

**PROMOTING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION
AMONG FOREIGN RESIDENTS**

**EXPLORING THE LOCAL POTENTIAL IN A SMALL JAPANESE
MUNICIPALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION**

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ABSTRACT

This is a case study about promoting active citizenship and participation among foreign migrants in a small municipality in Japan. This research originated from my interest in the absence of literature on the situation of foreigners in a small rural community in Japan. The focus is on so-called 'newcomer foreigners' who have migrated to Japan for employment opportunities since the 1980s. The aim of this research is to study participatory approaches to engaging newcomer migrant foreigners, local government and local communities in Japan, whilst taking account of the limitations arising from wider global structural forces and processes. It reflects on the mutual reactivity between the local and the global and the ways in which positive local experiences, community cohesion and community development can occur in response to global migration movements. It also argues that such positive developments are in turn limited by the ripple effects of the very global process they are trying to address.

This is qualitative research involving a case study. At the same time, this research draws upon the findings of multiple data collection techniques, including those that are closely associated with quantitative research as well as qualitative research. It involves reviewing official documents published by multiple sources, snowball sampling and data collection through interviews and questionnaire-based surveys. The structure of the thesis includes an introduction, a literature review chapter that discusses the changing dynamics of citizenship in the context of globalization, three context chapters that examine the complexity of different factors that characterize foreign populations and their host communities in Japan and two chapters that discuss the original research findings of my case study. Finally, a concluding chapter discusses the findings and their potential implications and reflects on my learning from the research process.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This research originated from my interest in the lives of migrant foreigners in Japan. As a Japanese woman who has lived and worked abroad, I have a particular interest in the issues related to foreigners living and working in Japan, especially women. The foreign population in Japan can be categorized into two major groups on the basis of when they arrived in Japan. The first group is so-called ‘old-comers’. They are largely ethnic Koreans and Chinese and their history of residing in Japan goes back to the nineteenth century. The second group is the ‘newcomers’ who arrived in Japan after the 1980s. These two groups characterize the dichotomy in the migrant foreigner population in Japan. This thesis primarily focuses on the second group – newcomer foreigners.

Conventionally, the public, policymakers and scholars in Japan use the term ‘foreign residents’ when referring to foreigners who live in Japan. The term covers all foreigners who reside in Japan except for tourists and is used regardless of the legal status, ethnicity or the duration of residency of foreigners. The idea is that once they start living in Japan, they automatically become ‘residents’. ‘Foreign residents’ in the Japanese context include foreign migrant workers as well as their foreign spouses and dependents. In keeping with this conventional practice in Japan, the term ‘foreign residents’ in this thesis refers to those foreigners who reside in Japan irrespective of the duration of their residency and legal status.

I was particularly intrigued by the fact that although foreign residents in Japan were geographically well dispersed in all over the country, there was noticeable absence of literature concerning legal foreign residents who resided in small rural municipalities. The existing literature concentrates on large metropolises in Japan,

especially the negative impact of migrants on social relations or negative experiences in cohabitation of Japanese and foreign residents. Accordingly, I felt motivated to conduct an original study on the relatively unknown experiences of small rural municipalities in Japan around the issue of cohabitation with foreign residents. I was aware of the possibility that there were positive experiences in smaller municipalities. I was interested to explore a case with a history and culture that was positive and to learn how and why this was achieved.

Through my personal contacts in Japan, I came to learn about the experience of developing a 'statutory basic strategy' in Ayabe City. I was impressed with the approaches that Ayabe City adopted to make the process as open and inviting as possible to its residents. I was also interested in the fact that the final product (strategy document) included the promotion of harmonious cohabitation with foreign residents as an integral part of the main development goals.

My study is about newcomer foreign residents in Japan. The aim is to study the potential of participatory approaches to local government from the perspective of newcomer migrant foreigners in Japan, whilst taking account of the limitations arising from wider global structural forces and processes. It reflects on the mutual reactivity between the local and the global and the ways in which positive local experiences, community cohesion and community development can occur in response to global migration movements. It also argues that such positive developments are in turn limited by the ripple effects of the very global process they are trying to address. As demonstrated in the subsequent chapters, different theoretical approaches and literature underpin my study. They include theories of citizenship, participatory approaches to government, international migration, multiculturalism and feminist approaches.

This is essentially qualitative research underpinned by a case study. At the same time, this research adopts multiple data collection techniques, including those that are

closely associated with quantitative and qualitative research. It involves analyzing official documents published by multiple sources and examining articles from various newspapers. At its core, this research analyzes data collected through surveys using questionnaires and interviews.

The structure of the thesis includes nine chapters. Following this introduction (Chapter I), Chapter II discusses the issue of citizenship from multiple analytical perspectives. The chapter reviews the literature on the theories of citizenship and discusses the challenge of citizenship in the new global context. It examines the effect of globalization on citizenship from the perspective of international mobility of people and discusses policy implications at the national and local levels of changing dynamics of citizenship and international migration.

Building upon the discussion of Chapter II, Chapters III, IV and V examine the complexity of different factors that constitute what it means to be a foreigner in the particular context of Japan. They set the scene for understanding the characteristics of foreign populations in Japan and institutional frameworks that underpin their economic, social and political participation. The majority of foreigners in Japan are migrant workers who relocated to Japan for employment-related reasons. Looking at the economic environments surrounding foreign migrant workers in Japan is an obvious but nonetheless an important first step to examine the situation of migrant foreigners in Japan. To this effect, Chapter III discusses migrant foreigners in Japan from economic perspectives. It discusses the historical background of Japan both as a sending and receiving country of immigration. This chapter aim to illustrate that various economic and historical backgrounds which are intricately intertwined with the process of globalization have contributed to the construction of certain characteristics of foreigners in Japan with a variety of gender implications.

Continuing with the examination of the interplay among institutional frameworks in Japan that constitute key characteristics of its foreign residents, Chapter IV discusses the legal framework, policy environment and public opinion surrounding foreigners in Japan. The aim of this chapter is to highlight positive rights and benefits that are entitled to foreigners in Japan and the importance of local government's role in implementing these rights. This chapter illustrates that the local government in Japan faces the need to reconcile the gap between the central government's policy not to accept unskilled labour and the reality that a large number of newcomer foreigners are entering and residing in its administrative districts as unskilled workers. Discussions in Chapters III and IV are intended to illustrate that the local government in Japan faces the challenge of envisaging participatory approaches that take into account foreign resident populations, which are characterized by a dichotomy of two groups with distinctly different characteristics and needs – old-comers and newcomers.

In view of the critical role that the local government plays in the administration of rights and benefits of foreign residents in Japan, understanding how the Japanese local government system works is of great importance to my research. Chapter V explores changing relationships between the central and local governments over time and the impact of globalization on the dynamics of such relationships. On the one hand, changes in the global economy have prompted the structural reform initiative by the central government that resulted in forced municipality mergers. On the other hand, globalization also led to the increase in the presence of newcomer foreigners in the country and catalyzed increasing interests in internationalization at the local level. This chapter outlines that these different outcomes of the impact of globalization further interact and add to the complexity of new challenges that local governments in Japan face today.

Chapter VI concerns my research strategy and methods. It discusses the focus of my research and the key research questions. It examines how I used my critical understanding of different research approaches and methods to develop the strategy I adopted. It describes the sampling techniques, methods of information gathering and recording of data in this research. The reasons for the choice of sampling location and the samples are also discussed.

Chapters VII and VIII discuss the findings of my fieldwork. Chapter VII discusses the experience of the local government and residents of Ayabe City in the development and implementation of the City's new statutory basic strategy. Ayabe City is a small rural municipality in the Kansai region of Japan that has a long history of promoting peace and human rights-based approaches. Ayabe City has adopted an inclusive approach in its development of a new ten-year development strategy. This chapter illustrates positive experiences of Ayabe City and explores the background of how they happened. It also outlines negative factors that are overshadowing the outcome of such positive experiences. Chapter VIII discusses the experiences and views of different resident groups in Ayabe City. It analyzes in depth the data collected from Japanese residents, business community and foreign residents in Ayabe City.

Drawing from discussions in preceding chapters, Chapter IX concludes my thesis. It contains two sections. The first section discusses the findings of my case study and their potential implications in terms of promoting active citizenship and participation among foreign residents in a small Japanese municipality in the context of globalization. The second section reflects on my learning from the research process and methodological issues.

CHAPTER II

CITIZENSHIP, MIGRATION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

My overall research looks at cohabitation between foreign migrants and Japanese citizens in a small local municipality. The discussion covers rights, services, responsibilities and benefits. These issues are closely related to and often determined by one's legal status and citizenship. Citizenship in the most general sense is about group membership (Delanty, 2000, p.9). For a long period, citizenship essentially meant political membership in a nation-state recognized in international law, which did not in itself confer other substantive entitlements such as the right to work or to receive social services (Castles, 2000). Citizenship also has been about empowerment. It has involved more and more rights and obligations as people have increasingly recognized what is necessary in order to be empowered in a changing world (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.28). These two components of citizenship – membership and empowerment – are central to my study since it addresses the issue of participatory local governance that enables empowerment of all residents. Understanding the discourse of citizenship is critical for understanding what it means to be empowered as a member of the community.

My central argument in this chapter is that in this era of globalization, we need a contemporary formulation of citizenship that empowers all participants. To illustrate this need, this chapter discusses the issue of citizenship from the following three perspectives. The first section of this chapter reviews the literature on the theories of citizenship and how different theorists have explored the question of what it means to be a citizen at different points in history, concluding with a discussion on the challenge of citizenship in the new global context. The second section follows up on this

discussion and looks more closely at the issue of international mobility of people. It sets the scene for understanding the global context of international migration, which is critical to understanding the specific national situation in Japan that my study deals with. Building on the discussion in the previous sections, the third section examines policy implications of the changing dynamics of citizenship and international migration at the national and the local levels.

CITIZENSHIP

In the Athenian model – which is central to Western discourse on the issue – citizenship included the themes of bringing peace and order, uniting together to establish the rule of law as equals (Plato, 1987; Aristotle, 1986; Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.28). Although the Athenian model of democracy emphasized active participation and deliberation, its citizenry was a male familial group united through blood and a collective memory of myth and history (Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.30-31). Women and slaves were regarded as existing in a strictly private realm and were excluded from the deliberation of law-making. They were considered unable or not trustworthy enough to fight in the defence of the state. They were also thought to lack the reason to adhere to the state's 'values' and represented the chaos within (Hartsock, 1984, Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.30). The rationalisation for their exclusion was closely linked to the logic of citizenship and control of chaos.

In the Roman Empire, citizenship was conferred on individuals and groups who had served Rome. It was no longer bound to membership of a specific 'polis' or a community based on kinship as was the case in Greece. Roman citizenship meant membership in a political community based on legally defined rights and duties (Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.31-32). Rome created a political community that did

not necessarily share myths or history of common origins but its citizenship implied neither equality nor participation in public life.

Other significant forms of regime in Europe include two that emerged from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Several states took the regime of the absolute monarchies while others had the constitutional monarchies and republics (Held, 1992, p.83). The monarchs who ruled the absolute states regarded everything in their states as their possessions. Their subjects had no control over the arbitrariness that marked their lives (Held, 1992; Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.34). The position of Thomas Hobbes was that individuals should willingly surrender their rights to a powerful single authority of the state that was thereafter authorized to act on their behalf, to create effective political rule (Held, 1992, pp.106-107). Although Hobbes acknowledged certain limits to the legitimate range of the sovereign's actions, he regarded the state as pre-eminent in all spheres (Hobbes, 1968).

In Jean-Jacques Rousseau's view, sovereignty originated in and stayed with the people (Rousseau, 1968). According to Rousseau, the essence of sovereignty was the creation, authorization and enactment of law based on the standards and requirements of the common good, which could only be known through public discourse and the public agreement of citizens (*ibid.*, pp.60-61). Although the arguments of Hobbes and Rousseau may represent opposing sides in the debate about sovereignty, both face a common criticism. Their models of political power suggested potentially tyrannical implications as Hobbes failed to articulate the principles or institutions that would control state action and Rousseau assumed that minorities needed to consent to the decisions of the majority (Held, 1992, p.109).

The constitutional arguments of John Locke presented an alternative to the political analysis that located sovereignty in state or society. Locke's arguments had an enduring impact on Western political thought. He affirmed that supreme power was the

inalienable right of individuals and that governmental supremacy was a delegated supremacy held on trust (Held, 1992, p.110; Locke, 1963). Government was to enjoy full political authority so long as the trust of the people was sustained and that a government's legitimacy to rule could be withdrawn if the people judged this necessary or appropriate (Held, 1992, p.110; Locke, 1963). Although his work became highly influential, it did not explore legal and institutional mechanisms to resolve the tensions between the sovereign people and the sovereign state (Held, 1992, p.111).

The real turning point to a modern theory of citizenship came with the French Revolution of 1789. In the debate on the rights of man and citizen at the time, we see that the modern theory of the citizen in a nation-state insists on the citizens' rights against the state (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.36).

Castles and Davidson argue (2000, p.37):

“What must be noticed is that the regime of equality in rights that is imposed by a revolutionary people comprises above all those rights which guarantee ‘human dignity’ no matter what the objective difference of an individual. Thus, ... each individual possesses himself and his property, and has a right to freedom of conscience, expression and organization so that he can participate in the debate leading to the making of the laws. The implicit democracy is a set of procedures designed to protect rights in a private realm, which are precisely rights of and to difference.”

The modern citizen who emerged from the French Revolution divided his life into public and private realms. The public was a collective space where he united with others in designing laws for the common good. ‘Freedom from’ existed in the private realm (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.37). The capacity of mind and will to free men from the conditioning of past and culture was emphasized. According to Kant, all men as reasoning beings should refuse the conditioning of past and culture and decide for themselves what was the best course of action to follow (*ibid.*, p.37).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, it became clear that whether a citizen could participate in political debate and decision-making had much to do with his

economic and social conditions. The citizen's social and historical background could no longer be ignored. The work of Hegel, Feuerbach and Marx laid the ground for a reassessment of the nature of citizenship. The essential thrust of their work was that to make civil and political rights work to empower men, such rights would have to be underpinned by certain levels of economic wellbeing and education (ibid., p.39). It was a shift from the liberal individualistic interpretation of citizenship epitomized in Kant to a liberal socialist interpretation. Later thinkers such as Bosanquet and Hobhouse argued that the realization of active political citizen would require economic, social and educational rights in addition to civil and political rights (ibid., p.40).

While the less privileged working class called for the extension of rights of citizens beyond civil and political rights, the privileged resisted the demand of the ill-organized poor for a long time. John Stuart Mill elaborated on the theory of liberal democracy and argued that the governors must be held accountable to the governed through political mechanisms such as regular elections and competition between potential representatives, which would provide citizens with the means for choosing, authorizing and controlling political decisions (Held, 1992, p.112).

However, his work did not explore the question of who counted as citizens and did not include in its principle the idea that all citizens must have equal weight in the political system (Held, 1992, p.112; Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.41-42). Mill was hostile to popular wisdom and held an elitist belief that some individuals could understand more than others, which was a commonly held view in the nineteenth century (Mill, 1991; Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.41-42).

Only a small minority of thinkers in the nineteenth century shared the idea of a decentralized form of representative democracy – a shift to a semi-federal structure with many levels of regional and municipal government. The demand for the empowerment of popular reason against that of experts became persistent in the early

1940s in Europe and highlighted the importance of minimal economic and social standards (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.43). While a real democratic debate and electoral system could not be realized without fundamental civil and political rights of individuals, state provision of basic economic, social and educational standards was also seen as necessary precondition.

Many post-1945 European constitutions embodied this view. The shift slowly started from the definition of a citizen as what a person did to what the person received in the liberal-socialist definition that had emerged in the 1950s (ibid.). In what became the most influential book on the citizen of the immediate postwar era, T. H. Marshall suggested that the truly autonomous citizen would be realized with the establishment of the economic, social and other rights provided by the welfare state (Marshall, 1950).

Marshall (1950) distinguished three types of citizenship rights: (i) civil rights that emerged in the eighteenth century as rights of protection from unlawful infringement of private property, personal liberty and justice by the state; (ii) political rights that emerged in the nineteenth century, through which the citizen could take part in political decision-making; and (iii) social rights that developed in the twentieth century to guarantee a basic standard of economic and social well-being. A key element of Marshall's approach was the idea that citizenship as full membership of a community required all three types of rights as they were interdependent (Castles, 2000b).

In the twentieth century the welfare state was being significantly reformed in most Western societies because of structural and ideological changes. The structural changes involved globalization, technological transformation in the capitalist economy and their effect on political dynamics both at international and national levels (Roche, 2000, pp.209-210). The ideological changes involved the rise of various new social movements and various forms of new right conservatism (Roche, 2000, p.210).

The ideological changes are closely linked with a new problem that emerged in welfare states. Citizens became increasingly passive and absent from political decision-making when looked after by the state. The more absent they became, the more they felt divorced from national decision-making (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.44), resulting in political apathy and a 'democratic deficit' – the feeling that parties no longer differ significantly and were relatively meaningless choices between two versions of essentially similar agendas (Lilleker, 2003). Representative popular democracy in developed countries has started experiencing increasing levels of apathy and distrust of conventional political processes. Changing lifestyles and the increasing mobility of people, the tone and content of much political debate and the narrow social composition of the political elites have all contributed to strong levels of public disengagement from party politics (O'Conneide, 2004; Crouch, 2004). The need to return to the active citizen was advocated by those who defended the central notion of citizenship to make the laws under which a person lived, fuelling the rise of new social movements (Giddens, 2001, pp.8-9).

In general, social movements emerge in response to certain social changes and conditions. They are agencies of social transformation (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000, pp.287-288). 'Older' movements were based on class and were product of industrial society and its male workforce. These were struggles against structures and inequalities that constrained people's freedom (Giddens, 1991; Delanty, 2000). On the other hand, the primary objective of 'new' social movements that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s was the democratization of society and the transformation of social relations. Such movements included feminism, the peace movement, ecology, and anti-totalitarian movements in central and Eastern Europe (Delanty, 2000, p.37; Rowbotham, 1996; Crossley, 2002).

New social movements responded to new political opportunity structures created by the growth of consumption, changes in political regulation and new forms of antagonisms produced by economic reorganisation (Hamel and Maheu, 2001). The new social movements sought to bring politics out of the state and into society through the mobilisation of public commitment (Delanty, 2000, pp.32-38). They sought to achieve change in cultural, symbolic and sub-political domains both collectively and by way of self-change (Crossley, 2002, pp.149-167).

More recently, some forms of collective action give more importance to identity, are more globally oriented and involve resistance to new forms of domination and exclusion produced by social restructuring (Hamel and Maheu, 2001). Radical democracy emerged in the context of debates around such new social movements. Radical democracy is based on a strong notion of participatory democracy. Radical democratic citizenship takes many forms but the recognition that citizenship must be located in collective action is their common message. Radical democratic citizenship is about the recognition of voice, takes account of difference and entails a commitment to justice as a substantive goal and not as a formalistic equality of opportunity. In order for this model of justice to work, it has to have strong foundations on local levels and a participatory mode of organisation so that it empowers groups that are most affected by the exercise of power (Delanty, 2000, pp.46-47).

One of the implications of radical democracy is that the more groups are involved in decision-making and the more heterogeneous citizenship becomes, citizenship can no longer appeal to an underlying consensus (ibid., p.47). This theoretical notion of a dissensus-laden civil society makes addressing the issue of citizenship an increasingly complex task.

New Perspectives: Women and the Other

As an example of radical democracy movements, feminism offers new perspectives on the issue of citizenship. In view of my interest in female foreign residents in Japan and to benefit from different perspectives that exist within feminism regarding citizenship and interdependence of rights, this section examines the work of feminists on rights in democratic citizenship. This section also briefly discusses the intrinsically Eurocentric nature of citizenship. The perspectives to be gained from the recognition of 'gendered' citizenship and 'white' citizenship suggest the need for a new formation of citizenship that enables empowerment of all members of the society, which is of great importance to my study.

