9	8	3	2	4	5	55	51	64	45	29	17	6	9	8	1	6	1								1	1	1				
2004	376	202	174	11	4	5	6	2	2	6	6	49	60	73	62	37	19	10	6	4	6	5	2								1						
2005	495	259	236	10	2	8	9	3	2	5	10	72	84	87	88	54	29	12	6	4	3	4	2										1				
2006	527	308	219	9	12	11	10	1	2	11	8	90	58	103	77	54	40	19	7	7	2	1		1	1	1					1		1				
2007	620	366	254	17	16	9	12	3	4	11	6	119	69	121	89	54	40	18	9	8	2	4	2	1	2	1	1				1		1				
2008	655	396	259	21	24	6	7	5	5	6	6	115	51	143	93	66	47	17	16	11	4	2	2	4	1						2		1				
2009	727	424	303	29	39	14	10	7	6	6	3	106	55	146	90	73	65	29	17	8	4	1	3	4	5		3		1	1			2				
2010	832	493	339	47	46	17	14	9	11	17	6	111	68	156	91	87	66	35	24	8	4	1	3	4	2			1	1	1			1	1			
2011	840	506	334	43	43	17	18	11	10	14	9	99	55	172	95	95	68	38	26	10	6	3		2	2	1	1	1	-				1				
2012	1060	613	447	57	60	30	24	12	15	31	15	106	59	183	122	117	78	44	32	10	12	6	4	6	9	6	4	4	9	1	3	1					
2013	1197	720	477	74	66	34	35	15	14	54	9	120	78	182	111	147	83	56	42	13	13	9	6	2	7	7	4	5	3	2	5	1					
2014	1415	881	534	78	80	55	44	19	13	72	16	193	86	197	114	161	92	67	52	19	15	7	6	2	6	7	2	2	6	2	1	1					
2015	1599	1010	589	86	86	44	50	18	16	72	17	262	91	222	114	177	103	79	56	27	25	8	7	5	9	5	5	4	3	1	5	1			1		
2016	1986	1346	640	91	92	57	53	18	18	95	24	431	90	280	122	212	116	108	61	36	28	8	8	4	6	2	6	2	6	2	4	5					1
2017	3068	2321	747	94	101	66	60	23	28	169	31	910	110	501	137	334	117	143	78	53	35	13	13	7	9	1	10	3	6	4	5	5		1			1
2018	3951	3113	838	101	108	85	66	30	31	174	34	1360	134	684	156	402	135	177	85	69	41	11	13	9	10	3	10	6	7	2	3	4					1

(Source) Ministry of Justice of Japan, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html

(compiled using *Zairyu Gaikokujin Toukei* reports from 1995 to 2018)/ table reorganized by the researcher for this thesis.

Table 5 shows the ages of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan in five-year intervals between 0 and over 80. It also shows the number of males and females in each category. For almost every year, the number of females was slightly lower than those of males, but in the last five years, the number of males significantly outstripped that of females. For example, the total number of males increased from 881 in 2014 to 3,113 in 2018 whereas the number of females increased from 334 in 2014 to 838 in 2018. From age 45 upward, the number of Uzbekistani immigrants in Japan increased very slightly compared to other age groups. In all the other age categories, the number of Uzbekistani migrants grew much more. However, between the age of 20 and 34, the number of Uzbekistani increased considerably.

The location of Uzbekistani migrants in Japan

Table 6 shows the location of Uzbekistani people by all 47 prefectures of Japan. It also shows how the figure of Uzbekistani individuals has changed from year to year between 1994 and 2018. You can see from the table that the greatest number of Uzbekistani migrants is in Tokyo city (2,134 in 2018). The second largest concentration of Uzbekistani people is in the prefectures around Tokyo (Ibaraki, 109; Saitama, 268; Chiba, 301; Kanagawa, 240). Outside of the Kanto area, Aichi prefecture also has a large number of Uzbekistani people. Despite the increase in the number of Uzbekistani individuals in all other prefectures of Japan, there were no more than 100 Uzbekistani people in any of those prefectures in 2018.

Table 6. Location of Uzbekistani people in Japan

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total	20	22	29	47	80	103	184	201	262	341	376	495	527	620	655	727	832	840	938	1106	1329	1503	1874	2921	3746
Hokkaido	1	1	1	1	4	5	8	10	12	12	11	9	9	11	15	14	14	14	15	14	13	21	21	19	23
Aomori										1	1		1	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Iwate							2	2	2	2	2	2	0	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Miyagi			4	6	2	4	1					1	5	4	4	4	5	2	9	11	8	12	8	5	6
Akita							1				1		1	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Yamagata													0	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fukushima				2	2	2	2	2	4	4	3	4	5	6	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	8
Ibaraki			1		3	5	9	10	9	5	7	12	12	27	35	31	37	35	26	30	50	64	89	99	109
Tochigi			3	3	4		14	5	3	5	5	9	3	4	3	3	4	4	3	7	10	8	11	15	17
Gunma				1				8	13	15	15	22	21	11	11	9	11	12	11	15	21	22	16	28	48
Saitama	1	3	4	2	7	11	8	9	13	34	36	38	28	35	32	36	50	61	85	105	107	118	149	224	268
Chiba				1			5	6	13	34	30	39	61	62	68	64	71	73	73	89	107	125	142	197	301
Tokyo	2	2	1	15	38	40	74	88	97	107	134	136	166	216	244	299	305	317	338	370	464	577	848	1672	2134
Kanagawa	1	2	1	2	2	3	6	9	14	14	26	43	44	51	54	52	64	58	70	86	89	103	126	137	240
Niigata	1	1	1	1	2	3	23	13	11	20	19	13	11	16	13	15	21	19	23	32	36	33	25	23	25
Toyama	1	1									1	3	2	1	1	-	0	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5
Ishikawa				1	1		1		1	5	1	1	0	-	-	-	1	-	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Fukui						1	1	1	1	1		10	4	4	5	5	3	3	3	3	6	7	2	2	3
Yamanashi													0	-	-	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	5	3
Nagano										1		2	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	6	8	20	14	13

Prefecture																									
Gifu											1	13	6	3	2	1	2	-	0	1	2	3	3	6	9
Shizuoka			3	2	3	4	5	3	2			3	1	2	-	-	1	1	3	1	3	4	10	15	23
Aichi	11	8	5	1	2	10	10	16	24	27	39	72	63	74	81	82	107	103	117	129	144	157	157	186	204
Mie												1	3	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	2	4	5
Shiga											2	9	14	18	8	13	19	18	21	23	25	12	11	7	9
Kyoto		1	2	2	3	6	5	4	9	5	3	8	5	7	5	8	10	8	10	12	17	14	14	14	31
Osaka	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	17	21	15	14	19	17	20	23	20	19	23	25	33	35	37	45	59
Hyōgo	1							1		1	2	8	6	4	8	8	4	9	10	12	13	16	20	33	44
Nara		1	1										0	-	-	1	0	-	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Wakayama										5	2	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Tottori								4	8	6	2		0	-	-	-	0	-	0	1	1	1	1	12	10
Shimane												1	0	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Okayama											3		0	1	-	1	4	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	7
Hiroshima				1	3	1	2	2	2	3		3	3	5	8	9	6	2	2	5	9	12	16	11	10
Yamaguchi					1	1	1		1				0	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Tokushima										2			0	-	-	-	2	3	3	3	4	1	0	0	0
Kagawa													0	-	-	-	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ehime									1				0	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Kōchi													0	-	-	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fukuoka					1	4	2	3	4	6	9	10	10	14	8	13	22	23	23	22	26	23	23	22	43
Saga			1	2	2	3							0	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	1	0	7	5
Nagasaki			1	1									0	-	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Kumamoto											1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	4
Ōita								1	2	4	6	7	18	22	20	21	33	32	46	89	113	102	96	85	63
Miyazaki													0	-	-	-	0	-	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Kagoshima													0	1	-	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Okinawa				3									0	-	-	-	0	-	1	0	2	1	2	1	3

(Source) Ministry of Justice of Japan, http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html

(compiled using *Zairyu Gaikokujin Toukei* reports from 1995 to 2018)/ data reorganized and translated from Japanese to English by the researcher for this thesis.

Part II

6.3 Choice of Japan

Push and pull factors

The literature review regarding international student mobility shows that several factors

influence students who move from one country to another for the purpose of study; they are

motivated by various push and pull factors. The data analyses of the research study demonstrated

that there are also similarities and differences in the factors that influence Uzbekistani students to

Japan and students from other countries who migrate abroad for studies.

a. Economic difficulty in Uzbekistan

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, as with all post-Soviet countries,

Uzbekistan also changed from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. However, this

led most post-Soviet countries to decline significantly in their economy. It also resulted in

increased unemployment, growing poverty and inequality. Later, in some countries "with large

natural resource endowments (Russia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan), industries (Ukraine and

Belarus), and favorable geographical location (Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia), real wages grew

relatively rapidly, while wages grew more slowly in more labor-abundant countries such as

Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan" (Abdulloev et al., 2020, p.3). The economic situation in

these latter states continued to get worse (Abdulloev et al., 2020, p.3), and the situation affected

almost every field including education. As a result, people, including students from these

countries began to migrate to other countries. Also, as economic difficulties and an overall

decrease in family income became more pervasive, many parents could not provide higher

education for their children (OMCT and LAS, 2002). The findings of the survey and semi-

structured data analyses show that economic difficulty in Uzbekistan, which translated into low

salary, was the first main factor for Uzbekistani students to come to Japan. According to the

survey data analysis, more than half of the respondents (44 of 77) who participated in the

research study, chose the answer "Low Salary" as one of the main push factors for them to leave

Uzbekistan for Japan (see Table 7). If the respondents are divided by educational institutions in

Japan, differences can be seen among them. For example, for university students, the first main

push factor is not considered economic difficulty in Uzbekistan. For them, educational

opportunity, that is, either "Access with Low Quality" or "No access" is the first major factor (13

of 18). However, by contrast to university students, for Japanese Language school or vocational

school students, rather than educational opportunities, economic difficulty with low salary is

considered the first main push factor for them to come to Japan (23 of 34 and 7 of 13

respectively) (see Table 7). The results of the qualitative data analyses also showed that the most

important push factor which motivated most Uzbekistani students to come to Japan was

economic difficulties in Uzbekistan. From the quotation below, it can be seen and understood

what the real economic difficulty of students in Uzbekistan were. For example,

Muhammadkarim (not the real name) who was from Andijan region of Uzbekistan described

economic difficulties in Uzbekistan as follows:

> You know, we do not have conditions to work. For example, I lived in the countryside. I
>
> worked with my classmates and friends and we made bricks and built houses which usually
>
> involved several people. But it was seasonal and heavy work. Also, the salary was so low.
>
> The low salary may be enough for daily living but not enough if you want to buy a home,
>
> a car, or get married.

A similar situation was expressed by Hurshid (*not his real name*) who was 44 years old and was, at the time, studying at a Japanese language school.

> After graduating from an institute in 2002, I worked as a surgeon in the state clinic. My wife taught in college. She had also graduated from the institute. There are four of us in the family: my wife, me and two children. My work was great, I liked it. But the salary was low. The children had grown up, and also, I was the first child in my family; I had to leave the house. I had lived with my parents before I went to Korea. … I worked and stayed in Korea for 5 years illegally, built a house [in Uzbekistan], got married and bought a car. One day, on my way home from work [in South Korea], …. the police caught me because I did not have any documents to stay there and I was deported to Uzbekistan. I continued to work as a doctor again. However, it was not enough money anyway. The building of the house was not finished. We had organized a wedding party and half of the money had gone to it. The children were growing up; they had something to eat and drink. The same little salary. It was not enough. At the time, there were a lot of advertisements everywhere. There are many different Japanese courses in Samarkand. There were also many young men who returned from work in Japan. Everybody's work seemed great. So, I contacted them and received assistance with preparing documents to come to Japan through Japanese language school, particularly, to work and save money.

However, the case of Mirkomil who was 28 years old and currently working in a trading company in Japan, is a little different.

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I have been studying and working since I was 15 years old. I've run my own family

business, a grocery store. Our trade was good. We never complained. Then, in those days,

our business went backwards and we got into debt. And so we got a loan, we did it again,

but our business was not the same. Our business did not go well. Then at that time my

friend said that I could come to Japan and make money. And I came to Japan to see a better

option myself.

b. Low quality of education

Literature review analysis on international student mobility shows the main reason of the

movement of students abroad to study is the low quality of education in their home countries

(Aslangbengui & Montecinos, 1998; Szelenyi, 2006; Thissen & Ederveen, 2006; Yang, 2007;

Van Bouwel, 2009; González et al., 2011; Chan, 2012). For example, González et al. (2011)

argue that "HEIs belonging to the TOP 200 Shanghai quality ranking universities represent a

significant pull factor" for international students (p.15). The survey and semi-structured

interviews and the data analysis demonstrate that the perception of poor quality of the education

system in Uzbekistan is one of the main reasons for the movement of most Uzbekistani students

to Japan. Table 7 (from the survey data analysis) shows that the quality of the education system

following the economic difficulty in Uzbekistan, is one of the main factors for Uzbekistani

students to come to Japan (25 of 77). The table also shows that Uzbekistani students who came

to Japan can be divided into two groups. For the first group, the quality of education is so

important while for the second group of students who could not enter any universities in

Uzbekistan, any sort of higher education is important. In addition, the table demonstrates that by

contrast to economic difficulty, low quality of education in Uzbekistan is the key push factor for almost all types of university students (7 of 34 at Japanese Language schools, 3 of 13 at vocational schools, and 10 of 18 among university students, respectively) (see Table 7). Some scholars have also argued and criticized the quality of education in Uzbekistan. For example, Ubaidullaieva (2004), based on analyses of her survey questionnaires, portrays the low quality of education in Uzbekistan as follows: lack of practical teaching (21.7%), poor relation to real-life problems (21.7%), poor knowledge of foreign languages (19.2%), insufficient preparation for self-education (13.3%), weak economic training (11.6%), and insufficient knowledge of the humanities, including the history and culture of Uzbekistan (10%) (p. 98). The fact of low quality of education in Uzbekistan is also reported by other scholars (Sia, 2015; Pulatovna, 2019). Semi-structured interviews with respondents (36 of 77) confirm the above views of scholars and demonstrate what is the real quality of education in their perception. For example, a student who is from Tashkent and studying at one Japanese prestige university currently describes the education system in Uzbekistan as follows:

Uzbekistan has no education. They want to explain what they don't have, they don't have passion. A lot of professors use Soviet era or old materials and most of them do not know English very well. As a result, they cannot read new academic articles and books and thus, they cannot provide students with new knowledge. There are not enough facilities and equipment. The most common teaching method involves professors reading their materials and students copying this information.

