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3 From International Students to Global Human Resources: Can Policies be the Matchmaker for Japan's Future?

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Abstract

In light of Japan's dwindling population and increasingly globalized economy, the last two decades of higher education internationalization policies highlight international students for their potential contribution to Japan, underpinned by the hope to revitalize Japanese society and its economy through the development of guroburu jinzai (global human resources). This chapter aims to make contributions in understanding to international students and their subsequent careers in the host country. The chapter draws upon literature and policies related to international students and employability in Japan. A multidimensional evaluation from various stakeholders (international students, universities, employers, and government) allows for a holistic understanding of the situation and how contextual realities may promote or inhibit employment of international students in Japan post-graduation.

Keywords: human resources, international students, internationalization, Japan, job hunting, policy

Introduction

The number of international students in Japan has more than doubled from 132,720 in 2009 to 312,214 in 2019 (Japan Student Services Organization, 2010, 2020). Since the 1980s, Japan has turned to recruiting international students to internationalize its higher education system and attract individuals equipped with language and intercultural skills to globalize its workforce. More recently, the double-edged sword of a declining population and an increasingly globalized economy has brought Japan to focus on the development of *guroburu jinzai* (global human resources). The term, guroburu jinzai, emerged around 2009 as a response to the challenges Japan faces in creating an internationally minded workforce more effective with engaging with people,

organizations, and opportunities beyond Japan. Who qualifies as guroburu jinzai remains ambiguous; however, the government's Council on Promotion of Human Resources for Globalization Development, uses three attributes to define guroburu jinzai: linguistic and communicative competence, traits such as initiative, flexibility and responsibility, and a capacity for intercultural understanding and sense of one's own identity (Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development, 2011).

The Japanese government and private sector view international students, with their language and knowledge of their home country, as a potential source for guroburu jinzai to bolster Japan's global economic competitiveness. For example, the 'Highly Skilled Foreign Professional' visa, introduced in May 2012, includes additional points for applicants receiving higher education degrees from Japanese institutions and Japanese language proficiency. According to the Immigration Services Agency of Japan (2020), the number of international students securing employment in Japan after graduation has about doubled from 2015 to 2019 from 15,657 to 30,947 with the majority receiving Engineer, Specialist in Humanities, and International Services visas. However, the proportion of international students finding employment upon graduation actually dropped from 13% to 10% during the same period.

Accordingly, this chapter explores international students in the discourse on guroburu jinzai by focusing on how international students are viewed in national policies and the private sector, understanding contextual realities of the *Shūkatsu* (job hunting) system, and the implications of international students' experience in Japan's Shūkatsu system.

International Students in National Policies

In Japan, there are a number of national policies on the internationalization of higher education that focus on international students. In 1983, Japan announced the "100,000 by 2000 Plan" with the goal to attract 100,000 international students to study at Japanese higher education institutions by the turn of the 21st century. The plan reflected Japan's desire to develop its role in the world as it experienced an economic and social prosperous period in the 1980s. In 2003, the policy reached its target of over 100,000 international students in Japan. Subsequently, in 2008, the Japanese government announced the "300,000 by 2020 Plan" with a target to increase the number of international students threefold by the year 2020. With Japan's global strategy to create "A Japan that is Open to the World" at the time, the ambitious goal to increase the number of international students was strategically valued for its potential to provide international human resources to companies located in Japan and foster human networks between Japan and other countries.

Most recently, the Top Global University Project launched in 2014 by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) of Japan seeks to increase the ratio of international students in the total student population at the 37 selected universities by doubling their numbers from 36,545 in 2013 to 73,536 in 2023 (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, n.d.).

International students are also valued in other policies outside of education as Japan seeks to build itself as a regional and global leader facing new competition in an increasingly globalized world. Most notably is the focus of the national government and private sector on the creation of guroburu jinzai. In short, Japan is aiming to create an internationally minded workforce equipped with the skills and knowledge needed to compete in a globalized economy. In 2007, the Asian Gateway Initiative, launched under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, included international students and human resource development as one of its main pillars (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2007). In 2010, "The New Strategy for Development" placed emphasis on the cultivation of guroburu jinzai not only through the education of Japanese, but also by increasing highly skilled non-Japanese international human resources with higher education degrees and linguistic skills (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2010). Particularly, international students were seen as a resource for Japan's endeavor in creating guroburu jinzai. In 2016, the "Japan Revitalization Strategy 2016" aims to increase the number of international students working in Japan post-graduation from 30% to 50%.