Under liberalism, citizenship becomes the right to pursue one's interests without hindrance in the marketplace and democracy is tied more to representative government than to the idea of the collective and participatory activity of citizens in the public realm (Dietz, 1998, p.382; Phillips, 1996). Feminists' critique of liberalism is that liberalism conceives of the needs and capacities of individuals as being independent of any immediate social or political condition. The liberal political vision sets up the distinction between 'private' and public' where what has been called the 'women's sphere' is included as male property under 'the private' and women are kept from the life of the public accordingly (Dietz, 1998, pp.380-381).

Dietz (1998, p.390) suggests that a vision of citizenship requires the practices that are expressly participatory and democratic. Politics need to be taken as "collective and participatory engagement of citizens in the determination of the affairs of their community"(1998, p.390). Feminist scholars argue that a truly democratic attitude should deny a premise that one group of citizens' voice is generally better, more deserving of attention, more worthy of emulation, or more moral than another's. What

is needed is a vision of citizenship that is sensitive to diversity and the mechanisms that exist in societies to produce inequalities and exclusions (Connell, 2001).

While Marxists feminists tend to be sceptical and perceive citizenship as a formal empty bourgeois conceit (Dietz, 1998, p.385), from a post-Marxist perspective Mouffe (2000) argues that a person's subjectivity is constructed on the basis of multiple social relations and not only on the basis of his or her position in the relations of production. Accordingly, the subject positions of an individual are always precarious and provisional (Mouffe, 2000). The existence in each individual of multiple subject positions correspond to the different social relations in which the individual is inserted and to the discourses that constitute these relations (ibid., p.296). According to Mouffe (2000), a new vision of democracy is close to the socialist ideal of equality for all – it combines equality and liberty successfully, recognises the multiplicity of social relations and their corresponding subject positions and provides the conditions for genuine individual self-determination.

For the purpose of this research, a key analytical perspective to be gained from the Mouffe's thesis is the focus on the multiplicity of subject positions of individual citizens. My research analyzes the Japanese local government system by focusing on the viewpoint of legal newcomer foreign residents in Japan, particularly women. The viewpoint adopted in this research is that of people who are residents in Japan but whose nationality is not Japanese, who are legally staying Japan, belong to a category called 'newcomer' and are women. The key approaches adopted in this research are the very multiplicity of subject positions emphasized by Mouffe. If a new vision of democracy requires the recognition of the multiplicity of social relations and their corresponding subject positions, the adoption of an analytical perspective that focuses on such multiplicity in my research can be judged appropriate for the examination of a democratic local government system.

Taking differences seriously in the social and political domain means taking rights seriously in a way that involves a different conception of rights and of justice from the classical liberal model (Gould, 1996; Young, 1990). Gould (1996, p.180) proposes the principle of justice that builds the recognition of difference and responsiveness to individuated needs, as well as the protection of the rights of difference into its basic conception. The politics of difference as opposed to an ideal of assimilation (Wasserstrom, 1980) supports a society that does not eliminate or transcend group differences and that entails “equality among socially and culturally differentiated groups, who mutually respect and affirm one another in their differences” (Young, 1990, p.163). To this effect, the politics of difference supports democratic cultural pluralism (Dallmayr, 1996; Norval, 2001).

Theorists such as Young argue that this does not necessarily lead to radical relativism because there can be communication across different positions and groups (Delanty, 2000, p.44). What is needed then is a principle of self-determination of peoples through ‘relational autonomy’, where peoples recognize their interdependent relations with others and negotiate the terms and effects of the relationship while respecting each other’s inalienable right to self-determination (Young, 2000, p.259).

If we understand that justice entails equal freedom of individuals to the conditions of differentiated self-development, such justice requires “*equivalent* conditions determined by differentiated needs”, not the “*same* conditions for each one” (Gould, 1996, p.180, original emphasis). Such justice sees equal treatment as inherently responsive to and defined by difference (ibid.) and requires responsiveness to the differentiated needs of others.

Pateman (2000) argues that the women’s movement is currently faced with ‘Wollstonecraft’s dilemma’, which she named after the eighteenth-century feminist. On the one hand, women demand equal citizenship with men to be enforced by gender-

neutral laws and politics. On the other, they claim citizenship as women so that their specific capacities, talents, needs and concerns are fully taken into account. It means that women need either to become like men and claim full citizenship or they need to continue at women's work and risk the reinforcement of women's traditional roles.

Pateman suggests that the attainment of full citizenship is impossible in either case (2000, pp.252-253). In the first case, women will gain citizenship only as lesser men (Pateman, 2000; Lister, 2001, pp.328-329). In the second case, to demand proper social recognition and support for women's responsibilities is to continue incorporation into public life as 'women' that belong to a lesser category than fellow male citizens (Pateman, 2000; Lister, 2001, pp.329-330).

The feminist dilemma of 'equality' and 'difference' shares commonality with the dilemma of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic citizenship. 'Equality' approaches suggest the problem of forced assimilation and 'difference' approaches suggest the problem of radical relativism and enforcement of essentialism (Delanty, 2000, pp.44-45; Mayo, 2000, p.139). As a solution to this dilemma, many theorists suggest what Ruth Lister calls 'differentiated universalism' or 'gender-pluralist' approach (Lister, 2001, p.327; Delanty, 2000, p.45). Lister argues that to avoid the problems of cultural essentialism, a politics based on group identity needs to be based on a broader commitment to integrate marginalized groups into society.

This approach assumes that an individual citizen is a member of multiple groups, as was advocated in the Mouffe's thesis on the multiplicity of subject positions of individual citizens. Lister's approach argues for a non-essentialist conceptualization of the political subject as made up of manifold and fluid identities. It accommodates the range of social division, such as sexuality, class, race, religion, and age, which intersect with gender to shape the citizenship of women and men (Lister, 2001, p.332). Both Mouffe's and Lister's approaches suggest the possibility of a new normative formation

of citizenship that takes into account the multiplicity of social relations and corresponding subject positions of members of a global society.

Besides the importance of the realization that rights in democratic citizenship are gendered (Fraser, 1996; Peterson and Parisi, 1998; Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989), one must also be mindful of the fact that citizenship is intrinsically 'white'. Modern citizenship theories in mainstream academia were built almost exclusively on the basis of theses of European thinkers and in the areas of white settlement as these regions imposed themselves as the imperial powers on inhabitants belonging to different civilizations (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.45). The presence of the 'Other' in a white republic presented a problem for citizenship theory as to where it fitted in.

The predominantly white Old World dealt with the Other with failed attempts to obliterate its difference in culture in the same way that old absolute states obliterated differences of minorities in Europe through battles, occupations and oppression (ibid., pp.46-48). Such attempts were promoted in the name of protection of law against the 'barbarous' sub-human outsiders – defending Western civilization against all other forms of civilization. However, the Other in the New World was too vast to be thoroughly obliterated. As Castles and Davidson put it, "the Europeans discovered that there were too many peoples for a few dominant militant warrior-citizen people to destroy them" (2000, p.50). The failure of the attempts of cultural obliteration by the Western imperial powers also meant the end of era of dominance by Western philosophers in citizenship studies.

It became clear that regional and cultural specificities elicit different questions and different political responses for the attainment of citizenship. In South Africa the struggles for citizenship once meant to deal with the continuing structures of racial oppression in the apartheid state, while in some Latin American countries the focus was on extending the rule of law and reforming the juridical mechanisms in the wake of

dictatorships. Although the language of citizenship implies different notions of priorities and strategies in different regional, national and cultural contexts (Molyneux, 1998), the fact remains that membership of individuals in modern democratic societies is marked by the status of citizenship. Accordingly, understanding the nature of such membership and the mechanisms of its attainment is of critical importance in the consideration of empowerment of members of a global society.

Acknowledging the irreducibility of multicultural difference of the Other means the recognition of the need for affirming the Other's values. The challenges of citizenship in a global society presented by the issues of Euro-centricity of citizenship and irreducibility of multicultural difference closely overlap with those presented by the need to recognize principles of 'equality' and 'differences' advocated by feminists. Both recognitions require re-evaluation of the categories that constitute the discourse of citizenship. This challenge of normative citizenship theory is discussed in the next section.

The New Global Context

As examined in the previous sections, the development of the academic discourse on modern citizenship was inextricably linked with the emergence of the nation-state in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth century onwards (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Held, 1992). As a result of major changes in the political and social context caused by globalization, the way people perceive citizenship is also changing. Changes in the global context of citizenship is closely linked with the challenges of the nation-state in this era of globalization. Globalization questions the notion of the relative autonomy of the nation-state, threatens the ideology of distinct national cultures and exacerbates the rapidly increasing mobility of people across national borders.

Although citizenship is one of the key institutions of contemporary societies, there have always been some fundamental ambiguities in the notion of citizenship. Globalization created an international environment where such ambiguities are irrepressibly exposed. Firstly, citizenship means both inclusion and exclusion because the citizenship of certain types of person implies the non-citizenship of others (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.10). Countries distinguish citizens and resident foreigners by reserving certain rights and benefits for citizens (UNESCO). Secondly, citizenship also means both rights and obligations, as evident in the close link between suffrage and conscription (Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.11-12).

The third and more complex ambiguity concerns the contradiction between the notion of the citizen as an “individual abstracted from cultural characteristics” and that of the national as a “member of a community with common cultural values” (ibid., p.12). All citizens are meant to be free and equal, and the political sphere is of equality and abstraction from cultural differences (ibid.; Habermas, 2000). However, in reality the nation-state is a political unit that controls both a bounded territory and a national community. Therefore, citizenship that is meant to be universal and free of cultural particularity can exist only in the context of a nation-state that is based on cultural specificity. The concept of ‘naturalization’ clearly expresses this ambiguity. According to Castles and Davidson, naturalization implies that being a member of a certain nation-state is laid down by ‘natural laws’ based on natural environment or racial descent and that foreigners can only become natural to the new host country through a process of cultural assimilation (2000, p.15).

The challenge of citizenship in a global society is that it has to be a political community without any claim to one specific cultural identity but also must not be blind to cultural belonging of members. Scholars such as S. Huntington (1993; 1996) argue that cultural differences between different civilizations will not disappear.

Huntington goes further and suggests (1993) that although nation-states remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of international conflict will be cultural.

The move from feudal hierarchy to the notion of individual freedom based on a general human dignity or rights brought about a politics of universalism emphasizing the equal rights and entitlements of all citizens (Taylor, 1992). On the other hand, the politics of difference focused on individual and cultural distinctiveness. According to Dallmayr (1996, p.281), the scholarly literature on the issue of multiculturalism focuses primarily on a controversy over the relative weight to be assigned to formal rules of justice vis-à-vis more substantive conceptions of the common good. For example, liberal universalism supports universal principles derived from individual or inter-human consent, while communitarianism adopts a more historically nurtured vision of holistic goodness.

At the same time, some adopt approaches that steer a course between and beyond the alternatives of individualism and collectivism. They take seriously the existence of ethnic and cultural groups and their diversity. Those who adopt politics of difference insist on the need to recognize the unique identity of individual or group while respecting basic liberal safeguards on the level of fundamental rights (Taylor, 1992; Young, 1990; Kymlicka, 1995). Kymlicka argues that the debate over the primacy of the individual or the community is not helpful because most group-differentiated rights in Western democracies are based on the idea that justice between groups requires that the members of different groups be accorded different citizenship (1995, p.47).

In considering the issue of recognition of differences in the public sphere, we face some basic questions. What differences should be recognized, and why these rather than others? Does the emphasis on the recognition and representation of

differences violate equal rights as a norm of justice? These are difficult questions to answer. Not all groups fall neatly into the minority or ethnic group category in reality. The vulnerabilities and disadvantages faced by minorities are not easy to measure. Appeals to equality and diversity may lead in conflicting directions. For multiculturalists, these issues may only be resolved on a case-by-case basis in the light of the particular history of a group, its status in the larger society and the choices and circumstances of its members, through good-faith negotiations of democratic politics (Kymlicka, 1995, pp.131-151).

From an egalitarian liberal perspective, Barry (2001) argues against multiculturalism. He is concerned with the intellectual desire of multiculturalism for political separatism under the law and considers political divisiveness along cultural lines as inherently dangerous. He suggests that notions of impartial treatment and opposition to universal humanism open the door to a much greater variation of treatment in all matters of law, justice and interaction with the state. Barry (2001) is concerned that multiculturalists' difference-minded separatism leaves behind the principle of equal treatment under the law and impartiality in government for a yet unnamed measure of justice. Barry also questions the efficacy of public policies and programmes based on the theories of multiculturalism. He warns that the proliferation of special interests fostered by multiculturalism sets "different groups of the disadvantaged against one another" and is "conducive to a politics of 'divide and rule' that can benefit only those who benefit most from the status quo" (ibid., pp.11-12).

Another important point raised by Barry is that multiculturalism can allow culture or cultural identity to be used as excuse for certain undesirable practices. Barry argues that some 'cultural' practices by certain groups such as the Ku Klux Klan clearly violate the principle of serving the common good and is not justifiable simply because such practices are central to their culture (ibid., pp.252-264). 'This is the way

we do things here' cannot be a justification for the legal imposition of some norm (ibid., p.279). He also points out the psychological and logical unattainableness for people to recognize and affirm all forms of cultures that may represent conflicting ideas and beliefs. Any society is bound to host groups loathsome and contemptible from particular points of view of its members. One cannot simply respect all others in virtue of their differences and simultaneously affirm everybody's culture (ibid., p.271).

In Barry's view, liberal democracies demand that the interests of everyone must count equally and that there are no groups whose views are to be automatically discounted (ibid., p.80). He argues that willingness on the part of citizens to make sacrifices for the common good is equally important. Barry suggests that citizens should share a sense of belonging to a polity or common 'civic nationality', which is different from the formal recognition of membership embodied in a passport or the ethnic interpretation of nationality (ibid., p.80). The specification of civic nationality in Barry's terms does not include any reference to acculturation. It leaves it open that people may be able to assimilate to the common nationality without giving up distinctive cultural attributes and without losing a distinctive identity (ibid., pp.80-81).

Soysal (2000) analyzes the changing structure and meaning of citizenship in the contemporary world, with the particular focus on the way in which rights are becoming 'post-national'. In this post-national model, the boundaries of membership are fluid. With the growth of international human rights, rights are increasingly granted to human beings as such, regardless of their status as members of national communities. As a result, there are now multiple statuses in liberal democratic societies in relation to citizenship rights, including those who have certain rights without citizenship such as guest-workers and refugees, or others who have dual citizenship. Soysal identifies post-national rights as results of struggles, negotiations, and arbitrations by actors at local,

national, and international levels, which are subject to retraction and negation (Soysal, 2001, p.341).

The qualitative changes in interdependence and interaction among nation-states as well as the growth in the volume of such interactions have played a critical role in the reconfiguration of citizenship. Human rights also increasingly constitute a world-level index of legitimate action and provide a hegemonic language for formulating claims to rights beyond national belonging (ibid., p.334). The emergence of universalistic rules and codes regarding the rights of the individual such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and various conventions on the status of migrant workers also contributed to the reconfiguration of citizenship. These transnational codes are grounded in human rights discourse and address the rights of those who reside outside of their national community.

These instruments provide guidelines for national legislation as to the management of migrant or refugee related issues. This authoritative discourse of individual rights has also been influential in the formalization and expansion of many citizenship rights to those who were previously excluded or marginalized in society such as women, children, gays and lesbians, religious and linguistic minorities as well as immigrants (Soysal, 2001, p.335). In the post-national model, universal personhood replaces nationhood and the rights and claims of individuals are legitimated by ideologies grounded in a transnational community through international codes, conventions and laws (Soysal, 2000, p.269).

However, post-national citizenship does not imply the end of the nation-state. The nation-state is still the most viable political organizational structure (Soysal, 2001, p.339; Cohen and Kennedy, 2000, pp.78-94; Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.19). The development of post-national rights does not signify the

irrelevance of the nation-state. While post-national rights are the direct consequence of the growth of international law and political institutions and their attempts to deal with transnational movement of human beings, rights are still organized and administered by individual states (Sklair, 2002, pp.306-319). The nation-state is still the repository of education, welfare, and public health functions and the regulator of social distribution.

The nationhood is not purely an extension of state power and is constantly being created and regenerated by the process that Anderson (1983) called 'imagined community'. Accordingly, there is a tension between the nation-state and post-national membership that scholars such as Soysal suggest. While nation-states attempt to reaffirm control over their national boundaries and refine the link between nationality and citizenship rights, post-national membership based on the universalistic rights of personhood transgresses the national order (Soysal, 2000, p.276).

The separation of the two elements of modern citizenship – identity and rights – is one of the most elemental characteristics of citizenship in the era of globalization. Rights increasingly assume universality, legal uniformity and abstractness, and are defined at the global level (Soysal, 2000, p.276; Steiner and Alston, 2000). On the other hand, identities remain particularistic and locally defined and organised (Soysal, 2001, p. 336). The incongruence of these elements can be used to understand the coexistence of the universalistic status of personhood and intense ethnic struggles. Collective groups such as immigrants increasingly mobilize around claims for particularistic identities, while they appeal to the universalistic and trans-nationally institutionalized discourses of equality, emancipation and individual human rights (Soysal, 2000; Castles, 2000a; Castles and Davidson, 2000). And by doing so, they participate in the host country's public spaces and practice difference.

Governments in a global society face a challenge of reconciling citizens' equal rights as individuals with their values and interests as members of social or cultural

collectivities (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.24; Solomos and Back, 1996, pp.214-216). Japan is one of the countries that is affected by international migration and faces the need to develop comprehensive policy response to this challenge of citizenship. Specific characteristics of foreign populations in Japan and the institutional mechanisms that govern their economic, social and political participation are examined in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In the previous section, I looked at the conceptual aspects of the effect of globalization on citizenship, highlighting the increasing mobility of people. This section looks more closely at the issue of international mobility. It sets the scene for understanding the global context of international migration, which is critical in understanding specific national situations in Japan that my study addresses. The first part of this section offers in broad terms a descriptive and explanatory account of international migration. The second part examines theories of international migration, providing normative accounts of the mobility of people. To follow up on the discussion on the feminist approaches to citizenship, the third part examines the unique characteristics of female migration.

Current Status of International Migration

Migration of people is not a new issue. The human race that is thought to have started from a single ancestor in East Africa has since migrated and populated the globe with a rich diversity of race and ethnicity. What is remarkable in recent decades is the increasing scale of the movements and the complexity of economic, social and political circumstances that motivate people to move (Zlotnik, 1994; Teitelbaum and Russell, 1994).

At the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the international community noted that orderly international migration could have positive impacts on both the communities of origin and the communities of destination. The United Nations (UN) International Migration Report 2002 states that with its intricate web of demographic, social, economic and political determinants and consequences, the topic of international migration has moved to the forefront of national and international agenda in recent years. The sheer scale of human mobility is often not fully realized. The UN Population Division reported that in 2000 there were 175 million persons who resided in a country other than where they were born, including 145 million who left their country of birth or citizenship, and 30 million who became migrants without moving, as in the ex-USSR or ex-Yugoslavia. This means that international migrants constitute approximately three per cent of the world population.

Sixty percent of the world's migrants reside in the more developed regions. By region, most of the world's migrants live in Europe, followed by Asia and Northern America. About nine per cent of the migrants are refugees. According to the 2002 UN Report on Migration, almost one-quarter of all countries viewed 2001 immigration levels as too high. Not only developed countries but developing countries are also moving towards more restrictive immigration policies. The 2002 UN Report states that 44% of developed countries and 39% of developing countries already had policies aiming to lower immigration levels in 2001. The global trend in government policies is moving towards tightening immigration controls.

In many countries, immigration policies are closely linked with national demographic trends. Fertility has significantly declined worldwide, and the UN assumes that fertility will continue declining. Global fertility rates declined from about six children per woman in 1900 to about 2.7 children in 2000. Today, 45% of the world's people live in countries where fertility is below replacement levels. According

to the UN Population Division (2000), the population of all developed countries are projected to become smaller and older during the first half of the twenty-first century as a result of below-replacement fertility and increased longevity. In those countries, the question is being raised as to whether replacement migration is a solution to population decline and population ageing.

