Japanese Emigration, Nikkei Communities, and Forced Migration: A Study from the Perspective of Human Security and International Cooperation

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Abstract

Using a human security perspective, this article examines support provided by Japan to Japanese emigrants and their descendants, particularly in Latin America, since the late 19th century, and scrutinizes Japan's international cooperation efforts to address forced migration since the 1970s. Japanese emigrants and their descendants have formed Nikkei communities and have contributed to their destination countries, despite various hardships. As the sending country, Japan and its agencies, such as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and one of its predecessors, the Japan Emigration Service (JEMIS), have supported Japanese emigrants and Nikkei communities in strengthening protection and empowerment. Regarding forced migration, the Japanese government established a comprehensive humanitarian assistance implementation system in the 1970s. This system is comprised of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Self-Defense Forces, JICA, and NGOs to support the people, including displaced persons, in crises such as armed conflicts or natural disasters. Furthermore, the scope of international cooperation has expanded to promote empowerment in addition to providing protection. Although the periods and contexts of support for Japanese emigrants and Nikkei communities, and Japan's international cooperation to address forced migration differ significantly, JICA has been consistently involved in these efforts. JEMIS, originally established in 1963 to promote Japanese emigration, was later merged into JICA, which expanded its role to include addressing the challenges of forced migration. In a world where migration is a significant concern, this article attempts to link those separate activities under the framework of human security, which is one of the missions of JICA, and provide a preliminary discussion of the findings that can be drawn from each experience. This article identifies several practices considered human security approaches: protection and empowerment with people-centered, context-specific, and comprehensive principles. The trust-based relationships between Japan and destination countries for emigrants and displaced persons make such practices possible.

Keywords: Human security, Japanese emigration, forced migration, context-specific, comprehensive

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1. Introduction

This article examines the support provided by Japan to Japanese emigrants and their descendants, as well as its international cooperation to address forced migration[1]. It employs a human security perspective to analyze Japan's support for emigrants, their descendants, and Nikkei communities they have formed, primarily in Latin America, since the late 19th century. It also looks at Japan's international cooperation to support refugees and internally displaced persons since the 1970s. Although the periods and contexts of these two areas differ significantly, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has been consistently engaged in each of these areas. One of JICA's predecessors was the Japan Emigration Service (JEMIS), an organization established with the goal of promoting Japanese emigration. After JEMIS's responsibilities were taken over in 1974, JICA, an implementing agency of Japan's bilateral cooperation, extended its scope to addressing forced migration. In a world where migration[2] draws significant attention, this article attempts to link each of these areas under the framework of human security. Working on human security is one of the missions of JICA, and the concept provides a preliminary discussion of the findings that can be drawn from each experience.

According to the United Nations, the number of cross-border migrants was 281 million in 2020, representing 3.5% of the world's population. This was an increase from 2.8 percent in 2000 and 2.3 percent in 1980 (United Nations 2024). The number of refugees and internally displaced persons increased by more than 10 million each over the two-year period from 2021 to 2023, exceeding 31 million and 63 million, respectively (UNHCR 2023). These statistics show that voluntary migration remains high while forced migration is increasing rapidly. The increasing number of people on the move, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, highlights the urgency and significance of discussions on human migration.

Much of the discussion on voluntary and forced migration has considered these two types of migration separately. Voluntary migration studies have primarily focused on sociology, geography, anthropology, economics, urban and rural planning, and policies related to sending and receiving migrants. Research on forced migration, on the other hand, includes the analysis of its causes, such as climate change, natural disasters, poverty, and armed conflicts; the status of displaced persons in the destination countries; and the responses of the international community, including humanitarian and peacebuilding assistance.

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[1] In this article, forced migration means "A migratory movement which, although the drivers can be diverse, involves force, compulsion, or coercion" (IOM 2019).

[2] Migration, as used in this article, refers to "the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State (IOM 2019)." However, this article focuses on cross-border migration.

However, the boundaries between voluntary and forced migration are often fluid in practice. The World Bank (2023) points out that in cases where voluntary migration does not match the needs of the destination country, migrants may fall into unstable situations, such as being linked to smuggling or exploitative markets (World Bank 2023, 12). Such situations are also common among displaced persons. Lorenzo and Robles (2025) suggest that forced migration should include cases where people move unsafely because of severe economic hardship or livelihood insecurity. This can also apply to certain cases of voluntary migration (World Bank 2023). It is of paramount importance to protect the dignity and rights of both migrants and displaced persons and to expand their freedom of choice in their lives.

This article adopts a human security perspective to examine Japanese emigration, Japan's support for emigrants, their descendants, and Nikkei communities. It also scrutinize Japan's international cooperation on forced migration from a human security perspective. Human security is a concept and practice that seeks to ensure people's freedom to live in dignity, free from fear and want, through the dual approaches of protection and empowerment. Regardless of their motivations, the lives, livelihoods, and dignity of emigrants and displaced persons should be protected, and they should be empowered to live according to their own choices. In the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, "[h]uman security calls for people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities" (UNGA 2012, 1). However, the application of these four principles varies. Human security practices regarding voluntary and forced migration do not necessarily apply all four principles equally.