Rustam, who was from the Samarqand region of Uzbekistan and at the time studying at a vocational college in Japan, also confirmed the same thing and explained the differences in education between Uzbekistan and Japan based on her educational experiences.

My life before coming was very good. I had my own business, my own company, an internet cafe, a print-shop, photocopying, computer service company. We worked directly with the client, helping schools, scheduling and other work. We worked with in-service teachers. One day, my father and I went to the University of Information Technology to look for a computer worker - he had to do aggregator work on our page. Although it was a big university, no one was able to do it. I witnessed it during the internship; some of the teachers are poor. I don't blame them, they read from the book, they have no knowledge. However, here one can do extra practice, go to school and teach. A completely different system. There are those who have been working as accountants for fifty years and then go to university to teach. I was happy about that. He devoted his life to education. Our college teachers have a business in the field of Web, Internet, and teach children twice a week.

c. Difficulty of entrance exams

The population of Uzbekistan has been increasing significantly year by year and so the demand for higher education also continues to increase. However, compared to the significant growth of the population, the number of higher education institutions in Uzbekistan has not increased as much as other post-Soviet countries. For example, between 1991 and 2010, the number of higher education institutions in Kazakhstan increased from 61 to 149. In Kyrgyzstan, the increase was from 12 to 56, while in Tajikistan it was from 13 to 33. On the other hand, the number of higher education institutions increased by only by 11, from 52 to 63 in Uzbekistan (CIS Statistical Committee Uzbekistan, Georgia – data for 2009). As a result, competition is intense. Also, the quality of education in regular schools, particularly, at the primary level, is very low because of low salary, lack of qualified teachers, inadequate schoolbooks, poor infrastructure, etc. (OMCT and LAS, 2002). Because of these reasons, some parents who can afford to do so provide their children with private tutoring. However, many students do not have enough money to take private lessons. This makes it difficult for some students to enter high quality educational institutions. Majidov et al. (2009) give another serious reason for the plight of Uzbekistani students and describe their situation as follows: "The first serious drawback of the system is the fact that applicants are allowed to apply for only one-degree programme each year and have to choose the degree of their choice when submitting their application. As a result, if applicants fail to achieve the necessary total score to be admitted to their degree of choice, they will not have another chance to apply to another similar degree programme in the same academic year" (p. 60). As a result, many Uzbekistani students try to go abroad in order to obtain a high quality of education. Other educational mobility scholars argue that the lack of educational institutions in home countries lead to significant increased demand for higher education and the

growth in the competition for university entrance exams among students has resulted in the movement of students abroad for the purpose of study (Zhao & Guo, 2002; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; MOE, 2006; Yang, 2007). For example, Mazzarol & Soutar (2002) describe this situation as follows: "A lack of access to higher education among many countries in Asia and Africa has been a key driver for much of the student flow that has taken place over the second half of the twentieth century" (p. 82). This opinion is also supported by Yang (2007), who notes that, only 8% of Chinese students can enter local universities, and that, many Chinese students go abroad to obtain high quality education. The results of the data analyses demonstrate that because of the difficulty of entrance exams, which creates a barrier into high quality educational institutions in Uzbekistan, many students (10 of 77) whose last educational background in Uzbekistan was secondary vocational education and academic lyceum, came to Japan for the purpose of study (see Table 7). According to the table and other sources, lack of educational institutions in Uzbekistan resulted in "No access" or the difficulty of entrance exams for high quality educational institutions in Uzbekistan pushed several thousands of Uzbekistani students abroad for the purpose of study, including their choice to study in Japan. For example, Hudoyor, who was 23 years old and hails from the region of Samarqand, described his experiences as follows:

> Here you can study as you wish. In our case, we stumble upon life, forcing us to study
> and work. Another minus is that there are only three or five universities in each city.
> However, there are tens of thousands of applicants, but not more than two thousand
> available places. The state is shutting down education on its own, axing its own roots.

However, Muhsin, who is from the Andijan region of Uzbekistan and came to Japan in 2017, explained the entrance exams in educational universities in Uzbekistan a little differently.

Due to the growth of demand for higher education every year, the number of applicants for universities has also increased considerably. Also, entrance exams have become very difficult. The level of complexity of the tests has become very high.

Another student, Alisher, who was from the Samarqand region of Uzbekistan and came to Japan in 2017, described his experiences surrounding the difficulty of entrance exam in Uzbekistan as follows:

As soon as I graduated from college, I applied to Samarqand State Institute of Foreign Languages. I took the risk four times. Even if you prepare for the entrance exam, and you can't pass the first year, you can't enter at all. Then I heard about a center called "Study Tokyo" in Samarqand, where a young man from our village went to Japan, and after learning Japanese 3 months there, came to Japan to study and earn a higher education degree.

d. Impossibility of covering university fees on part-time work salary

In Uzbekistan, the number of students who get to enter higher education institutions is nearly 10% of those who desire to enter. In 2019, universities "extended only 110,095 quotas, while over a million of applicants have applied for universities" (Chuyanova and Zokirova, 2019). Also, university fees in Uzbekistan higher education institutions are very high for families and students. Tuition fees of higher education have also considerably increased year by year.

Moreover, these fees are so much higher per year relative to ordinary annual salary in Uzbekistan (Kholmuminov et al., 2019). Also, even when students have part-time jobs, it does not help very much because of the big gap between university fees and part-time job salary in Uzbekistan and this negatively affects their educational performance (Sia, 2015). The data analyses of the semi-structured interviews also confirm this and argue that another push factor which causes the movement of Uzbekistani students abroad is the significant cost of university fees in Uzbekistan. For instance, Abduqahhorbek who was 25 years old and currently studying for a bachelor's degree at Tokyo International University, described the tuition fees in Uzbekistan as follows:

It is impossible to work at the level of demand in Uzbekistan and get a good salary. Your work is not enough to cover your expenses. It is almost impossible to work during the study period. I have acquaintances who study at the institute; they work almost from morning till night. University fees are higher than monthly salary.

Rahmonali, who was 22 years old and from Bukhara region of Uzbekistan, also confirmed the very high university fees in Uzbekistan.

After graduating Academic lyceum, I could enter the Tashkent State Institute of Law, which ranks first in Uzbekistan in terms of prestige. I lived with my mother and her salary was only enough for eating. As a result, in the first year, we took an educational loan from the bank to pay the university fees. Besides, tuition fees, living costs in the capital was also more expensive compared to our region, Bukhara. Also, for the next year, I needed to borrow more money for university fees. Then, thinking deeply, I decided to drop out of

university and informed my Japanese language teacher first. But my teacher was so opposed to my dropping out of the institute. She gave me good advice to take a two-year break and come to Japan to work and save money and then go back home to my country and continue my study. With the help and advice of my teacher, I came to Japan through Japanese language school to study, work, and save money in a short period. After finishing Japanese language school, I am planning to go back home and continue my study at university.

In particular, in 2002-03, when I entered the university, it was very difficult. Studying became a contract. We had suffered a lot economically (A student who was from Samarqand region of Uzbekistan and at the time worked in Japan).

e. No prospects after finishing university

Low salary in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan has a huge effect on students before, during, and after finishing their higher education (Abdulloev et al., 2020). As a result, university graduates and non-graduates go abroad to work or study. The results of the interview analyses also show that there are no good prospects even after finishing university. This factor also pushes Uzbekistani students to go abroad. For instance, Vohid, who graduated from an institute in Uzbekistan and at the time, worked as a manager in a trade company in Japan, describes his motivation to come to Japan as follows:

In general, it was not bad. I was in a better economic position than my classmates and other students. But I realized that this was not at my potential level, that I was capable of doing

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even greater things. In the tour company I worked for, our bosses were young men, two or three years younger than me, but they were economically stable and had a lot of success in business. Seeing all this, I could not see myself as a person who works for someone, depending on someone. I took it as a step towards a brighter future, but ... Then, I started to move, aiming to achieve even more. Thus, I was not more spiritually satisfied than economically. I started to think that if my conditions are so good, my opportunities are endless, I have a chance to go out into the world. I deeply understood that everything is in my hands. Thus, financially, my hope for the future was more motivating.

Table 7. Factors which Influenced Uzbekistani Students to go to Japan (push factors)

Types of people	Number	Low Salary	Unemployment	Unfair Treatment at work	Educational Opportunity		Other
					Access with Low quality	No Access	
Japanese Language School Students	34	23	3	3	7	5	0
Vocational School Students	13	7	1	0	3	1	1[1]
University Students	18	6	0	0	10	3	1[2]
Workers	10	6	0	1	4	1	4[3]
Dependents[4]	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	77	44	4	4	25	10	7

Developed for this research

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[1] To bring back my brother

[2] Uzbekistan government-sponsored study abroad program

[3] Family business bankruptcy; lack of clarity about future (two people); desired educational specialty not available (one person)

[4] Came to Japan because of spouse

f. Uzbekistan Government Attempts at Educational Reform

The government of Uzbekistan has tried a successive number of reforms over the years. In particular, in 2016, there were major reforms covering institutions of higher education. While the goals included the expansion of educational opportunities for young people, this fell short of creating enough places for all those who wanted to further their education. For example, between 1991 and 2015, there was an increase of as many as one million young people in the 14 to 24-year-old bracket (Ruziev 2016). Admissions to institutions of higher education are very restrictive, with students that do not meet the minimum requirements having to wait a whole year before getting another chance (World Bank Group 2018). These are just a few of the motivations for which some individuals might have chosen to leave the country for educational opportunities elsewhere, particularly from 2015 when the opportunities to study in Japan might have prompted more and more people to see it as a viable option to staying in Uzbekistan.

g. Relatively higher wages in Japan

By contrast to the economic difficulties and impossibility of covering university fees with part-time work salary in Uzbekistan, the availability of part-time jobs that can cover all costs and allow for sending remittances back home during the study period is the most significant pull factor for Uzbekistani students to come and choose Japan as their educational destination. Several student mobility scholars also confirm that availability of part-time jobs during the study period is one of the main factors which attract many international students to come to these countries for the purpose of study (Siminton, 1989; Mazzarol et al., 1996; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Tremblay, 2005; Liu-Farrer, 2009; Kondakci, 2011; Beine et al., 2014). For some international students, the role of part-time work is considered to be more important than other

costs which are incurred in the host countries. For example, Mazzarol & Soutar, (2002) describe the role of part-time work for international students as follows: "It can be seen that the importance of part-time work was substantially greater than the cost of fees, travel costs or living expenses. This was particularly true for students from India, China and Indonesia…" (p.86). The findings of the research study also confirm and shows that compared to Uzbekistan, the much higher wages in Japan are the first main attractive factor for more than half of the participants (46 of 77) to choose Japan as their educational destination (see Table 8). According to the findings of the survey questionnaires, high wages are mainly significantly important for Japanese Language school students (27 of 34) and vocational school students (9 of 13) compared to university students (5 of 18) or people who had already started to work in Japan (4 of 10). The semi-structured interviews with 36 respondents provided an insight into questions such as the following: What do high wages mean to you? or How do the respondents think of high wages? Or why are high wages in Japan so important for respondents? For example, Javlonbek, who was from the Samarqand region of Uzbekistan and at the time was studying at the second year of a vocational school in Japan, explained why he came to Japan to study or to work as follows:

The availability of the chance to earn during the period of studying was the first thing that interested me in coming to Japan. There was also a desire to study, but less. We also wanted to raise money.

After contacting friends and relatives who were studying in Japan and had been to Japan before, I realized that Japan could give me an opportunity to quickly improve our family's difficult economic situation during the study period and while taking higher education. As a result, I came to Japan and studied and worked hard every day (Shuhrat

from the region Andijan of Uzbekistan).

I graduated from college and applied to the institute for two years. I didn't want to submit

for the third year. In fact, the reason for coming here, and the idea of going abroad in

general, was the desire to be able to cover my expenses. Even if I entered the institute, I

did not want to ask for the university fees from home, so I came out and said that I could

do it myself (a student who was 24 years old and at the time studying in a Japanese

language school in Japan).

h. Employment opportunities after attending educational institutions in Japan

Besides part-time jobs, the possibility of employment, and career opportunities after

finishing educational institutions in the host countries are also considered main pull factors for

international students (Chirkov et al., 2007; Parey & Waldinger, 2007; Franklin, 2010; Adnett,

2010; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Choudaha, 2017). According to the findings of the survey

questionnaires which are part of the research study, employment opportunities with high wages

in Japan compared to Uzbekistan are another main key factor for several Uzbekistani students

who come to Japan to study and work (see Table 8). The table shows that 29 out of 77

participants considered the answer "Employment opportunities" in Japan very important for

them to come to Japan (see Table 8). It must be said here that according to the respondents,

employment opportunities in Japan do not only mean work after finishing educational

institutions in Japan but also part-time jobs while studying. The results of the semi-structured

interviews also show that the main reason for Uzbekistani students' coming to Japan is not only

education but also the opportunity to stay and work after finishing their education in Japan. The

results further indicate that some students changed their plan and decided to go back to their homeland while most Uzbekistani students planned to still stay and work for a minimum of 2 or 3 years after finishing their studies in Japan. It is possible to gain an understanding of the meaning of employment opportunities in Japan from some students' future plans below. For example, Hurshid, who was from the Namangan region of Uzbekistan and was at the time studying at Tokyo International University in Japan, stated:

> After graduation, I intend to sign a five-year contract to work with a Japanese company. After working for a while, I will return to Uzbekistan and continue working in one of the developing industries there, for example, in the banking sector. After graduating university, I am planning to get a job and work five or ten years for financial reasons. If I can make enough money to cover all the material expenses made here, and then save some money, then I can think about returning. It would be wrong to just leave (Kamol who was from Tashkent city and came to Japan in 2017).

