Migration and Security in Northeast Asia: Political Aspects

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is processes of migration and how these relate to national, regional and international security: 1. A consideration of threats to the security of the Russian Far East in connection with external and internal migration. 2. Similar processes in the countries of the Northeast Asia region and their influence on the state of regional security as a whole. The purpose of the work is to analyze the above-mentioned phenomenon in Northeast Asia, as well as the impact of migration processes on regional security. Comparative and historical approaches are used in the research. These approaches made it possible to analyze the particularities of shaping the “agenda” of regional security in NEA and, in particular, in matters of migration. In addition, they facilitate an analysis of how national approaches to ensuring security in the region and threats in the field of migration (in parallel with them) have changed. While there is a sufficiently large number of studies on migration in general, there is currently no work in Russian political science that deals with the problems of migration in Northeast Asia in the context of regional and international security. Migration is a real, not a potential, security threat.

Keywords: Migration, Northeast Asia, China, Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Russian Far East, security
1. Introduction

The correlation of migration with security is not a new phenomenon. However, it is ambiguous. Today, the inclusion of migration threats in the list of security issues is considered in the European scientific community as politically incorrect and even undemocratic. However, both in Europe and in North America serious analytical works have been conducted by specialists in the field of “security studies”, which are fully or partially devoted to migration issues in the context of international security. There is no specific term for the concept that brings together the spectrum of these threats. Thus, the most commonly used construction is “migration and security”.

The ratio of these two concepts has arisen quite often in the history of mankind in politics and in the public consciousness, particularly during periods of large-scale wars, major and momentous upheavals that lead to massive migrations and movements of peoples. Most developed countries now, without any wars, face serious challenges associated with unprecedented global migration processes. This became especially evident after the intensification of the civil conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic and the antiterrorist campaigns of Russia and the countries of the Western Coalition in 2015-2016, as well as the influx of migrants from the countries of the Maghreb and the Middle East that rushed into Europe. These events have demonstrated that measures to control the borders, and to find and expel illegal immigrants are not able to eradicate or even seriously minimize the problem of illegal migration. But at the same time, one should avoid the confusion of going to the other extreme since it is absolutely unacceptable to consider the whole complex of migration processes, all migration flows, as a security threat. This is fundamentally not true.

One of the concepts of security that emerged at the turn of the century was that of societal security, which emerged as a reaction of developed countries to migration flows “from the south”. The main focus and priority of this theoretical direction has become the protection of the values and benefits system of the Western world from any external influence, thus going against tolerant multiculturalism, which has been so popular recently. This concept unites a whole group of countries, that is, it has a supranational character, but at the same time it is not universal.

Migration is a process that is caused by a variety of factors both in the countries of exit and in the countries of reception. In addition, it influences numerous aspects of public life. This helps the sending and receiving countries to solve their immediate problems (economy, demography, politics, geopolitics), and thereby minimizes the security threats in these areas. On the other hand, the same process creates new challenges and security threats. Migration affects a variety of areas, aspects and types of national, regional and international security.

Many experts consider migration as a phenomenon that has a direct impact on the quantitative and qualitative indicators of crime due to the fact that migrants, encountering unfamiliar situations, experience psychological and domestic difficulties, and this has a negative effect on their behavior in the new social environment. For the same reason, migrants themselves often become victims of criminal encroachments (Sakharov, 1974). Other scholars hold the view that the dominance of migrants leads to an increase in xenophobia, radicalism and extremism, as well as to individual outbreaks of ethnic conflicts (Starchenkov, 1997).

Migration has an unconditional effect on various indicators of crime in host societies. An analysis of the sources on the study of the relationship between migration and crime has illustrated that there is some difference between developed and developing countries, both in the role of crime dynamics and in the composition of crimes. An important role is played by the migrants’ countries of exit. In some developing countries, such as Central and Latin America, high crime is one of the reasons for the migration of people from these countries to more developed countries,
including the United States and Canada. In economically developed countries, immigrants are most often one of the factors for increasing crime. For example, as noted by G.A. Antonopoulos, migrants account for 45.9% of the total prison population in Greece. At the same time, the co-income of migrants is approximately 6.4%. Most of the migrants are Albanians, about 63.7%. Migrants account for up to 27.6% of thefts, 24.9% of car thefts, 33.8% of robberies, 34% of rapes, 31.8% of murders (Mishchuk, 2016). The problems of illegal migration in EU countries also remain relevant, especially in recent years, due to the mass migration of the population from the Arab states of the Middle East and North Africa to Europe.