In national level higher education and economic policies, there is a clear connection between international student recruitment and cultivation of international human resources. International students play three important roles. First, the recruitment of international students is viewed as an important role to internationalize universities with the language, culture, and knowledge they bring from their home countries. Second, international students are valued for their potential contribution as international human resources. International students are viewed by both the government and private sector for the added value they bring to Japanese's guroburu jinzai with their home country's language and cultural skills and intellectual skills acquired during their studies in Japan. Third, international students provide a potential pool of employees for labor shortages resulting from Japan's double edged dilemma of a shrinking and aging society.

The Job Hunting Process in Japan

Japan has a unique system for university students to secure employment prior to graduation called the Shūkatsu system. The Keidanren (Japan

Business Federation), which includes 1,400 Japanese companies, have observed Shūkatsu guidelines for decades (Keidanren, 2021). The Shūkatsu system was first implemented in 1953, when corporations were competing to recruit fresh college graduates to match the post-war rapid economic growth. Basically, it called for simultaneous recruiting of new graduates, according to which all labor contracts began on the 1st of April every year, the mark of a new fiscal and academic year in Japan. Following this guideline, students need to begin their job hunting activities as early as their third year in college. Normally two months into their senior year, which would be June according to the Japanese academic calendar, students should have completed and submitted written application forms, also known as entry sheets. Then, students move on to a structured selection process, which may include interviews, aptitude tests, and written exams. By October, corporates begin to make informal job offers (naitei). Finally, upon graduation in the following March, students seamlessly transition from lecture halls to offices.

In October of 2018, Keidanren announced that they would abolish the guidelines for corporate hiring, which dictated the Shūkatsu system. The benefits of the system eroded as it no longer offered advantages to its members when competing for employees. There were a growing number of foreign corporates and non-Keidanren companies that did not observe the schedule and recruited employees freely. Today, the general process of the time intensive Shūkatsu system remains largely the same. However, there is a noticeable trend toward Shūkatsu activities beginning earlier. Universities are offering more preparation for first- and second-year students. By participating in university organized activities, students hope to be better prepared to successfully land a job before graduation. Likewise, companies are beginning activities earlier. For example, they might offer short one-day internships before the official Shūkatsu season starts. Also, informal job offers are sometimes offered at the end of the junior year and beginning of the senior year as companies aim to attract the best and brightest.

Due to the unique Shūkatsu system, job fairs and career support for domestic students are very well established in Japan. However, it is only in recent years that this support has been extended to international students. Today, job fairs and services for international students are being organized by various governmental and private entities as shown in Table 1. At the governmental level, Japanese policymakers have been very enthusiastic in leading international students to enter the Japanese job market. Multiple offices and ministries, such as Prime Minister's Cabinet, MEXT, Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW), and Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) have been involved in drafting policy and creating frameworks to increase international student employability with two streams: pre and post-employment. The

pre-employment services are focused on the job hunting process, while the post-employment services provide support to foreign workers to adapt to the Japanese working environment, such as by offering Business Iapanese education.

'Hello Work' is a public employment service center, established by MHLW. Within the framework of Hello Work, the Employment Service Center for Foreigners was established, providing job counseling and placement services for international students studying in Japan as well as non-Japanese specialist or technical experts with a valid visa (Tsuda, 2019). Located in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya, where large numbers of international students are present, they serve as focal points to connect regional corporations and entities to arrange and offer internship opportunities, joint job fairs, and seminars.

Regional offices have also been proactive in increasing the employment of international students. For example, the Tokyo Metropolitan government launched the Global Human Resource Staffing Support Project, which carried out the 'Let's work in Tokyo' campaign with career guides, job listings, and careers fairs. Similar projects are also found in Kyoto. In the private sector, both profit and non-profit organizations have been active in supporting international students in the job hunting process.

