VI The Regional Migration of Young People in Japan for Education and Employment: An Analysis Focused on Trends among People from Rural Areas

1. Introduction

The regional migration of young people in Japan has been a focus of public interest in recent years. This stems from concerns that the outflow of young people from rural areas to metropolitan area—particularly the excess concentration of population in the Tokyo metropolitan area—is contributing to the decrease in the reproduction rate of the population in rural areas and the rapid progress in the decline of the birth rate. Discussions are being pursued to urgently address what approaches need to be taken to ensure that more young people settle in or move to rural areas.

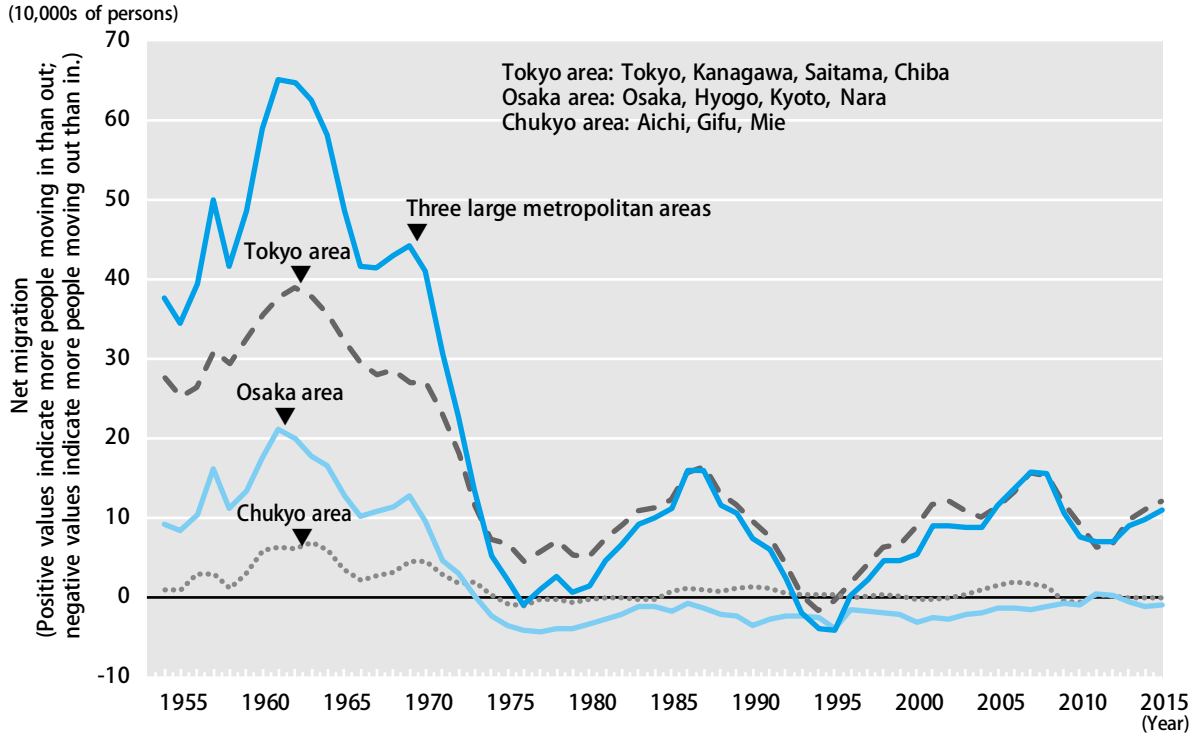
At the same time, population migration from rural areas to metropolitan areas has occurred several times in postwar Japan. Figure VI-1 (Trends in Net Migration into/out of the Three Large Metropolitan Areas) shows that since 1954 there have been three periods in which significant population migration has occurred. The first was from the 1960s to the early 1970s, which was known as the period of "en-masse employment" (*shūdan shūshoku*). This period saw large numbers of people, mainly young people, migrate to become the labor force of secondary industry (largely the manufacturing industry) concentrated in large urban areas. This was followed by the second period, from the 1980s to the 1990s, when there was a distinctive trend of people concentrating particularly in the Tokyo area due to Japan's "bubble economy." In the third period, which began in the 2000s and is still ongoing, it is said that the population—mainly the young population—is continuing to converge in the Tokyo area due to chronic deterioration, largely in rural areas, in the economy and employment opportunities. However, as can be seen from Figure VI-1, the largest postwar population migration from rural areas to the three large metropolitan areas occurred in the 1960s to early 1970s (the first period), and the population flow in the current period (the third period) is small in comparison. From the data shown in Figure VI-1 it is not possible to ascertain detailed information regarding what types of people (attributes such as sex, age, educational attainment, etc.) are migrating to urban areas at what timing, and whether they settle after migrating to urban areas.

Moreover, while the outflow of young people from rural areas in recent years has been regarded as a problem, it is also noted that there is an increasing number of young people who wish to continue their education or enter employment in an area that is in commutable distance from their "home area" (the area they originally come from), and are satisfied with their lifestyles in their home area (particularly in terms of consumption and human relations). In other words, several social research projects demonstrate a rise in individual-level "localism" among young people.

As highlighted above, the data and arguments that have been presented regarding the regional migration of young people are mutually conflicting, and it cannot be said that sufficient progress has been made in ascertaining the present situation. As a result, it remains unclear which points are the key issues that need to be addressed in greater depth in the future when considering problems related to young people and rural areas.

This chapter therefore proposes "O-E-J Patterns" (introduced in Section 3) as an approach for pursuing analysis that will enable us to understand the regional migration of young people. By investigating how the trends change over the generations and differ according to sex or level of educational attainment, this analysis seeks to present evidence that will act as a foundation for understanding the present situation of young people in Japan in terms of migration.

Figure VI-1 Trends in Net Migration into/out of the Three Large Metropolitan Areas (Migrants including Japanese nationals only; 1954-2015)



Source: The Satistics Bureau (2016), "The Report on Internal Migration in Japan Derived from the Basic Resident Registration," 2015 results.

2. The Overview of the Linkage between the Education System and the Labor Market in Japan

This section provides an overview of the linkage between the education system and the labor market in Japan as a background to the analysis results set out in Section 3.

2-1. Overview of the transition from school to work

The first half of this section describes Japan's education system and practices related to the transition from school to work, with a focus on elements relevant to the regional migration of young people in Japan.

1) The school education system in Japan

Figure VI-2 provides an outline of the school education system in Japan. In Japan, compulsory education lasts nine years—six years in elementary school (*shōgakkō*) and three years in junior high school (*chūgakkō*; also translated as "lower secondary school"). 98% of students then go on to high school (*kōtōgakkō*; also translated as "upper secondary school"). Students studying at higher education institutions are largely aged between 18 and 22, and it is common for people to progress to the next level of schooling without a break in between. There is also no system of repeating years during compulsory education, and an extremely low number of people drop out of school during and after the period of compulsory education. As young Japanese people therefore make their major career-path choices at the time of graduating from high school and at the time of graduating from university, this chapter focusses on the timings of high school graduation and university graduation in its discussions on regional migration.

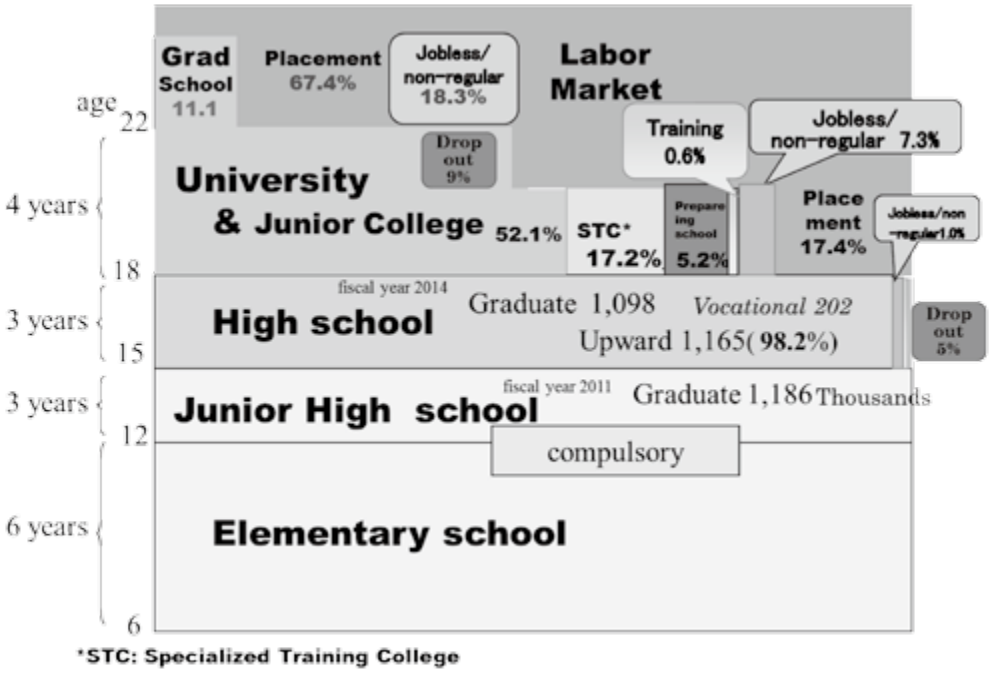
Let us now look at Japan's high school system. When entering to high school, in most cases students

go through an obligatory selection process conducted on the basis of a test of academic ability. The general education course (including the general studies course) accounts for more than 70% of the high school curriculum, and the percentage of the curriculum occupied by the vocational education course is low, even when compared with OECD countries.[1] High schools are rated according to the academic aptitude of students, and while there are no formal restrictions, the career paths of students differ depending on the high school they study at.