> After finishing my study here, I am planning to work and gain experience in my field in Japan, but I will definitely return to Uzbekistan, of course. I see my main life and activity in Uzbekistan. I intend to work here a little, learn the Japanese way of doing business and open my own company in Uzbekistan (Umar who was from Samarqand region and at the time studied at a vocational college in Japan).

i. The role of Japanese Government Scholarships

Besides the economic difficulties, there were other challenges such as difficulty of entrance exams, and low quality of education in the home countries. Conversely, high wages, greater employment opportunities, higher quality of education in the host countries, and scholarships which are provided by host or home countries or by private companies in host countries, are important factors which drive the movement of students abroad for the purpose of study (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Denman & Hilal, 2011; Choudaha & Li, 2012; Choudaha & Chang, 2012; Choudaha, 2014; Choudaha, 2017). For example, according to Choudaha (2017), the main reason America is chosen by international students as their educational destination is not only the high quality of American education system but also the availability of many different kinds of scholarships and funding opportunities. For some Uzbekistani students, besides the ease of gaining access to higher educational institutions and or to take high quality education in Japan rather than other developed countries such as the UK, the US, Canada etc., scholarships provided mainly by the Japanese government are considered as the main pull factors for their coming to Japan. The finding of the survey and the statistical sources of Japanese government such as MEXT and JASSO also confirm and show that scholarships, which are provided by the Japanese and Uzbekistan government, play a significant role for Uzbekistani students. For example, the table below shows that 10 of 77 participants chose the answer, "Educational scholarship" as an important factor for them to choose Japan as their educational destination (see Table 8). These students may have good jobs with high salary in Uzbekistan, but the reason for coming to Japan is to take advantage of the Japanese government scholarships (MEXT) which give them more chances to build more skills and acquire advanced knowledge in their fields.

Table 8.   Factors which Influenced Uzbekistani Students to go to Japan (pull factors)

Types of students	Number	High wages	Employment opportunities	Educational opportunities			Others
				Access to higher education	High quality of education	Educational scholarship	
Japanese Language School students	34	27	15	5	7	0	4[5]
Vocational School Students	13	9	3	1	3	0	1[6]
University Students	18	5	4	3	4	7	3[7]
Workers	10	4	6	2	4	2	2
Dependents	2	1	1	0	1	1	0
Total	**77**	**46**	**29**	**11**	**19**	**10**	**10**

Developed for this research

Table 8 above shows the factors which attracted Uzbek individuals to come to Japan. According to the table, in rank order, the first was high wages (46), employment opportunities (29), and the next was educational opportunities. Under educational opportunities, there are three attractive elements: access to higher education, high quality of education, and educational scholarships. Among these, the most important factor was the high quality of education. This table also reveals the breakdown in respondents: Japanese Language school students, vocational

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[5] Access to high technology (one person); more developed country (one person); to seek business opportunities (one person); attraction to Japanese culture

[6] Travel

[7] Easier access to Japan (one person); honest society (one person); culture and safety

school students, university students, workers and dependents. For Japanese Language School students, vocational school students, and workers, high wages were the most important factor, but for university students, educational opportunity was the most important.

j. The reputation of the Japan and its universities

The overall reputation or profile of the host country is also considered one of the major attracting factors for international students when they are planning to go abroad and selecting a specific foreign state as their educational destination (Kinnell, 1989; Kehm, 2005; Teichler, 2017). Moreover, other scholars argue that the reputation of the universities in the host countries are a major factor during the process of choosing a particular country by international students (Naidoo, 2007; Choudaha & de Wit, 2014; Bacci & Bertaccini, 2020). The data analysis of the semi-structured interviews demonstrates that the reputation and the profile of Japan in Uzbekistan is quite high, resulting in the choice of Japan by many Uzbekistani students as their educational destination. However, in contrast to their awareness of the country's profile, the awareness and the reputation of Japanese universities among Uzbekistani students was so much higher.

k. Ease of visa processing for entry to Japan

In addition to high wages, the chance to do part-time jobs while studying, or advancing one's career opportunities after finishing university at the host countries, ease of visa processing in some host countries compared to other industrialized states where potential international students face huge difficulties in obtaining visa for the countries even though they could enter educational institutions, are the main attracting factors for some international students choosing a

particular country as their educational destination (Smart, 1991; Mazzarol, 1995; Chen, 2007; She & Wotherspoon, 2013; Gopal, 2016). The analysis of the semi-structured interviews shows that the difficulty of obtaining visas for some industrialized countries such as the US, UK, Canada, and Australia is the main pull factor for most Uzbekistani students choosing Japan as their educational destination. According to the data analyses, several respondents were determined to go to other countries. However, due to strict visa regulations they could not accomplish their goals and as a result they chose Japan as an alternative destination country. For example, according to a 31-year-old respondent from the Samarqand region,

> I wanted to go to America, to study…in order to improve upon the new techniques and experience that my company lacked. But for some reason the visa was not issued. They didn't even say why. But you can get the knowledge and experience you want to get in Japan just as in America. You just have a hard time with the language. When I try for something, I achieve it. I went to a Japanese language course for two weeks and I was convinced that I could do it. That's how I got here.

> Now America is difficult to visit. They don't give visas to everyone. I didn't risk it. Then the guys suggested Japan. I handed it in here and it came out right away (A student who was from Tashkent region of Uzbekistan and at the time studying at a Japanese university in Japan).

> I have tried other countries, especially the United States, but, of course, I could not get the visa. I was convinced that the Japanese option was the most convenient, as I was convinced

that in Japan there is an opportunity to learn the local language, then continue my education

in higher education and work as well. It is much easier than in Europe or America. (A

student who was from the Samarqand region of Uzbekistan and who, after finishing studies

in Japan, started to work in Japan).

l. Safety of living in Japan

The level of overall safety in Japan compared to the US and European countries was

considered one of the pull factors for some Uzbekistani students choosing Japan as their

educational destination. The influence of safety in the host countries on international students is

also confirmed by some international student mobility scholars (Harris & Rhall, 1993;

Toro,1994; Smart & Ang, 1995; Kerbow et al., 2003). For example, a student from the Bukhara

region, described his reason for choosing Japan as follows:

I think there are problems with humanity in America. I don't know anything about

Australia or other developed countries. Japan, as far as I know, is culturally close to us.

When people say Europe, there is a stereotype and they immediately remember the huge

differences in lifestyle. The Japanese are relatively close to us. Relatively safe too (A student

who was from Andijan region of Uzbekistan and at the time studying at Japanese university

in Japan).

My goal was Europe, but at that time Europe was no longer safe…[be]cause of some

political problems. …. I chose Japan because it is well protected from the problem of

terrorism in relation to European countries (A student who was from the Samarqand region of Uzbekistan and at the time studying at a vocational college in Japan).

m. Relatively lower cost of university education in Japan

Scholars who conduct research on student mobility, argue that costs in host countries such as tuition fees, living expenses, and social cost are also key factors affecting students' particular choice of destination (Stewart, 1991; Harris & Rhall, 1993; Mazzarol, 2002; Varghese, 2008). The data analysis argues that by contrast, living costs, social costs, or travel costs, tuition fees in the host country universities are considered as main attracting factors for Uzbekistani students choosing Japan rather than other developed states such as UK, the US and Australia.

If you come to study in Europe at your own expense, university fees are very high. If you work part-time and want to earn that money, you will miss school. I decided to come here because I knew it would be easier to work while studying in Japan (A student who was from the Namangan region of Uzbekistan and at the time studying at university in Japan).

First, I wanted to go to Australia to study, however, the Australian University said the school fee was $ 24,000 per term. Too high! This is an annual payment. Only then was I told that I would be allowed to get a visa. I couldn't do it. Because I didn't have much money, and even if I did, I wouldn't be able to work during my first year of study in Australia, if I'm not mistaken (A student who was from Andijan region of Uzbekistan and at the time studying at a Japanese language school in Japan).

Part III

6.4   Choice of Japanese Language Schools

Facilitators of Student Mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan: Agencies and Networking

Once prospective students have determined that Japan has the conditions that they are attracted to, including ease of obtaining a visa, safety, and the high level of civilization and sophistication of the country, it becomes apparent through conversations with people who have had the benefit of living in Japan, that the fastest way of turning their dreams of attaining an education outside of Uzbekistan and making some money in the process is not just by coming to Japan but by coming through a Japanese language school. And for this, there is a great deal of help available.

Networking with compatriots in Japan

Potential students travelling abroad had the choice of receiving this sort of assistance either at the point of deciding to go abroad or within the process of making the necessary preparations for the travel. In fact, "Evidence from the research indicated that prospective international students actively sought information and advice from those around them when they were considering study overseas" (Beech, 2015). Within the interview process, interviewees shared their opinions regarding the share of authority held by each member of their network participants (Fawcett, 1989). The survey and semi-structured data analyses also confirmed this opinion and argued that there was a significant influence of networking on Uzbekistani students choosing Japan. The data analysis also shows that Uzbekistani students who participated in the research study, were not only informed about Japan and Japanese educational institutions by their friends, family members, relatives, etc., but also, they were assisted with preparation of

their documents before coming to Japan. According to Figure 2, out of 77 participants, 27 respondents received assistance in preparing their documents from their relatives, friends and other close acquaintances before coming to Japan (see Figure 2). It is worth noting that most Uzbek students have access to indirect sources of information about studying abroad, if such is needed. It is slightly strange to state that they trust such forms of information without hesitation. Semi-structured interviews with respondents, who agreed to do interviews, reveal the extent to which they received assistance from friends, relatives and their other close acquaintances in filling out documentation required by Japanese educational institutions before coming to Japan. For example, Farhod – an academic lyceum graduate from Samarqand, Uzbekistan, who arrived in Japan in 2015, was interviewed, and he talked about the ways through which he gained information about travelling to Japan:

> …My friends who are one year older than me and my neighbor's uncle who has been in
> Japan for many years helped their nephew to go to Japan. A year later I met him and
> asked if I could go to Japan too. He gave me the necessary information and consequently,
> I applied to study in Japan.

Mahmud, who is from the Namangan region, Uzbekistan, arrived in Japan in 2018. Speaking about the ways of obtaining information about studying abroad he shared the following:

> As I told you, my cousin lives here. Before I came, he described and explained
> everything in the smallest detail. That's why I came to Japan to prepare myself. I knew a

lot in advance. I was ready for it in advance, and I didn't have a hard time because I have

a relative here.

Data analysis that followed the interviews reveals the fact that personal networks such as

family members, relatives and neighbors play an important role in shaping the decision of an

individual when it comes to studying abroad. A good example is Hasanboy from the Sirdarya

region of Uzbekistan. He has greatly influenced the people who wanted to study in Japan.

I can say that I have motivated a lot of people: my brother has already started to act. My

relatives, especially my cousin, are also on the move.

Figure 5. Number of People helped by Respondents to come to Japan
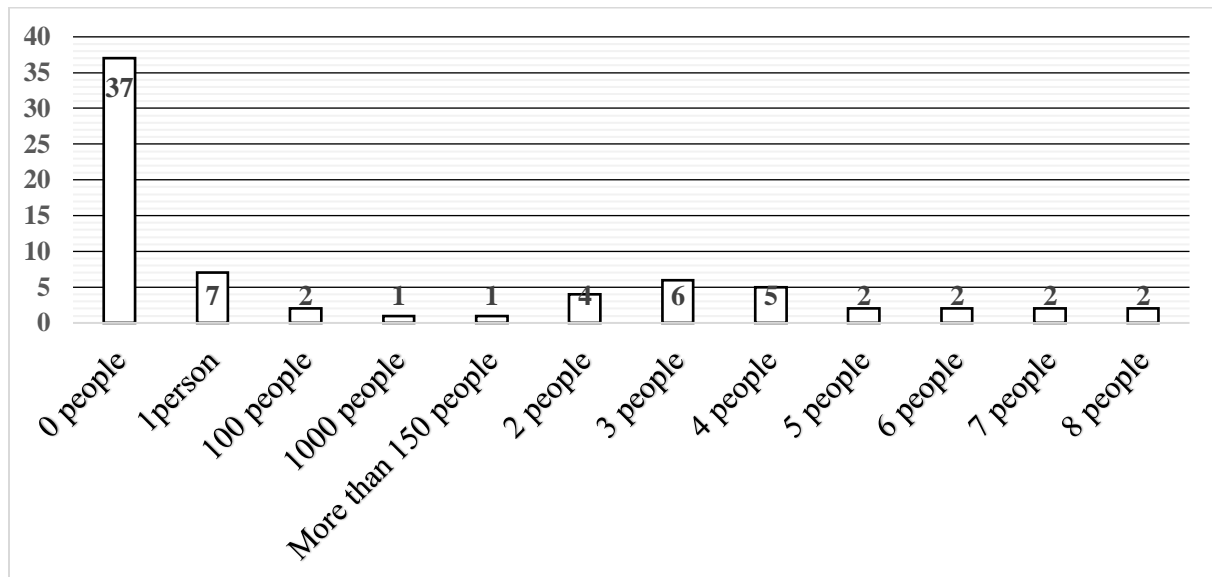
Developed for this research

Figure 5 indicates the number of people the respondents assisted with their migration to

Japan. The largest number of respondents – 37 people said that they had not helped anybody

with the migration process. Seven respondents had helped one individual each. Only 2

respondents had helped more than one hundred people to move to Japan.

Provision of supportive services by agencies (mediators)

The evidence collected during this research shows that networking between family

members, friends, relatives, or other close neighbors who had lived in Japan before or are living

in Japan at the time that a potential international student takes an interest in the intended

destination, are very essential for students who intend to study abroad. There are several reasons

for this. Primarily, networks are popular because they allow for the proliferation and propagation

of information quite rapidly. The students who are in need of reliable information mostly

appreciate this aspect of the matter. The findings of the survey and semi-structured data analyses

also show that besides networking, there are other facilitators, identified as, "educational

migration industries/agencies" or "mediators" which assist potential students to come to Japan.