The next section discusses the relationship between human security and voluntary and forced migration, using the four principles as the analytical framework of this article. Section 3 examines Japanese emigration and Japan's support for emigrants, their descendants, and the Nikkei communities they have formed—primarily in Latin America—since the late 19th century. Section 4 provides an overview of Japan's international cooperation to address forced migration since the late 20th century when the Japanese government began establishing a comprehensive humanitarian assistance implementation system. Both sections provide insights into the activities of JICA, while Section 3 covers the role played by JEMIS, identifying several practices considered human security approaches: protection and empowerment with people-centered, context-specific, and comprehensive principles. The Findings and Conclusion sections summarize the application of human security practices to migration based on the findings from the previous sections and explore the future direction of the international community's involvement in voluntary and forced migration.

2. Human security, migration, and forced migration

2.1 Four principles of human security for protection and empowerment

This section provides an overview of the four principles of human security practice. The first is the principle of people-centeredness. The "Human Development Report 1994," which introduced the concept of human security to the world, states that "human security is *people-centred"* (UNDP 1994, 23, italics in original). People should live in peace, have access to jobs, economic markets and social services, and exercise choice in their lives (UNDP 1994). These are the means for people to live in freedom from fear and want, and in dignity. In providing this basis of protection and empowerment, human security requires the government and other stakeholders to consider each individual a target of security and socioeconomic development. A people-centered response, the core principle of human security, is part of the analytical framework of this article.

The second refers to the *context-specific* principle. In general, contexts vary at different levels. Each country has its own political, economic, or social circumstances, as do the communities within each country. In addition, the environment surrounding people differs. Influenced by these factors, insecurity affects people disproportionately (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2006). Thus, support for affected populations should reflect the contexts surrounding them. Some may need more protection than others. Some may be empowered, and those who are empowered may be able to make decisions about their lives. The provision of protection should reflect specific circumstances, and the process of empowerment should depend on various contexts. The context-specific principle of human security is important for analyzing voluntary and forced migration, thereby providing the analytical framework for this article.

The third principle is *comprehensiveness*. Comprehensive responses require the integration of peace, security, and development agendas at the United Nations level (CHS 2003, 4). At the practice level, this necessitates a close and balanced collaboration between humanitarian, political, military, human rights, and development actors (CHS 2003, 28). Today, crises such as natural disasters, climate change, pandemics, famine, economic downturns and armed conflicts have become interrelated and affect people differently. Addressing these compounded crises requires context-specific, comprehensive and multi-sectoral responses for both protection and empowerment (JICA ORI 2024). Comprehensiveness suggests that diverse actors work together at different levels, considering the specific contexts. The comprehensive principle is indispensable in achieving human security, and comprises part of the analytical framework of this article.

Finally, the principle of *prevention-oriented* responses brings mixed implications. Voluntary migration is the result of individuals' free decision to move, and the human security concept does not seek to prevent such migration. Therefore, it is not appropriate to apply the prevention-oriented principle to voluntary migration though it must be prevented that they fall into the trap

of trafficking and human rights violations after they have migrated. Forced migration, on the other hand, must be prevented. The preventive principle of human security requires considering its diverse triggers and root causes, such as the crises touched on in the previous paragraph. This article focuses on the responses to forced migration rather than debating its background from the perspective of the prevention-oriented principle of human security.

The above discussion has established a framework for this article consisting of two approaches and three principles of human security. Protection and empowerment approaches, and people-centered, context-specific, and comprehensive principles are applied to voluntary and forced migration. The following sections provide a conceptual understanding based on this framework.

2.2 Voluntary migration and human security
As discussed in the Introduction, the distinction between voluntary and forced migration is fluid in practice. Nevertheless, the discourses surrounding voluntary and forced migration differ. Conceptually distinguishing between the two is helpful in considering the responses from a human security perspective.

The readiness of the destination country to receive voluntary migrants is a crucial factor in ensuring successful voluntary migration, whether promoted by governments or initiated by individuals. *Human Security Now*, which explored the concept of comprehensive human security, stated that "the movement of people is also a development issue" (CHS 2003, 44). It clarified that development must contribute to reducing poverty and other triggers of human insecurity that force migration. In this sense, development is seen as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (Sen 1999, 3). Appropriate protection and empowerment will make voluntary migration beneficial for all parties involved.