According to the UN estimates, the numbers of immigrants needed in developed countries to prevent the decline in the working-age population are larger than those needed to prevent the decline in total population. If such initiatives were to occur for replacement migration, post-1995 immigrants and their descendants would represent a strikingly large share of the total population in developed countries in 2050. The levels of migration needed to mitigate population ageing are also many times larger than the migration streams needed to prevent population decline. The UN report warns that such migration streams entail extremely large volumes of immigration, which is entirely out of line with reasonable expectations (United Nations, 2000).

The majority of movements of people is that of economic migrants who cross national borders for employment opportunities (Stalker, 1994). Technological transformation and economic globalization have generated new demands for skills and labour in many parts of the world, which are often being met by migrant workers. Accordingly, many countries are increasingly involved in international migration as countries of origin, transit or destination for migrants. The UN Secretary-General's report on migration and development (2003) recognizes that population movements are closely related to a variety of socio-economic, demographic and political dimensions. Accordingly, different UN departments, organizations and agencies carry out activities concerning international migration. Various international legal instruments that address the protection of human rights of migrants also exist. However, deciding who can enter and stay in a country remains a core function of the state.

As for private sector, multinational firms contribute significantly to the international movement of labour as well as capital in the current global economic environment. There were about 63,000 multinational firms in 2000, up from 7,300 in 1969. They employed 90 million workers, of which nearly 80% or 70 million were employed in the developed countries (Migration News). Of the 500 largest multinationals, 185 were headquartered in the US, 126 in the EU, and 108 in Japan (Migration News). The 1,000 largest multinationals accounted for 80% of global industrial production.

Remittances sent back to the home country by migrants are a major source of foreign exchange earnings for some countries and are an important additional to gross domestic product (UN, 2002a; Ghosh, 1992, pp.427-432). In 2002, worker remittances to developing countries were \$77 billion, while Official Development Assistance was US\$56 billion (Migration News). According to the International Organization for Migration, remittances through official channels had surpassed US\$100 billion by 2004 (IOM, 2005). Although remittances cannot be a replacement of development aid, they enable developing countries to repay foreign debt and improve their creditworthiness (ibid.). The scale of transactions indicates that these financial activities of migrants have a significant impact on domestic economy in both sending and receiving countries.

Migration Theories

My research examines the status of newcomer foreign residents in a small municipality in Japan. Newcomer foreigners refer to those who migrated to Japan for work in the recent decades. Accordingly, although it is not a study on migration per se, it was important for me as a researcher to understand different theoretical approaches to understand the underlying forces behind the emergence of international migration. This

section looks into various theoretical approaches to understand contemporary migratory processes and their implication on policy options for governments to tackle the issue of migration. For the purpose of this research, my first aim here is to illustrate that contemporary migratory processes are complex and multi-faceted, and secondly that to understand various policy responses to international migration requires a sophisticated approach that combines tools of multiple disciplines and multiple levels of analyses.

The first group of theories deals with the cause of international migration.

(a) *Neo-classical macro-economic model*

Neo-classical macroeconomics has provided the intellectual basis for much immigration policy. This model assumes that the international labour migration is caused by differences in wage rates between countries. Accordingly, migration is thought to cease when wage differentials is eliminated. Since labour markets are thought to be the primary mechanisms that induce the movement of labour, this model suggests that the way for governments to control migration flows is to regulate or influence labour markets in sending and/or receiving countries (Massey et al., 1997).

(b) *Neo-classical micro-economic model*

This model also comes from the neo-classical economics tradition but its focus is on individual choice (Todaro, 1976 and 1989). In this model, a potential migrant goes to where the expected net returns to migration are greatest. Individual human capital characteristics that may contribute to the increase in the likely rate of remuneration or the probability of employment such as education or language skills will most likely increase the likelihood of international movements (Massey et al., 1997). In this model, social conditions and technologies that lower migration costs also increase the probability of international movement.

Corresponding to the macro-economic model, this model assumes that migration decisions are thought to stem from disequilibria between labour markets and that migration ceases when expected earnings of individuals are equalized internationally. Accordingly, the way for governments to control migration flow in this model is to affect expected earnings in sending and/or receiving countries. Policies to this effect include those that lower the likelihood of employment in receiving countries, those that raise incomes at the origin and those that increase the costs of migration either psychologically or materially (ibid.).

(c) *The new economics of migration*

The 'new economics of migration' challenges assumptions of neo-classical theory and argues that migration decisions are not made by isolated individuals but by larger units such as families, households or culturally defined units. These people are thought to act collectively to minimize risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures as well as to maximize expected income (Stark and Levhari, 1982, pp.191-196; Lauby and Stark, 1988, pp.473-486; Massey et al., 1997). To this effect, in this model a wage differential is not a necessary condition for international migration and international movement of labour does not necessarily stop when wage differences have been eliminated internationally.

The 'new economics' model suggests that governments can influence migration rates through policies that shape insurance and capital markets as well as labour markets. Government policies and economic changes that affect income distributions are thought to change the relative deprivation of some households and thus alter their incentives to migrate (Massey et al., 1997).

(d) *Dual labour market model*

While neo-classical models and the new economics of migration are essentially based on mechanisms of decisions made by individuals, dual labour market theory argues that international migration stems from the intrinsic labour demands of modern industrial societies. Dual labour market model assumes that international labour migration is largely demand-based and is initiated by recruitment on the part of employers in developed societies. In this model, the demand for immigrant workers stems from the structural needs of the economy and international wage differentials are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition to cause labour migration (ibid.). This model suggests that since migration is caused by a demand for labour that is structurally built into modern post-industrial economies, governments are unlikely to influence international migration through policies that produce small changes in wages or employment rates.

(e) *World system model*

Building on the work of Wallerstein (1974), social theorists have developed theories to identify the structure of the world market as the cause of international migration (Portes and Walton, 1981; Castells, 1989; Sassen, 1988, 1991, 1998; Morawska, 1990). In this model, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral and non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad (Massey et al., 1997). Here international migration is considered to stem from political and economic organisation of an expanding global market. International migration is seen as a natural consequence of capitalist market formation. Accordingly, international migration is thought to have little to do with differentials in wage or employment conditions between countries.

According to this model, the international flow of labour follows the international flow of goods and capital but in the opposite direction. Capitalist investment causes changes that create a mobile population in peripheral countries while simultaneously forging strong material and cultural links with core countries leading to transnational movement. Between past colonial powers and their former colonies, international migration is thought especially likely because various links such as cultural, linguistic and administrative ones that were established early led to the formation of specific transnational markets and systems (ibid.).

This model's understanding of international migration as a result of the globalization of the market economy implies that the way for governments to influence migration is to implement policies to regulate the overseas investment activities of corporations and controlling international flows of capital and goods. However, implementation of such policies is unlikely as they tend to provoke trade disputes, risk economic recession and antagonize multinational firms that possess substantial political resources to block such policies (ibid.). Political and military interventions by governments of capitalist countries to protect investments abroad are also thought to affect the mobility of individuals in this model, because when such interventions fail, they tend to produce refugee movements (ibid.).

While the abovementioned five models address the conditions that initiate international movement of people, the following group of theories concern the issue of how the processes of international migration perpetuate themselves. Although the theories to be examined in the following paragraphs focus on different aspects, the main thrust of their arguments is that once individuals move, new conditions arise in the course of migration that make additional movement more likely and come to function as independent causes for further migration. They provide useful analytical perspectives in the examination of roles and relationships of key agents and social

actors of international migration that are included in my study, including the central and local governments, employers, NGOs and migrants themselves.

(f) Network theory

Once the number of people who have moved internationally reaches a critical threshold, networks tend to develop that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in countries of origin and destination through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. Such networks contribute to lowering the costs and risks associated with movement. At the same time, these networks constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to employment, which increases the expected net returns to migration (ibid.). This theory accepts the view of international migration as an individual or household decision process. On the other hand, it argues that acts of migration at one point in time systematically alter the context where future migration decisions are made and greatly increase the likelihood of additional migration. Migrant networks and their expansion are thought to ultimately increase the likelihood of additional international movement and constitute a self-sustaining diffusion process (Hugo, 1981; Massey, 1990, pp.60-72; Gurak and Caces, 1992).

This theory suggests that once international migration begins and becomes institutionalized through the formation of networks, the size of the migratory flow between two countries becomes increasingly independent of the original causal factors because the effects of these variables are progressively overshadowed by the falling costs and risks of movement (Massey et al., 1997). In this model, migration decelerates only when all those who wish to migrate have done so. The theory suggests that it is difficult for governments to control flows of international migration because the process of network formation lies largely outside their control.

(g) *Institutional theory*

This theory recognizes a gradual build-up of institutions, organizations and entrepreneurs that are dedicated to international movement of individuals as a mechanism to perpetuate the flow of migration.

When an imbalance arises between the limited number of immigrant visas to be offered by destination countries and the number of people who seek to enter these countries, it creates a lucrative economic niche for institutions dedicated to promoting international movement for profit and yields a black market in migration (ibid.). Services offered by such for-profit organisations to migrants may include clandestine transport to international destinations, counterfeit documents and lodging and credit assistance in destination countries. On the other hand, voluntary humanitarian organisations also arise to protect the rights and improve the treatment of migrants. These humanitarian organisations help migrants by offering counselling, social services, shelter, legal advice and sometimes protection from immigration law enforcement authorities.

When organisations, institutions and entrepreneurs become institutionally stable and well known to migrant populations, they constitute a form of social capital that migrants can draw upon to gain access to foreign labour markets (ibid.). As a result, the flow of international migration becomes more and more institutionalized and independent of the original causal factors. According to this theory, it is difficult for governments to control migration flows because the process of institutionalization is difficult to regulate. Since meeting the demand for immigrant entry promises profits for entrepreneurs and organisations concerned, stricter immigration policies tend to be met with sophistication of mechanisms in a black market while it may also provoke resistance from humanitarian groups (ibid.).

(h) *Cumulative causation theory*

Self-sustaining mechanisms of international migration can be also analyzed in terms of a process that Myrdal (1957) called cumulative causation (Massey et al., 1997).

According to this model, each act of migration alters both in sending and receiving countries the social, economic and cultural contexts where subsequent migration decisions are made, which creates a powerful momentum. This typically makes additional movement more likely. Socio-economic factors that are potentially affected by migration in this cumulative process include the distribution of income, the distribution of land, the organisation of agriculture, culture, the regional distribution of human capital and the social meaning of work.

The propositions of this theory share similarities with those of network theory. One of the advantages of this theory is its ability to explain the process of occupational pigeonholing – the process where certain occupational groups become specific to migrant populations. This theory suggests that over time a value shift occurs among native workers in migrant receiving countries that results in the social labelling of ‘immigrant jobs’ due to the concentration of immigrants within them (ibid.). Once such a labelling occurs, it may be difficult to recruit native workers back into that occupational category even during the times of domestic unemployment, because the derogatory social labelling provokes the rejection of ‘immigrant jobs’ among native workers.

(i) *Migration system theory*

This theory follows from the foregoing theories and generalizes their propositions. It argues that international migration flows acquire a measure of stability and structure over time, which constitutes stable international migration systems. These systems include relative intense exchange of goods, capital and people between certain

countries and less intense exchange between others (ibid.). An international migration system generally includes a core receiving country or group of countries and a set of specific sending countries (Fawcett, 1989, pp.671-80; Zlotnik, 1992). Countries may belong to more than one migration system. Countries within a system are not necessarily geographically close since migration flows reflect more political and economic relationships than physical ones. The theory also provides a perspective of the variability of international migration systems and suggests that as political, economic and social conditions change, countries may join or drop out of a system in response, which may change the dynamics of the system (Massey et al., 1997).

Women and Migration

The most commonly adopted view is that migration and incorporation of women in waged employment bring both gains and losses – they may enhance women’s exploitation but women can also gain independence, respect and awareness that their condition can be changed (Morokvasic, 1984; Connell, 1984). A number of authors have pointed to changes in family structure and household stability as a result of migration of women (Morokvasic, 1984). Sassen-Koob (1984) also identifies destruction of traditional work structures and reduced survival opportunities in the areas of origin as an important dimension of the incorporation of women in the industrial workforce in developing economies.

While women may move for marriage purposes or to follow husbands, there are also more independent migration patterns of women. Although the specific conditions vary in each host country, women tend to predominate among immigrants admitted under the various family reunion categories (UN, 1995). One interpretation of this tendency is that women are more likely than men to be ‘secondary’ migrants who follow or join other migrants rather than initiating migration by themselves. Another is

that although women respond to the opportunities for migration open to them just as men, their decisions are often reflections of prevailing norms and values determining what is appropriate female behaviour within the family or in society at large (ibid.).

Women are sometimes not expected to migrate or can be prevented from migrating (Connell, 1984). Women are often subject to conditions for departure from the country of origin on the basis of implicit or explicit assumptions about the status and roles of women in the family and in society. The implicit views underlying such policies are that women are essentially vulnerable and that their respectability is compromised by the fact that they migrate on their own. What is lacking here is the recognition that women's vulnerability is largely a social construct that is closely related to the low status of women in society, including their limited access to resources, their legally dependent position within the family and their occupational segregation in low-paying jobs that command little prestige (UN, 1995).

The immigration policies of some receiving countries do not allow women to work if they are admitted as dependants of the migrant workers. Such policy gives rise to situations where a female migrant can be a legal resident but is an illegal worker (Boyd, 1995). Even in the traditional countries of immigration such as Australia, Canada and the USA, women who secure permanent residence rights on the basis of their family ties to other persons are ineligible for government assistance during some period following migration because of their assumed dependence on others (ibid.). Such provisions reinforce the economic dependence of women within the family.

The acknowledgement that women just like their male counterparts undertake autonomous migration as well as migration for marriage or family reunification purposes has frequently led to the assumption that the potential differences between male and female migration are not likely to be of theoretical or empirical significance (Morokvasic, 1984). However, there have been a number of contributions to better

understanding of female specific migration by authors. For example, women are more likely to migrate if their function in local economy was not seen as essential (Boserup, 1970). Young girls and single women are sometimes selected out for migration because they do not have any viable alternative in their villages (Young, 1982). These studies highlight the need for deeper analysis of specific characteristics of female migration.

There is also evidence that non-economic factors that have a sex selective impact cause emigration of women. They include marital discord, physical violence, impossibility of divorce, discrimination against specific groups of women and disadvantages in terms of property rights (Morokvasic, 1984). Women's necessity or willingness to flee such conditions have been "variably labelled as personal, minor, emotional, familial or individual, drawing on the stereotypical view assigned to women" (ibid., p.898). The emigration of women is generally considered more due to individual, private and family reasons, while male migration is a result of external, public and economic reasons (Morokvasic, 1984).

The fact that most women migrate as part of a family unit should not be used as an excuse to undermine their role as migrants. The very act of female migration demonstrates that women have a willingness to take risks in order to improve their status and that of their families. Women just as men continue to migrate and engage in changes in a global society. Consideration of citizenship and mechanisms for empowerment of citizens in this era of international migration requires the recognition that the vulnerability and dependency of women is a social construct that can and must be deconstructed. To this effect, I was motivated to include female migrants in my study as much as possible.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AT THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

The issue of international mobility of people that was examined in the previous section has significant local implications. While some global cities are adjusting to the new pluralist realities, certain politicians and political groups seek to mobilize traditional nationalist loyalties. As a result, one often witnesses a “regression to a very defensive and highly dangerous form of national identity which is driven by a very aggressive form of racism” (Hall, 1991a). As Hall (1991a) suggests, global and local are the two faces of the same movement from one epoch of globalization where nation-states, national economies and national cultural identities have been dominant actors to something new.

Although it was accepted that there were links between citizenship, migration and the inclusion and the exclusion of minorities and migrants, they tended to be treated as largely discrete academic and political fields of interest (Solomos and Schuster, 2001). In recent years a growing number of scholars have realized that questions about immigration, minorities and citizenship are increasingly interrelated in terms of policy agendas and political mobilization and that any rounded analysis of contemporary developments in the field of political theory and international relations has to look at all these issues together (ibid.).

Building on the discussions in the previous sections, in this section I shall examine the policy implications at the national and local levels resulting from the changing dynamics of citizenship and international migration.

Nation-State and Formation of Minorities

As examined elsewhere in this chapter, sovereignty in absolute states was embodied in the person of the monarch, who defined the rights and obligations of subjects. The membership to the state was in principle applied to those who were within the territory

regardless of their cultural affiliations. The shift from monarchy to the secular republic required a new form of political legitimization defining who was subject to the state. The solution was the democratic constitutional state that was based on the free will of the people to be expressed through active participation in law-making and government. The idea of the nation as a cultural community based on common descent, language and historical experience became an important factor in defining membership of the political community (Bocock, 1992; Castles and Davidson, 2000). The idea of the nation was also vital to the process of social integration of members as it provided the feeling of 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983).

The idea of the nation coexisted with the universalism of the modern state in a symbiosis and held societies together during war and crisis by its appeal to the feeling of belonging to one nation, despite the inequality and class divisions of industrial capitalism. Through various forms of political and social practices that separate and differentiate members of minorities from the mainstream population, the nation-state has had an inbuilt tendency to create difference and ethnic minorities (Guibernau and Rex, 1997; Bulmer and Solomos, 1999, pp.2-12; Knowles, 1999; Castles, 2000; Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.54-83).

These discursive and material practices not only create the ethnic Other but also ascribe Otherness as a justification for differential treatment (Hall, 1992; Mayo, 2000, pp.134-135). On the other hand, the excluded minorities constitute themselves as collectivities by using their very ethnicity as a symbol of exclusion and focus for resistance. As a result, ethnicity as discursive formation (Bulmer and Solomos, 1999, p.5; Said,1985) may lead to social and political mobilization of minorities. Ethnicity in this respect has a political and organizational aspect as well as a symbolic one (Eriksen, 1997, p.39).

Max Weber defined ethnic groups as “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration” (1997, p.18). Weber’s conceptualization of ethnicity is significant as it distinguishes ethnicity from biological differences and views it as a ‘presumed identity’ that facilitates group formation particularly in the political sphere and persists even after the disintegration of the political community (1997, p.19).

Ethnicity as discursive formulation has significant implications for the treatment of the immigrant as the Other in his or her host community. For the purposes of this research, specific policy implications at the national and local levels are examined further in the following sections.

Living Together – Policy Implications

The approaches taken by nation-states to regulate the situation of immigrants fall into two main categories: assimilation and multiculturalism. Assimilation means encouraging immigrants to take on the social and cultural practices of the host community so that eventually they and their descendants become indistinguishable from the rest of the population (Stalker, 1994, pp.71-93; Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.54-83). Multiculturalism means tolerating or promoting ethnic differences in such a way that identifiable groups coexist and interact to constitute a heterogeneous and stable society (Stalker, 1994, pp.72-75). In practice most countries adopt combinations of both approaches in their policies (ibid.).

One of the basic institutional mechanisms of citizenship is citizenship legislation. Citizenship law has significant implications affecting the ability of the second- or third- generation of immigrants to obtain full membership of civil society. *Ius soli* countries in principle confer citizenship on all children who are born in their

territory. This can be regarded as part of a multicultural approach. *Ius sanguinis* countries confer citizenship only on children of existing citizens, which can be seen as an extension of an assimilative approach. Most countries apply models based on a mixture of these two principles. Additionally, entitlement to citizenship can also stem from long-term residence in the country. This principle is called *ius domicili*.

Ius soli is applied in the USA, where a child born to immigrant parents becomes a US citizen even if the parents are visitors or illegal residents (Castles and Miller, 1998). In countries such as Australia, Canada and the UK, a child can obtain citizenship if at least one parent is a citizen or a legal permanent resident (ibid.). Countries such as France, Italy, Belgium and The Netherlands combine *ius soli* and *ius domicili* and allow the children of foreign parents in the territory to obtain citizenship if they have been resident for a certain period and fulfil other conditions (ibid.). France, Belgium and The Netherlands also apply the so-called 'double *ius soli*', where children born to foreign parents can acquire citizenship if one of the parents was also born in the country (ibid.). Under this system, members of the third generation automatically become citizens.

Ius sanguinis is still the dominant legal principle in most European countries and in Japan. While countries such as Austria and Switzerland apply the principle strictly, other *ius sanguinis* countries have taken steps towards *ius domicili* legislation in which they give an option of facilitated naturalisation to young people of immigrant origin (ibid.).