Half of high school graduates go to academic universities (*daigaku*) or junior colleges (*tanki daigaku*). Figures for directly after graduation show that after high school graduation around 20% enter employment, around 20% go to professional training colleges (*senmon gakkō*), 5% go to a school that prepares students for entrance examinations (*yobikō*) with the aim of entering an academic university the following year, 7% neither continue their education nor enter employment (the majority take on part-time jobs), and less than 1% go on to a vocational training course.

Looking at the career paths of university graduates, around 10% go on to graduate school (*daigakuin*). The percentage of university graduates entering employment directly after graduation was high at around 70-80% in the 1980s, and while it dropped to 55% in around 2000, it has since recovered to around 60-70% in recent years. The percentage of people jobless or in non-regular employment—namely, who

Figure VI-2 Japanese Education System and Rates of Continuing Education/Entering Employment



Source: *School Basic Survey* conducted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

1 The Japanese school education system is a single track system, and students are free to transfer between the different types of schools. For instance, it is also possible for students who have studied a vocational education course in the later stage of secondary education (e.g. high school) to go on to study at an academic university. Moreover, at the age of 15 the vast majority of junior high school students go through a selection process for entering high school based on a written test of academic ability taken simultaneously by all candidates. Three more key characteristics of the Japanese school education system related to employment are that a limited number of students repeat years or drop out, that it is rare for students to take vocational education or public vocational training, and that the number of mature students is low.

neither go on to further study nor enter employment despite having graduated from university—has been low in recent years, at around 15%. The Japanese university system also has the distinctive characteristics that students majoring in humanities and social sciences account for half of all students, and that private universities account for over 70% of all universities.

2) The mass recruitment of new graduates and the transition from school to work

We will now go on to look at the recruitment practices of Japanese companies.

Japan's rapid economic growth in the 1960s saw the beginning of a long period during which it was possible for young Japanese people to acquire stable positions as regular employees (*seishain*) directly after graduating from school. Besides the fact that this was possible due to the lively demand for labor, it should also be noted that there is a unique Japanese practice by which companies prioritize recruiting young people on the basis of their "trainability" (the principal indicator for this being which school they graduated from), with the intention of developing their abilities within the company over the long term, a practice known as the "mass recruitment of new graduates" (*shin sotsu ikkatsu saiyō*). Unlike recruitment aimed at filling vacancies, the mass recruitment of new graduates involves companies recruiting school or university students at fixed intervals to start work as regular employees the following April, the month after their graduation. As it is the practice for companies to recruit professionally-inexperienced school or university students prior to their graduation, students begin to look for jobs while still in school or university. After entering employment, the new graduates receive an initial training program for new graduates in the company, after which they go through job rotations which expand the scope of the work they engage in, in turn allowing them to develop their career by being promoted to higher positions, statuses, or pay grades.[2]

As employment practices also differ according to candidates' levels of educational attainment (namely, the highest level of education they have completed), let us look at the typical employment practices applied to high school graduates and university graduates respectively.

The following practices related to job seeking give the transition from high school to work an ordered structure (Hori, 2007). Firstly, high school students always conduct their job seeking activities through their school or local Public Employment Security Office—a public agency, commonly referred to in Japan as "Hello Work," which offers employment placement and consultation services—rather than each contacting companies directly, as is the case for university students. Companies that wish to recruit students prepare a vacancy advertisement, which is checked by the Hello Work in their jurisdiction and sent to the high schools that the companies wish to recruit from. Secondly, the date for companies to commence job offers for high school graduates is prescribed by the local agreement. Thirdly, there is an arrangement that each student will apply for just one company, meaning that students are not able to apply for multiple companies at one time. There is also a system by which designated schools are able to recommend students for recruitment (based on long-term ties between certain high schools and companies), which plays an important role in the selection and allocation of candidates. The ongoing relationships between high schools and companies—known as *jisseki kankei*—have been highly appraised internationally for allowing high school students to make a smooth transition from school to work.

Having introduced the paths for high school graduates into employment, it is also important to note that the high school graduate labor market has shrunk

2 In Japanese-style employment practices, there are two different forms of employment: "regular employee" (*seishain*) and "non-regular employee" (*hiseishain*). There are significant differences between these two employment forms in terms of recruitment, vocational training, and promotions. Regular employees have opportunities for vocational training after recruitment, and high likelihood of promotions, while non-regular employees receive few opportunities for vocational training and have little likelihood of promotions. Regular employees are generally on full-time contracts with unlimited terms, while non-regular employees are generally under part-time, limited-term agreements. Mass recruitment of new graduates generally means the recruitment of regular employees, and new graduates compete to secure positions as regular employees.

drastically in the last few decades, with a drop in the number of job openings for high school graduates following its peak in 1992, accompanied by a concurrent decrease in the number of people entering employment after graduating from high school. In the same period there was also a decline in the number of job offers from urban-based companies seeking to recruit high school graduates from rural areas. The job types in which openings are available for high school graduates from remote areas are also currently almost entirely limited to skilled work in the manufacturing industry. Job openings for people from other prefectures are also significantly influenced by trends in the economy, and the numbers of openings decrease in recession periods. Figure VI-4 in the second half of this section allows us to ascertain the average national percentages of high school students who migrate to enter employment (the rate of entering employment in another prefecture).

We will now look at the transition from university to work. Japanese universities are generally ranked in a hierarchical structure based on academic performance. In recruiting students, companies use the university that a candidate graduated from as an indicator of their "trainability," on the basis of the thinking that the higher the academic ranking of the university the candidate attends, the higher their "trainability." This leads to the trend that students who attend a university with a high academic ranking are more likely to enter employment at a highly-prestigious major company. These companies also recruited university graduates as future executive candidates, and had them transfer to locations throughout Japan before.

Let us now summarize the overall trends in job seeking among Japanese university students since Japan's postwar period of high economic growth. Up until the 1970s, university students looked for places of employment through their universities, and while the emergence of private companies from the 1980s onward saw a decline in the role of universities, universities continued to occupy a certain position in job-seeking activities. According to a cross-national survey conducted by the Japan Institute of Labour in the early 1990s, a distinct characteristic of the methods of job seeking among Japanese university students is the high percentage of students who "used the university career service or university facility offering information on employment" and students who "consulted with a university faculty member" (Japan Institute of Labour, 2001). Brinton and Kariya (1998) likened the ties between universities and companies in the 1980s to a "semi-institutional network" in which students utilize their network with graduates. That is to say, due to the fact that the provision of job openings was controlled by the university (or graduates), the university graduate labor market was segmented according to university rank or major.

However, in recent years, universities have a smaller role in job hunting than they have played in the past.[3] According to a private survey, around 30-40% of students find employment largely by using private-sector websites that provide job-hunting assistance. With such developments, since the 2000s the university graduate labor market—which was formerly segmented according to university (rank) or major—has been unified within the internet environment, and has seemingly flattened out. As this has led to many students applying to major companies that they formerly felt they had no chance of entering, major companies have found they have to handle large amounts of applicants seeking employment.[4] The process of matching candidates with companies in the university graduate labor market has become more difficult than in former times, as companies are burdened by huge numbers of applications, while students are burdened with the strict selection processes.

3 Data from the Social Stratification and Social Mobility (SSM) survey on university and graduate school graduates' paths into their first job highlights the decreasing percentage of students who find employment "through school." (Fukui, 2016) While around 52% of university and graduate school graduates born between 1935 and 1944 found employment "through school," among university graduates born between 1975 and 1984 this percentage decreased to 32.6%, and the percentage who "applied directly" has risen to over 40%.

