Sociolinguistics Symposium 22 The dark side of social media: From expression and perception to response and mitigation of intolerant and abusive content online

#### 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2018

#### Hate Speech on Street Level in Japan: Interaction and Discourse between Hate Groups and Target Groups

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## Outline

- The Japanese context: hate groups and target groups, historical, religious and cultural context, and some peculiars
- Discourse and interaction between hate groups and target groups on street level and in media and how social media is used to organize hate speech on street level
- Structural proposal

### **Background Japan**

- Developed country with comparatively homogeneous population (Fearon 2003)
- Strict immigration laws
- Dwindling birth rate crude birth rate for 2016 was 7.80, 224th of 226 territories (CIA 2016)
- Labor shortage (OECD 2016)

## Labour Shortage (OECD 2016)

Figure 1.4. Skill shortage in selected countries<sup>a</sup>

As a percentage of all firms with ten or more employees



Countries are sorted by the total skill shortage.

a) Firms are classified as facing a skill shortage if their manager reports having difficulties filling jobs.

#### Increase in immigration and diversity (MoJ 2015)



#### **Reasons for hate speech in Japan**

"Under decades of economic depression and neoliberal reform, people tend to feel that they are "vulnerable" in society, and that government would not care about individuals. More and more people would think that they are "abandoned" from society. Current anti-Korean sentiment coincides with such socioeconomic context where "human rights" sounds somewhat "empty"." (Ito 2014)

## Particular (1)

Low birth rate, combined with strict immigration laws, leading to labor shortage in every sector

Particular: People are more likely to become engaged in hate speech in Japan because the have fallen out of society socially, and therefor seek somewhere to belong

## Particular (2)

Special religious situation, all-pervasive Shinto religion is combined with coexistence with other religions (2/3 of weddings are Christian, 85% of funerals are Buddhist, Hendry 2013)

Particular: Hate speech in Japan is prone to deal with ethnicity rather than religion or dogmas (e.g. sexual orientation)

#### **Target groups in Japan**

- Burakumin ("hamlet people", people of previous outcast communities, Hankins 2014)
- Foreigners (stereotypically westerners, Aradou 2004)

#### "Japanese only"



Aradou 2004

Orlowitz 2014

### **Target groups in Japan**

- Burakumin ("hamlet people", people of previous outcast communities, Hankins 2014)
- Foreigners (stereotypically westerners, Aradou 2004)
- Zainichi Koreans and Chinese (special permanent residents, Lee 2012)

#### **Background - Japanese Law**

- 2016, Jan: Osaka Assembly passes first ordinance against hate speech
- 2016, June: "Act on the Promotion of Efforts to Eliminate Unfair Discriminatory Speech and Behavior against Persons Originating from Outside Japan"
- 2016, Sept: First court order, compensation to
- "Zainichi Korean" over defamation by the
- "Zaitokukai"

"the more recent and earnest appeals for the enactment of hate speech laws began in 2012, in response to an increase in the incidence of anti-Korean rallies and demonstrations" (Martin 2018, p.462)

"A combination of North Korean nuclear weapons ambitions, territorial disputes over uninhabited islands with South Korea, and the ongoing friction over how to resolve the Japanese wartime sexslave issue (euphemistically referred to in Japan as the "Comfort Women" issue), increased tensions between Japan and the Koreas. This, in turn, inflamed attitudes towards the Korean-Japanese community. " (Martin 2018, pp.460-461)

"The public profile of the issue was also further raised by a number of lawsuits against such anti-Korean groups as the Zaitokutai, for their conduct in protests against Korean-Japanese groups and institutions." (Martin 2018, p.462)

"The first ever government study of the issue in 2015 found that there were 347 protests and demonstrations in 2013, and a total of close 1200 to between April 2012 and September 2015. This is likely a conservative estimate, and the number of instances of lower levels or more individual forms of hate speech is likely several multiples of this number. (Martin 2018, pp.461-462)