Different principles have different implications for the children of immigrants. In *ius sanguinis* countries, children who have been born and grow up in the country may be denied a clear national identity as well as security of residence (ibid.). They are formally categorized as citizens of a country they may have never visited and to which they can be deported. In *ius soli* countries, the second generation have a secure legal basis as formal members of society although they may have multiple cultural identities

(ibid.). Another important aspect of citizenship law is the implication of the growing number of dual nationals. It may mean that conflicts over taxes, military service and voting are becoming more common, which suggest the need for settlement in bilateral and regional agreements (Migration News).

In terms of the domestic social security system, immigrants present two problems for host countries: firstly in terms of maintaining national standards and secondly meeting new challenges in the international arena (ISSA, 1994, p.3). The countries that have adopted largely multicultural approaches have pursued active social policies targeted towards immigrants. This group include countries such as Australia, Canada, Sweden and The Netherlands. Their basic assumption is that special social policies do not lead to separatism and form the precondition for successful integration. They see the economic and social difficulties of immigrants as being caused by cultural and social differences and by barriers to participation based on institutional and informal discrimination (Castles and Miller, 1998, p.228).

The countries that have adopted largely assimilative approaches reject special social policies for immigrants. For example, US authorities oppose special social policies for immigrants because they are considered unnecessary government intervention (ibid., p.229). French authorities reject special social policies on the principle that immigrants should become citizens and that any special treatment would hinder that process (ibid.).

While immigrant populations increase in many developed countries, there is growing recognition that the development and persistence of racial inequalities is a feature of many global societies. The development of public policy responses to address issues has been an important area of analysis. An ongoing debate since the 1960s about the form and substance of policy initiatives to address racial inequalities has made it clear that ad hoc and piecemeal approaches to policy initiatives are not

enough. A coordinated approach to public policies is essential to deal with various social, political and cultural aspects of the position of ethnic minorities (Solomos and Back, 1996, pp.72-73).

I argued in the preceding sections that ethnic groups are discursive formulations. Policies that do not recognize the need for empowerment of all members of society ultimately reinforce the Otherness of ethnic minorities and their social marginalisation. One of the most effective ways to prevent marginalization and social conflicts in multicultural societies is to grant permanent immigrants full rights in all social spheres (Castles and Miller, 1998). In this era of globalization, the nation-state model where nationality and citizenship are identical, and the attempt to base citizenship on membership of an 'imagined' cultural community are likely to lead to social divisions and political conflicts as well as political and social exclusion of minorities and discursive formulation of difference based on ethnicity (Castles, 2000a). The economic and social policies that are needed to prevent such divisions and conflicts are most likely the ones that overcome social exclusion and poverty through the realisation of social citizenship for all (Castles, 2000a).

The position of ethnic minorities presents a dilemma to democratic nation-states. A failure to accept them as full citizens undermines the inclusive principle of democracy and leads to divided societies. On the other hand, the political inclusion of minorities without cultural assimilation may undermine national identity and lead to the disintegration of nation-states (Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.129-155). With the increasing mobility of people, so-called 'minorities' are growing in speed and volume in many countries. As societies become more multi-cultural and multi-ethnic in nature as a result of international migration, democratic nation-states have to refer back to the idea of active citizens that participate in democratic and deliberative decision-making of the laws that govern them (Fung and Wright, 2003; Mansbridge, 2003; Cornwall and

Pratt, 2003). The challenge facing the nation-state is to negotiate the differences of ethnicity of its members and empower them with a sense of political belonging (Solomos and Back, 1996, pp.214-216; Byrne, 1999, pp.125-137; Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.129-155; Coleman and Higgins, 2000), without making the process manipulative or 'tyrannical' to those who were supposed to be empowered (Cooke and Kothari, 2002; Mosse, 2002; Cleaver, 2002).

Habermas (2001, p.74) states:

“For nation-states with their own national histories, a politics that seeks the coexistence of different ethnic communities, language groups, religious faiths, etc. under equal rights naturally entails a process as precarious as it is painful.”

Habermas advocates a deliberative democracy based on informed public debate and responsive to the demands of an active citizenry (Habermas, 1998, 2001; Delanty, 2000, p.41). He suggests that multicultural societies require a politics of recognition and inclusion where citizens mutually recognize differences and a collective political existence of citizens keeps itself open for the inclusion of individuals of every background without forcing the uniformity of a homogenous community (Habermas, 2001, pp.73-74). Although the capacity of the public sphere to solve problems is limited, it can function to oversee the further treatment of problems that takes place inside the institutionalized political system (Delanty, 2000, p.41).

Feminist theorists inspired by Habermas such as Benhabib (1992; 1996) and Fraser (1989; 1992) also point out the necessity of a communicative articulation of problems. Such deliberative opinion- and will-formation of citizens has to be based in the principles of popular sovereignty. It forms the medium for legally constructed solidarity that reproduces itself through political participation (Habermas, 2001, p.76; Habermas, 1998, pp.129-153). Deliberative democracy in reality may mean the exchange of ideas and processes of communication that takes place in a vibrant, rowdy

and disorderly democracy. In this case, processes of engaged and responsible democratic communication may include street demonstrations, musical works and cartoons as well as parliamentary speeches (Young, 2003). The democratic process that counts as legitimate and provides its citizens with solidarity is the one that succeeds in an appropriate allocation and a fair distribution of rights through communicative action and practical deliberation (Habermas, 2001, p.77; Habermas, 1998, pp.239-252). It should then enable true human freedom. Political, economic and social freedoms of individuals in return reinforce one another and are constitutive of development of society as a whole (Sen, 1999; UNDP, 1999).

As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, individual citizens are characterized with multiple subject positions that result from the multiplicity of their social relations. The consideration of the attainment of full citizenship as empowered membership of a global society then needs to adopt analytical perspectives that allow for such multiplicity. To this effect, the concept of social capital can provide unique perspectives in the consideration of conditions to materialize expanded democracy in society. The idea of social capital challenges the assumption in neo-classical economic theory that society is only a combination of independent individuals and their discrete actions. According to Robert Putman, social capital signifies features of social life such as networks, norms and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives (Putman, 1996; Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000, p.9). Social capital entails an accumulation of social and moral resources within groups that include norms of reciprocity, social trust, cooperation and networks of civic engagement (Vasta, 2000, p.108). Trust and networks are considered to be two key terms of the concept of social capital (Coleman, 1997).

Critical responses towards social capital are often generated around the fact that as a concept it is relatively immature and can be variably defined. J.M. Barbalet argues

that limitations of the concept of social capital arise through the application of an essentially descriptive term to programmatic or strategic considerations (2000, p104). The huge range of social issues on which social capital has been applied has also contributed to arousing suspicion about the concept (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000). The methodological challenges of measuring social capital and the problem of aggregation of data from individual levels to social structural levels are also pointed out (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000).

Despite its problematic nature, social capital still has enormous potential for providing fresh perspectives for the purpose of my research. One of the key merits of social capital is the way it focuses on relations between agents, social units and institutions rather than the behaviour of individuals, including ambiguous complexities where such relations exhibit both cooperation and conflict (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000). Another key merit of social capital is that it reinserts issues of value into social science discourse, not strictly in economic terms but also in social terms as something deeply rooted in cultures and social norms of behaviour (OECD, 2001b).

The concept of social capital is relevant to this research in different ways. Firstly, as this research deals with the policy issues surrounding the local government system, the potential of social capital as an analytical concept of civil society is of great relevance. If we understand civil society to be the public place where we can meet, debate, claim rights and fulfil obligations under agreed rules which make the space safe for those who disagree as well as agree, it requires a level of social trust and goodwill that allow the involvement of diverse groups (Cox, 2000, pp.76-84). To this effect, the concept of social capital can be a useful analytical tool for understanding the construct of a local municipality in Japan and how its residents negotiate each other's differences and ethnicity. With its attention to the important role that non-governmental and voluntary civic associations play in fostering of trust among society members (OECD,

2001b, pp.39-63), social capital also provides my case study with valuable perspectives in examining the significance of these entities (Bagnasco, 2001; Castles and Davidson, 2000, pp.208-227).

The next logical step after conceptualizing a fully empowered citizen in a global society as suggested by Habermas is to consider the practical question of how to ensure equal access by all members of society to opportunity in the political sphere at the local community level. Putting necessary mechanisms to this effect in place requires implementing relevant policies at both the local and the national levels. According to the definition provided by D.A. Mazmanian and P.A. Sabatier: (i) implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision that identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued and structures the implementation process; and (ii) the implementation process normally runs through a number of stages beginning with passage of the basic statute, followed by the policy outputs or decisions of the implementing agencies, the compliance of target groups with those decisions, the actual impacts of those outputs, the perceived impacts of agency decisions, and finally revisions in the basic statute (Hill and Hupe, 2002).

The focus of the 'top-down' scholars of policy implementation such as J.L. Pressman and A. Wildavsky (1979) is the elimination of the gap between the expected goals articulated during policy formulation and the actual output. For 'top-down' writers, implementation is a political process that starts from an initial policy decision and implementation research is concerned with considering what makes the achievement of those goals difficult (Hill and Hupe, 2002). The bottom-up view is that the gap between formulation and output is a product of the inevitable participation of other actors in later stages of the policy process (ibid.). The concepts of networks and interactions of different organisations and actors are important elements of bottom-up theory.

Lipsky (1980, p.xii) argued that the decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures effectively become the public policies they carry out. According to Lipsky, street-level bureaucrats have to make choices about the use of scarce resources under fiscal pressure, which makes it easier for their managers to emphasize control than to try to put service ideals into practice (Hill and Hupe, 2002, p.53). For Lipsky, the implementation of policy is really about street-level workers with high service ideals exercising discretion under intolerable pressures. This suggests that approaches needed to secure the accountability of implementers are the ones that feed in the expectations of people at the local level, and not attempts to control them hierarchically (Hill and Hupe, 2002).

In practice, policy implementation cannot be explained as a simple confrontation between the top-down and bottom-up perspectives. How different organisations relate to each other is an important question to be examined in any implementation study. As membership of society is increasingly characterised by its diversity, policy implementation also needs to be approached with awareness about the complexity caused by different agencies involved. This study outlines in the subsequent chapters the complexity surrounding social participation of foreign residents in the particular context of Japan and highlights the mutual reactivity among different agencies at the local and the global levels.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Citizenship in the most general sense is about group membership. What it means to be a citizen has changed over time, reflecting the changes in the dominant economic and political landscapes. Globalization creates new challenges for citizenship as the boundaries of the state are being eroded and the basis for people's belonging to the

state is questioned by the growing international mobility. Such changes have irrepressibly exposed some fundamental ambiguities in the notion of citizenship, most notably the contradiction between the notion of the citizen as an individual abstracted from cultural characteristics and that of the national as a member of a community with common cultural values. Although all citizens are meant to be equal in the political sphere that is meant to be free of cultural particularity, citizenship as membership of society can exist only in the context of a nation-state that is largely based on such cultural particularity.

The recognition of this decoupling of citizenship and nationality together with the perspectives of 'gendered' and 'Eurocentric (white)' citizenship contribute to explaining why democratic states have always had groups within their territories who were not considered capable of belonging. With the background of increasing international mobility of people, it is only fitting that we consider the possibility of a new formulation of citizenship in the new global context.

A transnational diaspora or international mobility of people has come to symbolize the way in which people are transcending the nation-state system. Although the word 'diaspora' has particular associations with Jewish peoples living outside of their natal lands, the concept is used more widely to include groups that are essentially voluntary migrants (Cohen, 1997). With the development of rapid transport and electronic communications, it is possible for many migrants to have multiple identities and multiple localities without assimilation to a particular national identity (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000, p.353). As a result, the nation-state is increasingly faced with a more complex mosaic of cultures, religions, languages and ethnicities (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000, pp.340-357). As trans-nationalism has begun to supersede nationalism, there is no longer any stability in the points of origin, no finality in the points of destination and no necessary coincidence between social and national identities (Khan, 1995).

The literature on various theoretical approaches indicates that contemporary migratory processes are complex and multi-faceted. Some focus on differences in wage and employment conditions between countries and generally conceive of migration as an individual decision for income maximization. Others analyze migration in terms of macro-level decision processes such as family decisions. We need to be aware that in reality such different analytical parts are inter-related. Individuals may choose to migrate to maximize income while their families also want them to migrate to minimize risk to family income. No single theory will adequately explain why international migration begins.

As for the perpetuation of international migration, the various hypotheses of migration theories suggest that flows of international movement of people gain stability over time. They develop mechanisms to sustain migration where numerous networks and institutions intricately interact, and constant changes in political, economic and social conditions cause frequent shifts in dynamics of the mechanisms. International migration may be a self-sustaining process or consists of stable systems that perpetuate it. But it is not a strictly fixed structure because of the dynamic interactions among all parties concerned. It is complex, multi-faceted and always evolving.

Regarding gender, the interrelationship between economic and non-economic factors determine who will be the women to migrate, what will be the meaning of migratory experience for them and how or if they adopt new values and behaviour (Morokvasic, 1984). It is important to bear in mind that female migrants are not always passive dependents and that migration in general cannot be analyzed comprehensively within the framework that focuses only on young male adults.

With sovereignty of the state being eroded, sub-national units such as cities and regions face a real test of competence and creativity in effective governance of their community members. Policy makers of such sub-national units need to closely examine

various dimensions of citizenship for deliberation of community policies and initiatives, including the ideological possibility of universal personhood grounded in a transnational community and its international codes and laws. They also need to take into consideration participatory approaches advocated in the thinking of radical democracy where democratic citizenship is about the substantive recognition of different voices in the community. As feminist scholars suggest, the personal is the political. Self-directed individualistic approaches that build upon the distinction between 'private' and 'public' suggest very little possibility for policies and initiatives that deliver the empowerment of community membership.

Participatory democracy recognizes the need for empowerment of groups that are most affected by the exercise of power. The implementation of participatory democracy implies a dissensus-laden civil society that provides a sphere where all members of the society are able to exercise influence on the practice of the state by means of public discussions without constraints of financial or social inequalities. The challenge of nation-states is to negotiate differences of 'ethnicity' of its members and empower them with a sense of political belonging. What is required is a politics of recognition and inclusion where citizens mutually recognize differences and keep a collective political existence through deliberative opinion formulation without forcing the uniformity of a homogenous community.

This research aims to contribute to the debate concerning policies that promote inclusion of all members of a global society. It examines the issue of participatory local governance from the perspective of newcomer migrant foreigners in Japan whilst taking into account the limitations arising from wider global structural forces and processes. It explores opportunities for enhanced social inclusion and promotion of active participation of all residents in a small municipality in Japan. If we are to understand ethnicity as something that is constructed through various discursive and

material practices, researching foreign populations in Japan is to understand the complexity of different factors that contribute to the formation of particular characteristics of foreigners in Japan. Chapters III, IV and V take on this task of mapping out the intricate factors that constitute what it means to be a foreigner in Japan.

CHAPTER III

MIGRANT FOREIGNERS IN JAPAN – ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

As Chapter II outlined, the changing dynamics of citizenship fuelled by international migration present important policy implications at the national and local levels.

Chapters III, IV and V examine the complexity of different factors that constitute what it means to be a foreigner in Japan.

Migrant workers by definition relocate for employment-related reasons.

Looking at the economic environments surrounding foreign migrant workers in Japan is an important first step to examine the situation of migrant foreigners in Japan. This chapter discusses migrant foreigners in Japan from economic perspectives. It discusses the historical background of Japan both as a receiving and a sending country of immigration, which has contributed to a unique dichotomy in the current foreign population in Japan. Discussions in this chapter aim to illustrate that economic and historical backgrounds which are intertwined with the process of globalization have contributed to certain characteristics of foreigners in Japan with a variety of gender implications.

The foreign population in Japan can be categorised into two major groups on the basis of when they arrived in Japan. The first group is the so-called ‘old-comers’. They are largely ethnic Koreans and Chinese and their history of residing in Japan goes back to the nineteenth century. The second group is the ‘newcomers’ who arrived in Japan after 1980s. These two groups characterize the dichotomy in the migrant population in Japan. They are different in terms of their histories of immigration and show distinct attributes occupationally. The annexation of foreign territories by the imperial Japanese government in pre- and during the Second World War (WWII),

major economic booms and the current national demographic trends all contributed to the formation of two distinctive groups of migrant populations in Japan.

Relevant quantitative data in this chapter are obtained mainly from official statistical data, such as the foreigner registration records, statistics on illegal entry, over-stay and illegal employment of foreigners, surveys on the employment situation of foreign workers, and the national population census. Japan does not share land borders with any neighbouring nation and it makes strict border controls relatively effective. Such strict border controls generally produce an abundant amount of fairly reliable data on many attributes of foreigners arriving in Japan (Mori, 1997, p.4-5). My work was made easier due to the fact that a wide range of official statistics exist to provide detailed information of foreigners in Japan.

The foreigner registration records in Japan make up a compilation of notified cases of foreigners' presence. The foreigner registration system in Japan is rigidly designed to cover any occupational and residential changes as they occur. As a result, it provides rich quantitative information (Komai, 1999, p.32; Mori, 1997, p.135; Komai, 1995a, p.20; TMIL, 1995). My research also benefited from other reliable sources that include foreigner registration statistics that are published annually by the Ministry of Justice and the population census that is conducted every five years. Overall, the availability of data was excellent. At the same time, there was no definitive information about the exact number of illegal immigrants. The central government of Japan publishes a report periodically that contains statistics on illegal employment and over-stay on the basis of the alien registration statistics. My research benefited from such reports. Although the information contained in these reports on illegal immigrants is drawn from fairly reliable statistics, it is important to be mindful that it is essentially an estimate since it is difficult to pin down all illegal immigrants in Japan accurately.

JAPAN AS A SENDING COUNTRY BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Although Japan is now considered as one of the major destinations by immigrants from neighbouring Asian countries, Japan was primarily a sending country of immigrants for a long time. The history of Japanese emigration (on a significant scale, according to official statistics) goes back to the mid nineteenth century. During the 100 years that span between mid nineteenth century when the transformation of Japan as a modern state started and the end of the WWII when the rapid reconstruction of the country began, Japan sent out about one million of its people as immigrants, mainly to Hawaii, the South Pacific islands and North and South American continents (Iyotani, 1996, p.26). By the late nineteenth century, there were approximately 29,000 Japanese working in Hawaii and 790 in Peru, for example (JANM, 2000).

In view of the serious economic recession at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Japanese government promoted emigration and provided people with preparations and travel subsidies as well as necessary information and vocational training (Mori, 1997, p.33). The grand total of Japanese migrants abroad at the end of the WWII reached several million (Iyotani, 1996, p.26-27). More than 750,000 Japanese civilians emigrated through settlement programmes to occupied territories in Asia under the imperialistic occupation policy of the government (Mori, 1996, p.33).

MIGRATION TO JAPAN BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR:

FORMATION OF OLDCOMERS

As for migration to Japan, the number of foreign residents in the nineteenth century Japan was relatively modest (Mori, 1997, p.33). The annexation of Korea by imperialist Japan in 1910 accelerated the immigration of Korean people. The number of Korean residents in Japan increased from 4,000 in 1911 to 40,000 in 1920 and 400,000 in 1930. In 1945 there were over two million Koreans in Japan in 1945 (Kajimura, 1994,

pp.295-296). This was roughly the equivalent of ten percent of the entire population in Korean peninsula at the time. The annexation subjected the Korean's political rights under Japanese control and also forced Japanese naturalization. Also Taiwan had been annexed since 1895. Koreans and Taiwanese constituted more than 95% of the total non-native Japanese residing in Japan in 1940 (Mori, 1997, p.33 and p.207).

These ethnic Koreans and Chinese subsequently came to form a foreign population, which is now called 'old-comer' foreigners in Japan. Korean migrants who arrived in Japan before 1930 were predominantly men. They were mostly single or unaccompanied by their family (Mori, 1997, p.142). They worked in small plants, at construction sites, as stevedores, longshoremen and miners (*ibid.*). Glass foundries and enamelware, plating and fertilizer plants also employed many Koreans (Mori, 1997, p.156).