4 Companies often use the university that the candidate attends as an indicator for selection, as a means of handling large amounts of applicants.

Moreover, in the 1990s Japan saw a drastic rise in the percentage of people going on to university.[5] As a result, there are no longer such overwhelming trends for university graduates to be employed as candidates for executive-level positions or on the premise of potential job transfers throughout Japan.

As the Japanese government has pursued a policy aimed at ensuring that there is a greater spread of universities across rural areas, there are also a rising percentage of students at universities in rural areas among the total number of students. According to the *School Basic Survey* (MEXT) the percentage of undergraduate students at universities in Tokyo was 34.3% in the 1980 academic year, but this decreased to 24.1% in the 2000 academic year, and has remained at 25.6% in the 2015 academic year.

2-2. Trends in continuing education or entering employment among new graduates

In this half of Section 2, we will draw on specific data to look at the status of Japanese graduates directly after graduation. On the basis of government statistics (*School Basic Survey*), we will also confirm the broad trends in the numbers of people who remain in their prefecture of origin and the numbers of people who migrate to another prefecture, with a particular focus on the migration at the time of continuing education or entering employment after graduation from high school.

Firstly, Table VI-3 presents data on the trends in the numbers of new graduates, the ratios of new graduates continuing their education (percentages of new graduates who continued their education), and the numbers of new graduates entering the labor market and the ratios thereof (percentages of new graduates who entered the labor market).

This data reflects the fact that Japan has seen a rise in the percentage of people who go to higher education institutions over the last 50 to 60 years. Currently more than 95% of junior high school graduates go on to high school, and over 50% of high school graduates go on to a higher level of education (university, etc.).[6] In line with this trend, the percentage of people entering the labor market after graduation from high school declined substantially between 1960 and 2014, from 61.3% to 17.5%. As Japan has experienced such a rapid increase in the numbers of people going on to higher education, and significant drop in the number of people entering the labor market after graduation from high school, it is conceivable that the positions and regional distribution of new high school graduates in the labor market are shifting away from their conventional trends.

Let us now address whether, with this increase in the percentage of people going on to higher education in Japan, some form of changes are now developing in the trends of regional migration of people who enter employment after graduating from high school.

Figure VI-4 shows the changes in the rate of entering employment in another prefecture from the 1960s to the present, on the basis of data from the *School Basic Survey*, conducted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, regarding the numbers of high school graduates entering employment in another prefecture by place of employment.

The figure shows that after peaking at 32.5% in 1972, the rate of high school graduates entering employment in another prefecture decreased and hit an all-time low of 17.3% in 2001. The rate of entering employment in another prefecture is 18.4% at present (2015). Moreover, if we compare the figures for males and females, the rate of entering employment in another prefecture is consistently lower for females than for males. Namely, women tend to enter employment in a location that is within commutable distance from their home area. While it is conceivable that such changes in the rate of entering employment in another prefecture are related to economic and

5 As Table IV-3 confirms, the rate of continuing education after high school rose significantly from 30.5% in 1990 to 45.1% in 2000.

6 Moreover, while junior colleges (*tanki daigaku*) played a key role in raising the rate of women going on to higher education in the postwar period, in recent years both the number of junior colleges and numbers of students who attend them are decreasing considerably along with the shift toward female students going on to study at university.

Table VI-3 Number/ratio of New Graduates Continuing Education or Entering the Labor Market

(1,000 persons, %)

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2013	2014
Junior High School								
New graduates	1,770	1,667	1,723	1,982	1,465	1,228	1,185	1,193
New graduates entering the labor market	683.7	271.3	67.4	54.8	14.9	5.4	4.5	4.6
Ratio of new graduates continuing their education	57.7	82.1	94.2	94.4	95.9	96.3	96.6	96.5
Ratio of new graduates entering the labor market	38.6	16.3	3.9	2.8	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.4
High School								
New graduates	934	1,403	1,399	1,767	1,329	1,069	1,088	1,047
New graduates entering the labor market	572.5	816.7	599.7	622.3	247.1	168.7	184.6	183.6
Ratio of new graduates continuing their education	17.2	24.2	31.9	30.5	45.1	54.3	53.2	53.8
Ratio of new graduates entering the labor market	61.3	58.2	42.9	35.2	18.6	15.8	17.0	17.5
Junior College								
New graduates	30	115	170	208	178	71	62	59
New graduates entering the labor market	17.5	80.2	128.9	181.1	99.6	46.7	45.9	44.2
Ratio of new graduates continuing their education	8.6	3.8	3.2	3.4	9.4	11.7	10.5	10.5
Ratio of new graduates entering the labor market	58.9	70.3	76.0	87.0	56.0	65.4	73.5	75.2
University								
New graduates	120	241	379	400	539	541	559	566
New graduates entering the labor market	99.5	187.7	285.0	324.1	300.7	329.1	375.9	394.8
Ratio of new graduates continuing their education	3.8	5.2	4.4	6.8	10.7	13.4	11.3	11.1
Ratio of new graduates entering the labor market	83.2	78.1	75.3	81.0	55.8	60.8	67.3	69.8

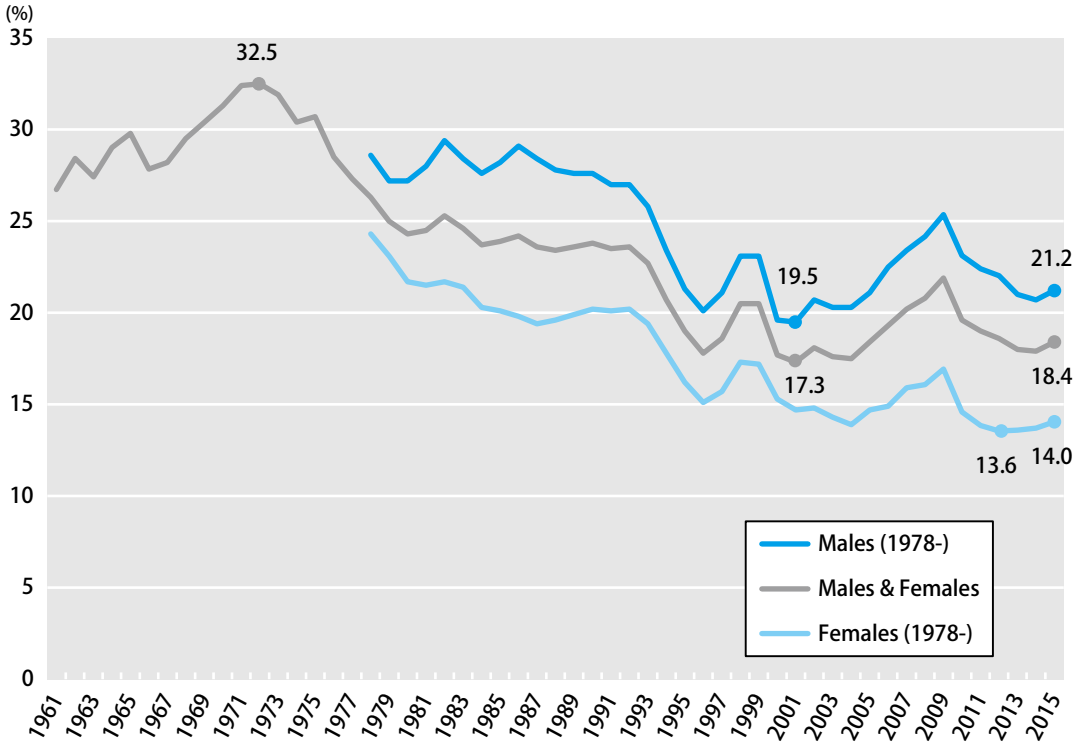
Source: JILPT (2016, pp. 66-7)

employment conditions either in Japan as a whole or in jobseekers' home prefectures, it is presumed that these changes may also be influenced by shifts in the attitudes of young people toward their home area.

Let us now turn to the trends among people who go to higher education (university, etc.) after graduating from high school. Figure VI-5 shows the numbers and percentages of people who went to a university in the same prefecture as their high school, on the basis of data from MEXT's *School Basic Survey* for universities (undergraduate faculties) on numbers of students entering university by prefecture of their high school. If we treat those people who went to universities in the same prefecture as their high school as "non-migrants" at the time of continuing education, the figure allows us to gain a broad picture of the extent of migration to another prefecture for going on to university.