"these cases also illustrated precisely why hate speech legislation is necessary. This is because in the absence of any hate speech law—that is, legislation that actually prohibits the expression of racist statements designed to foster hatred against minority groups such as the Korean-Japanese—other grounds for legal proceedings have to be found in either the criminal or civil law" (Martin 2018, p.462)

### Zainichi Gaikokujin

"Japanese-residing foreigner", are as special class of "foreigner". They were born and raised in Japan for several generations, descendants of forced laborers and migrants who came to Japan during its Imperial era (1905-1945). Usually Koreans or Chinese, they were stripped of their Japanese Imperial citizenship after World War II. Except for their names which they often mask, "Zainichis" are generally indistinguishable from any citizen, since Japanese is usually their native tongue, and many have few to no ties to their "homeland". Arudou 2004

- "Zainichi Tokken o Yurusanai Shimin no Kai" (citizens' group that does not forgive special rights for Korean residents of Japlan)
- (Nationalist, far-right) political organization of 16399 members (zitokukai.info, June 2017)
- Distributing information, arranging demos and speeches, taking part in public debate

#### Zaitokukai Website



寄付のお願い | ホーム | ニュース | 運営ブログ | 在日Q&A | フォーラム | サイトマップ | ご利用ガイド



Zaitokukai 2017 (www.zaitokukai.info)

#### Zaitokukai Website

▶ 会員数	<ul> <li>民族浄化・侵略国家 支那中共へ怒りの声を!in 第11回名古屋春節祭 【愛知支部】(2017-01-14 14:37:18)</li> <li>山尾しおり 尾張旭事務所前糾弾行動 【愛知支部】(2016-12-05 23:17:32)</li> </ul>	<b>25</b> 26 27 28 29 30
16399 名		<今日>
10000 1	<ul> <li>未成年有権者よ、「ピンクの壁」を崩せ!街宣 in 彦根【滋賀支部】(2016-06-05 16:18:15)</li> </ul>	▶ 外部リンク
会員分布図	<ul> <li>未成年有権者よ、「ピンクの壁」を崩せ!街宣 in 長浜&amp;草津【滋賀支部】(2016-05-16 10:27:33)</li> </ul>	
	<ul> <li>未成年有権者よ、「ピンクの壁」を崩せ!街宣 in 東近江【滋賀支部】(2016-04-09 08:40:02)</li> </ul>	縁下グッズ頒布
▶ メインメニュー	<ul> <li>朝鮮学校補助金の即時停止を!in 豊橋【愛知支部】(2016-03-29 19:40:25)</li> </ul>	
ホーム	<ul> <li>地方自治体は朝鮮学校補助金を全廃せよ!【愛知支部】(2016-03-21 21:16:37)</li> </ul>	
在特会とは	<ul> <li>四日市市 朝鮮学校補助金断固反対!!周知街宣【三重支部】(2016-03-14 00:10:38)</li> </ul>	▶ 支部関連サイト
各種お問い合わせ		采加十世日日
協賛団体・サイト申し込み	<ul> <li>         在日特権を許さない市民の会とは         </li> </ul>	愛知支部HP
各支部への問い合わせ	たりは歩さまさたいませの会により	鳥取支部HP
最新動画ニュース 人事ニュース	在日特権を許さない市民の会とは?	
ス <del>サーユース</del> 投票・アンケート	在日特権を許さないこと極めて単純ですが、これが会の設立目的です。	福島支部ブログ
よくあるご質問	では在日特権とは何か? と問われれば、何より「特別永住資格」が挙げられます。これは1991	
動画集(一般用)	年に施行された「入管特例法」を根拠に、旧日本国民であった韓国人や朝鮮人などを対象に与え	▶ 在特会提供ビラ
	られた特権です。在日特権の根幹である入管特例法を廃止し、在日をほかの外国人と平等に扱う	
▶ 運営ブログ 最近の記事	ことを目指すことが在特会の究極的な目標です。しかしながら、過去の誤った歴史認識に基づき	第一弾
2017-5-26	「日帝の被害者」「かわいそうな在日」という妄想がいまだに払拭されていない日本社会では、在日 韓国人・朝鮮人を特別に扱う社会的暗黙の了解が存在しているのも事実です。	
<ul> <li>反日主義者のたどる</li> </ul>	韓国人が新鮮人を特別に扱う性気的暗然の「解が特征しているのも事実です。	▶ 検索
道49~「しばき隊リ	ここで考えなければならないのはこうした在日を特権的に扱うことを許容してきたのは我々日本側	
ンチ事件」に関する民	であるということです。在特会はこの異常な現状を変えていくため、過去の歴史認識の是正や在日	
事訴訟(VS野間)の判	特権の現状を多くの国民に周知していきます。そして、在日韓国人・朝鮮人に対して日本が謝罪す	検索
決が下る	る必要も、特別扱いをする必要も何らとしてないことを理解して頂き「入管特例法」の廃止を目指し	高度な検索
2017-3-10	ていきます。	
1		