According to the survey data analysis, almost half of the respondents (34 of 77) who participated

in the research study, used this educational migration mediators' services (see Figure 2). The

research also demonstrates that these mediators' services were used to a large extent by students

who came to Japan through Japanese Language school roots. There is a question that arises:

Why do educational migration mediators assist potential students who are planning to come to

Japan? and Why do they help students who are planning to come to Japan through Japanese

Language schools, specifically, rather than other educational institutions in Japan? In the

following sections below, the study tries to explain and tries to answer the two questions above.

Before beginning to answer these questions above, the data analysis demonstrates that such

educational migration mediators do not only help potential students who are planning to go to

Japan but also, they help and work with Japanese Language schools in Japan. There is another question that arises. How and why do such educational mediators work with and help Japanese Language schools in Japan? According to the data analysis, effective cooperation with both students and Japanese Language schools in Japan is very profitable for such mediators. This is conditioned by the fact that such mediators charge potential students for the services they provide. At the same time, they receive financial remuneration from language schools for providing them with new Uzbek students.

As a result, currently, educational migration mediators are the key agents in marketing Japanese educational services in Uzbekistan. A continual stream of potential students and Japanese Language schools in Japan eager for students encourage such educational migration mediators. However, in order for their services to be lucrative, many students are required by such mediators to be sent to Japanese Language schools. Thus, the educational migration mediators use various types of marketing. For instance, they visit numerous educational institutions throughout Uzbekistan in order to raise public awareness of their services. Interestingly, during such visits different presentations are held, which are usually received very enthusiastically by the audience. Even the students who might not have had the slightest intention of going abroad get attracted by such presentations. One such student is Alisher from Samarqand. He was very much affected by such a presentation. He recounted the following during the interview:

In May, during my sophomore year at the Lyceum, there was a Japanese seminar. The Japanese center came and gave us a festival. Then they introduced us to Japanese culture and gave us information. Then I and two other friends became interested. We intended to

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study abroad. We liked Japan. So, in the second year, in May, I started learning Japanese. The reason we chose Japan was that it is a developed country with high salaries. I was going to study English abroad in the field of computers, and I wanted to go to Britain or America. Later, I became interested in Japan and, fortunately, I came.

The story does not end here. Mediators use active marketing strategies, including proliferating brochures among youth in order to attract an ever-increasing number of them. For example, nineteen-year-old Muzaffar got interested in studying in Japan thanks to such promotional brochures. He shared the following about his experiences.

As I said, at the beginning of the fourth year I got a flyer. It was written on it that if you want to work in Japan, you can get that much per hour. I was interested. I also searched on the Internet. I knew that Japan was technologically strong, but I did not know much about its culture. After that, I applied to special training centers. When I started this, I dropped out of the institute when problems increased. I took an online exam via Skype and was admitted to a Japanese language school. I got lucky, that's right. It all started after that.

Educational agencies exploit the same strategies in relation to both universities and language schools in other countries. However, according to the findings of the research study, directions of educational migration mediators in Uzbekistan vary. Statistics exemplify this situation by stating that consequently more students are attracted to language schools than universities. All respondents who came to Japan through Japanese Language schools and

received assistance from educational migration mediators in Uzbekistan, pointed out that they could assist us to go to Japan only through Japanese Language school routes rather than universities. As a result, during the period between 2010 and 2018, the number of students attracted to universities increased from 183 to 432 (see Table 3). On the other hand, the table for language schools were from 22 to 1427 for the same period of time (see Table 3). It is worth mentioning that it is only related to my research study findings regarding students who came to Japan and what types of assistance they used before coming to Japan. In addition, it does not suggest that all educational migration agencies in Uzbekistan. hey and their services may be different and varied based on countries and types of educational institutions where potential Uzbekistani students go to study abroad.

Uzbek students who intend to travel abroad may contact different people within the same network for help. It is possible that a student who wants to study in Japan will initially address his direct contacts. Next, he may go to mediators, who can provide him with more detailed information. As a result, he is making use of different levels of contacts within the same network.

Different sources of information about studying in Japan are available. This causes a huge flow of information. The abundant amount of information in its turn causes confusion among those who intend to use it. It also happens that such information is distorted intentionally for marketing purposes. Twenty-year-old Komil experienced such confusion caused by intentional distortion of information. This happened while he was preparing to leave for Japan. The followings are his words:

While living in Uzbekistan we thought that it would not be difficult to earn $2000-$3000

a month in Japan. People who convinced us all said the same thing. They said you can earn so much per hour in Japan, etc. No, in the beginning, it did not happen at all. A person comes to think that he/she is going to make so much money, but when he/she sees that it is not so, then he/she becomes depressed. Some leave. Therefore, I would recommend that before coming to Japan everybody should get to know and consult in all aspects.

32-year-old Mirkomil from Samarqand, Uzbekistan, also faced such obstacles prior to his arrival in Japan. He shared the following:

It was a training center in Uzbekistan. Located in Samarqand. It also has branches throughout Uzbekistan. …You know, salaries in Uzbekistan are very low. When they told us that after graduating from Japanese universities, you will get a salary of 4,000-5,000 USD, and during the study period you will earn $15 per hour, we became very interested and began to study Japanese seriously. Then I came to Japan and found out it wasn't $15. That's right, we were told, there are jobs, there are jobs in bars, nightclubs for up to $40 per hour. I don't know if they meant that. I was interested in the issue of money.

It is disturbing to notice that such distortions which are made on the basis of marketing puffery are causing students to make life-changing decisions. Mahmud, from Namangan, Uzbekistan, shared the following experiences.

Yes, also, given that Japan is a developed country, I thought that if I take IELTS, I will enter a prestigious university in Japan. I knew English well. This is my current intention; I will enter when I finish school. When we came to the center, I explained the situation in Japanese and said, "You don't need English very much. You have been studying Japanese for two years and you speak Japanese fluently." If you have your level of knowledge of the Japanese language, you enter and don't need IELTS.

Sherzod from Samarkand went through obstacles similar to those of Mahmud.

Japanese language schools in Uzbekistan have "poisoned" my brain. I didn't know enough about education in Japan, Japanese language schools. People in Uzbekistan introduced me to Japanese language schools as sub-courses of Japanese universities. It is thought that they have contracts with Japanese universities, which prepare students for two years. Then, yes, for only two years, I chose this path because I had time. I learned the truth when I came to Japan. Before coming, I did not consult with any Japanese, but only with Uzbeks. If I had known earlier, I would have studied English better, obtained a higher IELTS score, and come to a Japanese university at once. The reason for my lack of information in Uzbekistan was that the centers deceived me.

The lucrative business of special training center

It has been mentioned above that the individuals who possess information related to studying in Japan do not spread it for free. Another point is that such mediators do not only provide the necessary information, but also help the potential student to find a language school

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and prepare his or her documents. This help also includes translating documents into Japanese. They also assist the students during online interviews carried out by Japanese language schools.

Additionally, the future students are obliged to take Japanese Language courses specifically in these training centers. It can be seen that from the findings of the survey questionnaires, more than half of the respondents (41 of 77) took Japanese Language courses in these language training centers before coming to Japan even though there are other places such as regular courses (universities or some Academic lyceums/colleges) or private tutors where they can learn the Japanese Language (see Table 9).

Table 9. Sources of Japanese Language Instruction

	In Uzbekistan				In Japan			
	Regular course	Training center	Tutors	No	Regular course	Japanese language School	Vocational School	Self-education
Japanese Language School students	1	26	3	4	0	34	0	0
Vocational School students	1	6	3	3	0	10	6	0
University students	6	9	3	0	11	7	0	0
Workers	5	0	4	2	2	7	1	1
Depend-dent visa	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1

Developed for this research

From this table, it can also be seen to what extent the language training centers impact

upon potential students who planned to come to Japan. Surely, the students are charged for each

of the above-mentioned services. Such language courses at "special training centers" may cost

between 200, 000 and 300,000 UZS per month (price depends on the school and its location in

Uzbekistan and even after the student obtains the visa, the student is required to continue

studying the Japanese language until departure to Japan or be responsible for paying fees for the

period (SUM 2500000). The cost of document preparation, translation and preparation for online

interviews including Japanese language courses in some cases vary between 800 and 1,500 US

dollars. This difference depends on many factors: the financial condition of the family, their

social status, complexity of documents and the region of Uzbekistan where the students live.

According to my finding, the majority of Uzbek students studying in Japan went through these

steps. For instance, Abdukamol, who came to Japan in 2019, was assisted by such centers and

tells the following about his experiences.

> I paid 2.5 million so'm for 6-9 months of education just to study at the beginning. I did
>
> not pay extra for the documents. But, for the visa, I paid $1,000 to translate some of the
>
> visa documents. And they said that if for some reason the visa is not issued, they will
>
> return $700 and take $300 for paperwork. I paid $1,000.

In a similar way, 19-year-old Jahongir came to Japan in 2019 and he had the following

experience:

> I did not prepare anything. They helped me when I went to that center in January. They

told me to bring some documents from my parents. They asked for $1,000 to get a visa. They said they would return $ 700 if the visa was not issued. I paid for it. But I did not interfere in the documents at all, they did it themselves. I paid for all the paperwork. Also, I paid 2 and a half million yen in tuition fees, and another 4 million yen in small amounts before I went to Japan to study at the center.

Financial benefits to 'individual students' bringing other potential students to Japan

The business of bringing Uzbek students to Japan by charging them fees and receiving remuneration from Japanese language schools is so profitable that not only Language centers, but also individual students who have had some experience in Japan try to take it up with great enthusiasm.

Such individual students do not provide detailed information to prospective students. Neither do they teach the prospective students Japanese. However, as they charge much less for their assistance, they also attract huge numbers of potential students. Thanks to the increasing number of Uzbek students in Japan, the competition has become more intense not only between Language centers, but also among individual students. Consequently, this has caused the emergence of misinformation regarding studying in Japan. Sardor came to Japan in 2007 and he has helped numerous Uzbek students who wanted to study in Japan. He gave the following account:

> I was not a recruiter when I worked at a Japanese language school. I reviewed the documents provided by the Japanese language school and called Uzbekistan to make a Kaku… I learned to work on documents…. My biggest experience was my brother Bahrom. Before I came to Japan, I corrected his documents and brought them to Japan.

When I handed it in, the company saw it and asked me if I had filled it out myself. After I confirmed it, they said that I could work in their company…So, in 2009, I started recruiting students…I was in this business for nine years and then I stopped - I don't do it now, at all…I had a contract with six schools…Maybe I've brought about a thousand students to Japan; I haven't counted yet. Maybe.

However, according to another respondent from the Andijan region of Uzbekistan, his reason for coming to Japan was as follows:

I said at the beginning that I had tried to study English before, but I could not improve my skills in this language. The Japanese language was easier for me and the grammar was easier. In addition, after going to Japan, [training center in Uzbekistan] they said that they would teach Japanese, so we went this way without fear.

Figure 6. Kind of Assistance Received in the process of Preparing Admission Documents
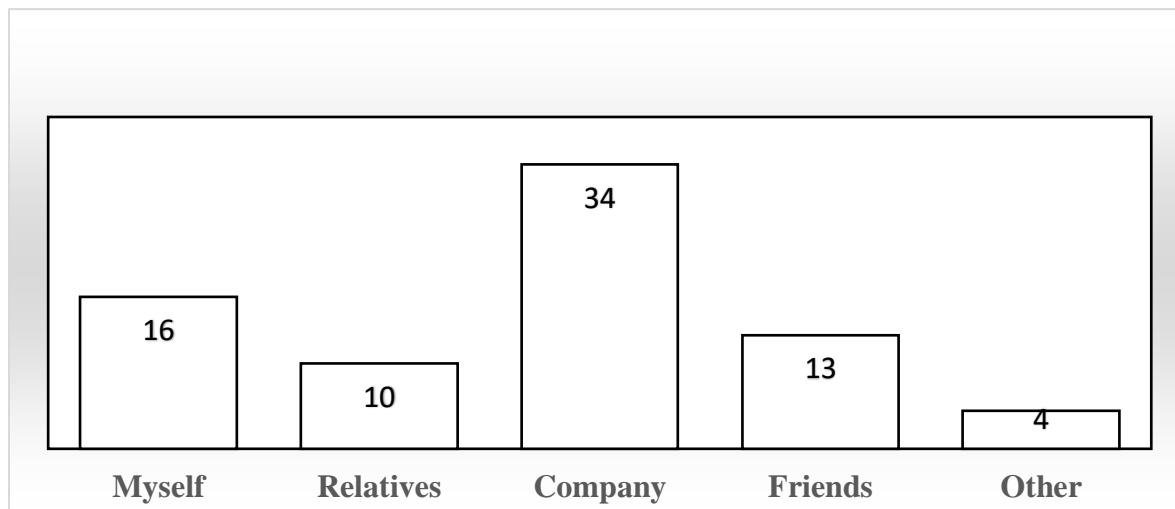
Developed for this research

Reasons for coming to Japan through Japanese Language Schools

The data analysis of the research study shows that more than three-quarters of respondents (62 of 77) came to Japan through Japanese Language school routes (see Table 10). Here, there is a question regarding "Why most Uzbekistani students chose Japanese Language schools as their entryway to come to Japan rather than other educational institutions?" arises and interested me. Based on the analysis of the data findings, the research study shows following several reasons which caused students to come to Japan through Japanese Language schools.