From Figure VI-5, which shows the correlation between going on to university and regional

Figure VI-4 Trends in the Rate of High School Graduates Entering Employment in Another Prefecture



Source: Created based on data from the *School Basic Survey*, MEXT.

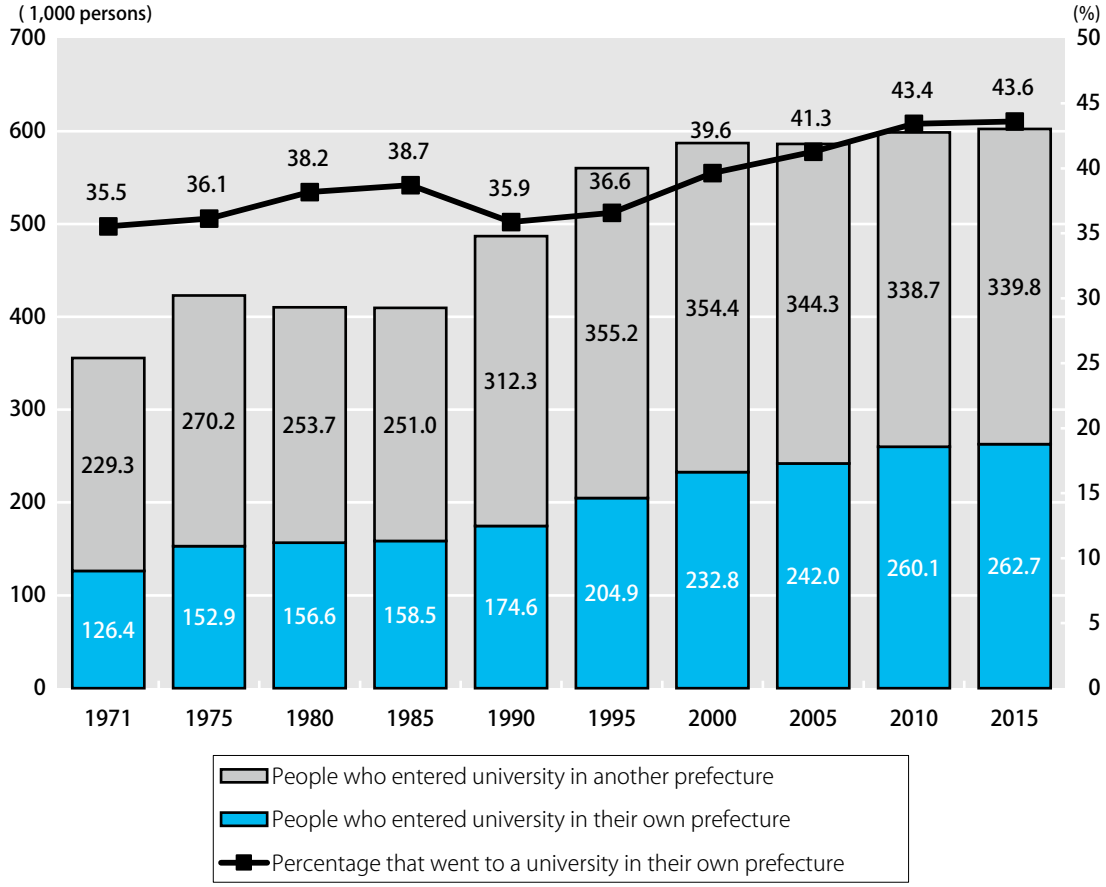
migration at five-year intervals, it can be seen that the closer to the present, the higher the numbers of people going on to university, and that in parallel with this trend, the percentage of people going to a university in the same prefecture as their high school has increased from 35.5% in 1971 to 43.6% in 2015, a rise of around 8%. In other words, this suggests that the percentage of people migrating to another prefecture to go to university is on the decrease.

However, as the data used here only allows us to ascertain the locations of the high schools that subjects studied at and the universities they go to, subjects who went to a university that is in another prefecture from their home area but still within commutable distance from their home prefecture are also counted as migrants. As a result, there is a high likelihood that the estimates for people who migrated to go to university are higher and the estimates for people who did not migrate to go to university are lower than actual figures.

Here we have confirmed the trends in regional migration among new graduates on the basis of the *School Basic Survey*, a representative set of government statistics related to education. This has shown that migration to another prefecture for employment or continuing education after graduation from high school is on the decrease. However, in order to grasp the shifts in regional migration among people in the young age bracket, it is necessary to analyze longer term patterns of migration. Particularly given the substantial increase in the percentage of people continuing their education after graduating from high school—which is now over 50%—we need to ascertain migration trends (whether or not they migrate, and if so in what pattern, i.e. at what timings) among people who go on to university or other higher education institutions for both the point of continuing education and the point of entering employment.

The following section will draw on analysis of longer-term migration patterns to investigate whether

Figure VI-5 Numbers and Percentages of People Who Went to a University in the Same Prefecture as Their High School



Source: Created based on data from the *School Basic Survey*, MEXT.
Note: Data regarding areas other than the 47 prefectures of Japan ("other") were omitted from calculations. Figures for 1971 do not include Okinawa.

Japan is beginning to see a trend of young people remaining in their home area, and whether an increasing number of people are making "U-turns"—namely, returning to their place of origin—after moving to another prefecture.

3. Is there an Increase in Out-migration of Young People from Rural Areas?: Drawing on Analysis of O-E-J Patterns[7]

The previous section provided an outline of the linkage between the education system and the labor market in Japan with reference to specific data. This data suggested that along with the rise in the percentage of people going on to higher education in Japan, there has been a decrease in prefectural out-migration for continuing education or entering a job at the time of graduation from high school.

This section will draw on more detailed analysis to investigate the long-term trends in regional migration among people in the young age bracket. The outflow of people from rural areas into metropolitan areas has recently been seen as a problem, but is it really the case that young people from rural areas are migrating to urban areas more than in previous generations? Moreover, what kinds of differences are there in

7 "O-E-J" is a combination of the first letters of "Origin," "Education" and "Job."

migration trends depending on attributes such as sex or level of educational attainment? And is the number of people who make "U-turns" (people who return to their place of origin after initially migrating) low?

This section answers the aforementioned questions by conducting secondary data analysis on *The National Survey on Migration*, a large-scale survey regarding population issues in Japan.

3-1. The data used for analysis

The National Survey on Migration is a national-scale large-sample survey which has been conducted by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research (IPSS) on a regular basis since 1976 with the aim of clarifying the trends in population migration in Japan. The questions included in this survey cover not only the attributes of the subjects (sex, date of birth, education, current work, etc.) and their most recent migration status, but also factors such as their place of residence and age for each stage of life. It can be said to be highly important data for shedding light on what kinds of groups of young people experience regional migration, and at what kind of timing.

In this section, we conduct secondary data analysis using the *7th The National Survey on Migration*, conducted in 2011, which is currently the most recent of the surveys. As it was carried out in the aftermath of the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, the 7th survey did not cover the three prefectures struck by the earthquake (Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima), but it does have the merit that it allows us to ascertain the status of migration of young people in recent years. Basic information on the 7th survey is set out in Table VI-6.

For detailed information on the survey, please refer to IPSS (2013).

3-2. Explanation of O-E-J patterns

Let us now explain the approach that we have adopted for the analysis in this section. Among people in the young age bracket, going on to a higher level of education and entering one's first job are key timings at which migration may occur. This means that when looking at how trends in regional migration among young people shift between the generations it is necessary to ascertain the trends in regional migration at the points of continuing education and entering employment.

In this section, we therefore look at patterns made by combining three points—"place of origin,"[8] "place of residence at completion of last school," and "place of residence at first job"—and clarify the changes in the major flow of population migration among people in the young age bracket by comparing these patterns between the generations.