#### Zaitokukai's "four pillars"





#### あなたは「在日特権」をご存知ですか?

#### 特別永住資格

「平和条約国籍離脱者等入管特例法」によって認められた資格である。 もちろん、他の外国人にはこのような資格は与えられておらず 在日韓国人・朝鮮人を対象に与えられた特権といえる。 紛れもない外国人でありながら、日本人とほぼ変わらぬ生活が保障されている。

#### 朝鮮学校補助金交付

朝鮮学校は教育法一条の定める学校ではないため「各種学校」として扱われる にも関わらず各地方自治体からの支援(助成金や補助金)を受けている。 文部省の定める学習指導要領を無視した民族教育という名の反日教育を行いながら 一条校と同等の権利を得ようと積極的な活動を行っている。

#### 生活保護優遇

生活保護とは困窮する「国民」に対し最低限度の生活を保障する制度である。 しかし、日本では在日外国人にも生活保護が適用され「国民の保護」がおざなりにされている。 特に、在日韓国人・朝鮮人への給付率が異常なほど高く、平成」6年度の統計では、 外国人生活保護者数の約70%が在日という結果が厚生労働省から発表されている。

#### 通名制度

. ...

建前上は在日朝鮮人以外の外国人にも適用されている制度ではあるが、 実質的にこの制度を使っているのは在日韓国-朝鮮人が大多数である。 犯罪を犯しても「通名報道」によって本名が隠されている場合が多い為、 まさに犯罪を助長させている制度に他ならない。

この他にも様々な**在日特権**がこの日本に存在し、 この国が特定の外国人によって侵食され続けています "Tokubetsu Eijuu Shikaku" Special Permanent Resident Permit