Table 10. Educational Channels used by Respondents to come to Japan

Japanese language School							University		
62							15		
Japanese Language School	Japanese Language School / Vocational School	Japanese Language School / University	Japanese Language School / Work	Japanese Language School / Vocational School / Work	Japanese Language School / University / Work	Japanese Language School / Vocational School / Work / Dependent	University	University / Work	University / University / Dependent
34	13	6	3	4	1	1	12	2	1

Developed for this research

a. Low-Bar Entry to Japanese Language Schools

According to the research data analysis, the first main reason for Uzbekistani students to come to Japan through Japanese Language school was that it is the easiest and quickest way to come to Japan compared to other Japanese educational institutions. Besides the survey questionnaires, the semi-structured interviews also confirm this fact and describe their real experiences. For example, according to one respondent from the Sirdarya region of Uzbekistan, who is 29 years-old:

I came to Japan with the assistance of my relative: First I went to Russia to work and stayed there for 5 years. I was deported because of expired documents. After returning to Uzbekistan, the situation got worse because we had a big family and most of us were not working, Then, my relative, who was studying at a Japanese university, showed me how to come to Japan even though I had not been to university. As a result, I came to Japan through Japanese language school because it was an easy way.

True, there was a chance to come to Japan through the university, but we looked for a more certain and faster way (A student who had undergraduate degree and knew English very well before coming to Japan and also worked at the time in Japan).

There is a lack of knowledge of the language if one comes directly. Without in-depth study, it is impossible to come up with N4 (lowest level of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test) or with the ability to engage in simple "daily communication". Coming through a Japanese Language school is one of the easiest ways. (A student, who graduated vocational college in Uzbekistan and at that time was in the second year of one of the Japanese vocational colleges after finishing Japanese Language school in Japan).

b. Low Educational Qualification

The second one of the key reasons for Uzbekistani students to come to Japan through Japanese Language schools was their low level of language proficiency in both Japanese and English. The findings and the analysis of the survey questionnaire confirms and shows that the

level of Language proficiency of Uzbekistani students who came to Japan through Japanese

Language schools compared to university students was extremely low, which shows that it is

impossible for them to enter any higher educational institutions with this level (see Table 11).

According to the table 11, only 2 (6%) students who came to Japan by means of the Japanese

Language school route, had N2 (Japanese Language Proficiency Level), while the rest, 32 (94%)

respondents were at a lower level than N2: (8 (N3), 6 (N4), 5 (N5), and 13 (lower than N5)).

Table 11 shows the respondents' real English level proficiency. According to table 11, only 5

(15%) of the participants' English Language proficiency was intermediate (3) and advanced level

(2) while the rest, 29 (85%) of the respondents, had English Language proficiency at the

beginner level (19 respondents) or did not know English at all (10 respondents). On the other

hand, compared to students who came to Japan through the Japanese Language school route,

those who came to Japan directly to university, had the highest Language proficiency level in

both Japanese and English (10 of 18 were at N2 or N1 level in Japanese, and similarly, 10 of 18

respondents were at intermediate (4) or advanced level (6) English Language proficiency.

Table 11. Level of Japanese/ English Language Proficiency

Language Proficiency Level											
	Japanese Language Proficiency Level							English Language Proficiency Level			
	N1	N2	N3	N4	N5	Lower than N5	I don`t know	Beginner	Interme diate	Advanced	I don`t know
Japanese language School students	0	2	8	6	5	13	0	19	3	2	10
Vocational School students	0	4	7	2	0	0	0	5	2	2	3
University students	3	7	3	3	2	0	0	5	4	6	3
Workers	2	7	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	5	1
Dependent visa	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0

Developed for this research

Similarly, the findings from the semi-structured interviews with students who came to Japan through Japanese Language schools also confirm that the main reason Uzbekistani students came to Japan through this route was their low level of foreign language proficiency in both Japanese and English. For instance, a student, who had an undergraduate degree and came to Japan through the Japanese Language school route, described his foreign Language proficiency as follows:

[….]. Now, back to your question, I didn't know the Japanese Language well even though I learned Japanese Language at university for four years. I knew English but that was not enough to enter a Japanese university.

[…]. To enter the institute ... it would take time to learn the language and I don't know English very well. To be honest, I found out later that it is possible to come in this way. I

didn't know before (Zohid from Andijan region of Uzbekistan who was studying at a vocational college in Japan).

The reason I chose and came through a Japanese Language school was that I actually had to do a master's degree, not a bachelor's degree. I did not believe that I could study both a master's degree and Japanese at the same time. That's why I thought it would be good to study the Japanese Language at school for two years and study for a master's degree for the next two years (Kamol from the capital Tashkent of Uzbekistan who, at that time, was a first-year postgraduate student at a Japanese university).

In addition to the above facts, Table 12 below confirms and shows that the proficiency of respondents' who came through the Japanese Language school route could not have been exceptional because their exposure to the Japanese language in Uzbekistan was extremely short. According to the table, with the exception of one respondent, who had learned the Japanese Language for more than two years, the rest of the participants had a relatively short time in Uzbekistan to learn Japanese; the maximum was six months (among 33 respondents, 8 (from six months to one year), 9 (between four and six months), 11 (less than 3 months), and 5 (no Japanese Language training at all) (see Table 12).

Table 12. Extent of Japanese Language Learning in Uzbekistan

	Less than 3 months	4- 6 months	6 months - one year	1 year- 18 months	18 months - 2 years	More than 2 years	No learning
Japanese Language School students	11	9	8	0	0	1	5
Vocational School students	5	3	1	0	0	0	4
University students	6	1	2	1	1	5	2
Workers	1	1	1	0	1	4	2
Dependent visa	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Developed for this research

The third most important factor which caused so many Uzbekistani students to come to Japan through Japanese Language school was lack of information about channels other than Japanese Language schools. As a result, many Uzbekistani students were forced to come to Japan through this route rather than by means of higher educational institutions. In the quotations below, some of the respondents reveal their prior lack of information on Japanese educational institutions. For instance, Ali, who had an undergraduate degree in Uzbekistan and at that time was in the second year of Japanese Language school, described the reason for choosing Japanese Language school as a way to come to Japan:

> I didn't know much about the possibility of coming to Japan through another route, so I came through a Japanese school. The training center was also a young organization, with experience.

At that time, I never thought of going to university or college. Initially, the only goal was to learn Japanese, but later I became interested in Japanese schools. I thought it would be difficult to apply to college or university, and I thought the fee was too expensive (Akram, who was from the Djizzak region of Uzbekistan, and at that time, was studying at one of the Japanese Language schools in Nagoya prefecture of Japan).

Then you had the opportunity to come to the University directly because you knew English very well. Would you like to get a bachelor's degree?

Why did you come through the Japanese school? I didn't know that. I didn't know about them. No one told me (Said, who was from Andijan region of Uzbekistan and at that time had been accepted by a Japanese company and was waiting to complete his language school training over the next two months.

Sources of Financing Prior to Coming to Japan

Even though the prospect of living and studying abroad sounds very attractive to many Uzbekistani who are unsatisfied with their lot in the country, going through with it requires money that many people simply do not have. But, with all the information they receive from their networks and Japanese Language School agents about the possibility of studying and working and making more than enough to even send money back home, many people come to believe that it is worth it to find the money in any way they can. They might therefore rely on family members to provide them with the funds they need or even go to the extent of borrowing from relatives or other acquaintances in order to fulfill their dream of making it to Japan.

The research shows the types of financial assistance which respondents received before coming to Japan. First of all, the largest number of respondents received financial assistance from their families or borrowed the necessary amount of money (20 and 19 people respectively). The other types were financing sources like self-finance, family support, and borrowed money in combination, which made up the same number each (4 persons). Nine people came to Japan with scholarships and their own or their family support (see Figure 7 below).

**Figure 7. Respondents' Sources of Financing**
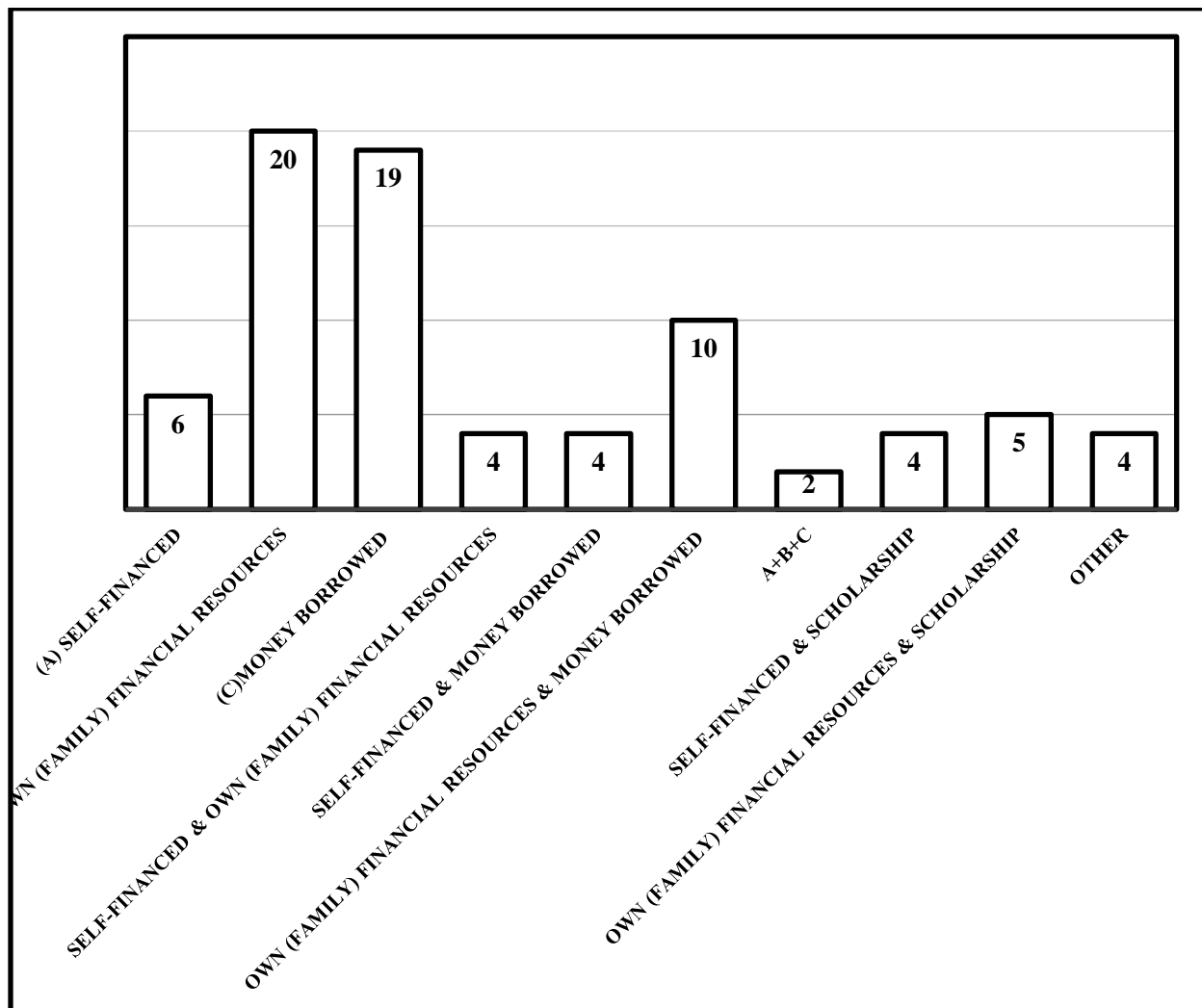
Developed for this research

Life Satisfaction of Respondents in Japan

It was important in this research to find out the extent to which respondents had met the preliminary goals they had set for themselves in terms of being able to study and work in Japan while fulfilling the obligation to send money back to their relatives. The research showed that for the largest share of respondents (42%) their level of satisfaction was neutral. This meant that they could not determine one way or the other whether they had cause to be dissatisfied or not. Just over one third of the respondents (35%) said that they were extremely satisfied with their life in Japan. Meanwhile, a tiny minority of respondents replied that they were very dissatisfied and somewhat dissatisfied (2 and 1% respectively) (see Figure 8 below).

Figure 8. Life Satisfaction of Respondents in Japan

Developed for this research

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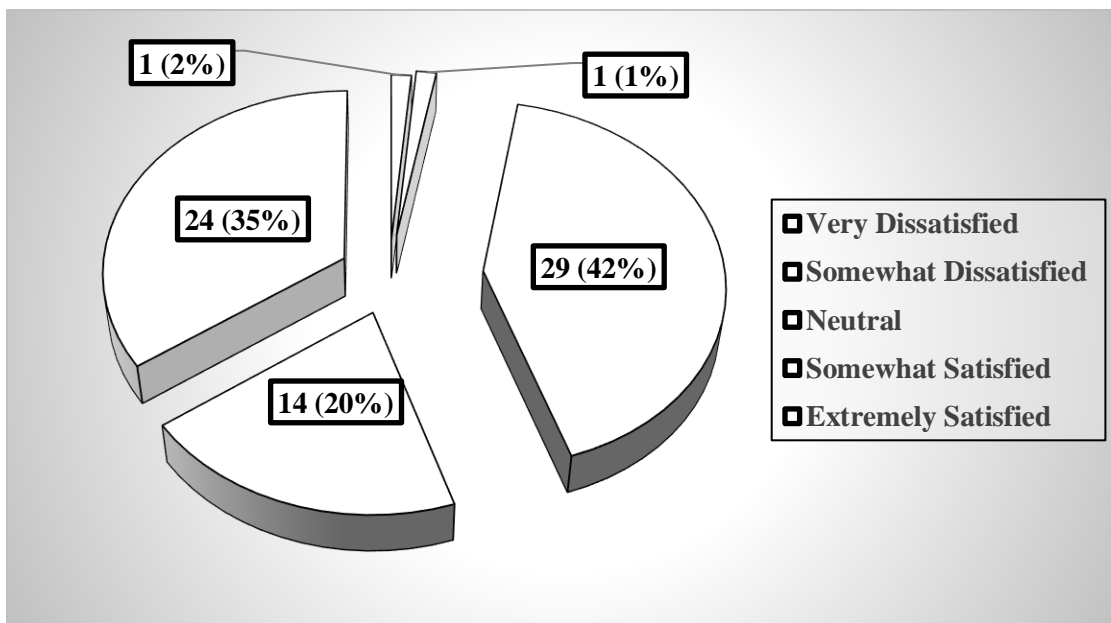
6.5   Importance of Remittances

In many developing countries, remittances received from relatives abroad form a significant part of their expenditures on daily living. For many of the remaining families that depend on remittances, the funds received may be used for many different purposes, but according to Kakhkharov et al. (2020), when it comes to South-South remittances of labor migrants, household expenditure of those remaining is channeled mainly "to consumer goods, limiting their contribution to economic development." This issue cuts across many labor migrants from many different countries, all of whom feel the need to ensure that those they had left behind are, if not thriving, then, at least, surviving on whatever funds they are able to remit home. As Yun (2016) has pointed out, remittances are a huge part of the GDP of countries such as Uzbekistan.