Employer Viewpoints

Table 1 Major Career Services for International Students: Public and Private

Services	Provider	
Tokyo Employment Service Center for Foreigners	MHLW	
JASSO	Japan Student Services Organization	
Let's work in Tokyo	Tokyo Metropolitan Government	
Asia Jinzai Network	NPO International Students Support Network	
Beyond Study Kyoto	International Student Kyoto Network	
DISCO Inc.	DISCO Inc.	
Global Leader	Vein Global Inc.	
PASONA Global	Pasona Inc.	
Fourth Valley Concierge/ Top Fourth Valley Concierge Career		
ASIA Link IFSA Career Support	Asia Link NPO International Foreign Students Association	
	Tokyo Employment Service Center for Foreigners JASSO Let's work in Tokyo Asia Jinzai Network Beyond Study Kyoto DISCO Inc. Global Leader PASONA Global Fourth Valley Concierge/ To Career ASIA Link	

Source: Compiled by authors, 2021.

The private sector has slowly opened their doors to foreign employees in recent years as their need for highly skilled labor increased. In 2018, over 80% of major corporations and 60% of small and medium enterprises (SME) employed foreign staffs or were considering hiring them in the future (Japan External Trade Organization, 2018). Companies not considering hiring foreign employees are in the minority, with 15% of major corporations and 36% of SME. In 2015, METI conducted a survey asking corporations for the motivation of hiring international students (Iriyama et al., 2015). The most popular responses were 'stimulus the diversity bring to the workspace (55.8%)' and 'to cultivate and expand overseas business in general' (44.7%). Meanwhile, 55.8% also responded that the international students were hired as a result of a fair selection process regardless of their nationalities. On the other hand, corporations that did not hire foreign employees chose 'no need for foreign employees as there is no plan to expand to overseas market (51.9%)' and 'no visible merits of having foreign employees' (19.5%) as reasons for not recruiting international students.

However, Japanese corporations remain somewhat unenthusiastic in employing international students, largely stemming from not knowing how to recruit international students. Currently, most corporations do not offer a special recruitment process for international students, expecting them to apply through the regular process with Japanese students. Noticeably, this places international students at a disadvantage as the already complex recruitment process takes place entirely in Japanese. For instance, the Synthetic Personality Inventory, a popular aptitude test used for employment in Japan, is predominately offered in Japanese, which further puts international students at a disadvantage (Moriya, 2011). There is a call to implement a different process and assessment method for hiring international talent, but the transition's pace is deemed to be very slow.

Furthermore, a mismatch between the expectation of corporations and the actual profile of international students continues. Corporations identified Japanese proficiency as the most desirable quality for international students regardless of discipline or industry, as an advanced level of Japanese is crucial in communicating with local colleagues (DISCO, 2021). According to a report by Nikkei Keizai Shimbun ("Kigyō no daisotsu", 2021), while nearly 80% of job listings required the highest level of Japanese proficiency, level N1 in the official Japanese Language Proficiency Test. However, less than 40% of foreign job seekers held such qualifications. The employer and international student mismatch continues even after the employment. Many Japanese corporations are not well prepared to train foreign employees or may not have the capacity to manage them effectively.

Higher Education Institutions' Viewpoints

Higher education institutions play a critical role in supporting international students to enter the job market as they have direct influences on students. Japanese universities began establishing career centers in the early 2000s and have played a critical role in supporting Japanese students with the job hunting process (Kosugi, 2012; Komikawa, 2021). For international students though, it is only recently that career services have become available. Universities are beginning to provide tailored services for international students, which included job fairs targeting international students, and providing seminars and consultations in English.

In recent years though, universities have shifted their attention to providing career education from support services, which encourages 'career development by cultivating the abilities and attitudes needed to raise the social and vocational independence (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2010)'. By 2017, at least 60% of higher education institutions have made career education a requirement (Japan Student Services Organization, 2017). Of the 88% of universities offering career education as extracurricular activities or as a part of the official curriculum, half had specially tailored programs for international students (Japan International Cooperation Center, 2020). The most popular programs that are offered as part of the career education for include elements to support international students throughout the Shūkatsu process: overview of the job hunting process, researching industries and corporations, information on corporations hiring international students, self-analysis and how to write application forms, and how to interview and take aptitude tests.

Two more important elements include business Japanese and internship opportunities. Business Japanese is not limited to acquiring language proficiency, but it also includes communication skills, understanding corporate cultures, and creating career identity. Even though Japanese proficiency was identified to be the most desirable characteristic in international students by Japanese corporations, less than 40% of the universities offered business Japanese to their students as regular or extra-curricular classes (Japan International Cooperation Center, 2020). A lack of infrastructure and shortage of teachers is largely blamed for the limits of current Japanese as a foreign language education.