It is primarily the responsibility of destination country governments to protect and empower voluntary migrants. However, even when the destination country welcomes voluntary migrants, preparations to receive them may not always be sufficient. For this reason, the sending countries of voluntary migrants may engage with the destination countries for assistance in developing protection infrastructure, including legal provisions on the status of voluntary migrants. Multilateral and bilateral cooperation agencies, such as JICA and other actors, can directly contribute to the protection and empowerment of voluntary migrants, as well as the nationals of the destination country, upon official request. As the backgrounds of voluntary migrants are diverse, context-specific and comprehensive protection and empowerment are more effective approaches than a one-size-fits-all response. Empowered voluntary migrants can contribute to the socioeconomic development of the destination countries and also that of their home countries through remittances and other means.

Empowerment in human security means enhancing "people's ability to act on their own behalf—and on behalf of others" (CHS 2003, 11). In the sense that it focuses on individual actions, empowerment can be considered a bottom-up approach. However, the underlying premise is not only that individuals can make their own choices, but also that the environment allows them to act on those choices without being subjected to oppression (Caballero-Anthony, Mine, and Ishikawa 2024, 8). Kabeer conceptualized empowerment as "the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer 1999, 437). Situations such as unemployment or lack of access to social services like education and healthcare restrict people's choices. Supporting the process of empowerment requires comprehensive responses that are tailored to the specific contexts in which people find themselves. Voluntary migrants can empower themselves and make decisions at key crossroads in their lives by receiving appropriate protection in their host countries. In such cases, the provision of protection can shift to the process of empowerment.

2.3 Forced migration and human security

Displaced persons[3] are frequently placed in vulnerable situations, where the primary need is the protection of their lives. Humanitarian assistance has traditionally saved lives by providing water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), food security and nutrition, shelters, and healthcare to displaced persons facing armed conflicts, natural disasters and other threats (Sphere Association 2018). Protection is provided to ensure survival through a context-specific and comprehensive response, where agencies from different disciplines collaborate.

However, displaced persons need more than just protection of life. Today's humanitarian assistance covers a broader range of areas than ever before, including agriculture, education, and early recovery (OCHA n.d.). The provision of such assistance should be context-specific and comprehensive as well. Protection from a human security perspective also includes "institutions that function at all levels of society, including police systems, environmental regulations, health care networks, education systems, safety net and workfare programs, immunization campaigns, diplomatic engagement, and early warning systems for crisis and conflict" (CHS 2003, 132). Here, the practice of humanitarian assistance and development cooperation overlap. A stronger nexus between the two could lead to the provision of more context-specific and comprehensive protection of the lives, livelihood, and dignity of displaced persons.

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[3] "Displaced persons" refers to "Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, either across an international border or within a State, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters" (IOM 2019).

Another form of protection comes from a human rights-based approach. Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) defines protection as "all activities aimed at obtaining full respect for the rights of individuals in accordance with the letter and spirit of the relevant legal systems (i.e., international human rights law (IHRL), international humanitarian law, international refugee law (IRL))" (IASC 1999, 4; 2016, 2). Even if lives and livelihoods are secured, human security cannot be guaranteed if migrants are subjected to violence, abuse, coercion, and deprivation (IASC 2016). Providing comprehensive protection to displaced persons based on their contexts requires cooperation between development, humanitarian, and human rights actors.

Needless to say, displaced persons also require empowerment. The UN General Assembly adopted the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in 2016 (UNGA 2016). Building on this document, the Global Compact on Refugees was affirmed by the UN General Assembly in 2018, advocating for the promotion of early self-reliance rather than waiting for refugees to return (UNHCR 2018). This means that UN member states have committed to not only providing comprehensive protection but also promoting empowerment while considering the contexts surrounding the refugees. Of course, the basic tenets of these frameworks are broadly applicable to all displaced persons, not just refugees.

2.4 Human security: Linking voluntary and forced migration

The previous sections have discussed the two approaches of protection and empowerment for voluntary migrants and displaced persons from a human security perspective. Voluntary migrants and displaced persons should be situated at the center of these approaches. Both the provision of protection and promotion of empowerment should be context-specific and comprehensive. For example, voluntary migrants in distress—frequently undocumented—are likely to need protection rather than enhanced empowerment, considering their contexts. Conversely, refugees with skills that address the needs of their host country would be welcomed (World Bank 2023) and can empower themselves. From a human security perspective, context-specific and comprehensive protection could assist voluntary migrants and displaced persons to empower themselves and enable them to contribute to the development of the country of their stay.

The timing of the transition from protection to empowerment depends on the specific context. For example, some residents resettled to make way for infrastructure projects may benefit from immediate empowerment, while others may need long-term protection. The same applies to victims or survivors of gender-based violence, as their needs vary based on individual circumstances. A people-centered human security approach emphasizes the importance of considering such contextual and comprehensive responses.