"Chosen Gakkou Hojou Koufu" (North) Korean School Subsidiation

"Seikatu Hogo Yuuguu" Welfare Benefit Preferential Treatment

"Tsuumei Seido" Alias Dispensation

#### Zaitokukai's Rallies

终了日時	日韓国交断絶国民大行進in帝都 2017年 6月 18日 (日曜日) (全日イベント) 2017年 6月 18日 (日曜日)	日日15日25月25日315日15日20月2月11日10日     10日15日25日15日25日     10日15日25日15日25日     10日15日25日15日25日     10日15日25日     10日15日     10日     10日15日     10
将始日時 終了日時	2017年 6月 18日 (日曜日) (全日イベント)	http://www.satubabal.com あなたは「在日時後」をご存加ですか? 特別また以前 の前字化量時会交付
终了日時		例即7控制除金空付
	2017年 6月 18日 (日曜日)	
易所		
	新宿 柏木公園 〒160-0023 新宿区西新宿7-14	a san a
<b>重絡先</b>	zaitokutokyo@gmail.com	日本の地方になったいため、日本の日本に存在し、 この他にも様々を取る目時機どこの日本に存在し、 この他にを様々を取る目時機どこの日本に存在し、
羊細	日韓国交断絶国民大行進in帝都	この国が特定の外国人によって後生され続けています
	日本を脅して締結された日韓基本条約など無くて同然 竹島を強奪し、天皇陛下を侮辱、仏像を盗んで開き直り、靖国神社への放尿・放火、危険物散布未遂、靖国神 社爆発事件などのテロ行為 生野区での日本人刺傷、原爆投下礼賛、世界中での慰安婦像設置 数えきれない程の愚行、テロ行為を国際条約を無視し行っております。 とことんまで日本を貶め舐めきっている韓国を絶対に許しません! 反日韓国は敵国だ! 日韓合意絶体反対! 日韓合意絶体反対! 日韓国貨スワップ冗談じゃない! 日本国民はもう我慢の限界だ!	<ul> <li>&gt; カレンダー</li> <li>① 2017年6月2</li> <li>日月火水木金± 123</li> <li>45678910</li> <li>11121314151617</li> <li>18192021222324</li> <li>252627282930</li> <li>&lt;今日&gt;</li> </ul>
	::和	<ul> <li>福本を育して締結された日韓基本条約を締結した日です。</li> <li>6月22日は日韓基本条約を締結した日です。</li> <li>6月22日は日韓基本条約を締結した日です。</li> <li>日本を育して締結された日韓基本条約など無くて同然</li> <li>竹島を強奪し、天皇陛下を侮辱、仏像を盗んで開き直り、靖国神社への放尿・放火、危険物散布未遂、靖国神 社爆発事件などのテロ行為</li> <li>生野区での日本人刺傷、原爆投下礼賛、世界中での慰安婦像設置</li> <li>数えきれない程の愚行、テロ行為を国際条約を無視し行っております。</li> <li>とことんまで日本を貶め舐めきっている韓国を絶対に許しません!</li> <li>反日韓国は敵国だ!</li> <li>日韓合意絶体反対!</li> <li>日韓通貨スワップ冗骸じゃない!</li> </ul>

#### Zaitokukai's Rallies

動画集(一般用)	【日時】	
	平成29年6月18日(日)	
▶ 運営ブログ 最近の記事	16時集合	
2017-5-26	16時30分出発	
• 反日主義者のたどる		
道 <b>49 ~</b> 「しばき隊リ	【場所】	
ンチ事件」に関する民	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
事訴訟(VS野間)の判	〒160-0023 新宿区西新宿7-14	
決が下る	http://www.city.shinjuku.lg.jp/shisetsu/map6-7.html	
2017-3-10		
<ul> <li>パク・クネ大統領罷</li> </ul>	【主催】	
免!韓国大統領選挙	在日特権を許さない市民の会 東京支部	
の日程が大幅にショー トカットされる		
2017-2-23	【現場責任者】	
<ul> <li>韓国大統領選挙の選挙</li> <li>挙人登録開始まであと</li> </ul>		
<b>5</b> ヶ月(150日)		
2017-2-22	【注意事項】	
• 公約違反を続けている	・旭日旗、日章旗、乙旗の持ち込み大歓迎!	
自民党への抗議文【東	・デモの趣旨に沿ったプラカードの持ち込み歓迎です。	
京支部】	・当日は沢山の幟を用意いたしますのでご協力を宜しくお願い致します。	
2017-2-21	・デモ中のコールを潰す不規則発言はご遠慮下さい。	
• 状況報告	・チマチョゴリなど日本にそぐわない服装はご遠慮ください。	
	・また、危険物の持込は厳禁とします。	
RSS 0.92	・雨天決行	
▶ バナー	・取材は在特会ホームページから東京支部宛にお申し込みください。	
坐井 ノレけい・クラリーズオ	※詳細は随時発表致します。	

#### **Hate Speech Performance**



*seyo!* "Zainichi get out of Japan!"

Wikipedia Commons

#### **Hate Speech Performance**

Omaera hazukashii zo. Kokka orose! "You are embarrassing. Put down the flag!

#### **Hate Speech Performance**

Minasan, are ga heitosupiichi desu! Are ga yurusarete yoi deshouka? "Everybody, that is hate speech! It that OK to allow?"