We begin with threats to the security of the Russian Federation, and the Russian Far East in particular. Many of the threats associated with migration in the FEFD regions are highly exaggerated and hyperbolic. This is connected with xenophobia which is common in Russia, with the political situation, and with a number of other factors.

First of all, it is necessary to separate real threats from imaginary ones, which are based on myths.

Threats to economic security occupy second place in the perception of society, after threats of a sociocultural plan.

Economic threats include:
1. The expansion of the shadow economy, hence the huge tax losses;
2. Growth of uncontrolled markets of counterfeit goods and services;
3. Increase in the level of smuggling, primarily of resources and various kinds of values.
4. Rooting negative shadow practices and stereotypes in the economy.

Viewed from various perspectives migration is, in one way or another, a security threat.

The relationship between migration and security is two-way. There are two levels of this interaction: Level 1 - the security of states and societies that are directly affected by migration; Level 2 - the safety of the people themselves, who form these migration flows.

2. Migration Processes in the Russian Far East, as a Threat to the Security of Pacific Russia

The Far East is traditionally a region of intensive migration. At the same time, international migration has a surplus. In the post-Soviet period and up to 2005 the share of the countries of the former Soviet Union in the migration dynamics of the Far East was unstable and ranged from 94% in 1998 to 6.6% in 2004.

An important element of the post-Soviet migration is immigration of the population from the CIS countries. As part of the study of the dynamics of permanent migration, an increase in the number of migrants from the former USSR countries is noted.

Within the framework of permanent migration, the largest number of migrants on arrival and departure are registered from Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Armenia. To a large extent, this growth can be explained by the legalization of the stay of representatives of the CIS, who had previously been in the Russian Federation illegally.

The structure of migrant workers by countries of arrival varies by region of the Far East.

Based on the ratio of the number of migrants who had valid work permits or a patent, the Far Eastern regions can be considered in two groups:

In the first group (Primorsky Krai, Amur and Jewish Autonomous Regions), the number of foreign citizens in 2015 who had a valid work permit exceeded the number of citizens who had a patent. According to the regional FMS of Russia, within the territorial structure of labor migrants
who worked under permits in 2015, Chinese migrants accounted for - 97% in the JAR, 74% in the Amur region, 55% in Primorsky Krai, 23% in Khabarovsk Krai (Mishchuk, 2016). As a result of the devaluation of the ruble, the decline in economic activity and the rising costs of employers to attract foreign workers in the southern regions of the Far Eastern Federal District, with the exception of the Jewish Autonomous Region, the share of migrants from the PRC is gradually decreasing (Federal Migration Service of Russia in the Primorsky Krai, 2015).

The second group includes six regions: the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the Kamchatka Territory, the Khabarovsk Territory, the Magadan Region, the Sakhalin Region and the Chukotka Autonomous Region. A characteristic of these regions is the excess of the number of foreign citizens who had a valid patent. In these regions, the largest number of migrants within the total number of citizens engaged in labor activity on the basis of a valid patent came from Uzbekistan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine.

The negative correlation in the FEFD suggests that the decline in the number of migrants does not have a significant effect on the decrease in crime rates in their environment compared to the average Russian indicators. A significant growth of crimes against foreigners can be noted. The maximum number of crimes committed by foreigners in Russia was recorded in 2009, with a subsequent, albeit very slow, decrease.

The national composition of foreign citizens in the territory of the Far East on January 1, 2013, was as follows: citizens of Uzbekistan - 33%; Chinese citizens - 16%; Kyrgyz citizens - more than 11%; citizens of Tajikistan - 9%; Ukrainian citizens - more than 8%; Armenian citizens - 5.9%; Azerbaijani citizens - 2.5%.

The majority of CIS citizens (54.5%) enter the DFO for the purpose of work. Those who enter for private purposes amount to 43.1%. In 41.4% of cases citizens of China declare tourism as their reason for entry and 28.6% declare work. The reason for such a high growth in the number of citizens of the countries of the former Soviet republics arriving in the Far East was the introduction of a patent system in our country in July 2010 that allows citizens of countries of the former Soviet republics to work without visas, without permission to work, and without going through the medical commission. At the same time, as a result of the introduction of this system, the migration of citizens from countries of the former Soviet republics is not regulated.

The main violations by migrants from China are attempts to cross the state border on newly issued passports obtained after changing personal data, as well as non-compliance with the rules of stay in the Russian Federation, such as employment on commercial visas in the catering, construction, and car repair industries, etc.