As with labor migrants, international students also feel a similar need to ensure that their families back home are doing well. Seeing themselves in a more privileged position where they are able to make enough money to meet their basic expenses and to have a small surplus, they do, in fact, contribute to their families whatever portion of money they feel they can send (Salas, 2014). This idea of students' sending remittances might seem strange to some but research indicates that for those who are engaged in this practice, it is far from being an anomaly. Rather, they felt that the people that they were caring for had sacrificed for them and that their contributions were going towards helping to build their country if even in a very small way (Muruthi et al., 2017).

The research shows that a considerable number of Uzbekistani students in Japan send remittances back to their home country. As the research shows, in percentage terms, the largest index belongs to Japanese Language School students, 90% of whom sent remittances to

Uzbekistan. The next largest index – 70% – belonged to Vocational School students. With university students, as many as 55% indicated that they did send remittances to their home country (see Figure 8 below).

Figure 9. Whether Respondents send Remittances to Uzbekistan

	Yes	No
Dependent visa	1	1
Workers	6	4
University students	10	8
Vocational School students	9	4
Japanese Language School students	30	4
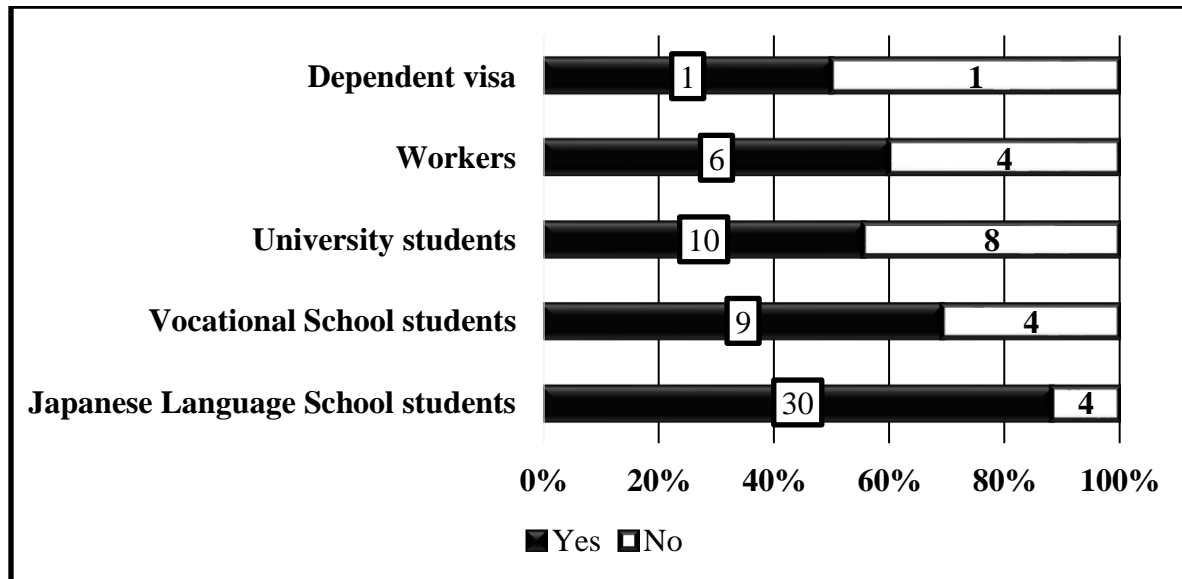
Developed for this research

Reasons for Sending Remittances

There is a wide array of reasons why labor migrants or students might send money back to their home country. Having grown up in the same circumstances as those that they had left behind, they are able to appreciate how much their new circumstances could be a source of uplift for those left behind. The research sought to find out from the respondents the various reasons for which they sent money. For students across the board, money for saving was the primary reason (35 respondents). Following that, money was needed for various personal needs (18

respondents), and next was money that the families needed back home to cover debts (14

respondents). In particular, students from Japanese language schools saw the payment of debts as

a significant reason for sending money back home. It must be noted that some of the respondents

gave multiple responses as to the purpose for sending the remittances (please see table 13).

Table 13. Reasons for Sending Remittances

	Health	Education	Saving	To pay the debt	For personal needs	Other
Japanese Language School Students	1	3	16	9	9	3
Vocational School Students	0	2	7	3	3	0
University Students	1	1	6	2	3	2
Workers	2	3	5	0	3	1
Dependent Visa	0	0	1	0	0	0

Developed for this research

Improvement of Families' Standard of Living since Respondents' Arrival in Japan

It is natural for people continually sending money home to wonder the extent to which

the funds are helping to improve conditions there. This, of course, is only a matter of perception

and perhaps based on what the respondents had learned from their relatives as to how the funds

had been used. The research sought to find out to what extent the conditions in the respondents'

families' homes back in Uzbekistan had changed since they arrived in Japan. According to the

research study, the most significant index belongs to workers. Six out of eleven of them said that

their family conditions had improved dramatically. The least level of perceived improvement can be observed among university students (one out of eighteen) and Japanese language students (one out of thirty-four). Only one respondent from each group said that their family conditions in Uzbekistan had improved dramatically. In the case of vocational school students, six out of thirteen indicated that their families' conditions in Uzbekistan had been significantly improved (please see table 14).

Table 14. Improvement of Families' Standard of Living since Respondents' Arrival in

Japan

	Not well at all	Not well	Fairly well	Quite well	Extremely well
Japanese Language School Students	13	7	8	5	1
Vocational School Students	0	1	4	2	6
University Students	6	4	4	3	1
Workers	0	2	2	1	6
Dependent visa	0	0	0	0	2

Developed for this research

6.6 Future Plans of Respondents after Finishing Current Educational Program

Students might go to another country to expand their knowledge with the view to returning home shortly after their studies to contribute to the welfare of their country. Once they are actually in the country, reality may set in that, after only one or two years, they do not have enough grounding in their studies to return to their home countries and make a success of it. They may also realize that there is a big discrepancy between their home countries and the host country and that it would be a mistake for them to return too soon. In some cases, the host

country presents a number of inducements that makes it harder for foreign students to want to return. This may include the opportunity to access lucrative job opportunities in the host country or even to apply for permanent residence. This leads to the common phenomenon of brain drain that has long been associated with the transfer of skills from one country to another (Baruch et al. 2007). The research indicated that for the Uzbekistani respondents in Japanese language schools, the majority wanted to proceed to university (14), others wanted to go to vocational school (10), a few wanted to return to Uzbekistan (5), and a small number indicated that they wanted to work (4). Of course, those that wanted to proceed to vocational school or the university might eventually end up working in Japan as well, but for the moment, their immediate future goals were to further their education. By contrast with students from Japanese language schools, for those in vocational schools, most wanted to get a job (8), a few wanted to proceed to the university (3), and a minority wanted to return to Uzbekistan (2). Finally, for those in university, those who wanted to get a job constituted the majority (8), while next was those who wanted to study further in the university (6), and for those who wanted to return to Uzbekistan, the number was minimal (4). This data shows that education is important to the respondents, and that they are not necessarily in a rush to enter the job market (please see table 16).

Table 16. Future Plans of Respondents after Finishing Current Educational Program

	Return to Uzbekistan	Proceed to Vocational School	Proceed to the University	Get a job	Other
Japanese Language School Students	5	10	14	4	1[8]
Vocational School Students	2	0	3	8	0
University Students	4	0	6	8	0

Developed for this research

Many of the respondents seemed to appreciate the value of the education they were getting in Japan. They were also aware of the contributions that they could make in their country in the future. Few of the respondents wanted to return to Uzbekistan immediately. Most of them expressed the desire to remain in Japan for a few years at least so that they could build more experience in Japan and save enough money to start some venture back in their home country. As Nodir noted,

> After graduation, I intend to start working for a Japanese company. I want to sign a five-year contract with a Japanese company. After working for a while, I will return to Uzbekistan and continue working in one of the developing industries there, for example, in the banking sector.

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[8] Proceed at the vocational school or to get a job

Even though living in Japan over the long term could mean greater financial success, Nodir expressed a desire to return mostly on account of his family, in his words, "I always put my family first. My motherland – we grew up there, and now. I have to return there to serve."

6.7 Summary

The data shows that Uzbekistani citizens arrived in Japan with various types of visas. It is clear that, over the past twenty years, the number of Uzbek citizens making their way to Japan has been increasing all the time. These migrants were represented by both sexes, with the age groups stretching up to 80. As the number of migrants from Uzbekistan kept increasing, their proliferation throughout Japan widened accordingly. From the information available, one can assume that an increasing number of educational migrants from Uzbekistan to Japan were attracted by different types of educational institutions, among which Japanese Language schools were the most popular ones.

One of the theoretical frameworks explored in this research suggests that one of the key reasons for migration of Uzbekistani students to Japan is push factors, including economic difficulties, low quality of education, difficulty of access to higher education, expensive tuition fees, and poor professional opportunities.

On the other hand, high wages, the possibility of covering all expenses by working part-time during the period of study, educational and professional perspectives, availability of scholarships, the reputation of Japan as a developed country are considered to be the major pull factors for students who came to Japan.
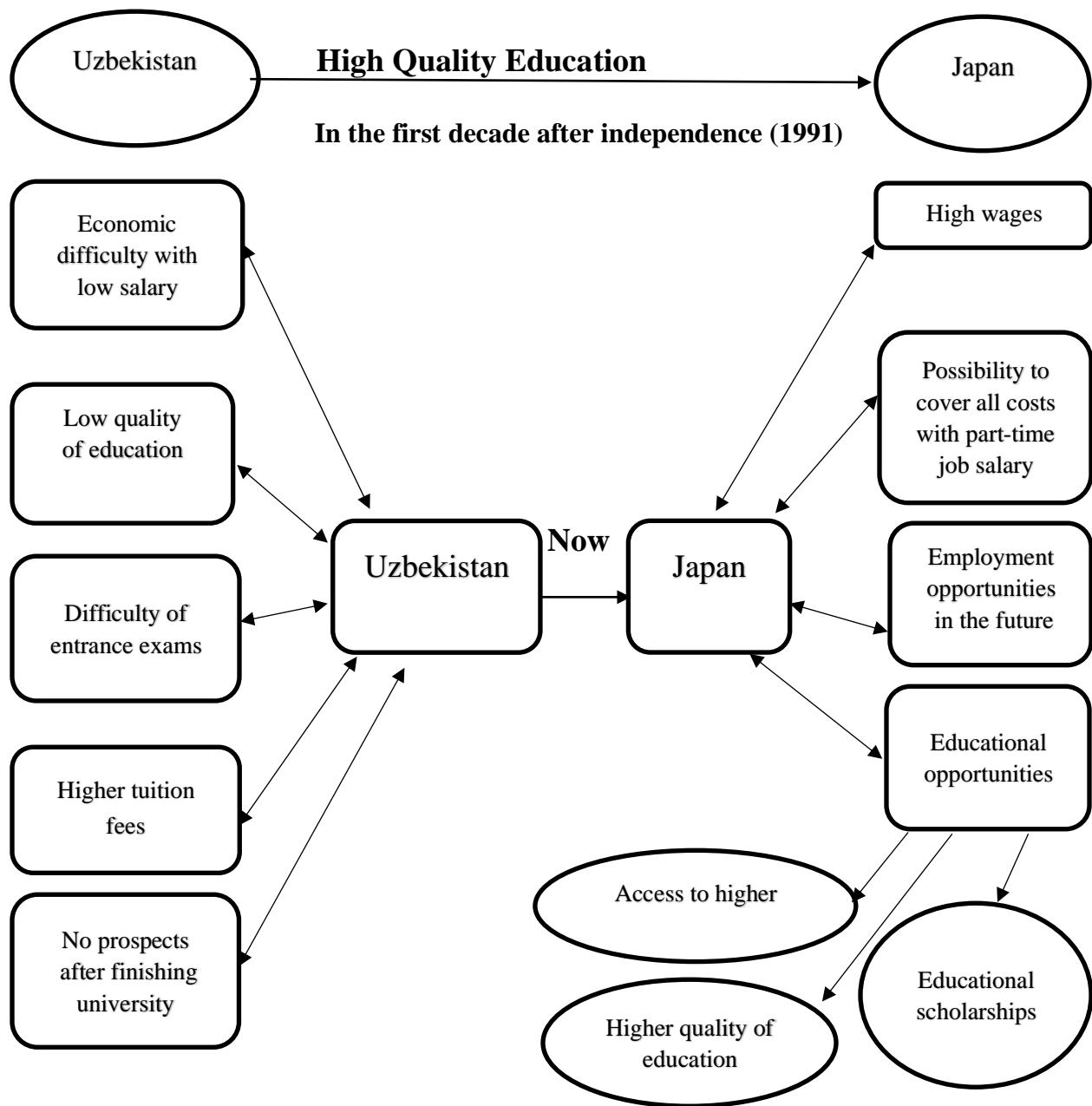
In terms of the selection of Japan by Uzbekistani students as their educational destination among other countries, such factors as relatively easy visa processing, lower tuition fees, safety,

the opportunity to improve Japanese language skills, direct contact with Japanese culture, are considered as the main points of attraction.