In sum, the conceptual distinction between voluntary and forced migration has been useful in

considering international responses. For voluntary migrants, empowerment can facilitate their integration into the destination country, while the circumstances that make empowerment possible are also important. The same is true for displaced persons. In other words, context-specific and comprehensive empowerment is required, regardless of whether the migration is voluntary or forced. Conversely, protection is a prerequisite for any empowerment. It should be comprehensive and context-specific, taking into account complex crises. Therefore, the line between protection and empowerment can be blurred. There are voluntary migrants who are oppressed and deprived of the freedom to make choices, and therefore require protection. Similarly, there are displaced persons who have empowered themselves and can make significant contributions to their host countries (WDR 2023). From the perspective of human security, which places people at the center, the sending and receiving countries of voluntary and forced migrants, as well as actors engaged in international cooperation, should collaborate to provide protection and promote empowerment tailored to each individual's specific context, regardless of whether they migrate voluntarily.

3. Japanese Emigration and Japan's support and cooperation including that of JEMIS and JICA

This section examines Japanese emigration and Japan's support, primarily in Latin America, since the late 19th century from a human security perspective. Japan's support has been extended to Japanese emigrants, their descendants, and the Nikkei communities they formed, through organizations such as JICA and JEMIS.

3.1 Japanese emigration and Japan's support to Japanese emigrants and their descendants

The history of modern Japanese overseas emigration dates back to the late 1800s. In 1866, under pressure from the West, the Edo shogunate reversed its policy of seclusion and began allowing Japanese people to travel abroad. Two years later, the Meiji government was established. It concluded the Immigration Treaty with the then-Kingdom of Hawaii in 1886, leading to the first officially contracted emigration from Japan (National Diet Library 2014a). The Meiji government controlled and protected the emigrants in order to avoid international friction or damage to Japan's reputation because many emigrants were poor and uneducated, and were unable to adapt to their new environment and engaged in slave-like labor (National Diet Library 2014b).

After the end of officially contracted emigration to the Kingdom of Hawaii, the 1896 Immigration Protection Act came into force. As a result, the main body for sending Japanese emigrants shifted from the Meiji government to the emigration companies. In addition to managing emigration to preserve national pride, the Meiji government's measures also aimed to protect emigrants from unscrupulous agents who arranged emigration (National Diet Library 2014b). Although the term "human security" had not yet been developed, the Meiji government's measures may have contributed to the protection of people, rather than being explicitly intended to protect people.

Under the Meiji Government's cautious policy to manage and protect emigrants, the number of Japanese emigrants increased. The strong demand for Japanese labor abroad met the needs of many Japanese seeking higher wages. Economic stability is an important requirement for emigrants' empowerment. At that time, the most popular destination for emigration was the United States, where high wages were available. However, anti-Japanese movements, as well as the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, effectively banned Japanese migration to the United States (Sakata 2015; Nakamaki 2015a). This led to an increase in migration to Latin America, particularly Brazil (Japan Overseas Migration Museum 2015).

Japanese emigration to Latin America started in the late 1890s. Although they emigrated of their own volition, the migration process was fraught with hardships. Emigrants at that time traveled by ship, where sanitary conditions were poor, and they were exposed to the spread of infectious diseases—even in the destination settlements (Nagamura 2022). While many emigrants worked in agriculture, some fled because they could not bear the hard labor (National Diet Library 2014c). Nevertheless, after overcoming many hardships, the Japanese emigrants started to build economic and social foundations in their communities (Nakamaki 2015a). For example, jute production, initiated by emigrants in Brazil in the 1930s, has contributed to Brazil's agricultural development (Garasino 2021). Many emigrants in Argentina have worked in the floriculture and cleaning business (Nakamaki 2015b). From a human security perspective, the Japanese emigrants seem to have gradually empowered themselves over time.

In the first half of the 20th century, the Japanese government shifted its policy, encouraging Japanese emigration to deal with population growth and unemployment. During this period, the main actors in the Japanese emigration were prefecture-level overseas emigration associations and private migration companies. Some expanded their operations to include subdivisions and investments in settlements. The central government supported these businesses through legislation and subsidies (Sakaguchi 2010). In addition, medical support was provided to Japanese emigrants by dispatching Japanese medical doctors and conducting awareness-raising activities on sanitation (Nagamura 2022). From a human security perspective, protection forms a foundation for empowering people, especially in situations where Japanese emigrants faced numerous hardships.

Japanese emigration came to a halt during World War II. In the United States and Canada, the majority of the Japanese emigrants were interned. In Latin America, internment was less widespread, but some were interned, and forced migration occurred in certain countries and regions (Nakamaki 2015a). Even if the emigrants had established some foothold in the destination country, their human security was affected depending on the relationship between the destination

country and the country they depart.