Meanwhile, internships have emerged as the major policy pillars in career education for international students and Japanese students alike. There is a significant increase in the number of universities that give academic credits for internships. The internships offered through universities may be paid or unpaid depending on the agreement between the universities and organizations. However, these internship opportunities

remain limited for international students as most corporations are not prepared to accommodate them. Hence, collaborations between universities and corporations were identified as a key for universities to prepare students with the qualities that the corporations are seeking and corporations gain understanding of the situation and characteristics of international students (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2019).

Although career education has expanded at universities, challenges remain. For international students it is important to empower them to work in Japan as the government hopes 50% of international students will stay in Japan upon graduation. Once again, concentrated efforts and collaboration between universities and corporations are important, with a focus on training on communication skills, office cultures, and boosting motivation. To this end, MEXT launched 'Program for Enhancing Employment of International Students' in 2017. Twelve universities across the country were selected to create consortiums with other regional universities, local organizations, and companies to collaboratively design and provide career development programs. It aims to provide the necessary training for soft skills, knowledge, and experiences required to work at Japanese firms. International students who complete the programs will receive a certificate, giving them an advantage in the job market.

One prime example of a university making strides is Waseda University. Waseda University is a private comprehensive university with one of the largest numbers of international students in Japan, coming from more than 100 countries. In 2017, Waseda was ranked top in Japan and 26th worldwide by QS Employability Ranking (QS World University Rankings, 2017). According to the university, 11% of the graduating class in the academic year of 2019 were international students, and almost 30% found a job in Japan (Waseda University Career Center, 2021). The University Career Center offers information in English and Japanese, including sharing of recruitment and alumni information, individual consultation services, career enhancement workshops, and career fairs. The university also provides Japanese education to their international students through the university's Center for Japanese Language. students can take basic conversational to business and advanced Japanese courses.

The International Student Experience in Job Hunting

The act of studying in a foreign country is long lauded for the opportunity it gives students to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes to live and work across national borders and socio-cultural terrains. Being an international student is an impactful experience that influences

subsequent life trajectories. Studying abroad increases the likelihood of working abroad after graduating and has the potential to play an important role in facilitating subsequent labor migration (Parey and Waldinger, 2007). For some international students, studying in the host country is viewed as testing the waters before making the decision to work abroad there. Asada's (2020) study on international students in Japan found that the experience of studying and living in Japan prepared individuals with the linguistic and intercultural skills and recognizable academic credentials to pursue subsequent careers in Japan.

For international students with hopes to work in Japan post-graduation, there is significant pressure to conform to the Shūkatsu conventions. A survey by Uosaki et al. (2018) identified two main difficulties encountered by international students: language-related anxieties and uncertainty of the job hunting system and obtaining information. For domestic and international students alike, the Shūkatsu process includes evaluation of linguistic and cultural literacy to use Japanese in business settings. Degree-seeking international students residing in Japan may seek guidance and support for their university. The case study of Waseda University previously discussed is a prime example of career services geared towards supporting international students to be successful in their job hunting.

However, international students at many universities in Japan often use career services geared towards domestic students because universities are not able to provide specialized services due to financial and human resource limitations. Meanwhile, non-degree seeking students who have studied abroad in Japan for a designated period and returned to their home country to graduate encounter further barriers to securing a job in Japan. First, participating in the traditional job hunting process often requires physical presence in Japan due to company information sessions and multiple rounds of job interviews operated at the company headquarters. Second, they may not have access to their Japanese' universities career services center, so they must often rely on companies that actively recruit abroad and private-sector intermediaries that operate job fairs in their home countries.

Perhaps most importantly, the rigid timeline of the job-hunting processes equates to the ideal of a seamless transition from student to employee. The emphasis on recruiting "fresh graduates" puts unsuccessful students in a perilous situation: current students, including ones repeating their final year due to poor results, tend to be preferred over those job hunting after graduation (Miyagawa, 2015). Unlike their Japanese counterparts, many international students may face the additional and quite significant obstacle of securing permission to work in Japan if they fail to secure employment prior to graduation. Degreeseeking students at Japanese higher education institutions are typically residing in Japan on a 'College Student' visa, which is only valid during their studies.