In previous research it has often been the case that migration at the time of continuing education and

Table VI-6 Basic Information on the *7th National Survey on Migration*[9]

Subjects of the survey	Heads and members of all households in 288 survey districts (excluding 3 disaster-hit prefectures)
Number of households surveyed	15,449 households
Response rate of households surveyed (valid response rate)	74.7% (73.5%)
Total number of household members in households that provided valid responses	29,320

※ Year of birth by generation
20s: 1981-1991 30s: 1971-1981 40s: 1961-1971 50s: 1951-1961 60s: 1941-1951

8 Here "place of origin" refers to place of residence at completion of junior high school rather than place of birth.

9 Created based on IPSS (2013).

migration at the time of entering employment have been discussed separately. However, because migration at the time of entering employment is thought to be considerably influenced by migration at the time of continuing education, and because we wish to ascertain the extent of U-turns among people in the young age bracket, we have adopted the approach of looking at the migration patterns over the three points set out above. We refer to these migration patterns that cover the timing at which people continue education

Table VI-7 The Eight Main O-E-J Patterns and the Various Patterns They Consist of

place of residence at completion of junior high school (place of origin)	→ place of residence at completion of last school	→ place of residence at first job	O-E-J patterns	Males (Number, %)		Females (Number, %)		Males & Females (Number, %)	
place of origin(Urban)	place of origin	place of origin ⟶	Urban/ Non-migrants	1,507	*29.7*	1,866	*37.6*	3,373	*33.6*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to another urban area	place of origin	Urban/U-turn migrants	79	*1.6*	47	*0.9*	126	*1.3*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to rural area	place of origin		44	*0.9*	8	*0.2*	52	*0.5*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to another urban area	remained in the same area	Urban/ Out-migrants for education	101	*2.0*	82	*1.7*	183	*1.8*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to rural area	moved to another urban area		18	*0.4*	5	*0.1*	23	*0.2*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to another urban area	moved to rural area		20	*0.4*	5	*0.1*	25	*0.2*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to rural area	remained in the same area		26	*0.5*	7	*0.1*	33	*0.3*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to another urban area	moved to another urban area		49	*1.0*	11	*0.2*	60	*0.6*
place of origin(Urban)	moved to rural area	moved to another rural area		13	*0.3*	0	*0.0*	13	*0.1*
place of origin(Urban)	place of origin	moved to another urban area	Urban/ Out-migrants for the first job	224	*4.4*	121	*2.4*	345	*3.4*
place of origin(Urban)	place of origin	moved to rural area		45	*0.9*	18	*0.4*	63	*0.6*
place of origin(Rural)	place of origin	place of origin ⟶	Rural/ Non-migrants	1,432	*28.3*	1,848	*37.2*	3,280	*32.6*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to another rural area	place of origin	Rural/U-turn migrants	92	*1.8*	67	*1.3*	159	*1.6*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to urban area	place of origin		172	*3.4*	116	*2.3*	288	*2.9*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to another rural area	remained in the same area	Rural/ Out-migrants for education	42	*0.8*	56	*1.1*	98	*1.0*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to urban area	moved to another rural area		42	*0.8*	8	*0.2*	50	*0.5*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to another rural area	moved to urban area		70	*1.4*	23	*0.5*	93	*0.9*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to urban area	remained in the same area		228	*4.5*	172	*3.5*	400	*4.0*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to another rural area	moved to another rural area		32	*0.6*	7	*0.1*	39	*0.4*
place of origin(Rural)	moved to urban area	moved to another urban area		104	*2.1*	43	*0.9*	147	*1.5*
place of origin(Rural)	place of origin	moved to another rural area	Rural/ Out-migrants for the first job	126	*2.5*	43	*0.9*	169	*1.7*
place of origin(Rural)	place of origin	moved to urban area		483	*9.5*	299	*6.0*	782	*7.8*
Unknown				137	*2.7*	115	*2.3*	252	*2.5*
Total				5,068	*100.0*	4,967	*100.0*	10,053	*100.0*

and the timing at which people enter employment as "O-E-J patterns." For this analysis, the various O-E-J patterns have ultimately been consolidated into eight main patterns: (1) "Urban/Non-migrants," (2) "Urban/U-turn migrants," (3) "Urban/Out-migrants for education," (4) "Urban/Out-migrants for the first job," (5) "Rural/Non-migrants," (6) "Rural/U-turn migrants," (7) "Rural/Out-migrants for education," and (8) "Rural/Out-migrants for the first job."[10] These eight main patterns and the various patterns they consist of are set out in Table VI-7.

The following analysis is limited to subjects whose employment status and type of job immediately after completion of last school was "regular employee." Moreover, "place of origin" is defined as the subject's place of residence at completion of junior high school. The analysis subjects are therefore people who have already graduated (people not in education at the time of the survey) and who have graduated high school or above.

3-3. Analysis 1: Overall trends

Let us start by confirming the overall trends in O-E-J patterns with figures for all generations combined, as shown in Figure VI-8. Looking at O-E-J patterns for both males and females combined, "urban/non-migrants" account for 33.6% and "rural/non-migrants" account for 32.6%, showing that over 60% (66.2%) of the total do not migrate from their place of origin, neither when continuing education nor when entering first position of employment. Focusing on the differences in the figures for males and females, there is a higher proportion of non-migrants among females than among males.

Looking now at people who migrated to another prefecture at the time of continuing education or entering their first job, of the total (males and females combined), around 6% are U-turn migrants who returned to their place of origin ("urban/U-turn migrants": 1.8%, "rural/U-turn migrants": 4.4%), around 12% are out-migrants for education ("urban/out-migrants for education": 3.4%, "rural/out-migrants for education": 8.2%), and around 14% are out-migrants for the first job ("urban/out-migrants for the first job": 4.1%, "rural/out-migrants for the first job": 9.5%). The proportion of people who have experienced migration is higher among people originally from rural areas than among people originally from urban areas.

In other words, 1) people who migrate for continuing their education or entering employment while in the young age bracket account for around 30% of the total; that is, over 60% are *not* migrating from their places of origin in the young age bracket, and 2) the percentage of males who have experienced migration is higher than said percentage for females.

As differences across the generations were not accounted for in the analysis above, we will now look at the changes in the O-E-J patterns between the generations to address the question of whether regional migration is occurring among the young generation. The O-E-J patterns by generation are shown in Figure VI-9.[11]

Looking at the O-E-J patterns by generations, the total percentages of non-migrants and U-turn migrants at the time of entering their first job shows a gradual increase from the 60s to the 20s. Moreover, in reverse to this trend, among the young generations, mainly young people migrating out for first jobs, there are lower percentages of people who migrate to other prefectures from their place of origin and do not return.

This trend is particularly evident in the case of males, among whom there is a higher percentage of migrants in comparison with females (see Figure VI-10 for the results for males).

10 Here "urban areas" refers to the three large metropolitan areas: the Tokyo area (Tokyo metropolitan area, Kanagawa prefecture, Saitama prefecture, and Chiba prefecture), the Chukyo area (Aichi prefecture, Gifu prefecture, and Mie prefecture), and the Osaka Area (Osaka prefecture, Hyogo prefecture, Kyoto prefecture, and Nara prefecture). "Rural areas" refers to the prefectures other than the three large metropolitan areas (non-metropolitan areas).

11 The generations are age groups in ten-year brackets (i.e. age 20-30, age 30-40, etc.). Due to issues concerning the sample size, only the results for the 20s to the 60s are shown in the figures. Moreover, ages are ages at the time of the survey, calculated on the basis of year and month of birth. See Table VI-6 for the correlation between year of birth and generation.

Figure VI-8 O-E-J Patterns by Gender (Totals for all generations/all educational attainment levels)