Korean migrants initially lived in the southwestern part of Japan, such as the Kyushu and Chugoku regions. The geographical proximity of these regions to their home country was the primary reason for Korean's choice of destination (*ibid.*, p.142). The Kansai urban area that covers three major cities in western Japan – Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe – hosted the then leading industries such as textile, rubber and metal processing and attracted many Korean workers (*ibid.*). Koreans tended to share jobs with unskilled national workers and gradually formed the bottom layers in the labour market (Mori, 1997, p.156). On the other hand, early Chinese migrants, including Taiwanese were heavily concentrated in seaport cities such as Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki and formed Chinese quarters known as Chinatowns. Chinese have engaged in urban service industries, mostly self-employed, such as catering of Chinese cuisine, Chinese herbal medicine, barbers, tailors, and international trade (*ibid.*, p.142 and p.161).

The demand for young women workers drastically increased in Osaka due to the rapid development of the spinning industry in pre-war Japan. It eventually expanded, resulting in a labour demand that could not be satisfied by native Japanese women. As a result, this created opportunities for Korean migrant women and contributed eventually to family formation among Korean migrants in Japan (Mori, 1997, p.143). The percentages of children under the age of nine as well as women in the total Korean population in Japan steadily increased between the 1920s and 1940s, indicating that the second-generation of Korean residents already started growing up in Japan as early as the 1920s (Kajimura, 1994, pp.302-303).

Between 1939 and 1945, Japan had introduced approximately 800,000 workers from the Korean Peninsula and 80,000 from China and Taiwan (Mori, 1997, p.34). There were between 2.1 million and 2.4 million Koreans in Japan at the end of WWII and they constituted 3.3 % of the total Japanese population (ibid., p.34). They were mostly forced to move to Japan to satisfy labour needs caused by the massive military mobilization of the native labour force (Iyotani, 1996, p.41).

These old-comer foreigners were involuntarily assigned Japanese nationality and forced to take up Japanese names (Mori, 1997, p.135). They were mainly employed in coal mining pits, construction sites and in the ammunitions industry where mobilization of indigenous workers to battlefields had almost paralyzed activities (ibid., p.34). These industries as well as stations and railway construction in remote areas existed in wide dispersion over different parts of Japan. As industries became more and more dependent on migrant workers, the residential distribution of migrant workers in Japan became gradually more dispersed.

JAPANESE LABOUR MARKET: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE UP UNTIL THE SECOND WORLD WAR

There were two important features of the labour market in the early twentieth century that affected both Japanese and foreign workers. The first was the widening gap between larger companies in leading industries and small/medium companies in terms of the working conditions and benefits of employees. The second was the labelling of women as second-class workers. The impact of these developments was long-lasting and can be still felt in Japan today as examined later in this chapter.

With the emergence of heavy industries and chemical engineering as leading industries around the time of the First World War, those who worked in such modern industries came to form a new social group. Leading companies in these industries started establishing more stable labour-management relations. The employees of larger companies were incorporated into the structures of stable employment and came to form a distinct social class from their counterparts at small/medium companies. The majority of the workers at small/medium companies were still engaged in unstable seasonal or daily-paid labour and came to form irregular and peripheral labour force (Iyotani, 1996, p.40). In the late 1920s the wages of male workers employed by large companies in the heavy industries became much higher than those of unskilled workers and workers of small/medium companies.

Leading companies in modern industries promoted technical training programmes for their employees and improved their social benefit packages as a means to prevent well-trained workers from leaving and avoid labour-management disputes. The foundation for systems that later came to be known as the typical Japanese business management practices were formed around this period (Iyotani, 1996, p.40; Kawahigashi, 2001, p.108). Such systems included the seniority-based wage system, the policy of employment for life and company-specific unionization. Workers who

were loyal to their employers were rewarded with social benefits and vocational training opportunities.

The creation of this new labour stratification and the seniority-based wage system also had a significant impact on the gender relations in Japan. Because of the guaranteed increase in wages based on the seniority system, if a male worker stayed at the same company until the average age of marriage, he could expect a healthy sum of annual income that would be enough to support a family (Yamada, 2001, p.80). In a sense, the seniority-based wage system that emerged in pre-war Japan was based on the family wage ideology that the wage of a worker should guarantee the secure livelihood of the entire family as well as the worker himself. There was traditionally a pattern of gender differentiation in Japan and the introduction of a seniority-based wage system further reinforced such differentiation (Yamada, 2001; Kawahigashi, 2001).

This promoted the emergence of the ideology of the modern family that was supported single-handedly by a male head of household (Kawahigashi, 2001, p.110). As the wages of heavy industries' workers went up, their wives were increasingly expected to focus more on domestic work and caring of children at home. Whether a man could support his entire family only with his wage became a measurement of his 'respectability' (ibid., p.103).

What characterized Japan from the Meiji Era (1868-1912) through to the end of WWII was the system of governance based on the patriarchal family. Children had a filial duty in view of the debt of gratitude to the parents. Wives had to serve their parents-in-law as well as their husbands. Such a family-based system of control was applied to governing the country, with the Emperor as the father and the citizens as children with the obligation to be loyal to their father. This notion of country as a family was skilfully incorporated as part of a nationalist nation-building effort by the government (Kawahigashi, 2001, p.120).

Another important aspect under this patriarchal system in pre-war Japan was the presence of female textile factory workers. The textile industry that played a pivotal role in expanding exports and revitalizing the economy in pre-war Japan during the first half of the 1990s was fundamentally supported by low-waged and over-worked young Japanese women, who migrated from small rural farming villages to support the livelihood of their families (Morita, 1994, p.329).

Silk was the Japan's main export product before WWII through the Meiji Era (Miyake, 2001, p.24). With the foreign currency holdings gained through silk trading, Meiji Japan purchased war vessels to deal with the intensified relationship with western countries over control of Asian markets, and enlarged the munitions industry. It was also the wages generated by young female factory workers that enabled many farming households to pay the high land tax (ibid., p.31). The land tax accounted for about 80% of the government's revenue throughout the Meiji Era and was invested again in the war industries such as iron manufacturing and machine industry (ibid., p.31).

The textile industry at the time was a "traction engine" (Miyake, 2001, p.31) of Japanese capitalism and it was these young female factory workers who were employed for extremely long-hour in low-wage jobs that enabled the textile industry to thrive. Despite this remarkable contribution, women were denied acknowledgment as workers and furthermore were considered a lesser class of labour. They were called 'factory girls' (jokou) and classified much lower than their male colleagues working at the same factory in terms of their wages and benefits. Female factory workers were considered suitable only for work in light industries, especially in the garment industry because such work was considered "trivial, easy and simple" labour that required nothing other than "natural aptitude for manual manoeuvre" (ibid., p.32).

With the background of the patriarchal family system embodied in then Meiji civil law, women were taught to accept their position as second-class beings in the light

of the ideology of loyalty and filial duty to their families based on the concept of debt of gratitude to the parents (ibid., pp.36-37 and pp.42-43). As examined in a later section of this chapter, the labelling of women as second-class workers continues to a certain extent today and affects the working conditions of female migrant workers.

END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

The end of WWII ended the high demand for labour in war-related key industries that were the main employers of migrant workers. With a massive return of Japanese nationals from overseas, migrant workers found themselves in competition for employment opportunities against them. The release of their home country from the Japanese occupation motivated many migrant workers to repatriate. Postwar migration development in Japan until 1970 was characterized by the three elements. First was the repatriation of many Koreans and Chinese to their homelands. Second was the massive repatriation of Japanese civilians, military personnel and military civilians. The third was another emigration flow of Japanese nationals.

Koreans and Chinese in Japan

Out of 2.1 million Koreans who were in Japan at the end of WWII, about 1.4 million or nearly 70% returned to their homeland before March 1946 (Mori, 1997, p.34 and p.159; Komai, 1999, p.25). On the other hand, many foreigners in Japan had already lost their base of subsistence in their homeland and decided to stay in Japan. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 also prevented the return of many Koreans (Mori, 1997, p.144). When the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect in April 1952, Korea and Taiwan were no longer territories of Japan. Accordingly, Korean and Chinese residents in Japan lost their Japanese citizenship at this point and became resident foreigners. In 1955, approximately 550,000 Korean migrants remained in Japan (ibid., p.34).

Many foreigners shared jobs with unskilled national workers who were placed at the bottom layers in the labour market as 'odd jobbers' (ibid., p.156). Most foreign workers were illiterate and could not compete with national workers in modern factory work (ibid.). Due to a massive return of Japanese at the end of WWII from territories abroad, even demanding and dirty jobs at construction sites were no longer available for foreigners. The nationality clause was applied to mining right and the vessel ownership after WWII. This deprived foreigners of employment opportunities in mining, shipping and fishery (Mori, 1997, p.159).

Repatriation of Japanese Nationals to Japan

Japan experienced a large flow of returnees of Japanese civilians, military personnel and military civilians immediately after the end of the WWII. An aggregate flow of more than 6.6 million was recorded between 1946 and 1948 (Mori, 1997, p.34).

Demobilized soldiers and returnees from the former colonized territories supplied additional labour to the market. The end of the war produced over ten million unemployed people in Japan (Iyotani, 1996, p.41). It has been argued that the miraculous reconstruction and economic development of Japan after the WWII could not have been achieved without such a large pool of domestic surplus labour supply.

Agriculture and other primary sectors absorbed large number of excess labour. However, the returning Japanese population from abroad was too large in size to be entirely absorbed by the primary sector. Since the recovery pace of urban industry was too slow to absorb the redundant labour force, many of those who returned provisionally resided in rural areas but eventually left to find their future abroad (Mori, 1997, p.34).

Emigration Flow of Japanese Nationals to Abroad

The additional labour supply created by the return of Japanese nationals abroad was more than enough to fill the vacancies created by the repatriation of Koreans and Chinese. In view of serious over-population, the Japanese government encouraged emigration. The government set up the Japan Emigration Agency (which later became the Japan International Cooperation Association (JICA)) in 1963 to take over the work of prefectural emigration promotion associations that started in 1954. The Agency carried out publicity work through posters and propaganda films. It also provided emigrants with technical and financial assistance to support successful settlement abroad (Mori, 1997, p.35).

The full-scale outflow commenced in the early 1950s and exhibited its largest upsurge in the latter half of that decade (ibid., p.34). The number of Japanese emigrating abroad grew to approximately 110,000 and 79,000 in the 1950s and 1960s respectively (ibid., pp.34-35). The emigration flow of Japanese nationals after the WWII lasted until the end of the 1970s (ibid., p.35). The largest recipient country of Japanese emigrants after the WWII was the U.S.A.. It accepted more than 90,000 up until the 1960s (ibid.). South American countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia were the next largest recipients (ibid.). Nobody could predict at the time that a few generations later, the descendants of these Japanese emigrants would start a large-scale U-turn immigration back to Japan and form one of the largest foreign populations in Japan. A later section of this chapter discusses this phenomenon in more detail.

JAPANESE LABOUR MARKET: HIGH ECONOMIC GROWTH PERIOD

AFTER 1960 AND FORMATION OF NEWCOMERS

There are two periods in Japan's post WWII economic history that can be distinguished from the rest. The first period started in the latter half of 1965 and lasted until mid-

1970. It is called 'Izanagi' boom. The high economic growth under the Izanagi boom provided new employment opportunities not only to Japanese nationals but also to old-comer migrants. The scope of occupational choice for old-comer foreigners became widened. Some managed to move to white-collar jobs (Mori, 1997, p.144). However, there were many nationality-specific restrictions on jobs that prevented qualified migrant workers from being eligible (ibid.).

The second began in late 1986 and continued until the beginning of 1991. This is called 'Heisei' boom. These two periods are characterized by their remarkably high rates of economic growth. The Izanagi boom ended with the abrupt downward swing caused by the first oil crisis (Mori, 1997, p.38). The Heisei boom corresponded to the abnormally brisk economic activities under so-called 'bubble economy' at the time (ibid.).

The two booms both happened with the background of the increase in income from speculative transactions in the stock market and real estate fuelled by an oversupply of liquidity, which led to an intensification of the growth of the real economy (Mori, 1997, p.38). At the same time, they contrasted in many respects. Most notably, Japan managed the Izanagi boom without introducing a large number of new foreign workers, whereas the Heisei boom led to the introduction of additional foreign labour. Foreigners who migrated to Japan during the Heisei boom subsequently created a group of foreign population in Japan that is now called 'newcomers'. Specific features of the Heisei economic boom decided what kinds of job opportunities were available to foreign migrants. The following paragraphs examine differences between the two economic booms to understand the historical background of the introduction of newcomer foreigners in Japan.

Firstly, the Heisei boom required the introduction of foreign migrants because domestic labour supply under the Heisei boom was smaller than that at the time of the

Izanagi boom. To start with, the size of new graduates in Japan in the Heisei boom was smaller by about two million than in the Izanagi boom (Mori, 1997, p.39-40). During the Izanagi boom in the 1960s, Japan also had a comparatively large pool of additional labour in agriculture, forestry and fishery, which provided much of the flexibility in the labour market at the time (Iyotani and Sugihara, 1996, p.15; Iyotani, 1996, p.27; Kajita, 1994, p.16; Morita, 1994, p.331). However, by the time of the Heisei boom, primary industries had exhausted its core workers and could not effectively ensure the inter-sectoral reallocation as it did in the Izanagi boom period (Morita, 1994, pp.330-331).

Secondly, the domestic labour shortage in Japan under the Heisei economic boom affected particularly smaller firms and in certain industries. By the time of the Heisei boom, many large companies in Japan opted for the externalization of labour-intensive processes by establishing subsidiaries or redeploying production bases abroad. On the other hand, small firms lacked sufficient finance and information to introduce large labour-saving investments either domestically or abroad. They constituted the bottom layers of each industry and they could not afford to subcontract their activities (Mori, 1997, pp.57-59).

Furthermore, certain industries did not have wide varieties of options to cope with labour shortage, due to the nature of the businesses. They included transport, construction, and service industries (*ibid.*, p.57). New types of businesses that emerged during the Heisei boom such as speciality retail trade, gourmet supermarkets and restaurants also produced and provided services that could be consumed only at particular spots, which required localized recruitment (*ibid.*, p.59).

Thirdly, the Heisei economic boom also necessitated the introduction of foreign workers in certain industries because such industries could not effectively attract Japanese workers due to hardships and low wages associated with the job. As enrolment in the upper secondary schools in Japan rose to 90% at the time of the Heisei

boom, new domestic graduates with greater educational qualifications tended to shun unskilled and low wage jobs. During the Heisei boom, jobs such as metal fusing and iron tempering were increasingly shunned by native young workers due to the '3D' (dirty, dangerous and demanding) nature or what the Japanese called '3K' nature (kitanai, kiken and kitsui) of the jobs (ibid., pp.50-52). The low wage group jobs such as cleaners, timber workers and sewing machine workers constantly failed to attract the necessary labour domestically due to the lack of better professional prospects as well as the low wages (ibid., p.52). As a result, companies in such occupational groups increasingly opted for foreign workers.

Fourthly, new types of service industries emerged under the Heisei boom and started employing a significant number of foreign workers. Large enterprises in Japan outsourced less profitable or labour-intensive supplementary activities such as transportation, building maintenance, janitorial services and data processing as a cost-cutting measure. Such developments in large corporations led to creating new employment opportunities in service areas known as 'business service industries' (ibid., pp.44-45). Also under the Heisei boom, the diversified consumption demand of a well-off society generated a new set of business opportunities in retail trade and restaurants, and the expanded involvement of housewives in the labour market outsourced many household services (ibid., p.45). The emerging new businesses were generally labour-intensive and attracted many foreign workers.

Finally, one of the characteristics of Japan's labour market in the post oil-shock period was an increase in non-regular employment (ibid.). With low economic growth immediately after the oil-shock, companies were forced to review their employment practices to cut labour costs. Many companies replaced regular workers with less costly casual workers. They were usually made up of workers dispatched through temporary staff agents, housewives and working students (ibid.). Retail trade and restaurants as

well as new business service industries had an exceptionally high dependence on non-regular workers (ibid.). As a result, many foreigners entered the Japanese labour market as non-regular workers.

Employment Through Training Schemes

When discussing foreign migrants in Japan, so-called international ‘trainees’ and ‘interns’ deserve a separate section because they are in effect unskilled foreign labour that are introduced to Japan through a special channel. Under the Heisei economic boom, many Japanese firms started introducing vocational training schemes for young foreign trainees. With the acute pressure of labour shortages, they tried to fill part of vacancies for unskilled jobs through ‘on-the-job training’ of foreign trainees.

According to the Japanese immigration law, activities of a foreign ‘trainee’ are limited for the purpose of acquiring skills and technology. Because their activities are categorized as ‘on-the-job training’, foreign trainees cannot technically receive wages. Therefore, they receive their remuneration as ‘compensation’ that covers commuting and living expenses during their stay in Japan. One important consequences of the legal distinction between training and work in Japan is that trainees are not eligible to employment-related benefits such as the Workers’ Accident Compensation Insurance.

Concerned with the increasing abuse of international training schemes, the central government launched the Technical Intern Training Programme (TITP) in April 1993. This programme in essence enabled a Japanese company to legally employ a foreign trainee upon successful completion of the on-the-job training. Under this programme, trainees who have completed a certain period of training with successful attainment of vocational qualifications are allowed to switch to an ‘intern programme’ to acquire additional skills under a formal employment contract at the same company where they received the training (APEC, 2001, p.338).

The formal employment contract under the TITP affects the legal status of residence of its interns. When an applicant is successful in qualifying for the TITP, his or her legal status of residence is changed from 'trainee' to 'designated activities'. This means that an intern is officially given a worker's status comparable to Japanese workers, including wages and other working conditions (Oishi, 1995, p.34). Since the interns under the TITP are treated as fully paid employees, Japanese labour laws such as the Labour Standard Law, the Minimum Wage Law and the Employment Security Law apply to them. To qualify as an intern, applicants must complete the conventional vocational training of at least nine months and successfully pass the evaluation exam before proceeding to the TITP.

As the range of job types expanded and the diversification of receiving organizations progressed both at large and small size enterprises, the number of trainees who switched to the TITP grew (APEC, 2001, p.339). By nationality, participants from China made up 67% of all 38,169 trainees in 2001, followed by Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines (MOJ, 2002a). As of 2001, over 60% of the entire trainee programmes in Japan are privately hosted (JITCO, 2001). According to the 2002 Survey Report on the Employment Status of Foreign Workers, trainees/interns accounted for over 12% of all foreign employees, and nearly 90% of all trainees/interns were engaged in manufacturing (MHLW, 2002c).

Although the TITP enhanced the provision of protection of foreign trainees as workers, the existence of trainees as de facto unskilled labour still presents many problems. The amount of compensation paid to trainees during training is left substantially to the discretion of accepting companies. Accordingly, there is a considerable divergence in the amounts trainees receive as compensation from their companies (Mori, 1997, p.125). Uneven treatment among companies in financial

compensation, the content of training and other matters such as accommodation have caused discontent among trainees (ibid.).

Training is an effective method to transfer knowledge and technology as well as contribute to human resources development. When companies have a subsidiary or joint venture abroad, transfer of technology and knowledge may constitute a key part of their business strategies for global expansion of their operation. At the same time, there is also a problem of mismatch between the expectations of trainees and their employers. Trainees are often relatively well-educated members of their home countries' elite who are eager to acquire advanced technologies (Mori, 1997, p.129). They can be severely dissatisfied when faced with simple manual work offered by accepting companies.

In view of the fact that an intern under the TITP can be legitimately engaged in unskilled labour though for limited periods of time, some regard the TITP as Japan's first attempt to legalize the intake of unskilled foreign labour (Oishi, 1995, p.32). Through a series of reforms including the TITP, measures are taken to improve the working conditions of trainees. However, the fact remains that the trainee system in Japan currently carries out two different functions: to contribute to the transfer of technology and to introduce unskilled foreign labour. The more prominent the role of the trainee system becomes as a unskilled labour-introducing channel, the less certain it becomes whether the current system can successfully cope with conflicting expectations of the different parties involved.

International Environment

Preceding sections of this chapter examined 'labour pull' factors in Japan in the 1980s that led to the introduction of newcomer foreigners. This section discusses 'push' factors that existed in the international economic environment at the time.