Akiyama 2015

#### Public debate on Hate speech

- 20<sup>th</sup> of October 2014
- (former) mayor of Osaka, Tohru Hashimoto
- Founder and (former) leader of the Zaitokukai, Makoto Sakurai



## I'm not rude. Actually, all have started since you called those things hate speech.

# I'm telling you that you should stop that kind of speech in Osaka.



# You should stop bashing people by their nationality and ethnisity.

## You mean, I can't criticize Koreans?

## Koreans in Japan don't have the right to vote. It's meaningless to bash them.

# Could you tell me how I bashed minority?

I don't know about your worthless political organization. Anyway, you can stand as a candidate.


If you disagree with Zainichi Korean's special permanent residence in Japan, protest to the members of Congress who created the law.

## If particular indivisuals break the law, report them to the police.

# Don't estimate people with their nationality and ethnicity. Don't talk shxt about them.

### What kind of shxt did I talk about them?

### You can state your opinion in front of the city hall but don't talk shxt about all Koreans in Osaka.

### They talk shxt about Japanese people. I'm just beating them back.



Your political claim should be changed to suit the extent of the freedom of expression.

If you know any demonstration of us which contains any kind of hate speech, tell me the exact date when it occured.

### Don't say such things as, "Koreans get off." "Garbage to garbage box," "Koreans go home."



### It's just an opinion that Koreans should go back to Korea.

## Don't deny democracy. Don't deny the freedom of expression.

### Summary of the points made in the interaction

- Former Mayor of Osaka, Toru Hashimoto
  - Stop racist speech against Zainichi Koreans in Osaka
  - Take matters through congress and juridical system
- Founder of Zaitokukai, Makoto Sakurai
  - Denying hate speech, not seeing a problem
  - Disagreeing with the rights of Zainichi, pointing out crimes committed by Zainichi in Japan
  - Talking bad about Koreans because Koreans talk bad about Japan
  - Claiming that he is denied democracy and freedom of speech

### Scales of hate speech



individuals groups organizations (political, national level)

Scale of hate speech in person and in social media, in public squares and in private homes?

#### **Reminder: Model of communication**



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### Thank you for your kind attention!

### Previous research on hate speech in Japan

- Counter-racism movement and refuting of Zaitokukai-claims (Ito 2014, Akiyama 2015)
- Various reports on hate speech by NGO's (Lawyers Association of Zainichi Koreans (LAZAK) 2014, Network for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination Japan (ERD Net) 2014)
- Fieldwork, biographies, identity and life of Zainichis (Lee 2012, Brown 2015, Cho 2016)

### Data

- Pictures and field notes from fieldwork on hate speech conducted in public places in the Kansai region of Japan (Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe cluster)
- Textual and visual analyses of hate speech and the discussion of hate speech in this area, focusing on performative aspects of interaction.

### Scales

- Hate speech can be seen on a scale from personalized hate speech to organized hate speech (potentially in theory to policy/national level)
- Organized hate speech will always try to balance itself on the line on what is considered legal

### What can be done

- The label "hate speech" reserved for anti-zainichi discourse
- Hate speech is correlated to a chain reaction of historical and contemporary events, and it is not always the "racism" in the messages, but rather the hate speech and politics as a performance including the senders, receivers and the targets of the messages, that propels this chain reaction.
- Stopping the chain reaction possible by understanding the mechanics and implementing correct measures (laws, information campaigns, etc.)

### **Argument on performance**

- Hate speech in Japan is best defined not by its content – because generalizations of content and borders are hard to make – but rather on the fact that it becomes hate speech through its performativity (Goffman 1956, Butler 1990).
- For the majority of performances in Japan that can be considered hate speech, there will always be groups or individuals nearby stating that what is being staged is hate speech (Ito 2014).

### Koreans targeted in hate speech

- Korea has territorial and historical disputes with Japan (e.g. the so-called 'comfort women' issue) and Japan is frequently targeted in staged demonstrations in Korea
- In Japan however, thematically, hate speech seems to avoid touching upon these disputes, and rather focuses on minorities' performativity in Japan (e.g. Political and economical rights and clashes with Japanese law).