After World War II and the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, the Japanese government resumed emigration efforts. It encouraged Japanese emigration to absorb surplus labor since the Japanese economy remained underdeveloped (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 1985). As Japan entered a period of high economic growth and expanded its support to developing countries, the focus of emigration efforts shifted from the transfer of labor to the settlement of emigrants in destination countries (Overseas Emigration Council 1962). JEMIS was formed in 1963 as a comprehensive emigrant support organization (House of Representatives Japan 1963). Thus, since the Meiji era, Japanese emigrants have risked their lives, engaged in various economic activities under harsh working conditions, and built up their positions through hardship and perseverance. The relationship between Japan and the countries to which the emigrants went was built on the efforts of the emigrants.

3.2 JEMIS's and JICA's support and cooperation

The report of the Overseas Emigration Council (1962) stated that settled emigrants could contribute to the economic and social development of the destination country. The volume, *Ten-year history of the Japan Emigration Service,* highlights the significance of emigration in terms of "international cooperation," such as contributions by human resources involving the settlement of emigrants and development abilities in the regions where emigrants have settled (JEMIS 1973, 209–212). In fact, JEMIS was established at a time when the number of Japanese emigrants after World War II had already peaked in the 1950s and was in decline. JEMIS was responsible for supporting the settlement of emigrants, along with their descendants, in addition to the promotion of emigration. It included, for example, the construction of educational and medical facilities, roads, deep wells for drinking water, sewage systems, and other basic infrastructure in the settlements, as well as providing Japanese language education (JICA 1999). From a human security perspective, this support aimed to protect and empower emigrants and their descendants in response to the evolving context of emigration.

JICA was established in 1974 through the merger of JEMIS, the Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency,[4] and other organizations. JICA's purpose was to contribute "to economic and social development of developing areas and promoting international cooperation" (JICA 1975, 5). One of its activities—inherited from JEMIS—was to provide the "operations necessary for settling down of the emigrants" in Latin America (Government of Japan 2002, Article 3). JICA continued to support emigrants and their descendants, gradually strengthening its support for the

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[4] Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA) was established in 1962 by the Japanese government to implement technical cooperation in developing regions based on treaties and other international commitments (JICA n.d.).

descendants of emigrants, i.e., the Nikkei population. This shift in JICA's approach was context-specific, reflecting the passage of time and the decrease in the number of Japanese emigrants.

For example, JICA has contributed to the agricultural development in Brazil. Hosono et al. (2016) elaborated on the Program of Japanese-Brazilian Cooperation for the Development of Cerrados, PRODECER, which started in 1974 and continued for nearly a quarter of a century. It has transformed the Cerrados—the barren and infertile savanna region—into one of the world's leading breadbaskets, producing soybeans and corn. This miracle became possible through the pioneering efforts of the Brazilian Nikkei community and the long-term cooperation and partnership between the two countries (Hosono et al. 2016). The empowered Brazilian Nikkei community has contributed to the development of Brazil. Despite various hardships, Nikkei communities have become a bridge between the country they emigrated to and Japan, and JICA has supported them and their destination countries through development cooperation.

The Japanese government's emigration program through JICA ended in 1993. Even after that, JICA has continued to cooperate with the Nikkei population and their communities in their destination countries through bilateral cooperation. As of 2018, there are more than 3.6 million of the Nikkei population, with approximately 60%, or 2.13 million, living in Latin America (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2019). The latest Development Cooperation Charter states that "people of Japanese descent and their communities abroad form the foundation of strong ties with Japan and contribute broadly to local communities in each country" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2023). The Charter also calls for stronger networking with the Nikkei community.

Today, JICA is expanding and strengthening its cooperation and partnerships with Nikkei communities in Latin America as well as Japan. For example, JICA provides Japanese language education for the younger generation and organizes programs to promote their understanding of Japan and foster networking among their communities. JICA also implements some international cooperation projects in collaboration with Nikkei communities, utilizing their valuable experience, knowledge, organizations, and human resources as a model of symbiosis and co-creation. In addition, JICA is working with Nikkei communities to address various issues in Japan. This cooperation covers, for example, the education and career development of foreign children and the aging of the foreign population, reflecting their experiences in Japan (JICA 2023). The amendment of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act of 1990 increased the number of foreigners living and working in Japan, including the Nikkei population[5].

In response to the changing context of promoting emigration, JICA took over JEMIS activities by

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[5] In much literature, the increased number of Latin American residents in Japan is believed to be the Nikkei population (Ishida 2009).

transforming them into development cooperation, with emigrants and their descendants at the core. Further, JICA established diverse partnerships in various contexts, including with the Nikkei community and Japan. From a human security perspective, JICA's activities have been comprehensive, flexible and responsive to these contextual changes.

4. Japan and JICA's responses to emergencies, including forced migration

This section provides an overview of Japan's and JICA's international cooperation during crises such as armed conflicts and natural disasters. Since the 1970s, the Japanese government has established a comprehensive humanitarian assistance implementation system, supporting affected populations, including displaced persons. This system is comprised of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Self-Defense Forces, JICA, and NGOs. From the perspective of human security, these organizations work together in providing humanitarian assistance and collaborate with other donors, multilateral organizations, and (international) non-governmental organizations.