The first of such 'push' factor was emigration pressure in the main Asian labour-sending countries. According to the statistics by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and International Labour Organization (ILO), there were two remarkable upsurges in the outflow of contract migrant workers from Asian labour-sending countries such as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea and Thailand during the period between 1977 and 1991 (Mori, 1997, p.60-61; Map III-1). The first upsurge began in 1979 and lasted until 1983 when an increasing number of migrant workers headed for the oil-exporting Middle Eastern countries. However, when the second upsurge started in 1987, the migration flow was generated mainly within the Asian region. Asian workers who already had experience as contract workers in Middle Eastern countries started considering Japan as one of the new destination countries in the second half of the 1980s.

The increasing presence of Japanese foreign direct investment (FDI) can also partly account for the migration trend from Asian countries to Japan. According to the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), the growth of Japanese investment abroad was dramatic in the second half of the 1980s. Japanese FDI was also accelerated by the sudden appreciation of the Japanese yen after the Plaza Accord in 1985. In 1989, Japan became the world's largest source country of FDI outflows and maintained its leading position in 1990 and 1991 (APEC, 2001, p.345). The manufacturing sector accounted for 66% of all Japanese FDI outflows in 1995 (*ibid.*, p.348).

This rapid expansion of Japanese FDI to Asian countries has played an important role in economic development and has stimulated structural changes in economic activities in recipient economies (*ibid.*, p.355). At the same time, the number of employees in Japanese affiliated companies overseas (including Japanese employees) dramatically increased from 921,000 in 1986 to 2.7 million in 1998 (*ibid.*, p.348). This means that Japanese affiliated companies created about three million job

opportunities around the world, creating a significant impact on employment opportunities in the manufacturing sector in Asian countries (ibid., p355). According to the 1999 Survey of Overseas Business Activities by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, 80% of employees in Japanese affiliated companies abroad were engaged in manufacturing, particularly in electrical machinery and transport equipment (ibid., p.348).

In the early 1990s, Japanese FDI flows began to decline as the uncertain economic situation of the host countries and the poor performance of the parent companies discouraged Japanese investors from undertaking new FDI projects (ibid., p.347). The downward trend continued in late 1990s due to the financial crisis in Asia in 1997 and the recession of the Japanese economy (ibid., p.348). However, the immediate impact of Japanese FDI growth in the 1980s was thought to have increased the supply of outward migrants, particularly by raising the ability to meet the costs of migration (ibid., p.351). FDI might have also established linkages between Japan and developing countries that subsequently serve as 'bridges' for international migration (ibid., p.351). The inflow of migrant workers into Japan from Asian countries in the 1980s can be partly attributed to such linkages created by the growing presence of Japanese companies overseas (ibid., p.351). In other words, various changes in global economy might have interacted and contributed to the flow of newcomer migrants to Japan. It can be argued that the inflow of migrant workers into Japan was not an independent incident but a structurally integral part of overall changes in global economy.

Map III-1: Map of Asia



Newcomers

Preceding sections outlined specific economic features that determined the job market for newcomer foreigners. This section looks chronologically at the migration pattern of

different nationality of newcomer foreigners in Japan (Mori, 1997, pp.63-73; Komai, 1999, pp.28-31) to illustrate a wide-range of occupational diversity that existed among newcomer foreigners.

(i) Phase One (from late 1970s to mid 1980s)

The first wave of migrants consisted of Asian women mainly from the Philippines and Taiwan and to a lesser extent from Thailand, who were recruited as hostesses or entertainers in saloons and nightclubs in the amusement quarters of city areas and in rural tourist spots. Since young Japanese women increasingly shunned these jobs, the job openings functioned as a persistent pull factor. Female migrant workers in these industries account for a distinct segment of labour inflow up to today.

(ii) Phase Two (latter half of 1980s)

The second wave of migrant workers were mostly single men from the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran and Thailand, who were recruited into industrial employment in metal and plastic processing, casting, machine assembly, road construction and mending, building construction and demolition. These industries suffered serious and chronic labour shortages because young and highly educated Japanese workers had progressively shunned these occupations due to their so-called '3D' nature. Foreign workers were hired mostly by small firms where labour shortages were most serious. They often overstayed their work visas.

Services, retail trade and restaurants have also provided foreign workers with a considerable number of job opportunities. These industries suffered from serious labour shortages but it was not always because of the '3D' nature of the work. These industries experienced the rapid expansion of activities and offered jobs with irregular

working hours. Their jobs were also 'bottom-wage' and 'dead-end' jobs. '3D' jobs were not necessarily always low-wage jobs but there was overlap in some cases. Vacancies in these industries were generally filled by women and students but were not attractive enough to draw a sufficient number of full-time employees from Japanese workers.

The central government of Japan implemented measures to tackle illegal immigrants in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. In the autumn of 1988 visa issuance for persons from the People's Republic of China was tightened. In January 1989 reciprocal visa exemption agreements with Bangladesh and Pakistan were suspended. In April 1992, a reciprocal visa exemption agreement with Iran was also stopped. These countries were perceived as sending countries of a large number of over-stay immigrants (Mori, 1997). The inflows of workers from these countries were diminished consequently.

(iii) Phase Three (after 1990)

The third phase of absorbing foreign workers started with the enforcement of the new immigration law in 1990. In order to recognise special needs of Japanese emigrants abroad and their family members, the 1990 reform introduced a new category. A new resident status created for Japanese emigrants abroad and their family members for their returning visits to Japan came with no restriction on their scope of activities.

As a result, the reform led to opening up an opportunity for many foreigners of Japanese descent (Nikkei) to work in Japan without any restriction on the nature of their jobs. Many medium-size firms replaced clandestine workers with Nikkei workers as a result. The overwhelming majority of Nikkei workers who came to Japan were from Brazil and Peru, but the number of Peruvians was barely one-sixth of that of Brazilians (MOJ, 2002a). It is largely because many Japanese-Peruvians lost

documentary evidence to prove their ethnic origin during their long history of settlement in Peru that dates far back to the nineteenth century (Mori, 1997, p.114; Tanno 2002, p.51). Many Nikkei Brazilians repeat frequent labour migration to Japan. Out of the Nikkei Brazilian community of some 1.2 million people, 200,000 or impressive 17% are said to have already worked in Japan (Kajita, 1994, p.155). Approximately 80% of Brazilian Nikkei that come to work in Japan eventually return after their repatriation (ibid., p.162). The new system also opened the door for Nikkei spouses by enabling them to work legally.

This experience of Japan showed that a change in what was essentially domestic legislation resulted in global repercussion in terms of the flow of international migration. It may be an example to suggest that globalization is not a one-way process and that the local and the global are intricately interrelated.

MIGRANT WORKERS IN JAPANESE LABOUR MARKET UNDER ECONOMIC RECESSION

The Japanese economy took a dramatic downturn around 1991, followed by a long recession phase that still continues today. This recession is the longest and most serious that post war Japan has ever experienced (Mori, 1997, pp.69-78). Labour demand including that for foreign labour diminished in the post Heisei-bubble economy. However, the reduced demand for labour did not lead to a dramatic decrease in the newcomer foreigner population.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, most of the foreign workers who arrived in Japan after 1980 worked as non-regular workers under short-term contracts, which became a structural feature of Japan's labour market after the 1960s' high economic growth. Newcomer foreigners became firmly incorporated into the Japanese labour market over time together with Japanese non-regular workers and functioned as a

'buffer' to adjust the size of the labour force to the ups and downs of the economy (ibid., p.73). Since the need to maintain a pool of 'buffer' labour continued to exist as part of necessary economic structures, employment opportunities for foreigners did not simply disappear even with the background of recession.

Also, economic recession has affected individual Japanese firms differently, depending on their sizes and industries. According to the statistics by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, previous shortages of labour turned into excess supply of labour as of November 1992 in most large firms with 1,000 or more employees (ibid., p.74). However, the majority of small firms and the service industries continued to suffer from labour shortages (ibid.). As discussed earlier in this chapter, small firms in certain industries became more and more dependent on foreign labour due to the hardships and low wages associated with the job. The trend continued under economic recession. The ratio of foreign workers to the total work force in small firms increased from 69% in 1993 to 78% in 1998 (Komai, 1999, p.112).

According to the statistics by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, even with the background of economic recession, nearly 70% of employers observed the principle of 'equal pay for the same job' between foreigners and Japanese (TMIL, 1995). Nearly 10% of firms even paid more to foreigners for doing the same job. The number of companies that paid lower wages to foreigners than Japanese remained relatively low, accounting only for 11% (ibid.). At the same time, foreign workers in Japan were getting integrated socially as well as economically. More than 70% of foreign workers said they had socialized closely with their Japanese colleagues (ibid.). Those who did not at all socialize with Japanese colleagues accounted for only 2.4% (ibid.).

At the same time, more and more companies employed foreign workers in skilled labour (ibid.). The comparison of survey results showed that between 1989

(Heisei economic boom) and 1993 (recession), the number of companies that cited 'special knowledge and abilities' as the hiring reason of foreign workers increased while the corresponding number for 'lower wage' decreased (ibid.).

CURRENT SITUATION

Previous sections of this chapter examined the historical background of emigration from and immigration to Japan. This section discusses foreign migrants in Japan today. The first part gives a statistic overview of foreigners in Japan. The second part discusses how geographically dispersed these foreigners are in the country.

Overview

As of the end of 2003, there were 1,915,030 foreigners from 186 countries who resided in Japan (MOJ, 2004b). This was the highest number ever recorded and the increase by 3.4% from the previous year. The number increased by 45% from ten years ago. Foreigners accounted for 1.5% of the total population in Japan. According to the 2000 Population Census, foreign workers employed in Japan who were 15 years or older accounted for 1.1% of the total labour population in Japan (MPMHAPT, 2003a). This was an increase by 14% from the previous Census in 1995 (ibid.). This made a stark contrast against the statistics concerning national labour force, which had decreased by 1.4% during the same period (ibid.).

Foreigners with permanent resident status, the majority of whom are ethnic Korean and Chinese (old-comers) account for nearly 40% of all foreigners (Figure III-1) but their numbers have been in a steady decline in recent years. Permanent residents accounted for 60% in 1990 (MOJ, 2002a). Foreign spouses and children of Japanese citizens make up the second largest group, accounting for 14% (ibid.). As for the

nationality (Figure III-2), Korean people make up the largest part of this group (32%), followed by Chinese (24%) and Brazilian (17%) (MOJ, 2004a).

Figure III-1: Foreigners in Japan - By Visa Status
 Source: Immigration Statistics, Ministry of Justice, 2003

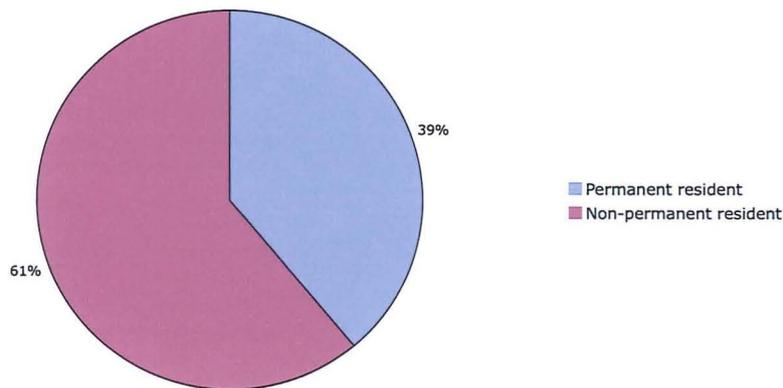
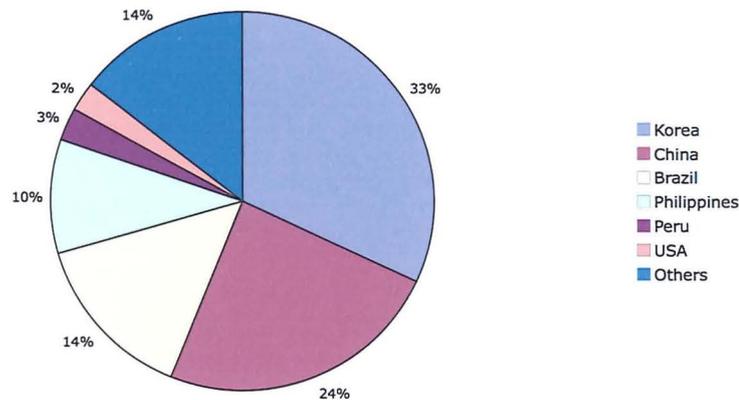


Figure III-2: Foreigners in Japan - By Nationality
 Source: Immigration Statistics, Ministry of Justice, 2003 (N=1,915,030)



Out of all the non-permanent (newcomer) residents (Figure III-3), only 3.4% belong to the visa statuses assigned to those with technical and specialized skills (specialist in humanities, international services, and engineers). Over 92% of the foreigners in this

highly skilled group are in their 20's and 30's and predominantly men (Figure III-4; MOJ, 2002b). Thirty-six percent of the migrants with special skills are from Asian countries, followed by North America (30%) and Europe (19%)(Figure III-5; MOJ, 2002b). Over 30% of these highly skilled workers are employed by companies with more than 1,000 employees, while 29% of them are in companies with 10-99 employees (Figure III-6; MOJ, 2002b). Tokyo and six surrounding prefectures (the Kanto region) host the majority (67%) of all the highly skilled workers, followed by 18% in the Kansai region (Figure III-7; MOJ, 2002b).

Figure III-3: Non-permanent Foreigners (newcomers)
 Source: Immigration Statistics, Ministry of Justice, 2003

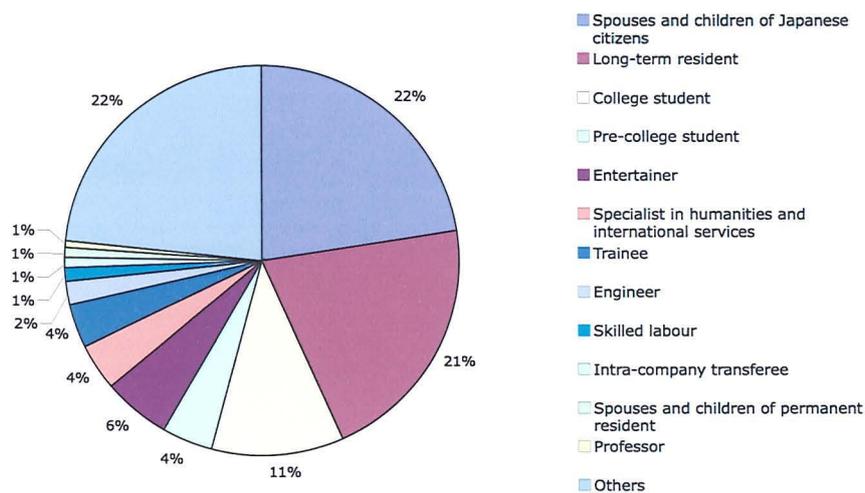


Figure III-4: Foreigners with Technical and Specialized Skills - By Age Group

Source: Statistics on New Foreign Entrants with Technical and Specialized Skills, Ministry of Justice, 2002 (N=12,618)

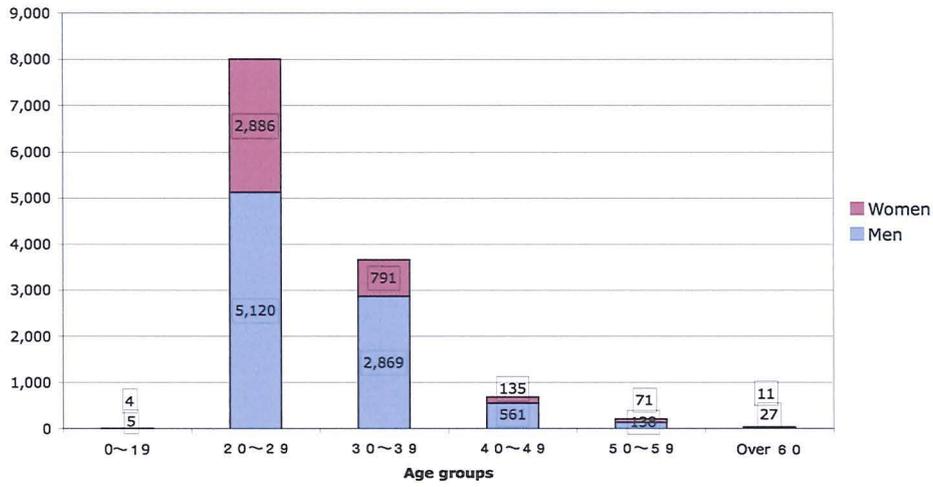


Figure III-5: Foreigners with Technical and Specialized Skills - By Country of Origin

Source: Statistics on New Foreign Entrants with Technical and Specialized Skills, Ministry of Justice, 2002 (N=12,618)

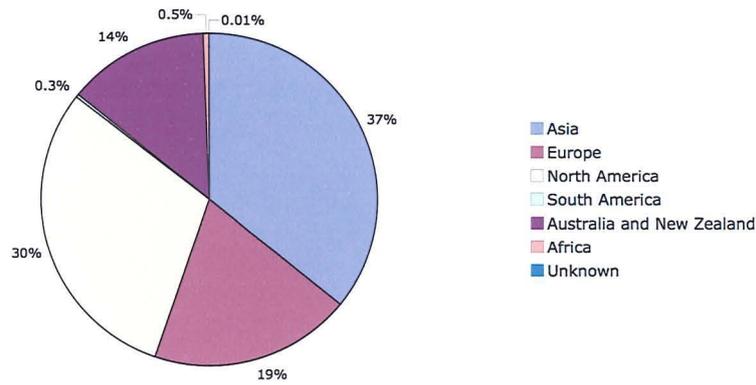


Figure III-6: Foreigners with Technical and Specialized Skills - Size of Employer
 Source: Statistics on New Foreign Entrants with Technical and Specialized Skills, Ministry of Justice, 2002 (N=12,618)

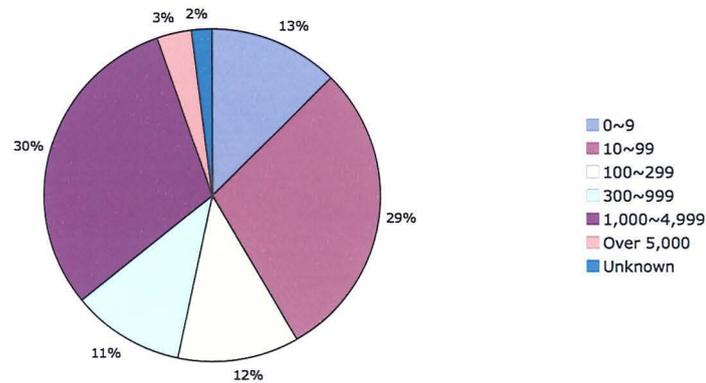
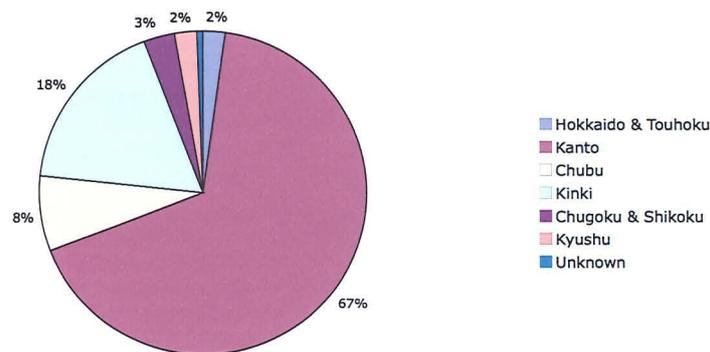


Figure III-7: Foreigners with Technical and Specialized Skills - Geographic Distribution
 Source: Statistics on New Foreign Entrants with Technical and Specialized Skills, Ministry of Justice, 2002 (N=12,618)



Geographic Distribution

The statistics by the Ministry of Justice suggests that the geographic distribution pattern of newcomer migrant workers who arrived in Japan after 1980 is quite different from that of old-comers. As earlier section of this chapter outlined, most old-comers settled in the southwestern regions of Japan (Map III-2). In contrast, eastern regions are the largest host of newcomer foreigners. Automobile and electrical appliances industries in these eastern prefectures are the largest employers of newcomer foreigners. The top

five prefectures that recorded the largest registration increase between 1997 and 2001 were all in eastern Japan (MOJ, 2002a).