Moreover, the role of networking and agencies, as "mediators" (Japanese Language courses in Uzbekistan and individual agents) were found to be significant factors for Uzbekistani students, particularly those who came to Japan through Japanese Language Schools.
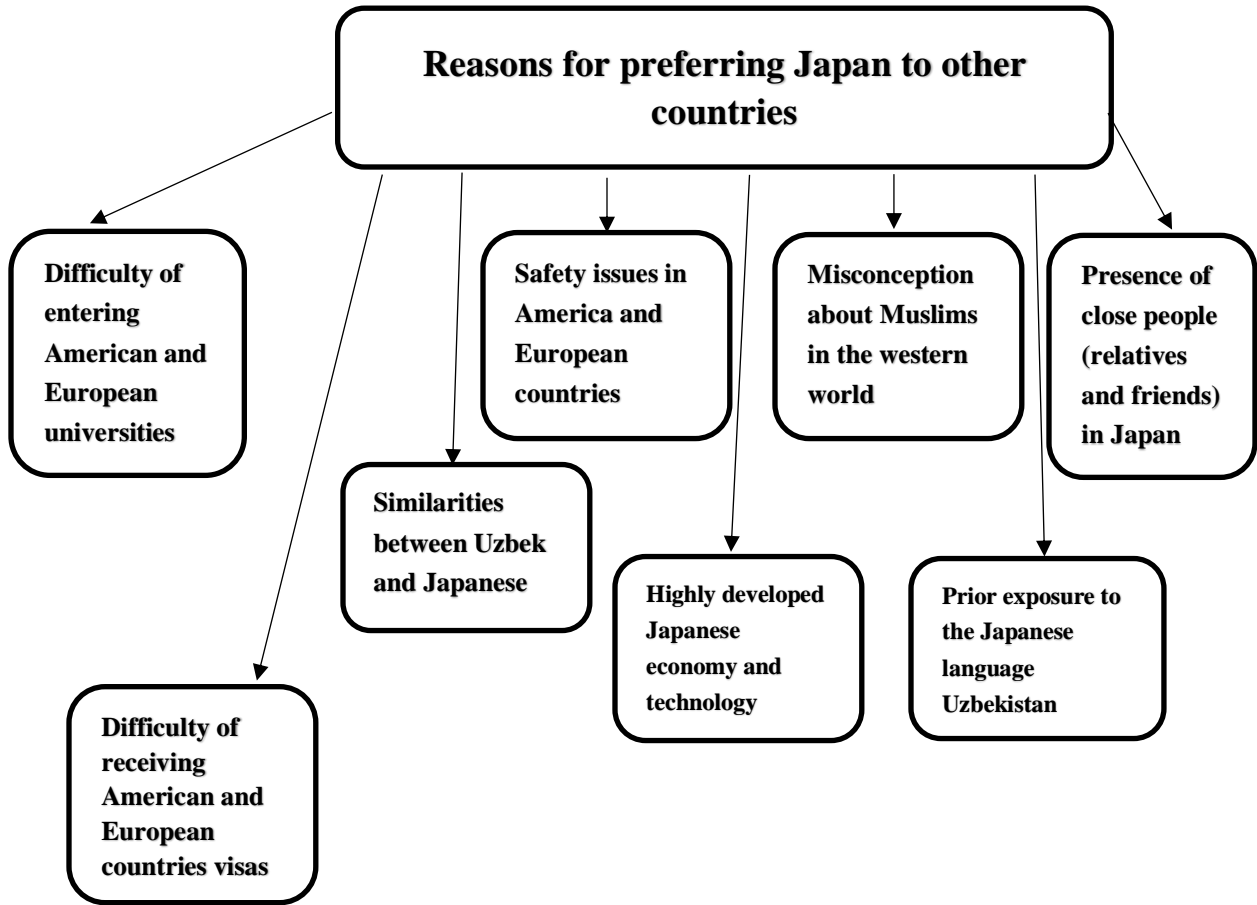
It has become clear from the data above that the role of remittance is significant for all respondents. Even though most of the respondents were students, they sent money to their families every month, or every two or three months. Based on respondents' family conditions, the purpose of the remittances varied. The largest number of respondents sent money for the purpose of savings; the second largest number of respondents sent remittance for the family's personal use or to pay their debts. Others sent money to their families in Uzbekistan for the purpose of supporting health, education or some other needs of the family.

Figure 10. Combined Power of Push and Pull Factors

High Quality Education

Uzbekistan → Japan

In the first decade after independence (1991)

Economic difficulty with low salary

High wages

Low quality of education

Possibility to cover all costs with part-time job salary

Now

Uzbekistan → Japan

Difficulty of entrance exams

Employment opportunities in the future

Higher tuition fees

Educational opportunities

No prospects after finishing university

Access to higher

Higher quality of education

Educational scholarships

Developed for this research

Figure 11. Preference of Japan to other countries

Reasons for preferring Japan to other countries

Difficulty of entering American and European universities

Difficulty of receiving American and European countries visas

Similarities between Uzbek and Japanese

Safety issues in America and European countries

Highly developed Japanese economy and technology

Misconception about Muslims in the western world

Prior exposure to the Japanese language Uzbekistan

Presence of close people (relatives and friends) in Japan

Developed for this research

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Figure 12. Preference of Japanese Language Schools to Other Educational Channels

Why Japanese Language schools

Lack of information about channels other than JLS

Des information by mediators

Easy access to Japan through JLS

Lack of knowledge in the **Japanese and English language**

Financial interest
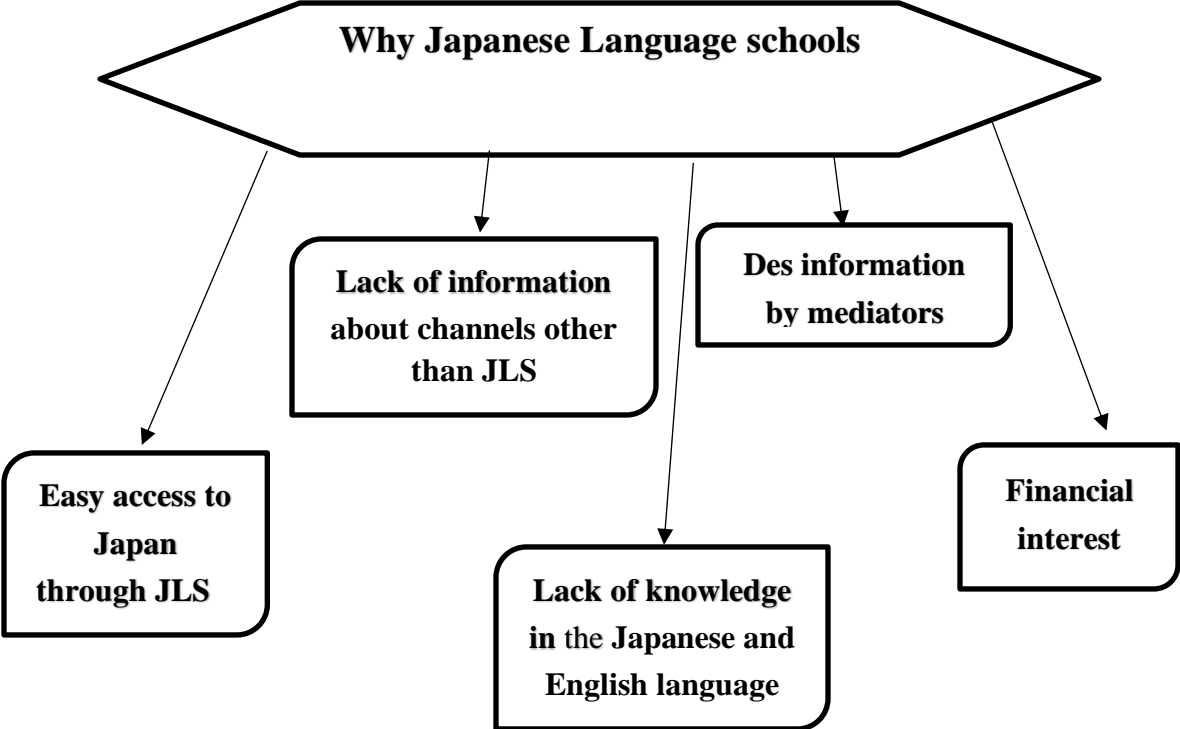
Developed for this research

Figure 13. Japan and Japanese Language Schools: Path of Least Resistance

Reasons for Preferring Japan and Japanese Language Schools

Access to Europe/the US/ Canada/ Australian universities	Access of Japanese universities	Access to Japanese Language Schools
Difficulty of visa process	No problem	No problem
Lack of Language	Lack of Language	No Language
High tuition fees	Lack of knowledge of	Not an insurmountable
Difficulty of application	Difficulty of application	Easy of application
Lack of facilitating	Lack of facilitating	Lots of facilitating
Perception of difficulty of process	Perception of difficulty	Perception of relative easier of process
Difficulty of getting scholarships	Difficulty of getting	Difficulty of getting

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Chapter VII   Conclusion

7.1   Conclusion

This research finds that in the course of one or two decades, a great deal can change in the economic, political, or social sphere. This is very much the case when one examines the changes that have occurred with regard to Uzbekistani students and their migration to various countries in search of occupational or educational opportunities. Specifically, in the case of Uzbekistani who have made their way to Japan over the past two decades, one finds a gradual but significant change in the composition of the type of person who is undertaking the journey. Whereas twenty to thirty years ago, university education, particularly at the upper levels, constituted the majority of the parties that came to Japan to study, in recent years, one finds people aiming for slots in the education sector below graduate school or the undergraduate level. This may not necessarily be because there are fewer ambitious people in Uzbekistan. It seems to reflect the realization on the part of those who are making this journey that new avenues of student mobility have opened up that they need to take advantage of as soon as possible. Also, whereas graduate school and university studies require high-level qualifications, the new opportunity that has opened up with respect to Japanese language schools demands very little in the way of qualifications, meaning that more and more people are able to join in the opportunities afforded by this new mobility. It is significant that in 1995, there were only four government-sponsored graduate and undergraduate students from Uzbekistan in Japan; in the same year, the number of students in similar programs who paid their own way were four. By 2008, there were 52 government-sponsored students at the university (both undergraduate and graduate) whereas the number of self-sponsored students was 123. In 2018, the number of

government-sponsored students at the university stood at 55, whereas those who sponsored themselves in the same year were 377. It is clear that over the years, more and more people have taken an interest in furthering their education in Japan, whether through government sponsorship or at their own expense. These numbers, however, pale in comparison with the increase in the number of Uzbekistani people who have been coming to Japan through Japanese language schools. Statistics for 2010 indicate that there were 22 students, but by 2018, there were 1, 427.

The above statistics does not accord with researchers that focus primarily on such theories as labor migration because those who have come in recent years have not done so primarily because of work. Rather, it seems that the respondents in this study are individuals who have discovered an opportunity, even a loophole, that they can take advantage of. It would seem that push and pull factors, networking, and education migration theory do a much better job of explaining the recent increase in the number of people entering Japan to attend language schools. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, countries that had been connected to that nation such as Uzbekistan went through a period of challenges (Abdulloev et al., 2020), including unemployment and a temporary disarray as large numbers of people with Russian ancestry, for example, departed to Russia in part because of new policies they decried and because of general economic decline (Radnitz, 2006). For many young Uzbekistani who could not stand to suffer in the midst of the economic decline that continued for the next couple of decades, such factors as low salary, low quality of education (Ubaidullaieva, 2004), difficulty of entrance examinations (CIS Statistical Committee Uzbekistan, Georgia – data for 2009), unaffordable tuition fees, unattractive education policies (Majidov et al., 2009) and lack of prospects after university (Abdulloev et al., 2020) all conspired to make them look for an outlet outside of the country. Researchers such as Zhao & Guo (2002) have found that lack of educational opportunities in the

home front often led to young people leaving their country. This was the case in China where only 8% of students could enter university, as a result of which many sought opportunities to study abroad (Yang, 2007). From the survey data, economic difficulty with low salary was one of the biggest reasons for students seeking educational opportunities in Japan (44 out of 77). Another point was little or no access to educational opportunity (35). Many young people have aspirations of bettering their lives and where they see roadblocks ahead of them, it is natural for them to seek other more viable options. Yet another point is the challenge of facing high tuition fees in universities where their families or their own jobs do not yield enough wages or salary be able to cover the fees. Once again, when people face such challenges, they seek other outlets by which they can satisfy their educational aspirations.

In addition to the push factors, there were other factors that must have come into play such as the apparent attractiveness of Japan as an educational destination. Through networks comprising Uzbekistani who had already made it to Japan, either as students or as workers, it was possible to learn that there were a number of pull factors such as the chance to work and pay one's way through school on a part-time job salary. Of course, Japan is not the only country that has a number of pull factors (Kinnell, 1989; McMahon, 1992). Countries in Europe and the United States have traditionally been a big draw for people in developing countries who see these countries as being able to provide them not only with advanced educational opportunities but also good job prospects. Unfortunately, there are barriers in these two places that make it difficult for the average Uzbekistani to seriously consider them as potentially viable destinations. Some of these barriers include difficulty receiving visas even after being accepted to a university, safety issues (Smart & Ang, 1995; Harris & Rhall, 1993) in Europe, high crime rate in the United States (Rubin, 1995) and misconceptions about Muslims in the Western world. The

attraction to Japan stem from factors such as the presence of relatives and friends in Japan (Fawcett, 1989; Beech, 2015), similarities between Uzbekistani and Japanese culture, ease of visa processing (Smart, 1991; Mazzarol et. al., 1995; Gopal, 2016; She & Wotherspoon, 2013), reputation of Japan and its highly-developed technology and culture (Kehm, 2005; Teichler, 2017; Bhugra & Becker, 2005), and prior exposure to the Japanese language in Japan.

This last point is a result of the growing clout of the education migration industry, which has become very strongly entrenched in Uzbekistan, and provide an introduction to Japanese language and culture as well as support services (translation, interview preparation, etc.), that facilitate the transition from Uzbekistan to Japan in a way that is not available for those seeking to go to Europe or the United States. In addition to the schools that offer support services, there are also many individuals with prior experience in Japan who offer personalized support services to help make it easier for those who are considering Japan as a potential destination. It is significant that the Japanese language support services focus on helping Uzbekistani interested in studying in Japan to access Japanese Language schools, not universities. This may contribute to the continued increase in the number of people who aim to attend Japanese language schools in Japan rather than go to the university.