4.1 Japan's Humanitarian Assistance Implementation System

Forced migration occurs due to threats to human security, such as armed conflicts and disasters. People who cross borders and become refugees or seek asylum are examples of displaced persons. People who do not cross the border and remain within the country become internally displaced persons. Without property or proof of identity, both internationally and internally displaced persons are in great need of comprehensive protection. However, the capacity of host countries and communities to receive them may be limited.

Refugees and displaced persons are not the only ones affected by armed conflicts and disasters. Even in peacetime, specific populations need protection, such as the poor, single-parent households, the elderly, the physically challenged, women, and children. In the event of armed conflicts, disasters, or other threats, not all people are able to move, even if they suffer from family separation, loss of property, or employment. The needs of those who are affected but cannot move may increase. Consequently, when threats occur, the agencies engaged in humanitarian assistance and development cooperation should consider all these factors from a human security perspective.

Japan's official humanitarian assistance to provide protection began in 1973 with the establishment of its first emergency assistance program, the Emergency Grant Assistance (INGÉROSEC Corporation 2015). This program facilitated the procurement of humanitarian relief supplies for armed conflicts and disasters, provided rapid financial assistance to humanitarian organizations and affected countries, and supported emergency relief activities in the affected areas. In 1982, the Japanese government established the Japan Medical Team for Disaster Relief (JMTDR) to expand the scope and scale of disaster relief activities. Despite these measures, the need for a comprehensive international disaster relief system was recognized,

including the dispatch of rescue and disaster relief experts and medical teams.

As a result, the Law on the Dispatch of International Emergency Relief Teams was enacted in September 1987 (INGÉROSEC Corporation 2015). Commonly known as the Japan Disaster Relief (JDR) Law, it laid the foundation for today's international disaster relief system, including rescue, medical, and specialist teams. The JMTDR and the JDR secretariat, from which it evolved, were established at JICA, which serves as the entry point for JICA's disaster relief efforts (JDR n.d.). From a human security perspective, the involvement of JICA, whose main activity is development assistance, in disaster relief could contribute to the comprehensive protection and empowerment of disaster victims, including displaced persons.

Subsequently, Japan's framework for implementing humanitarian assistance progressed. In 1992, the Law on Cooperation in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations, known as the PKO Law, was enacted (Government of Japan 1992). The PKO Law and the JDR Law operate side by side, with the former addressing armed conflict-related disasters and the latter focusing on other disasters, including natural and technical disasters. The PKO Secretariat was placed under the Cabinet Office (INGÉROSEC Corporation 2015), and JICA's disaster assistance was extended to cover non-conflict-related disasters.

Japan's system for implementing humanitarian assistance has also continued to evolve. The Diet passed a partial amendment to the JDR Law in 1992, allowing the Japan Self-Defense Forces to participate in the International Emergency Relief Team (INGÉROSEC Corporation 2015). In addition, at the turn of the 21st century, the Grant Assistance for Japanese NGO Projects was established to enable Japanese NGOs to provide emergency relief (INGÉROSEC Corporation 2015). Through these transitions, a comprehensive Japanese emergency assistance implementation system was established to support victims of armed conflicts and disasters, involving the Self-Defense Forces, JICA, and Japanese international NGOs, along with rescue, medical, and other experts. The system aims to support affected populations, including the displaced persons, regardless of whether or not they cross a border. From a human security perspective, assistance through such systems can directly protect the lives of affected people, including those of the displaced persons.

4.2 Japan and JICA's cooperation engaged in the humanitarian-development nexus
Humanitarian assistance provides short-term protection to those affected by humanitarian crises. However, protection is only one form of support that people in such circumstances require. Various vulnerable populations, whether displaced or not, need to be empowered as well. Medium- and long-term recovery, rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development assistance can provide comprehensive protection and context-specific empowerment through the capacity

development of populations, communities, and countries affected by armed conflicts and natural disasters. From a human security perspective, the humanitarian-development nexus is critical to protecting and empowering affected populations, including displaced persons. Collaboration between humanitarian assistance and development cooperation can promote the protection of lives, livelihoods, and dignity of those affected by crises, including displaced persons.

As clarified in the previous section, JICA's involvement in emergency relief depends on whether the emergency is related to an armed conflict. Armed conflicts create refugees who flee across borders and internally displaced persons who move to safe areas within the country without crossing borders. For these populations, JICA has provided reconstruction and development assistance from a medium- to long-term perspective in collaboration with other agencies involved in humanitarian assistance. For example, JICA has supported the resettlement of returned refugees and internally displaced persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Uganda, and Afghanistan.