Among the negative factors accompanying migration, the biggest threats are those that determine illegal migration and, in particular, its criminal component.

Most of the crimes committed by foreigners in the Far East, occur to CIS citizens. The exception is the Jewish Autonomous Region, where citizens of the CIS account for less than 12% of the total number of crimes committed. In general, the largest number of crimes committed by migrants in 2016, accounted for Primorsky Krai - 32%, but in Magadan and Sakhalin regions, a very high proportion of crimes committed citizens of countries - former Soviet republics - more than 89%.

The nature of the crime changes depending on the countries of exit of the migrants committing crimes. Thus, citizens of the PRC, the DPRK, and Vietnam mainly commit crimes related to the violation of environmental legislation and in the sphere of economic activity. Isolated cases constitute crimes against the person, property, public safety and public order. Unlike migrants
from East Asia, citizens of the CIS more often commit crimes against life and health, sexual integrity, property, public safety and public order (Nikitenko, 2013).

When considering the influence of the law enforcement factor and the criminal situation on the social security of the territory of the Far East, the following two indicators were analyzed: the overall crime rate and the structure of crime. The dynamics of registered crimes per 100 thousand population (the so-called crime rate) for 1990-2012 had a rather unstable condition. If before 2002 the coefficient tended to increase, then in subsequent years it is in a rather unstable state. For the analyzed period, this ratio increased more than two times both in Russia as a whole and in the Far East. Among the Far Eastern regions, the largest growth - by 2.3-2.5 times - is characteristic of the Khabarovsky Territory, the Amur Region and the Jewish Autonomous Region. The peak of growth of indicators was in 2006, which is typical both for Russia and for the regions of the Far East. Compared with 2005, the increase in crime in 2006 was on average 1.08 times in the country and 1.25 times in the Far East. Primorsky Krai has the highest growth rate among the considered regions at 1.34 times.

In Russia and the Far Eastern Federal District, there was a decrease in the crime rate until 2014. In 2015 a surge in the crime rate was typical for all federal districts of the country. Meanwhile, the crime rate in the FEFD exceeds the national one by 32%.

Thus, the analysis showed that in most regions of the Far East the main share of crimes falls on citizens of the CIS, with the exception of the Jewish Autonomous Region, where Chinese citizens play a significant role in the structure of criminal manifestations. Depending on the countries of exit of migrants committing crimes, the structure of the crime itself changes. The correlation between the indicator of personal security and the crime rate of foreigners is high among the Far Eastern territories only in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia).

3. Migration as a Threat to Regional Security in NEA Countries

China. The People's Republic of China is a unique state of its kind. In addition to the historical continuity and more than two thousand years of history (claiming to be the oldest of the existing civilizations), the Celestial Empire has the largest population in the world (about 1.5 billion people). In 2018, China's population increased by 5.3 million people, whereas in the previous year, 2017, the increase was 7.37 million. Population growth has slowed by almost 2 million people, which is associated with the exhaustion of the positive effect of the abolition of the program “one family - one child”.

An additional factor of great significance is that most of the population is concentrated in the eastern provinces of China, in river valleys and on the coast (much more economically developed than other areas of the country). Thus, the population density in the east of the country is more than 400 people per square kilometer. At the same time, in Central China the population density is just over 200 people per square kilometre, and in the western provinces less than 10 people. During the last thirty years which has seen a process of rapid urbanization, a decrease in the rural population has taken place. The demographic burden in China is very high. Overcrowding and a very high population density leads to serious problems and threats to security - in the field of ecology, energy, food security, etc. In such conditions, the country’s leadership is trying by all means possible to encourage the resettlement, migration (temporary or labor) of its citizens to other countries. In connection with this, the specific foreign economic strategy “Going to the outside”, adopted in 2000, continues to operate. Moreover, a number of small territories, in particular, in the Russian Far East, are actually uninhabited and undeveloped.
Returning to the issue of internal migration in China, it should be noted that the number of rural residents who moved to the cities increased from 21 million in 1990, to 122 million in 2000 and continued to grow further. According to the report of the State Council on the situation in the villages, by the end of 2006 the number of labor resources in the villages was 530 million people, with a maximum need for a 200 million workforce, that is, the remaining 330 million is excess workforce, which moved to the cities due to lack of work. The processes of urbanization have become one of the causes of rising unemployment. This is one of the key problems of Chinese society, and with the modernization of the state it is one of the priorities for resolution.