Potential employers must be willing and capable of doing the conversion process to an employer-sponsored working visa. International students unable to secure employment are often eligible to apply for a "Designated Visa Activities Visa" within three months of graduation that has a maximum time of one year after graduation. However, it is important to note the application requires students to demonstrate they have the financial resources to support themselves during their extended job-seeking activities. Moreover, students must request a recommendation letter from their university that confirms students have actively engaged in looking for a job during their studies. Meanwhile, non-degree seeking students who have studied abroad in Japan and returned to their home countries often face the large hurdle of finding potential employers that are willing to sponsor an employer-sponsored working visa.

A Matchmaker of Mismatched Expectations and Realities

The emergence of the guroburu jinzai discourse has cemented the supply-demand relationship between Japanese higher education and a workforce ready to work in a global economy. The internationalization of Japanese higher education and its emphasis on international student recruitment provide a potential pool of international minded individuals with the academic credentials to contribute to Japan's economy. However, Breaden (2014) argued the job-hunting process in Japan operates to highlight international students' Japanese language and cultural literacy while minimizing their "procedural and cultural impairments of foreign-ness" (p. 434). In other words, the Japanese labor market expects individuals with diverse language and cultural skill-sets to adjust to the conventional practices of the Japanese labor market (Saito and Pham, 2019). A recent study by Liu-Farrer and Shire (2020) identified two main factors affecting the remain-rates of international students: skill formation and the structuring of careers. They found international students were at a disadvantage compared to domestic students with the same educational credentials because of the socio-cultural expectations of the Japanese labor market. Therefore, international students may fail the job-hunting process, or even if successful, pigeonholed into lower or niche categories in a differentiated labor market.

Fifty years of Shūkatsu traditions continue to remain strong. University students engage in the job hunting process in their third and fourth years. Students experience immense pressure to secure

employment prior to graduation while companies face intense competition to attract the best talent. The guroburu jinzai discourse has brought to the forefront international students' potential to give Japan a competitive edge. However, the Shūkatsu system may seem antiquated in a time when domestic and international students alike need immense preparation to understand and engage in the complicated, lengthy process. For international students, the time spent on job hunting activities may take away from their time spent studying their major and Japanese language. Furthermore, although the private sector may value hiring international students, the current Shūkatsu system impedes international students who do not have linguistic and cultural competencies.

The assumption and expectation by the Shūkatsu system that international students acquire Japanese language and cultural literacy during their time at Japanese higher education institutions is no longer a given. Changes in Japanese higher education to expand English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) has changed the international students' lived experiences. With coursework taught in English, international students can easily study and live in Japan without mastering the Japanese language. While EMI programs provide Japan a competitive edge in the global education landscape, the question remains: how do international students in EMI programs fit into the Shūkatsu system? The systemic pressure remains for students, domestic and international alike, to show their character and personality match the existing organizational culture of the target company during the job hunting process. However, with EMI programs, it's no longer viable to assume international students have acquired Japanese linguistic and cultural literacy to engage in the Shūkatsu system. New approaches to secure global competitiveness in the Japanese labor market are needed. Although this chapter provided insights into the current career support systems, more research is needed to understand how to support various types of international students and their issues and challenges.

Conclusion

International students contribute first as students to Japan's higher education and later as workers in private sectors with the advent of guroburu jinzai. Our multiprong approach to understand the international student employability discourse as a central connector in the transition between the university and labor market illustrates the complex interactions of the socio-cultural context of Japan. The rigid Shūkatsu system expects students to demonstrate their Japanese linguistic and cultural literacy while minimizing their international background is at odds with the aim to create guroburu jinzai. It gleans over the original attractiveness of international students' integration into the domestic workforce: the language, culture, and knowledge they bring from their home country to engage in professional settings across contextual socio-cultural terrains. Indeed, attempts are being made by government, universities, and private-sector intermediators to integrate international students into the Shūkatsu system. However, policies and actions are falling short on addressing the mismatched expectations and experiences. To be a source of guroburu jinzai, one must first be able to successfully participate in the Shūkatsu system. New approaches and understandings of the international student experience are needed by policy makers, universities, and the private sector if international students are to remain in Japan as guroburu jinzai with the knowledge and skills to connect Japan with the world.

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