Map III-2: Regions of Japan



According to the 2002 statistics of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, nearly one-third (31%) of all foreign workers in Japan are employed in the Tokyo metropolitan area (prefectures of Tokyo, Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa). Foreign workers in the Tokyo metropolitan area are characterized by the high ratio of those engaged in specialized, technical and managerial jobs (34%) and the dominance of East Asian workers (46%).

The statistics by the Ministry of Justice also indicate that the Kanto region is the main destination of clandestine migrant workers. Over 70% of all clandestine workers were in the Kanto region as of the end of 2002 (MOJ, 2003b). At the same time, the statistics reveal that the geographic distribution pattern of newcomers demonstrates a wider and faster nationwide dispersion than old-comers. During one year between 2000

and 2001, the number of registered foreign residents increased in all regions in Japan. In fact, the rate of increase in the remote western island prefectures (Shikoku region: 9.5%) exceeded that in the Kanto region (8%). The presence of clandestine workers used to be a phenomenon mainly observed in the Kanto region. However, the Ministry of Justice reported the presence of clandestine workers in all of 47 prefectures in Japan as of the end of 2002 (MOJ, 2003b).

Different nationalities of newcomers have different patterns of geographic distribution. This reflects their respective occupational concentrations, which is discussed in more details in the following section of this chapter. Chinese newcomers are predominantly students, who tend to find part-time jobs in large cities while attending school in urban service industries, such as fast-food restaurants, building cleaners, 24-hour convenience stores and deliverers (Mori, 1997, p.155). Brazilian migrants are almost exclusively Nikkei (*ibid.*, p.140) and work in automobile assembly plants and electrical appliances factories in the suburbs (Watado, 1996, p.23).

Peruvian migrants are also predominantly Nikkei and their distribution pattern is similar to that of Brazilians. One exception is the southern island prefecture of Okinawa. It is one of their main emigration regions from the very beginning of the emigration movement in the nineteenth century. Okinawa is home to 75,000 pre-WWII Japanese emigrants and 18,000 after-WWII Japanese emigrants (Nakachi, 1997, p.439). In spite of the absence of strong manufacturing industry, the prefecture attracts a substantial number of Peruvians. These Peruvians 'U-turn' migrants found jobs in Okinawa most likely because their forefathers' hometowns were located in the prefecture (Mori, 1997, p.148). The Filipinas in Japan are mainly employed as waitresses and hostesses in salon and nightclubs. Such entertainment spots are usually part of entertainment quarters in the inner-city areas in different prefectures all over Japan (*ibid.*, p.147).

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

This section discusses how different nationality of migrants show different occupational concentrations. The discussion in this section includes characteristics of female workers and clandestine migrants.

Overview

According to the figures published by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the number of foreign workers and that of firms employing foreign workers in Japan both continue to increase to date (MHLW, 2003a). Manufacturing is the largest employer of foreign workers, accounting over 60% of foreign workers (Figure III-8). The majority of foreign workers are male (Figure III-9) and are engaged in production process (Figure III-10). The breakdown of foreign workers by their country of origin shows that the majority of foreign workers came from South America (Nikkei) and East Asia (Figure III-11). Over 90% of the workers from South and Central America are Nikkei (MHLW, 2003a).

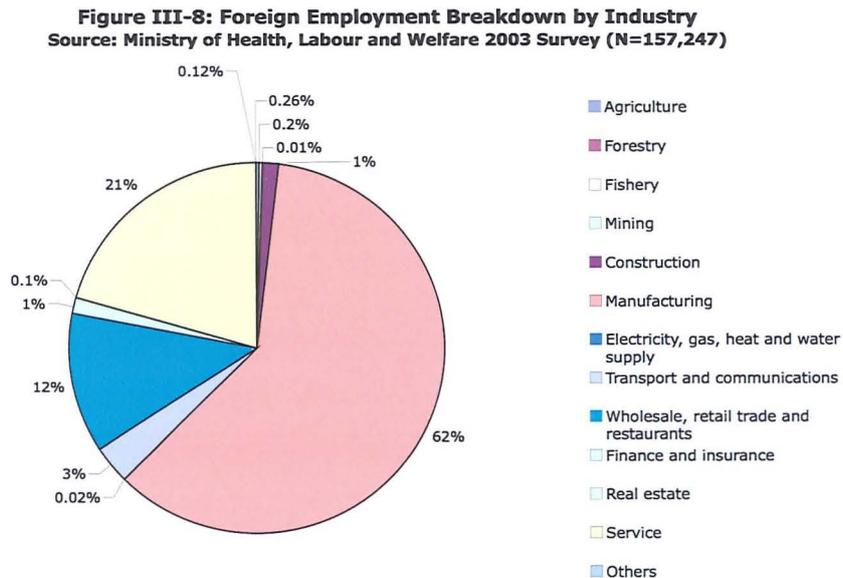


Figure III-9: Foreign Employment Breakdown by Sex
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)

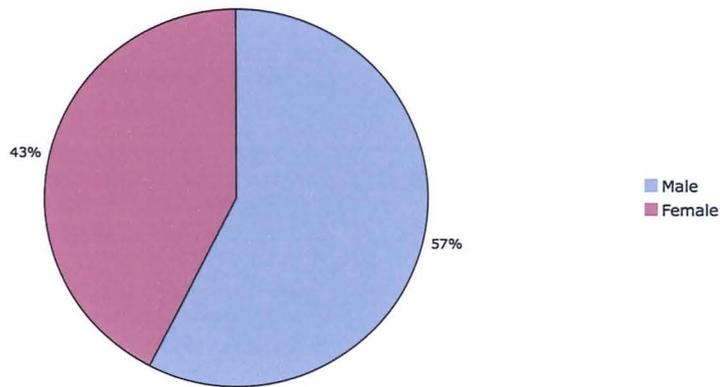


Figure III-10: Foreign Employment Breakdown by Occupational Group
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)

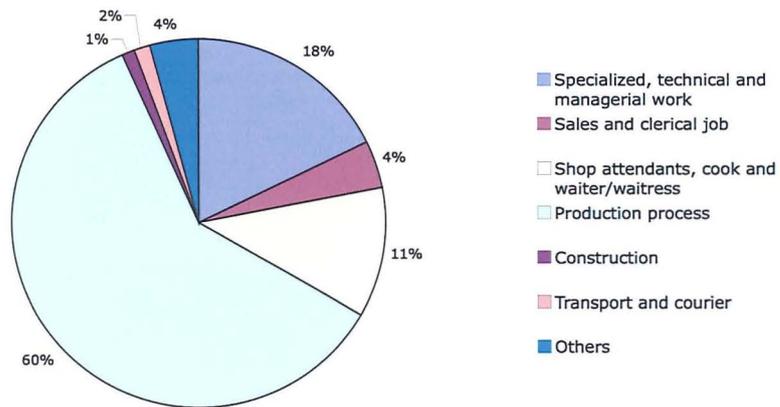
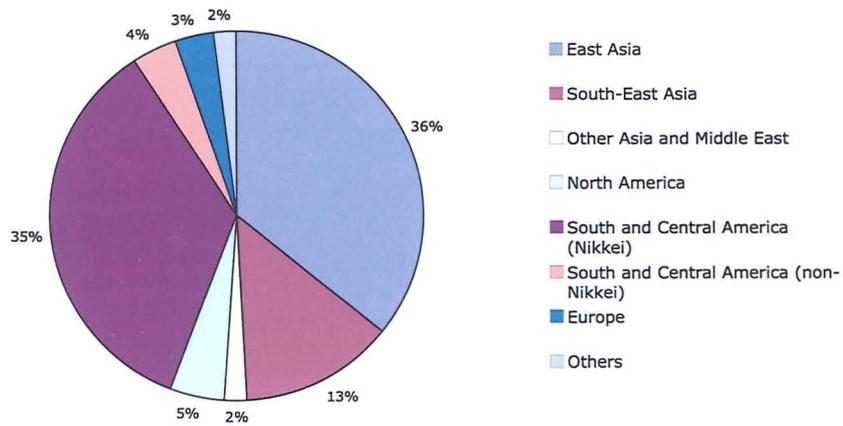
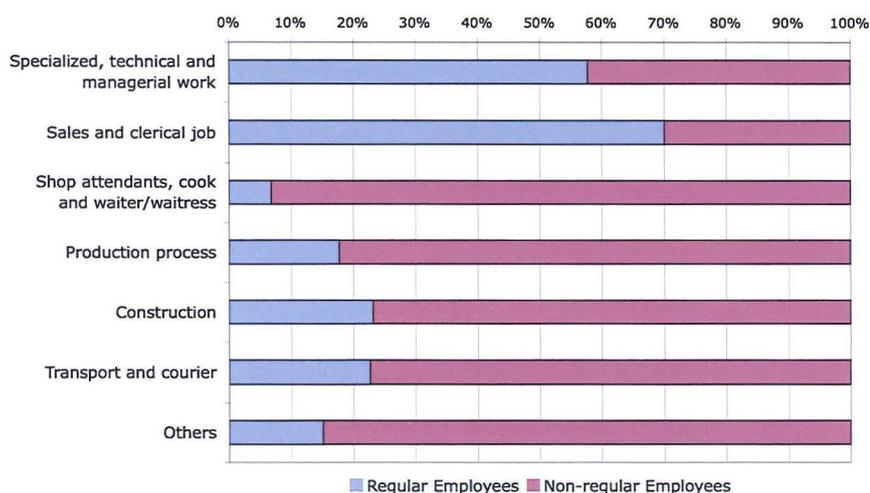


Figure III-11: Foreign Employment Breakdown by Country of Origin
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)

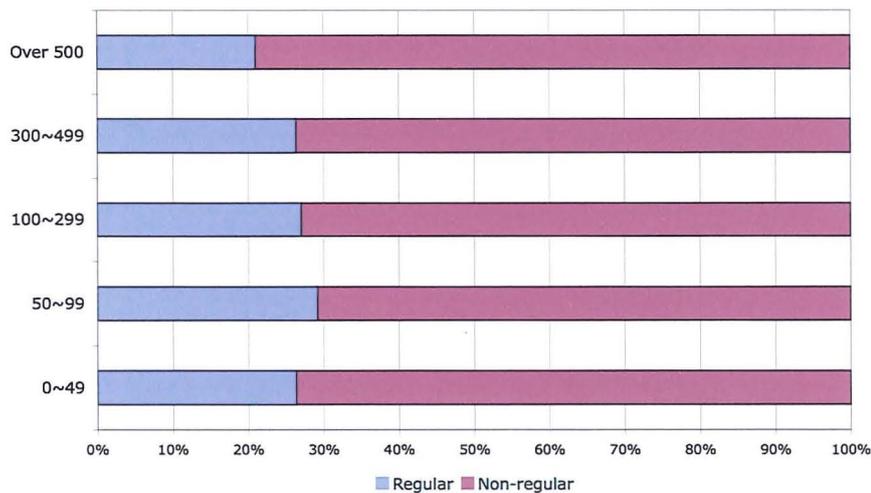


The majority of employers place some forms of restrictions in the contract with foreign workers concerning working hours or duration of contract, which do not apply to regular workers. Approximately 70% of employers restrict the term of contract to certain durations or set shorter working hours for foreign workers than their Japanese counterparts (MHLW, 2002c). At the same time, workers in different occupational categories tend to have different employment status. ‘Sales and clerical work’ and ‘specialized, technical and managerial work’ show a high rate of foreigners employed as regular employees (Figure III-12). Smaller firms tend to employ foreigners as regular employees (Figure III-13). Since direct employment of regular employees is not a cheap investment, it is possible that these companies may have taken a decision to integrate their employment of foreign workers as part of their long-term business strategies.

Figure III-12: Foreign Employment - Regular Employment and Occupational Category
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)



**Figure III-13: Foreign Employment -
Regular Employment and Size of Firm**
Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)



A cross-tabulation examination of foreign workers by industry, occupational group, firm size, country of origin and by resident status projects an interesting picture of occupational characteristics (MLHW, 2003a). In manufacturing, nearly 90% of foreign workers are employed as production process workers (Figure III-14), the majority of whom are Nikkei from South America possessing resident status with no restriction for legal employment (Figure III-15; Chapter IV). In contrast, a large number of foreign workers in education industry are from North America and Europe (Figure III-15) and over 90% of such foreign workers engage in specialized, technical and managerial work (Figure III-14). Firms with more than 1,000 employees employ nearly 40% of foreign workers in specialized, technical and managerial work (Figure III-16). Foreign workers of smaller firms predominantly engage in production process (Figure III-16). Firms with 50-99 employees have a notably higher ratio of foreign trainees than firms of larger sizes (Figure III-17).

Figure III-14: Foreign Employment - Industry and Occupational Group
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)

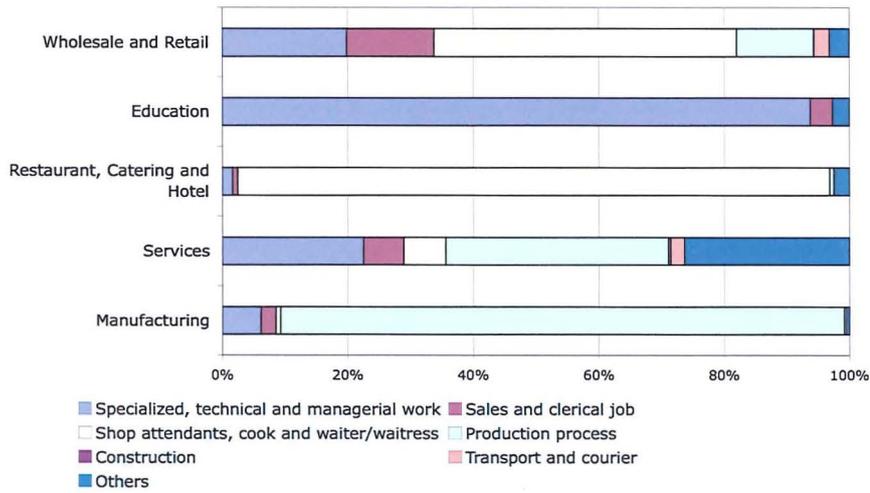


Figure III-15: Foreign Employment - Industry and Country of Origin
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=157,247)

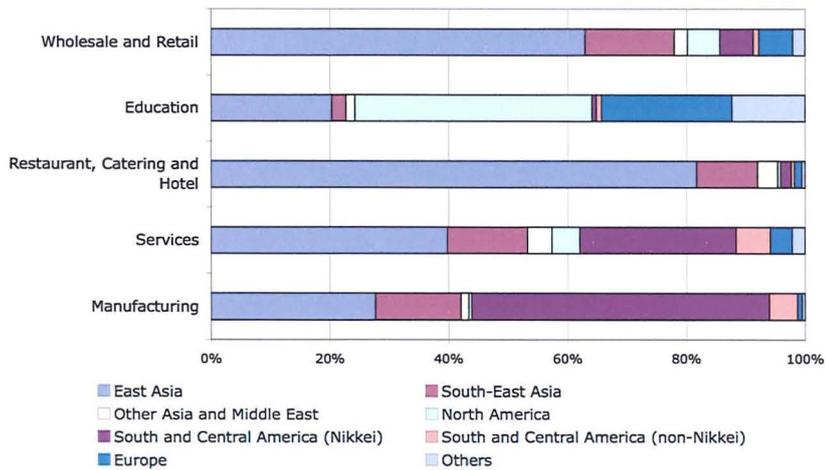


Figure III-16: Foreign Employment - Firm Size and Occupational Group
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=134,783)

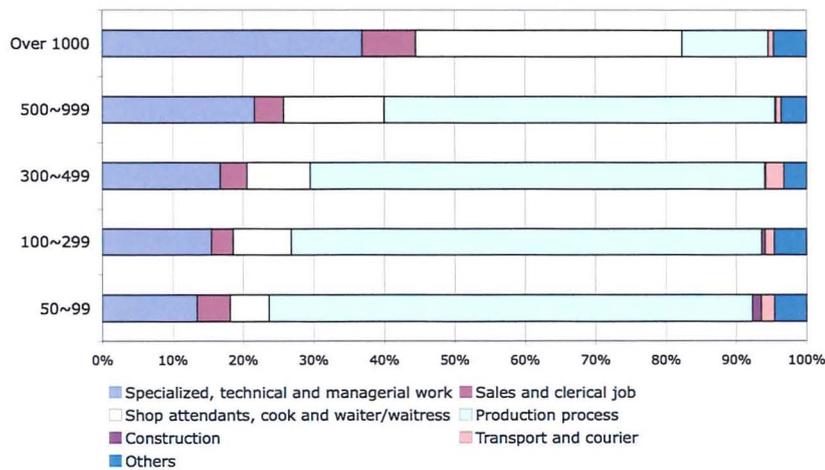
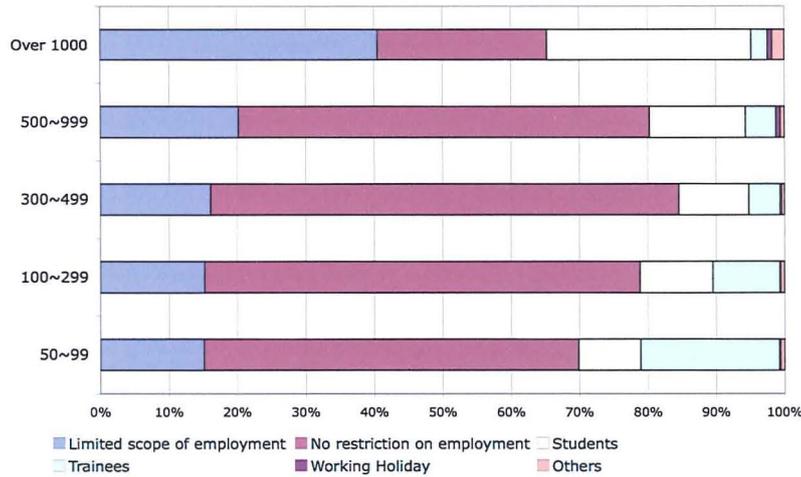


Figure III-17: Foreign Employment - Firm Size and Visa Status
 Source: Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003 Survey (N=134,783)



Comparison with Old-Comers

During the structural changes in the Japanese labour market after the WWII, the occupational attributes of old-comer foreigners have changed. Old-comers became more and more involved in trades, clerical work and various service industries (Mori, 1997, p.161). Many Koreans are still engaged in traditional occupations such as craftsmanship and pinball-game parlours and Chinese are still highly represented in such traditional industries as Chinese food restaurants, trading, traditional herbal medicine, and tailoring (ibid.). Over all, however, old-comers have shown signs of gradual conversion to the nationals' occupational profiles over time (ibid.). The numbers of the self-employed, family workers, or those who work in the compatriots-owned are decreasing while more people work as wage earners (Mori, 1997, p.163).

By the time newcomer migrants started arriving in Japan in the 1980s, the main industries that had provided employment opportunities for the old-comers in the pre-war period such as mining and metal processing were no longer sources for stable employment for any worker, foreign or otherwise. Instead, manufacturing, construction, wholesale, retail trades and restaurants attracted the majority of newcomers. In other words, newcomer migrant workers have entered the labour market

almost exclusively as wage earners (*ibid.*). The newcomers tended to find the so-called '3D' jobs in small firms, which have persistent vacancies avoided by national workers. In doing so, they formed the bottom layer of the Japanese labour market, just as the old-comers once did.

Students

Many foreign students in Japan work to cover the high cost of living while attending school. They tend to find jobs in the urban service industry because the educational institutions they attend are mainly located in urban areas (Mori, 1997, p.173). Those who are not fluent in Japanese initially take physically demanding jobs such as construction workers. As they improve their language skills and start taking advantage of the information networks available at school and elsewhere, they tend to move to the service industry jobs that are less physically tasking and offer flexible work hours such as 24-hour convenience stores and newspaper delivery (*ibid.*, p.173-174).