In addition, in China, the problem of population aging is very acute. In accordance with the analysis of UN experts, by 2025 the population of people over 60 years old will be about 300 million in China. The demographic policy in force in the country until 2016 led to a situation that experts describe using the “4-2-1” formula. The essence of the formula is in the number of people in average families in different generations, namely 4 people in the older generation, 2 in the middle generation, and one person in the current generation. In the near future this will lead to very serious pressure on the entire social and economic system of China. The serious economic tasks that confront the state are superimposed on this. To maintain the current pace of economic development, an annual growth of at least 6.5% is needed. With these demographic problems that looks very difficult. One of the possible ways out of this situation could be raising the retirement age. However, modern China is unlikely to take such measures which are unpopular among the population. Another solution to the problem may be to attract labor migrants to the country. And, apparently, this is the official path that Beijing will take.

The Republic of Korea. Over the last quarter of a century, the Korean state showed a very high level of economic development, having achieved what is considered to be one of the leading economies in the APR. Rapid economic development has predetermined quite an urgent need to attract labor resources. Moreover, the range of such is very high - from low-skilled workers to specialists in the field of new technologies.

Like most developed countries, the Republic of Korea is faced with the fact that with an increase in the standard of living, its own population simply does not want to work in the service sector, in non-prestigious or low-paid work. As well as Western countries, Seoul today faces the problem of population aging (life expectancy has increased and fertility has decreased).

There is no potential in today’s Korea for internal migration. In villages, there is no excess population, and the further process of urbanization has slowed down significantly.

The construction boom of the last two decades has also contributed to the massive transition of low-skilled workers to the construction industry. At the same time, such areas as housing, communal services, and catering began to experience a high level of demand for labor without high qualification, with people being ready to work for little money.

The policy of attracting migrants from other states has become vital for the South Korean state. Every year a growing number of foreigners live and work in the territory of the Korean state. Within the short period of 1997 to 2007 the number of such has increased 2.75 times. Currently, more than 1.7 million foreigners live in the country. The following main groups of migrants in the Republic of Korea can be distinguished: 1) immigrants from North Korea; 2) foreign wives and husbands of Korean citizens; 3) unskilled workers of Korean origin who are citizens of other states; 4) low-skilled and unskilled workers from other countries.

The group of people from the DPRK is very numerous. These are those who fled because of the desire for a better life or disagreement with the policies of Pyongyang. In fact, the citizens of
the DPRK cannot be considered as migrants, since they will automatically be granted the status of citizens upon entering the country. That is, they get the same starting opportunities as other citizens of the republic. However, immigrants from the North require substantial adaptation to life in completely different economic, cultural, and psychological conditions. It should be noted that this process is under the control of the Government of the Republic of Korea. Special programs aimed at the adaptation of visiting North Koreans are operating and rehabilitation centers and other institutions are functioning. Foreign wives and husbands are a separate category, which should also be considered as a special group of migrants. Foreign nationals who marry Korean nationals are not allowed to work in the country. That is, their wives are signing commitments to take husbands on their maintenance. High-level specialists travel to Korea under individual contracts from around the world. Much more difficult is the case of low-skilled labor. The Republic of Korea prefers to invite Koreans from other countries who can work in the country. At the same time, the number of non-Korean migrants is increasing. First of all, these are the inhabitants of the China. Basically, not so many Chinese from the PRC come to the Republic of Korea, but rather people from Hong Kong, Macao and ASEAN countries.

Many in Korea and people from Vietnam. Vietnamese labor migrants are known for their discipline. Society is relatively loyal to their presence. Vietnamese women often marry Koreans, taking advantage of the demand because of their greater patriarchality and adherence to tradition compared to local women.

Another group of immigrants of traditionally high numbers in Korea comes from Mongolia. In recent years, the rate of Mongolian migration to South Korea has been very high. Work in Korea is one of the main sources of income for Mongolian families. The Mongols go to Korea to earn money, and many of them stay there for as long as Korean migration legislation allows. Most of the Mongols work in the field of heavy industry, although they also work in the catering and tourism industry. Korean marriages with women from Mongolia are also common. Such marriages are based on benefit, and in them a man may be 20-25 years older than the woman.

Taiwan is one of the centers attracting migrants. The majority of citizens of the Taiwan are descendants of immigrants from mainland China, in particular, from Fujian province. They constitute the bulk of the population of the island. The natives of Taiwan - representatives of Austronesian people - today make up only about 2% of the population of the Republic of China.