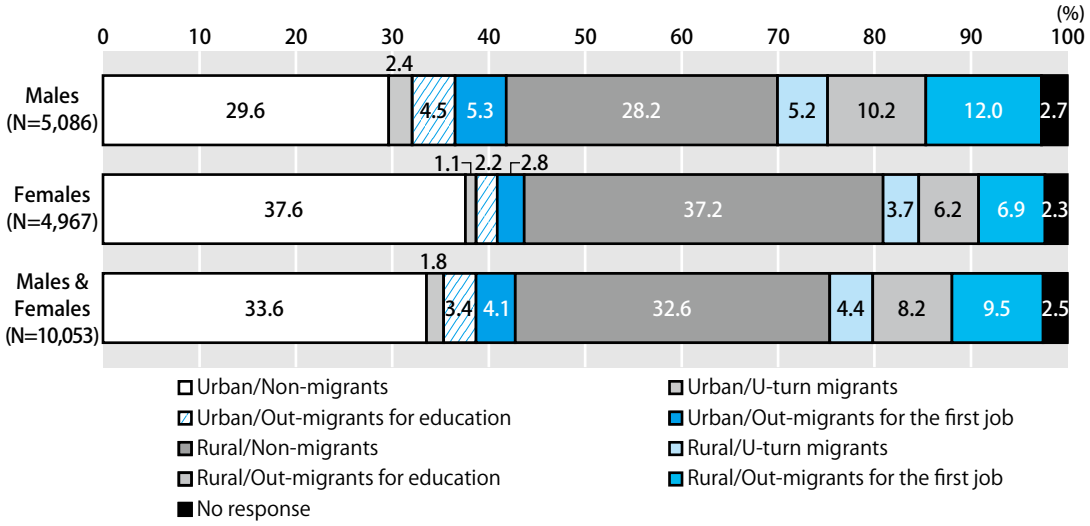
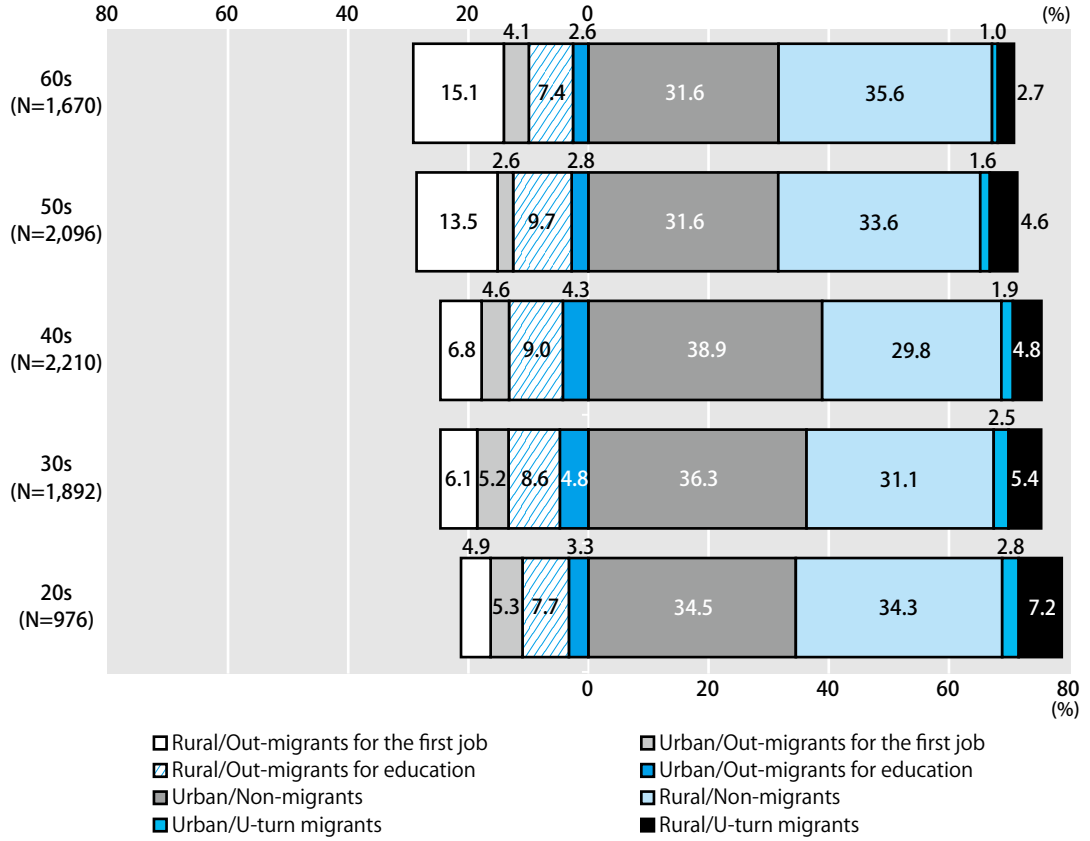
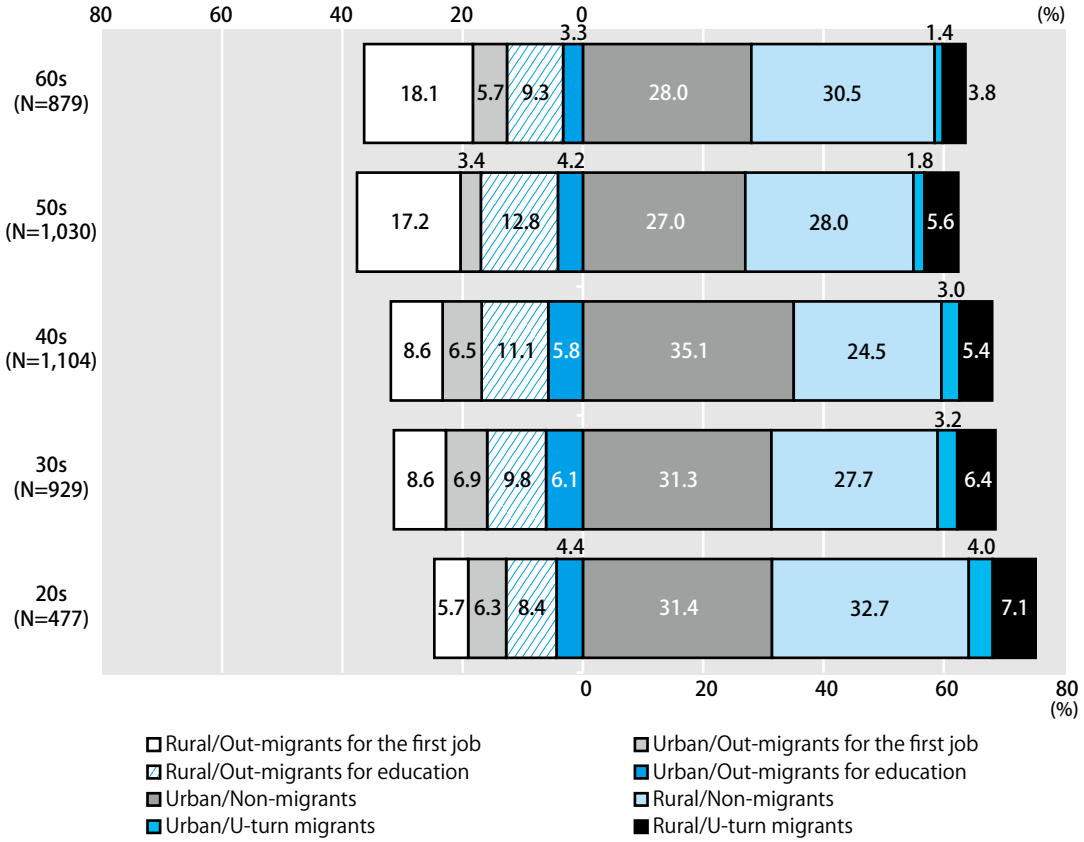


Figure VI-9 O-E-J Patterns by Generation (Totals for both genders/all educational attainment levels)



Note: On the x-axis, the right-hand side shows the total percentage of non-migrants and U-turn migrants, and the left-hand side shows the total percentage of out-migrants for education and out-migrants for the first job.

Figure VI-10 O-E-J Patterns by Generation (Totals for males/all educational attainment levels)



Note: On the x-axis, the right-hand side shows the total percentage of non-migrants and U-turn migrants, and the left-hand side shows the total percentage of out-migrants for education and out-migrants for the first job.

3-4. Analysis 2: The changes between generations in the O-E-J patterns of people from rural areas

1) Differences in O-E-J patterns between generations

As shown in the previous section, there are differences in the migration trends (O-E-J patterns) of Japanese people in the young age bracket, depending on sex and generation. The percentage of people who have experienced regional migration is also influenced by place of origin, and the percentage of people who experience migration at the time of continuing education or entering their first job is higher among people originally from rural areas than among people originally from urban areas.

Let us now look at how peoples' O-E-J patterns have changed between the generations when focusing on rural areas, for which there is a high likelihood of people experiencing migration to another prefecture. By limiting the subject of analysis to people originally from rural areas, this section investigates generational changes having accounted for the fact that there are differences in the composition of people from urban areas and people from rural areas by generation.

Firstly, Figure VI-11 shows the O-E-J patterns for males originally from rural areas by generation (totals for all educational attainment levels).

This shows that the percentage for "rural/non-migrants" rises from the 50s to the 20s (50s: 44.0% → 20s: 60.7%). In parallel with this, the percentage of "rural/U-turn migrants" also rises (60s: 6.1% → 20s: 13.2%).

On the other hand, the percentage of "rural/

out-migrants for the first job," which is in the high 20 percents for the 50s and the 60s, shows a significant decrease, and is in the high 10 percents for the 30s and the 40s, and around 10% (10.5%) for the 20s. The percentage of "rural/out-migrants for education" also shows a gradual decrease following a peak for the 40s (22.3%).

In other words, it is thought that in the case of males originally from rural areas, the younger the generation the greater the decrease in the percentage of people who migrate to another prefecture when continuing education or entering employment, and the greater the increase in those who do not leave their place of origin or who initially migrate but make a U-turn back to their place of origin at the time of entering their first job.

Turning to the trends for females, Figure VI-12 shows the O-E-J patterns for females originally from rural areas by generation (totals for all educational attainment levels).