As noted above, most people want to take the easy path if possible. This is no different for Uzbekistani who are looking for a way out. Since there are many support services that make it easier to enter Japan, it is not surprising that more and more people have been choosing this relative path of least resistance. It must be noted that it is not only Uzbekistani students who are taking advantage of the easier path to Japan through Japanese language schools. Students from China and Vietnam, as well as those from various other countries have discovered that whereas Japan has resisted for many years to allow people to enter the country for the purpose of joining

the workforce, it is relatively easy to become a part of the international education stream that has

turned "into a sanctioned channel of labour migration and thereby created opportunities for

international education to become a thriving migration industry" (Liu-Farrer & Tran, 2019, p.

235). The education migration industry is not only thriving in Japan. It is an industry that has

become a conduit for students into nations such as Canada and Australia, both of which are

profiting from the fees that students pay to enter their countries (Liu-Farrer & Tran, 2019).

The reasons why Uzbekistani students enter Japanese language schools in relatively large

numbers include easy availability of information about these schools compared to universities. In

addition, there is a fair amount of disinformation on the part of mediators associated with the

educational migration industry. These mediators make it seem that students who are able to come

to Japan through Japanese language schools have significant advantages that may not be open to

those who go through the university route. This includes the notion that those who attend

Japanese language schools can work and make more than enough money to cover their personal

and educational expenses and even have some left to send to their families back home. This

opportunity to work and earn is very attractive to many potential students who come from homes

where there might not be a great deal of financial stability. The chance to be able to further their

own education while at the same time sending remittances to their families is a highly-attractive

one.

Once students are in Japan, they realize that many of the promises that had been made by

mediators might not necessarily be true and that it is not possible to make a large amount of

money within a short time on just a part-time salary. With this reality check, many students begin

to think that staying in Japan for a very short time of one or two years might not be enough for

them to fulfill all their goals. This then leads to the thought that going beyond the Japanese

language school into a vocational school or university would improve their chances of accessing a much better paying job, which would then make it possible to either live comfortably or return to Uzbekistan with enough money to establish something of worth for themselves such as a business. This is the Student Switching phenomenon.

Some researchers point out that some students choose their destinations because of the low cost of living and low university fees (Lee & Tan, 1984; Williams, 1989; Harris & Rhall, 1993; Mazzarol et al., 1997; Beine et al., 2014). University fees in Japan are considerably lower than fees in other comparable advanced countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States. As a result, some students from Uzbekistan are more inclined to choose Japan as their education destination. In addition, the availability of scholarships is also very important to students from Uzbekistan. Some of those who have entered universities in Japan have been able to do so mostly because of access to such scholarships (McMahon, 1992).

This research found out a number of differences from what other researchers had determined. For example, in the case of some students, historical ties between the sending country and the host country have been significant. In the case of Uzbekistan students coming to Japan, historical or colonial ties (Madge et al., 2015; Chan, 2012) are not the reason for this relationship. Another factor that does not apply in the case of this research is that of geographical distance, such as might occur with people from the Netherlands going to study in the United Kingdom, simply by crossing the English Channel. In the case of Uzbekistani students, there is no question that proximity (Davis, 1995) is not a factor. Rather, it seems that there are other overriding factors such as the push and pull factors mentioned above, which make the great distance between Uzbekistan and Japan an insignificant factor. Yet another factor that did not feature in this research was climate. It is true that some students seek their destination based on

the possibility of being able to avoid inclement weather and to enjoy a perennially pleasant climate (Mazzarol, 2002; Gonzalez et al., 2011). In the case of Uzbekistani students coming to Japan, none of the respondents cited either proximity or climate as having been factors in their decision to study in Japan.

7.2　Research contribution

This research has contributed to the subject of educational mobility in three ways: identification of a novel issue, contribution to theoretical framework of education migration industry, and an illumination of push and pull factors that pertain to Uzbekistani students who have made Japan their educational destination, either for university study or to study at a Japanese Language School.

There is a lot of research on economic mobility and labor migration of people from Uzbekistan to Russia, Kazakhstan, and other post-Soviet countries (Marat, 2009; Bedrina & Tukhtarova, 2016; Seitz, 2019). However, there is limited academic research studies on student mobility from Central Asian countries such as Kyrgystan (Thieme et al., 2013), Kazakhstan (Monobayeva & Howard, 2015; Rustemova et al., 2020) and Tajikistan (Sodatsaryova, 2018). Research on student mobility from Uzbekistan to highly-industrialized countries is also virtually nonexistent (Sodatsaryova, 2018). This research is also a contribution to the case study research on student mobility from one country to another. Specifically, there has been limited research on student mobility connected to students from a post-Soviet country in Central Asia, specifically, from Uzbekistan to Japan. The research thus fills an important gap and confirms the traditional push and pull factors in the literature of international student mobility. Another contribution is the provision of information about agencies in Uzbekistan which assist the

majority of Uzbekistani students who come to Japan. This research adds to the data on the education migration industry, which has been well established around the world but did not have ample information on how students from Uzbekistan to Japan fit into this framework.

7.3   Limitations of the research

Although the research contributes to the field of student mobility to a certain extent, in terms of case study research on Uzbekistani student mobility around the world and Japan in particular, this has been less investigated until now. As with all research studies, it has some limitations. The statistical data from Japanese government sources was enough to understand the continual increase in the total number of Uzbekistani people and students in Japan, their prefectural locations, their ages, and their involvement with educational institutions in Japan over the period. However, even though there was a large number (2132 students in 2018) of Uzbekistani students in Japan, due to time constraints and the distance of respondents living in different prefectures and cities in Japan, I could not conduct deep interviews with more Uzbekistani students who lived in Japan at the time. As such, it seems that the data collection from survey questionnaires and deep interviews with students who had studied before or were studying at the time, were not enough to deeply understand Uzbekistani in Japan students.

The political situation in Uzbekistan and Japanese immigration policy regarding international students also affected the possibility of getting detailed information from more Uzbekistani students in Japan. Some students were not very willing to share detailed information about themselves with me, because they were afraid that this might influence their condition and legal status in Japan. From the data, it is obvious that the overwhelming majority of the respondents are males. This is due to the fact that female spouses were not allowed by

their male partners to participate in the interview. Besides, some females were particularly

unwilling to participate in the survey.

Another important research limitation is lack of cooperation with Uzbek governmental

bodies. I made attempts to contact Uzbek governmental institutions which deal with emigration

issues but they were unwilling to respond to my requests. Furthermore, this research focused

only on Uzbek students studying in Japan, all of whom might have a perspective that differs

from other important agents such as teachers, school administrators, schools, immigration

officers, or the mediators who play such an important role in facilitating the process of student

mobility for the Uzbek students. It is quite possible that the ways in which these other players

view the mobility flows of Uzbek students to Japan might differ in subtle or significant ways

from how the students perceive their own roles.

7.4 Implications for Policy – Japan

It seems that many Uzbekistani students are choosing the Japanese Language School

route for the ease with which it allows them to gain entry to Japan. Some of these students are

relying on information, often wrong or misleading, from various mediators in Uzbekistan, in

order to facilitate their entry to Japan. If the Japanese government had an office at their embassy

or an office similar to the British Council, where legitimate information about Japanese

universities and colleges could be obtained, this might mean that some students would attempt to

go to university directly rather than go through Japanese language schools. Also, some Japanese

universities respond only to letters written to them in Japanese. So, having an office where

potential students could make enquiries and get accurate information about any Japanese

institution of higher learning might help undercut the mediators and increase the availability of

government-mediated information for the benefit of people who want to further their education in Japan.

Some Uzbekistani students use vocational schools to obtain a visa, attend school for a few weeks and then stop attending. For example, in 2107, there were fifteen violations by Uzbekistani people living in Japan and this number jumped to 154 in 2018 (Ministry of Justice, 2019). These students then devote most of their time to earning money in the workplace. If the vocational schools could inform Japanese Immigration within days or weeks of students' repeated absences from school, government authorities might be able to follow up with these students and force them back to school or revoke their visas. Such a stringent method will send the message that the government is serious about enforcing immigration laws and reduce the instances where students begin to feel that they can take advantage of the system. The fallout for many students who come to Japan after the earlier 'bad actors,' that is, students who blatantly violate the terms of their student visas, is that the new students are not able to get approval for their visas, not because of their own misdeeds, but because of what previous Uzbekistani students might have done. More frequent communication between vocational schools and the immigration office, and the immigration office's swift follow-up of cases of delinquency might help to weed out people who are not truly serious about educating themselves in Japan.

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Appendix I

Survey Questionnaire

Changing Patterns of Student Mobility from Uzbekistan to Japan in the Post-Soviet Period.
Jasur Soipov, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, International and
Advanced Japanese Studies, University of Tsukuba

You are asked to take part in a research study conducted by Jasur Soipov, Ph.D. candidate,
Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba. Information
based on your answers will be reflected in the Ph.D. dissertation of Jasur Soipov.

The objective of this research is to learn about why Uzbekistani students are coming to Japan
in large numbers in the last few years, and what factors in both Uzbekistan and Japan account
for this new trend. It would also be important to find out why they are choosing Japanese
Language Schools.

Instructions: Please read this form carefully before you agree to the study, and please do not
hesitate to let me know if you have any questions. This survey is voluntary. Anonymity and
confidentiality are guaranteed.

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENT

1. Age: _____

2. Region: _____

3. Gender:　　Male ☐　　　　Female ☐

4. Marital status: Single ☐ Married ☐　 Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐

5. Year of arrival in Japan: _____

6. Visa status: _____

7. Educational background before moving to Japan:

Secondary (completed) general education☐

Secondary vocational education☐

Academic lyceum☐

Incomplete higher education ☐

Undergraduate degree ☐

Master's degree☐

Doctoral degree☐

8. Which factors motivated you to come to Japan?

Low salary ☐ Unemployment ☐ Social inequality ☐ Low quality of education ☐

Difficulty accessing higher education ☐ Other (please, specify) ☐ _____

9. What was the most important factor that attracted you to come to Japan?

High wages☐ Employment opportunities☐　 High quality education ☐

Ease of accessing higher education ☐ Scholarship ☐

Other (please, specify)☐_____

10. What is your primary activity in Japan right now?

Work ☐ Japanese language school ☐　 Vocational school ☐　 University ☐

Other (specify) ☐ _____

11. How did you learn about your educational institution before coming to Japan?

My self ☐ My friend ☐ Company ☐ Other (please, specify)☐

12. Did you prepare all your admission documents by yourself? Yes ☐ No ☐

　　If no, who helped you to prepare your documents?

My friend ☐ Relatives ☐ Company ☐ Other (please, specify) ☐ _____

13. How did you finance your education-related expenses in Japan?
(More than one answer can be chosen)
Self-financed ☐ Own (family) financial resources ☐ Money borrowed ☐
Other (please, specify) ☐ _____

14. What are your plans after completing your current educational institution?
Return to Uzbekistan ☐   Proceed at the vocational school ☐ Proceed at the university☐
To get a job☐ Go to other country☐   Other (please, specify)☐ _____

ABOUT JAPANESE LANGUAGE

15. Do you know the Japanese language? Yes ☐   No ☐
If yes, did you learn Japanese before coming to Japan? Yes ☐ No ☐
If yes, please answer following questions:
How long had you been learning Japanese before coming to Japan?
Less than three months ☐ 6 months ☐ 1 year ☐ 2 years ☐
Other (please, specify) ☐_____

16. What was your level of Japanese?
N1 ☐   N2 ☐   N3 ☐   N4 ☐   N5 ☐   Lower than N5 ☐
Where/how did you learn Japanese?
Self-study☐   Language course ☐University ☐ Other (please, specify) _____

17. Did you learn/are you learning Japanese after coming to Japan? Yes ☐ No ☐
If yes, where/how did you learn Japanese?
Self-study☐   Japanese Language School ☐ University ☐ Vocational school ☐
Other (please, specify) _____

18. What is your Japanese language level now?
N1☐   N2☐   N3☐   N4 ☐   N5 ☐   Lower than N5 ☐   Don't know ☐

19. What is the level of your English now?
Beginner ☐   Intermediate☐   Advanced☐   I don`t know ☐

20. Do you want to stay in Japan permanently or get citizenship?
Yes ☐ No☐ I have never thought about this☐ Other (please, specify) ☐

21.   After completing your study do you intend to stay in Japan? Yes ☐   No ☐
If yes, how long are you planning to stay in Japan?
6 months ☐1 year ☐   2 years ☐   3 years ☐ I do not know ☐ Other (please, specify) ☐

22. How satisfied are you with your life in Japan?

Very Dissatisfied ☐ Somewhat Dissatisfied ☐ Neutral ☐　Somewhat Satisfied ☐ Extremely Satisfied ☐

ABOUT REMITTANCE

23. Do you send money home? Yes ☐ No ☐

If you do, why do you send them money?

Health ☐ Education ☐　Saving☐ To pay debt ☐　For personal needs

Other ☐ (please, specify) _____

24. Has the standard of living of your family in Uzbekistan improved since you came to Japan?

Not well at all ☐ Not well ☐　Fairly well ☐　Quite well ☐ Extremely well

25. Have you ever helped someone to come to Japan? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, how many people did you help to come over to Japan? _____

DEAR RESPONDENTS, WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND HONEST ANSWERS

Appendix II

Interview Questions

1. Could you explain deeply what factors pushed you to come to Japan?

2. Could you explain deeply what factors attracted you to come to Japan?

3. Could you explain deeply why you chose Japan as your education destination rather than

    another developed country?

3. Why did you choose to come to Japan through a Japanese language school rather than

    another type of institution?

4. After learning about Japan, what steps did you go through to finally achieve the goal of

    coming to Japan?

6. Who were the most important people that helped you to achieve the goal of coming to Japan?

7. Could you explain the reasons why you would either return to Uzbekistan or choose to stay in

    Japan?