People from other countries of Southeast Asia go to Taiwan to work, predominantly, from neighboring Vietnam. For a long time, Taiwan was one of the main allies of South Vietnam, and after the liquidation of the latter and the creation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, it completely ceased to maintain ties with communist Vietnam. Only by the end of the 1980s did economic contacts began to resume. Currently, Taiwan is one of the main investors in the Vietnamese economy. In turn, the Vietnamese are sent to Taiwan for the purpose of employment, primarily in those areas where there is a demand for low-skilled labor, non-prestigious and hard work.

At the beginning of 2018, the population of the island of Taiwan was about 23 million people. However, due to the high standard of living, the island is faced with most of the demographic and social problems of developed countries an aging population, a low birth rate, and the reluctance of the majority of the population to perform non-prestigious and poorly paid jobs. According to the Ministry of Labor of Taiwan, approximately 676,000 migrants worked on the island in 2018 (or 2.9% of the island’s population), with a total of 725,000 migrants at the beginning of 2018 and 750,000 at the beginning of 2019 (according to the National Immigration Agency of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Taiwan). Approximately 250 thousand migrants work as domestic servants,
another 26 thousand, according to official data, work on fishing vessels (however, according to the US, there are actually 160 thousand, that is, 130 thousand of them are illegal). The rest work in various sectors of production (including the production of smartphones), and as a nurses of medical institutions.

The bulk of migrants come from neighboring countries of Southeast Asia. The first place is taken by immigrants from Indonesia. At the beginning of 2018 there were about 250 thousand in Taiwan (186 thousand of them being women). In second place the immigrants came from Vietnam, 206 thousand (121 thousand men and 85 thousand women). In third place is the Philippines, with 152 thousand immigrants (including 93 thousand women) and in fourth place is Thailand, with 63 thousand immigrants (50 thousand men). That is, people from 4 countries of Southeast Asia make up over 92.5% of all migrants in Taiwan. The overwhelming majority of women among immigrants from Indonesia and the Philippines can be explained by the preference for these nationalities (and gender) to work as domestic servants and nurses with sick and elderly people (National Immigration Agency Republic of China (Taiwan), 2018).

One of the main problems that Taiwan faces (besides labor shortages) is infringement of migrants’ rights, non-fulfillment of concluded contracts, non-payment (or only partial payment) of wages, and over-exploitation. This is especially pronounced among illegal migrants.

The leadership of Taiwan, and in particular, the President of Taiwan, Tsai Yinwen, strongly encourage migration processes, since the importance of migrant labor is difficult to overestimate (in particular, migrants relieve the burden on social and medical institutions of the island, which, in fact, cannot cope with caring for the elderly). However, very little attention is paid by the authorities to the issue of respect for the rights of migrants.

4. Conclusion

In summary, the link between migration processes and regional, national and international security is direct. And, of course, these phenomena carry with them both a threat to security as well as opportunities for further economic and socio-cultural development. None of the countries in the region has escaped at least some aspects of migration processes. However, each of them is characterized by its own characteristics, distinctive features, which together affect the overall state of regional security. So, in the territory of the Russian Far East prevailing trends in population outflow within the framework of internal Russian migration. At the same time, in the entire post-Soviet period, these territories have demonstrated a positive balance in the framework of international migration. Most of the migrants by exit countries are citizens of the former Soviet republics. For the Russian Far East, one of the most pressing issues is the level of crime, which exceeds such figures in the western regions of Russia by 30 percent or more. At the same time, migrant crime also contributes to these indicators.

China is traditionally considered to be a country with an excess population, and when people talk about Chinese migration, they mean the resettlement of Chinese to other countries. However, the aging population, the need for economic growth and short-sighted demographic policies have led to the fact that in the past few years, China has begun the struggle for highly skilled migrants.

The Republic of Korea, as well as Taiwan, and Japan face the problems of most developed countries—an aging of the population, as well as the reluctance of the local population to engage in non-prestigious work due to the relatively high standard of living. At the same time they solve this problem in different ways. The influx of migrants leads to an increase in crime (which is not what they want in Japan), the rights of migrants themselves are often violated in the area of labor
and social legislation. (Taiwan). It should be noted that, despite the existing stereotypes, or the reluctance in the previous period to attract migrants (Japan), or the seeming lack of need (China), absolutely all countries of the region are involved in regional and international migration processes. At the same time, they are trying to solve their economic and social problems, and, if possible to minimize the risks and threats to security coming from migration.

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