Furthermore, JICA has expanded the scope of its assistance to countries hosting refugees. For example, since 2012, JICA has cooperated with Jordan and Turkey to support Syrian refugees (For example, see JICA 2015a; 2015b). The improvement of infrastructure, such as water supply, distribution, and waste management, benefits both the host country and the Syrian refugees. From a human security perspective, JICA has expanded both the timing and location of its cooperation in accordance with the context of the host country and the Syrian refugees. It has supported the development of the host country and has begun to promote the empowerment of the refugees rather than simply providing protection or waiting for their return to Syria.

The CRRF, introduced above, was adopted in 2016 (UNGA 2016), further encouraging JICA's move toward empowering refugees and their host communities. It is working with the Government of Uganda and UNHCR to provide assistance to South Sudanese refugees in a way that promotes their self-reliance while also serving the host country's population. Specifically, JICA is working to promote the linkage of humanitarian, development, and peace efforts by providing guidance on rice farming techniques and vocational training to refugees, supporting the construction of elementary schools, and overseeing road maintenance in Ugandan communities that host refugees (Hanatani 2023). In addition, JICA has continued to support Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, including improving the operation of their camps (JICA 2022).

These forms of assistance are distinct from short-term emergency humanitarian assistance to affected populations and legal protection for displaced persons. As discussed earlier, the longer a refugee remains displaced, the more likely their needs will extend beyond protection. When refugees are unable to return to their home countries, support from a medium- and long-term perspective becomes essential in addressing their specific contexts. Such cooperation, including

efforts toward refugees' social integration in the host country or a third country, promotes the transition from context-specific and comprehensive protection to empowerment, benefiting both the refugees and the host communities.

On the other hand, when disasters strike, JICA can provide comprehensive assistance to the victims, including displaced persons. Its assistance is comprehensive, ranging from emergency relief to reconstruction, regardless of whether or not they have been forcibly displaced or have crossed borders. For example, when Typhoon Yolanda hit the Philippines in 2013, the Japanese government dispatched JDR to provide emergency relief supplies. Subsequently, JICA conducted an emergency development study on rehabilitation and reconstruction, provided grant aid based on the study, and launched various technical cooperation projects to help improve livelihoods and dignity in the affected areas. Some of these projects were carried out in cooperation with the private sector, with the aim of building a disaster-resistant country and society. This was achieved by providing context-specific and comprehensive support for the recovery and reconstruction process in the affected areas based on lessons learned from past Japanese disasters (Ono and Jibiki 2018). JICA's practices of cooperation for dispatching JDR, followed by the projects during the reconstruction process, can be observed in many disaster cases, such as in Mexico, Turkey, and the Philippines, as mentioned above.

From a human security perspective, JICA has served as a bilateral cooperation agency in both conflict and natural disaster situations. In cooperation with other organizations—including Japanese NGOs and the private sector—it has provided context-specific and comprehensive protection and enhanced empowerment, strengthening the links between the two.

5. Findings: Support and international cooperation on voluntary and forced migration from a human security perspective

This article has explored support provided to Japanese emigration and Nikkei communities, and international cooperation to address forced migration. As discussed in Section 2, it has taken the two approaches and three principles of human security as its analytical framework—protection and empowerment—guided by people-centered, context-specific, and comprehensive principles. As a result, the practices analyzed here can be viewed as containing elements of human security. Although these practices differ in terms of background, target beneficiaries, and time flow, different human security elements were also identified as features, illustrating the diversity of human security practices. Based on the above analysis, this section reviews the discussion in Section 3 and 4, then explores important findings.

Section 3 discussed Japanese emigration and Japan's support for Japanese emigrants and their descendants over more than 150 years, including support and cooperation provided by JEMIS and

JICA. This history reflects the accumulation of sincere efforts by emigrants who risked their lives in the face of hardship to settle down. The Japanese government's emigration policy since the Meiji era was influenced by changing international contexts. Initially, the government controlled and monitored emigration carefully but later shifted to encouraging emigration, a policy that was interrupted during World War II. After World War II, the Japanese government promoted emigration to absorb the growing labor force, but the number of emigrants declined due to the rapid economic growth Japan was experiencing. The support provided by JEMIS, and later JICA, continued for over 50 years, while their roles have shifted from sending emigrants to supporting their settlement in destination countries. These roles then evolved into bilateral cooperation for the development of their destination countries and, especially in the case of JICA, into strengthening various ties and relationships with the descendants of Japanese emigrants and the Nikkei communities. Thus, cooperation by JEMIS, then JICA, has continued from a long-term development perspective as a sending country for Japanese emigrants. Its approach has been context-specific and comprehensive, responding to the evolving needs of Japanese emigrants and Nikkei communities. Thus, the Japanese emigration and JEMIS, then JICA's cooperation, suggest the need for comprehensive and long-term cooperation from a human security perspective, tailored to the emigrants' and their descendants' contexts.