The figure shows that the percentage of "rural/non-migrants" is in the high 60 percents for all generations, with a slight decrease from the 40s to the 20s (40s: 68.7% → 20s: 66.1%). The percentage of "rural/U-turn migrants" shows an increase from the 60s to the 20s, to a similar or greater extent than for males (60s: 2.5% → 20s: 13.3%).

On the other hand, the percentage for "rural/out-migrants for the first job" tends to be lower in generations younger than the 40s, in comparison with the 50s and 60s (60s: 19.7% → 20s: 7.7%). The percentage for "rural/out-migrants for education" does not change particularly significantly between the generations.

As these figures show, the percentage of regional migrants is lower among females than it is for males whichever the generation, and the percentage of non-migrants is high, while at the same time, the percentage of migrants shows a slight rise from the 40s to the 20s. However, the changes between the generations are relatively unclear. The fact that among females the percentage of people going on to higher education increases later than males, and also that there is a considerable percentage of people who go to

Figure VI-11 O-E-J Patterns for Males Originally from Rural Areas (Totals for all educational attainment levels)

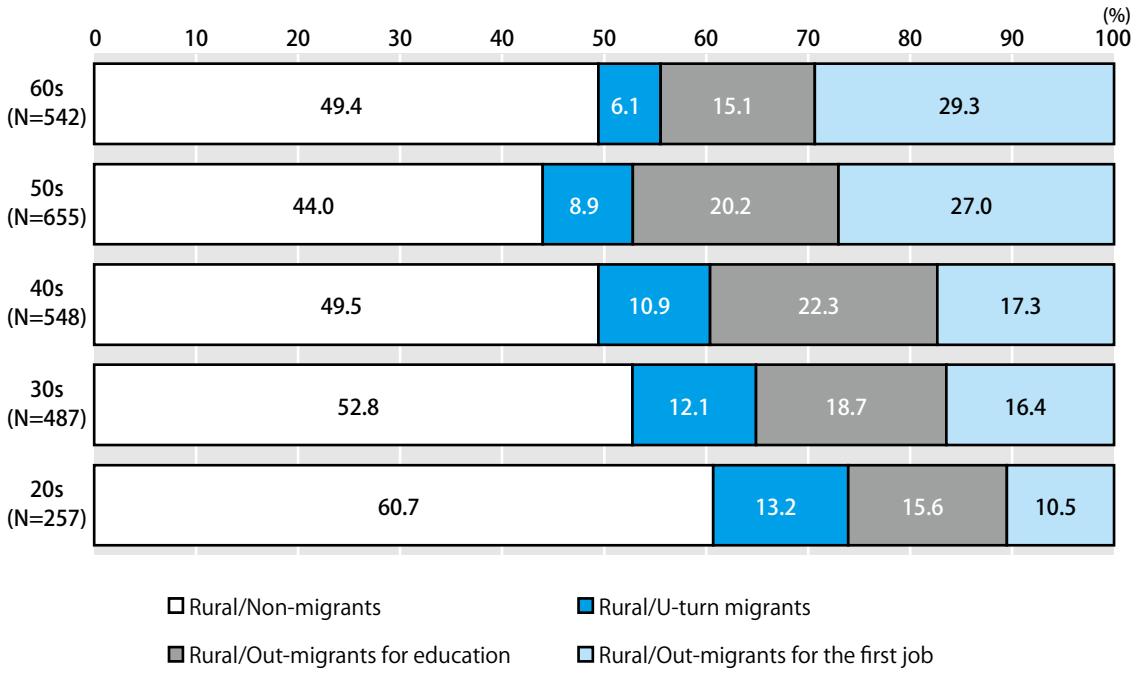
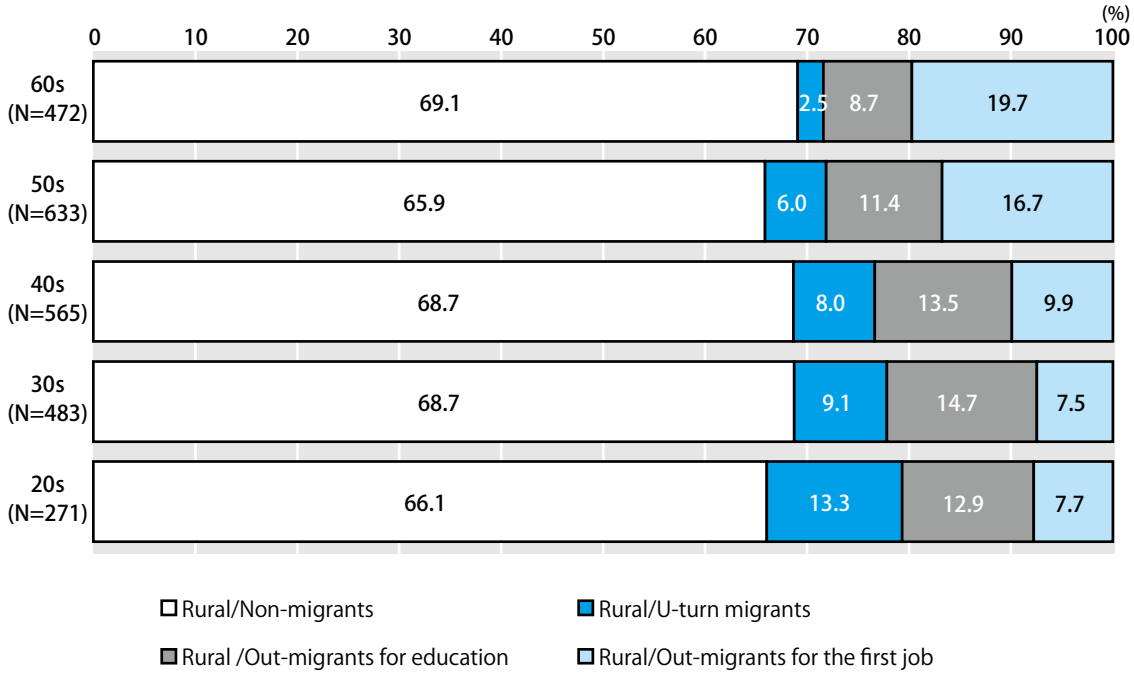


Figure VI-12 O-E-J Patterns for Females Originally from Rural Areas (Totals for all educational attainment levels)



institutions other than universities (specialized training colleges/junior colleges, etc.) are probably factors behind these differences in migration trends between males and females. However, it is also notable that even in the case of females originally from rural areas, the percentage of people who migrate when entering employment is on the decrease, and the percentage of people who migrate to another prefecture to continue education but make a U-turn to their place of origin at the time of entering employment is also on the increase.

For both males and females from rural areas, it cannot be said that there is a conspicuously growing number of people who migrate from place of origin to another prefecture the younger the generation. Moreover, it is also thought that the number of people who initially migrated out but make a U-turn to their place of origin may in fact be increasing.

2) Differences in changes in O-E-J patterns by educational attainment

Finally, we will look at the O-E-J patterns for people originally from rural areas by educational attainment. The analysis above included graduates from high school to university and graduate school, but how do the percentages of migrants and magnitude of changes differ according to educational attainment? Let us limit this investigation to males, for whom it is relatively easier to grasp the changes between the generations. Moreover, results for males who graduated from specialized training colleges, junior colleges, and technical colleges will be omitted here due to the small sample size.

Figure VI-13 shows the O-E-J patterns for male high school graduates originally from rural areas.

Looking at the figure, the percentage of "rural/non-migrants" increases in stages, with the 50s and the 60s at around 60%, 30s and 40s at around 75%, and 20s at over 80% (87.4%).

On the other hand, along with such changes in the percentages of "rural/non-migrants," the percentage of "rural/out-migrants for the first job" decreases, with the 50s and the 60s at just under 40%, the 30s and 40s in the low 20 percents, and the 20s at around 10% (11.7%). Moreover, as the number of people who migrate to another prefecture at the time of

going on to high school is generally small, the percentages of "rural/out-migrants for education" and "rural/U-turn migrants" are extremely low.

As this shows, in the case of male high school graduates originally from rural areas, there are significant changes in O-E-J pattern depending on the generation, and the younger generations show a greater tendency for the percentage of people who enter employment in the same prefecture after graduating from high school to be higher than the percentage of those who migrate to another prefecture. It can be said that as the number of people who go on to higher education increases and the number of people who enter employment after graduating from high school decreases significantly, the composition of the areas where people enter employment (urban areas-rural areas) has changed.

Let us now look at the trends for male university and graduate school graduates originally from rural areas. The results are shown in Figure VI-14.