#### Analysis of hate speech debate – Former Osaka Mayor Hashimoto and founder of Zaitokukai Sakurai



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-0b-EtMAv8

### Zainichi Gaikokujin

Descendants of colonial-era migrants from the southern Korean peninsula during the first half of the twentieth century. It is in fact not always obvious who belongs to the zainichi Korean collective. They appear indistinguishable from the Japanese, and their cultural literacy, use of Japanese pass names, and native fluency in Japanese allows "passing" as a way of life, making them an invisible postcolonial community. Despite the community's high degree of social and cultural assimilation to Japanese society, zainichi Koreans are legally marginalized and treated as foreign residents. Although over 80 percent of zainichi Koreans were born in Japan, and the current demographics include highly assimilated second, third and fourth generations, they are categorized as foreign residents unless they go through the strict process of naturalization. (Lee 2012)

### Koreans in Japan (MoJ 2015)

Status     Tear       Total       Professor       Artist       Religious Activities       Journalist       Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(a)       Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c)       Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c)       Highly-Skilled Professional (i)       Business Manager       Legal/Accounting Services		2012	2013	2014	2015
Artist Religious Activities Journalist Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(a) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (i) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services	545,401	489,431	481,249	465,477	457,772
Religious Activities Journalist Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(a) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (i) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services	956	943	924	919	920
Journalist Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(a) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(b) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (ii) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services	45	42	45	40	4
Journalist Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(a) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(b) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (ii) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services	977	945	896	866	865
Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(b) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (ii) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services	51	48	46	46	43
Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(b) Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (ii) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services					15
Highly-Skilled Professional (i)-(c) Highly-Skilled Professional (ii) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services					30
Highly-Skilled Professional (ii) Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services					
Business Manager Legal/Accounting Services					1.
Legal/Accounting Services	2,872	2,939	2,917	2,910	2,928
	6	6	7	8	1
Medical Services	22	39	55	86	114
Researcher	232	196	194	180	184
Instructor	97	93	91	88	92
Engineer/Specialist in Humanities/International Services	14,994	15,122	15,307	15,429	16,669
Intra-company Transferee	1,873	1,750	1,697	1.624	1,612
Entertainer	313	305	283	262	224
Skilled Labor	1,421	1,394	1,253	1,092	1,019
Technical Intern Training (i)-(a)	22	66	55	8	
Technical Intern Training (i)-(b)	-	-	-	1	
Technical Intern Training (ii)-(a)	-	-	1	-	
Technical Intern Training (ii)-(b)	-		-	-	
Cultural Activities	295	250	275	254	223
Temporary Visitor	2,307				
Student	21,678	18,643	17,189	15,765	15,405
Trainee	49	27	22	25	24
Dependent	16,750	15,116	14,089	13,075	12,470
Designated Activities	4,444	5,027	4,670	3,256	3,051
Permanent Resident	60,262	61,513	63,727	65,019	66,326
Spouse or Child of Japanese National	18,780	16,973	15,877	15,085	14,334
Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident	2,523	2,409	2,350	2,301	2,262
Long-Term Resident	8,288	7,622	7,496	7,498	7,413
Special Permanent Resident	385,232	337,963	331,783	319,640	311,463
Without Acquiring Status of Residence	417				
Temporary Refuge	-				
Others	495				

(\*) The number up until 2011 is the number combining the foreign nationals with the indication of "Korea" and the foreign nationals with the indication of "R.O.Korea" in the "nationality/resion" column of the alten resistration certificate.

#### Foreign residents by nationality (MoJ 2015)

	Nationality	Population	Ratio	Change from 2014
1	Chinese	665,847	29.8%	1.7%
2	South Korean	457,772	20.5%	-1.7%
3	Philippine	229,595	10.3%	5.5%
4	Brazilian	173,437	7.8%	-1.1%
5	Vietnamese	146,956	6.6%	47.2%
6	Nepalese	54,775	2.5%	29.4%
7	American	52,271	2.3%	2.0%
8	Taiwanese	48,723	2.2%	21.2%
9	Peruvian	47,721	2.1%	-0.5%
10	Thai	45,379	2.0%	5.3%
	Other	309,713	13.9%	9.1%

### Map of Japan



Kansai tourist bureau