Section 4 provided an overview of Japan and JICA's international cooperation during crises such as armed conflicts or natural disasters. In theory, the sooner people are empowered, the faster people can recover and the more quickly they can get back on their feet. It has now been almost 20 years since Japan established its comprehensive humanitarian assistance implementation system that targets affected populations, including displaced persons. In the event of armed conflict, JICA has collaborated comprehensively with other agencies to provide assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons who have returned. Moreover, its cooperation includes support for refugees who cannot return and have remained in the host countries. Prior to the adoption of the CRRF, JICA provided community support to Syrian refugees and their host communities in Jordan and Turkey. Since establishing the CRRF, JICA has also developed community support for South Sudanese refugees and their host communities in Uganda. JICA broadened its comprehensive approach regarding when and where it supported refugees based on the context of the refugees and their host countries. During disasters, JICA can provide context-specific and comprehensive emergency, rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development assistance in collaboration with other agencies. From a human security perspective, the cooperation of Japan and JICA discussed so far, whether in the case of armed conflicts or disasters, is context-specific and comprehensive in terms of providing protection and promoting empowerment. Their experiences include coordination with other agencies, contributing to a nexus of different types of cooperation across various timespans: emergency, medium-term, and long-term.

From the discussion in Section 3 and 4, approaches of context-specific and comprehensive protection and empowerment were seen. In Section 3, early emigrants received protection under the control of the Meiji Government. Decades later, during World War II, emigrants who had empowered themselves and established a certain status in their destination countries were interned and subjected to forced migration. After World War II, along with the decreasing number of Japanese emigrants—and with the establishment of JEMIS and later JICA—cooperation shifted from supporting emigrants to broader international cooperation in destination countries and eventually, to partnerships with Nikkei communities. The experience of long-term Japanese emigration has shown that context-specific and comprehensive empowerment remains valuable over time and that unexpected circumstantial changes can trigger the need for context-specific and comprehensive protection. Section 4 demonstrated that refugees and other displaced persons require context-specific and comprehensive protection. However, the recognition that prolonged protection could undermine the empowerment of refugees led to the advocacy of the Global Compact to promote refugee self-reliance.

The need to transition from context-specific and comprehensive protection to the empowerment of refugees was based on international consensus. This way of thinking is not limited to refugees. On the other hand, the analysis so far confirmed that while a shift from context-specific and comprehensive protection to empowerment occurred over time, this transition was not linear. Even if someone is empowered, others may still need protection if unpredictable circumstances arise. Conversely, even if someone is thought to need protection, empowerment may actually be useful in other cases. Effective human security practices that align with protection and empowerment take time to develop. The need for anticipation and flexibility in responding to unforeseeable events is perhaps the clearest evidence that human security places people at the center of its core concept.

6. Conclusion

The discussion in this article confirmed the importance of comprehensive protection and empowerment initiatives that are tailored to various contexts as human security practices. Human security is a broad concept and approach. As examined in Section 3, the areas of supporting emigrants, their descendants, and the Nikkei communities they formed have evolved in various contexts over time. The development of partnerships not only within the Nikkei community but also in Japan has been context-specific and comprehensive, providing valuable insights for the development of future multiculturalism in Japan. In terms of Japan and JICA's efforts in addressing forced migration, discussed in Section 4, cooperation depends on the policies of the refugee host country as well as the relationship of trust between the host country and the cooperation agency. Trust cannot be built overnight but comes from the accumulation of

cooperation over time, even in times of peace. If bilateral international cooperation achieves not only short-term results but also fosters long-term and trust-based relations with the countries where the Japanese emigrants and displaced persons stay, it has the potential to contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. At the heart of this shift is the practice of people-centered human security. This article has only discussed a few cases of the support and cooperation from a human security perspective, but the accumulation of such experience to date is enormous. Further research is needed to verify and analyze the numerous supports and cooperation from a human security perspective.

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Abstract (in Japanese)

要　　約

　本稿は、移住と強制移住に対する日本の支援や国際協力を人間の安全保障の視点から論じた。移住については、1880 年代以降の主に中南米への日本人移民とその子孫に対する、日本政府と JICA、JICA の前身の一つである海外移住事業団（JEMIS）の支援や国際協力を考察した。様々な苦難を経て、日本人移民とその子孫は移住先国に貢献した。日本政府の移住政策は長い時間の中で変化し、JEMIS や JICA は文脈に即した移民の保護やエンパワメントを推進した。強制移住については、1970 年代に日本政府が包括的な人道支援の実施体制を構築し始めて以降の国際協力を考察した。JICA は外務省、自衛隊や日本の国際 NGO と連携し、難民等の強制移住者を含む被災者の、文脈に即した包括的な保護とエンパワメントを促進した。二つの例は期間も背景も異なるが、人間の安全保障に照らした保護とエンパワメントの実践が確認できた。日本と移民や強制移住者の滞在国との信頼関係が、こうした取り組みを可能にする。