Looking first at the percentage of "rural/non-migrants," it rises consistently from the 50s to the 20s, and is around 30% or higher in the 20s and 30s (50s: 21.8% → 20s: 33.0%). It is thought that the closer to the present, the higher the percentage of people who go to a university that is a commutable distance from their place of origin, and who remain in the same prefecture when entering employment.

On the other hand, looking at the people who have experienced migration to another prefecture, the percentage of "rural/out-migrants for education," people who migrated to another prefecture at the time of continuing education and did not return, decreases from the 60s to the 20s (60s: 47.3% → 20s: 30.9%). Moreover, looking at "rural/U-turn migrants," people who initially migrated to another prefecture but returned to their place of origin at the time of entering their first job, the percentage increases from the 40s to the 20s (40s: 18.2% → 20s: 28.7%). Furthermore, while they were low from the start, the percentage of "rural/out-migrants for the first job" also shows a decrease from the 40s to the 20s (40s: 12.6% → 20s: 7.4%).

These results have confirmed that, as in the case of male high school graduates from rural areas, male university and graduate school graduates from rural

Figure VI-13 O-E-J Patterns for Male High School Graduates Originally from Rural Areas

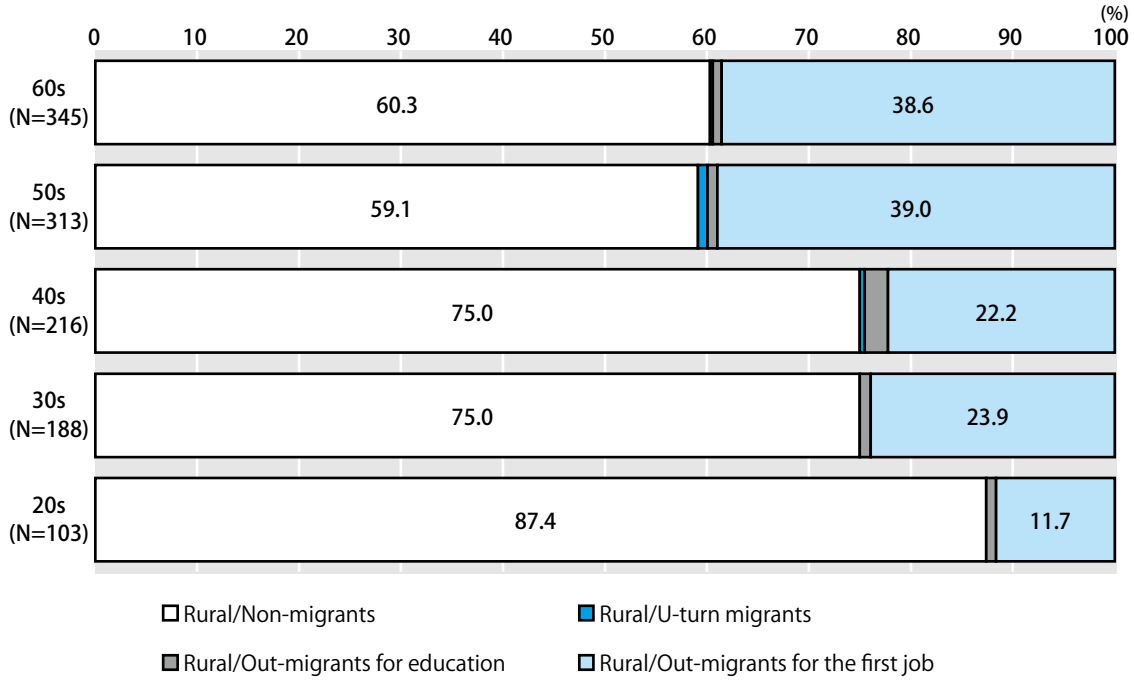
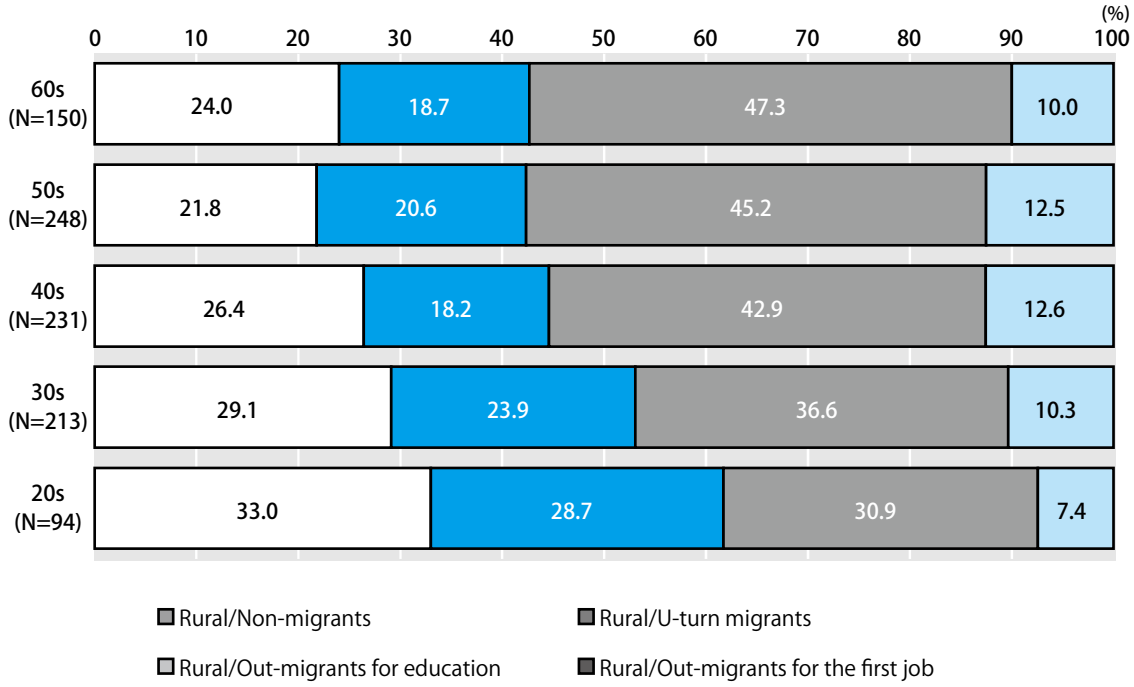


Figure VI-14 O-E-J Patterns of Male University/Graduate School Graduates Originally from Rural Areas



areas also show the trend that the younger the generation the higher the percentage of people who do *not* leave their place of origin at the time of continuing education or entering employment. As the percentage of U-turn migrants is also increasing, it is thought that it is *not* the case that a trend of young people with high educational attainment migrating out of rural areas has developed in recent years.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the trends in the regional migration of young people at the time of continuing their education and entering their first job, and how these trends have changed over the generations, on the basis of secondary data analysis of the *7th The National Survey on Migration* (2011) by the IPSS.

The results of this investigation have shown that O-E-J patterns (trends of migration in the young age bracket, which covers the point of continuing education and the point of entering employment for the first time) differ depending on sex or educational attainment. They have revealed that for the most part, it is not the case that there is a greater trend of migration from rural areas to another prefecture among the young generations, and in fact the percentage of people who migrate to another prefecture for their first job is decreasing and the percentage of people who do not migrate is increasing. It has also been shown that while over the last few decades the numbers of people going on to a higher level of education such as university, etc. have increased significantly, there is a growing percentage of "U-turn migrants" (people who migrate to another prefecture at the time of continuing education but return to their place of origin at the time of entering their first job), particularly among male university or graduate school graduates.

In recent years, it has been strongly insisted that young people are migrating out of rural areas, and efforts are being made to devise countermeasures on the basis that there is a problem that needs solving. However, the results of the analysis in this chapter have revealed that the younger the generation the greater the tendency for people to *not* migrate to another region either at the time of continuing their education or entering first job, or to return to their place

of origin even if they have migrated. Namely, this analysis has provided insights that indicate an increase in individual-level "localism" among young people.

However, in the analysis in this chapter it has not been possible to pursue a detailed investigation of the background and intentions of young people who remain in rural areas or young people who make "U-turns." This analysis also does not look at O-E-J patterns by prefecture or by region.

What kinds of young people from what characteristics of region remain in or return to their home areas, or migrate to another prefecture, particularly to an urban area? It cannot be said that there is currently sufficient data to show a detailed overall picture of regional migration among young people in Japan. In order to devise highly-effective measures to tackle problems related to young people and rural areas in the future, it is essential to accumulate further survey research and draw on such research to answer these remaining questions.

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