Female Workers

Nikkei women are mostly employed by suburban manufacturing industries. Many Asian workers engage as trainees/interns in production processes in manufacturing industry. Service industries also provide jobs for young Asian female workers from the Philippines, Thailand and the Republic of Korea. These Asian female workers are mostly employed as waitresses at saloon bars, nightclubs and hotels in entertainment quarters in local towns and tourist resorts all over Japan as well as Tokyo metropolitan area (*ibid.*, pp.147, 148, 150 and 175). Many Asian female workers are often exposed to sexual exploitation by the established syndicates of the modern slave trade (*ibid.*, p.150). Quite a few of them are forced into prostitution under the strict control of criminal organizations (*ibid.*, p.175). The average hourly payment for female foreign

workers is said to be lower by about 25% than that for their male counterparts (ibid., p.180). At the same time, the gap in the average wage by gender among foreign workers is attributable to gender difference in occupation, size of firm and work performed (ibid.).

Clandestine Workers

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Justice (2003b), approximately 60% of clandestine workers are male. Many clandestine male workers are employed as factory labourers (28%) and construction workers (26%). At construction sites, they are generally paid daily and mostly perform supplementary work such as carrying and preparing construction materials, building cleaning and demolishing (Mori, 1997, p.174). Construction work generally offers a higher daily wage than manufacturing or service work but is usually more physically tasking, dangerous and less stable (ibid., p.175). Many clandestine female workers are employed as bar hostesses (35%) and factory labourers (14%).

In terms of their country of origin, 91% of all the clandestine workers are from Asian countries, such as Korea, China (excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan), the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia. Over 45% of them have been working in Japan over three years (MOJ, 2003b). The clandestine workers who have been working in Japan over five years make up nearly 30% (ibid.).

GENDER CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE LABOUR MARKET

I have illustrated so far that newcomer foreigners in Japan entered the labour market almost exclusively as wage earners but have diverse occupational concentrations, depending on their nationality, gender and legal status. This chapter also outlined that many newcomer foreigners in Japan engaged in labour-intensive non-regular

employment. While a small number of firms consider foreign workers as an important core labour force, migrants are still considered as 'buffer' labour force to adjust to the ups and downs of the economy in many firms. Forty percent of these migrant workers are women (Figure III-2; MHLW, 2002c). The status of female migrants as workers in Japan is not totally unrelated to how Japanese women have been treated as workers in the domestic labour market. To this effect and also because of my interest in female migrant workers, this section discusses the status of Japanese women in the labour market.

This chapter discussed elsewhere that female factory workers were major contributors to the pre-war economy in Japan but denied the acknowledgement as proper 'workers' because of their gender. After the economic boom in 1970s, more and more women entered into employment as irregular employees, particularly part-time workers (Uni, 2001, p.58; Morita, 1994). The trend of feminization of irregular employment continues to date. According to the report by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, only 45% of women are employed as regular employees while 82% of men work as regular employees (MHLW, 2003b). Women account for 69% and 78% of part-time employees and dispatched workers respectively (ibid.). The majority of female part-time employees are in their 40s and 50s and over 70% of them are married (ibid.).

The demand-side factors for this increase in female irregular workers are similar to the situation surrounding the introduction of migrant workers. While the advancement of technology enabled manufacturing industry to introduce automation that reduced the need for human labour, many large firms outsourced labour-intensive jobs that were not suitable for such automation due to technical or financial reasons. Small and medium-size companies who were at the receiving end of this outsourcing have suffered chronic labour shortage because of the less attractive working conditions

and resorted to the recruitment of irregular or part-time employees, including women as well as migrant workers.

Many women are also engaged in unskilled jobs in the service industries such as retail and restaurants as irregular workers. The costs of employing women are generally lower than that of employing men despite the various attempts by the government to eliminate gender-based discriminations. This gender-based wage differential encourages companies to employ female irregular workers (Uni, 2001, p.59).

The difficulty in remaining in regular employment is one of the supply-side factors for the increase in female irregular workers. Discriminatory measures such as gender-based occupational segregation, pressure to resign upon marriage, and unavailability of maternity or parental leave remain as customary practices in many Japanese companies (*ibid.*). Such practices prevent women from remaining as well as obtaining regular employment and force them to opt for irregular employment. The unequal division of labour for household tasks is also a major contributing factor for the feminization of irregular labour. For married reproductive-age women, their domestic duties often prevent them from remaining in regular employment. On the other hand, a significant number of women who are 50 years old or older claim that they cannot find companies that offer regular employment to them. Women of this age group usually carry the responsibility of looking after senior members of the family, which prevents them from regular employment (MHLW, 2003b). According to the report by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the percentage of women in regular employment that hold managerial level positions of department head or higher in 2002 was only 1.3% (*ibid.*).

Another important characteristic of female part-time employees in Japan is that they generally spend the same hours of work as their colleagues in regular employment at the same work place (Inoue, 2001, p. 109). About 55% of female part-time

employees also stay for over five years with the same employers. It suggests that the majority of female part-time employees are in practice employed on a regular basis but are categorized as temporary contract workers for the convenience of management (Inoue, 2001).

To this effect, female part-time employees can be viewed as forming a unique group in the Japanese labour market. A traditional Japanese ideology that confines women in the domestic sphere and the absence of a welfare system that effectively supports working women have contributed to the formation of female part-time employees as a particular segment (ibid., p.121).

An opinion poll conducted by the government in 2002 reflects the gender-based discrimination that is still prevalent in Japan. According to the poll, nearly 60% of Japanese people feel that the status of women at work is lower than that of men (Cabinet Office, 2002). The majority of the public (57%) consider that women should limit their employment in accordance with their domestic duties. There are a small number (4%) of people who think women should not work at all (Cabinet Office, 2002).

Because of the gender-based discrimination in labour market, women in Japan have been structurally forced to some extent to participate primarily as irregular employees. As a result, Japanese women today hold similar economic status as migrant workers in Japan. They are both flexible irregular workers who are structurally incorporated into the present Japanese economy as indispensable parts. Furthermore, the traditional notion of Japanese women as a lower class of workers most likely affects the treatment of and the expectations for female migrant workers.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Dichotomy, Globalization and Gender

The colonial past and two economic booms of Japan have contributed to the construction of a dichotomy in the foreign migrant population in Japan. A large number of ethnic Koreans and Chinese came to Japan and permanently settled as a result of the Japanese colonial occupation of its Asian territories. They came to constitute a foreign population called 'old-comers'. The acute labour shortage caused by an economic boom combined with an intensification of emigration pressure in neighbouring Asian countries led to an increasing flow of new migrant workers in Japan. They came to form a group of foreigners called 'newcomers'. Because of the difference in their historical background and occupational attributes, old-comers and newcomers form two different groups in the foreign labour market in Japan that are somewhat independent of each other.

While old-comers' history of settling in Japan is closely tied to the colonial past of Japan, newcomers are almost exclusively economic migrants. Because of this significant difference in the contexts of their relocation to Japan, being an old-comer does not simply mean a foreigner who has been living in Japan for a long time. It carries a political connotation that s/he is a victim of the Japanese imperial past. Civil and political activism of old-comers for enhanced rights in the Japanese society is based on this view that they need to be compensated as victims. On the other hand, newcomers are viewed as willing participants of global economy. Accordingly, in the particular context of Japan, the division between old-comers and newcomers does not simply signify the difference in the duration of residency of individual members of each group. The division is of more political nature. Accordingly, a newcomer foreigner in Japan does not move to the category of old-comers no matter how long s/he resides in Japan.

Although old-comers have shown signs of gradual conversion into wage earners during the decades of settling in Japan, they are still characterized by a high ratio of self-employment and concentration in certain occupations. On the other hand, newcomers enter Japan almost exclusively as wage earners. The overwhelming majority of the newcomers are engaged in unskilled work. The inflow of newcomers progressed through different phases, each of which is largely characterized by the upsurge of flows of foreign workers with different nationalities engaged in different sectors. The geographic distribution pattern of newcomers demonstrates a wider and faster nationwide dispersion than old-comers.

Owing to the diversity of their historical background and economic attributes, migrant workers in Japan as a whole do not constitute a coherent group. Even within the newcomer community, different nationalities have different patterns of geographic and occupational distributions. This fragmentation combined with the relatively short history of residence in Japan makes it particularly difficult for newcomers to form a unified interest group that is significant enough to influence the decision-making of policies both at the local and national levels.

The dichotomy in the foreign population of Japan interconnects with the dichotomy in the structure of the Japanese economy, where two layers of companies make up a hierarchical pyramid. Large and relatively well-off companies make up the top of the pyramid. Medium and small-size companies that depend on orders from the first group constitute the bottom. The majority of newcomer migrants engages in labour-intensive work at small enterprises, where the unattractive nature of jobs and working conditions drive away younger generations of Japanese workers. Foreign workers also increasingly take up unskilled jobs that are considered dead-end jobs and do not promise career advancement. This contributes to less competition in this

particular labour market for employment opportunities between Japanese and foreign workers (Komai, 1999, p.232).

Although the number of companies that employ foreign workers for skilled, technical or managerial jobs under a longer-term contract or as regular employees has been increasing, it is the general perception that foreign workers are chiefly employed as a cheap labour force for unskilled jobs that can be hired and discharged flexibly, depending on the employer's needs. This suggests that newcomer foreigners now constitute a source of flexible labour that is structurally indispensable to the overall Japanese economy.

Another important dichotomy in Japanese economy is gender-based and manifests in the form of feminization of irregular workers. Women in Japan have been traditionally labelled as lower class workers, largely due to the traditional ideology of loyalty and filial duty to their male heads of the household based on the patriarchal family system. Because of the gender-based discrimination in labour market, many Japanese women work primarily as irregular employees. As a result, Japanese women today hold similar economic status as migrant workers in Japan. They are flexible irregular workers who are structurally incorporated into the present Japanese economy as indispensable parts.

The examination of economic environment surrounding migrant foreigners in Japan illustrates that issue of migrant foreigners is structural in nature both at the national level and international level. As in many other countries, emigration from and immigration to Japan resulted from numerous complex factors reacting to each other both at the global and local levels. The relocation of old-comer foreigners to Japan was induced within the structure of imperialistic rule by Japan of its Asian territories. They were gradually incorporated and moulded into the Japanese economic structure in accordance with the needs of the changing domestic environment such as the colonial

government, war-time economy, devastation of the lost war, economic booms and economic recession.

The introduction of newcomer foreigners in Japan occurred with an equally complicated economic background. It was induced by acute labour shortage but also a result of 'push' factors in neighbouring Asian countries. It reflected new and diversified consumption demand of a well-off society, which is dramatically different from the economic environment in Japan at the time of the settlement of old-comer migrants that was overshadowed by wars and devastation.

Demographic Changes and Future Prospects

The Japanese government estimates (Government of Japan, 1999) that among the working-age population of 15-64 years old, those who are 29 or younger in Japan will decrease by approximately four million by 2010. On the other hand, during the same period industries such as information technology, health, nursing and care, and welfare are expected to generate around 7.4 million new jobs. The OECD estimates that 32% of Japan's population will be 65 or older in 2010. The percentage increases to 42% in 2020 (Iguchi, 2001, p.11).

While the labour market would have to depend more on women who are currently economically inactive and redeploy senior workers in the national labour pool, their qualifications or available working-hours might not necessarily meet the needs of the industries. The rapid progress of technological advancement might even expedite the obsolescence of such a labour pool. As a result, the central government of Japan predicts that the labour shortage in certain industries may be exacerbated (Government of Japan, 1999).

The 1994 ILO report concluded that the long-term solution to the declining population in a country was to promote increases in birth rate among its own citizen

(Komai, 1999, pp.233-235). However, the process of designing and implementing policies to promote such increases is conceivably time-consuming and it will be long before the government can assess the results of such policies. Meanwhile, accepting foreign workers remains one of the key measures to be taken in order to deal with the emerging gaps that are being brought about by the decline of the country's economically active population.

Concurrently, the theory that a demographic transition in a given country can be adjusted with the introduction of migrants has to be reviewed cautiously (Chapter II). Such a theory is generally based on the assumption that the flow of international movement of people can be rigidly controlled by public policies of the government. This does not necessarily take into consideration the profound complexity involved in the international mobility of people today (Iguchi, 2001, p.14-15; Chapter II). Migration and subsequent settlement of people are not always orderly (Iguchi, 2001, p.15; Chapter II).

The structural changes that occurred in the Japanese labour market and how it involved the participation of foreign workers is a reflection of the changes in the role that Japan has played in the global economy as well as the structural changes in the global economy itself. Seemingly domestic economic phenomena such as the fall of primary industry in Japan and the rise instead of the new industries such as services and technology are in fact all part of the new global structure at work called the new international division of labour. With the background of an ageing and contracting national population in Japan, the business community as well as the central government have recognized the need to create an environment favourable to further increase in newcomer foreigners in the country (Keidanren, 2000). The development of effective policies for the successful cohabitation with migrant foreigners is not really a choice but is increasingly becoming a critical structural necessity to the Japanese government.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRANT FOREIGNERS IN JAPAN – LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES

The previous chapter discussed the characteristics of foreigners in Japan from the economic point of view. This chapter discusses the legal framework, the policy environment and the public opinion surrounding foreigners in Japan. The aim of this chapter is to highlight positive rights and benefits that are entitled to foreigners in Japan and the importance of the local government's role in implementing these rights. The chapter illustrates that the Japanese constitution and legislation constitute a national legal framework that generally affirms the universal human rights of all people. Positive developments at the local level to give foreigners a voice are also examined in this chapter. The differences between the needs and demands of old-comers and newcomers are also discussed. Lastly, this chapter examines the current climate of Japanese public opinion regarding the cohabitation with foreigners. Together with Chapter III, this chapter sets the scene for understanding the lives of foreigners in Japan, which is of key importance to my research.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR IMMIGRATION CONTROL

This first section outlines the main thrust and implications of three laws that provide a basic legislative framework for immigration control in Japan. Understanding the legislative framework in Japan for immigration control is a critical part of my research because such a framework provides the legal definition of what it means to be a foreigner in Japan. These three laws are relevant to my research because they set out the status of residence of foreigners that bears great implications for foreigners' rights

and benefits in Japan. They are the Immigration Control And Refugee Recognition Act, the Special Law On Immigration Control Of, *inter alia*, Those Who Have Lost Japanese Nationality On The Basis Of The Peace Treaty With Japan and the Alien Registration Law. Japan adopts a system of status of residence for regulating foreigners' entry and stay in Japan. The aforementioned three laws set out rules for the implementation of this system. This section outlines the main thrust and implication of each of these laws.

The Immigration Control And Refugee Recognition Act (Immigration Act) sets the status of residence by categorising activities for which foreigners are authorized to enter and stay. A foreigner is given one of the statuses set out in the Immigration Act upon permission to enter and stay in Japan. The Act came into effect in 1952 and has been revised more than 18 times to date (Mori, 1997, p.2). The Act provides procedures for ethnic Koreans and Chinese, who resided in Japan at the end of the Second World War, to acquire special resident status (old-comers).

As Chapter III outlined, the majority of the two million foreigners in Japan at the end of the Second World War were from the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan and other territories under Japanese occupation. They lost Japanese nationality in 1952 upon the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and became resident foreigners. Japan signed a bilateral agreement with the Republic of Korea in 1965 to ensure permanent resident status of the nationals from South Korea and their children. But the issues related to legal status of people from North Korea and Taiwan were left unsolved (Mori, 1997, p.3). Subsequently, the Special Law On Immigration Control Of, *inter alia*, Those Who Have Lost Japanese Nationality On The Basis Of The Peace Treaty With Japan came into effect in 1991 and all foreigners who lost their Japanese nationality at the end of the Second World War were granted permanent residence in Japan.

The Immigration Act sets out qualifications and requirements that entrants to Japan must satisfy. It also sets out the period of stay and the status of residence that are assigned to a foreigner. If a foreigner wants to work in Japan, s/he must obtain legal status that specifically covers such paid work. The Act also sets out the application procedures to change status, extend the period of stay and acquire permanent resident status.

Once in Japan, a foreign national is required to register with the local municipality where his/her residence is located. The resident registration system applies to all Japanese citizens as well as foreigners. According to the Family Registration System of Japan, all citizens must register the birth and parentage in the Family Register with the local authority of their municipality. The foreigner registration system is the equivalent of this domestic system.

The Alien Registration Law stipulates that all foreign nationals who stay in Japan for more than 90 days must register with the local authority. Diplomats and officials of international organizations are exempted from such registration. Foreigners who become residents of Japan by renouncing their Japanese nationality or by birth, must also register. Foreign residents must renew their registration every five years and notify any change of residential address, status of residence or occupation (Alien Registration Law, Article 8, 9 and 11). Local authorities are entrusted with clarifying matters pertaining to residence and status (MOFA, 1999).

Typology of Foreign Residents in Japan by Status of Residence

There are currently 27 visa statuses stipulated in the Japanese Immigration Act (MHLW, 2002a, p.10). Understanding the visa categories of foreigners in Japan is an important part of this research because the visa status of a foreigner determines whether s/he can work legally in Japan and what type of work s/he can be engaged in. The

Immigration Act classifies foreign residents into two main groups (Table IV-1). The first group of foreigners is listed in the Annexed Table I (ATI) of the Immigration Act. They can engage only in activities authorized for the status in question. This group is further classified into five sub-groups. The second group of foreigners belongs to the resident status indicated in the Annexed Table II (ATII) of the Immigration Act. This group of foreigners does not have any legal restriction in the field of activities they can undertake in Japan.

The official policy of the Japanese government is not to accept unskilled foreign labour. Accordingly, the occupational categories listed in the ATI only include specialized and skilled work. However, foreigners with the ATII status of residence have no restrictions on their business activities and, therefore, are free to engage in unskilled work once in Japan. As a result, there are no migrant workers who are legally categorized as 'unskilled labour' at the point of entry to Japan but somewhat contradictorily many foreigners with the ATII status of residence eventually engage in unskilled labour.

Table IV-1: Status of Residence as Classified in Annexed Tables I and II in Reference to Articles 2-2 and 19 of the Japanese Immigration Act

| | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| Annexed Table I (ATI): Foreigners under this category can engage only in activities specifically authorized for the status in question. | Annexed Table I, Sub-group 1 (ATI-1) | Diplomats and their family members, officials of international organizations and their family members, professor, artist, religious activities, journalist |
| | Annexed Table I, Sub-group 2 (ATI-2) | Investor, business manager, legal and accounting services, medical services, researcher, school instructor, engineer, specialist in humanities and international services, intra-company transferee, entertainer, skilled labour |
| | Annexed Table I, Sub-group 3 (ATI-3) | Cultural activities, temporary visitor |
| | Annexed Table I, Sub-group 4 (ATI-4) | College student, pre-college student, trainee, dependents of foreigners with the status of residence mentioned in ATI-1, 2, 3 and 4 |
| | Annexed Table I, Sub-group 5 (ATI-5) | Activities which are specifically designated by the Minister of Justice for foreign individuals (Designated activities) |
| Annexed Table II (ATII): Foreigners under this category have no legal restriction in terms of the fields of employment. | | Permanent resident, foreign spouse or child of Japanese national, foreign spouse or child of permanent resident, long-term resident |

Foreigners who belong to ATI-1 and ATI-2 (specialized and skilled work) need permission from the Ministry of Justice to engage in any work outside of their specified scopes of activities. Foreigners in ATI-3 and ATI-4 categories are not permitted to engage in full-time employment. However, college and pre-college students (ATI-4) can request special permission from the Ministry of Justice to engage in part-time work. In the light of high living costs in Japan, foreign students' requests for a work permit are generally granted (Mori, 1997, p.12). As Chapter III outlined, many foreign students in Japan often end up engaging in unskilled work as they are not qualified to engage in skilled work.

Foreigners who belong to ATI-5 are those who do not fall into any of the statuses described in ATI-1 through ATI-4. Foreigners in this category include housemaids hired by foreign diplomats, working-holiday visa holders, non-professional

athletes hired by private companies or people who stay under the Technical Intern Training Programme (Chapter III). The Minister of Justice designates the scope of their activities individually. Whether or not an applicant is authorized to work depends on how his or her scope of activities is specified. ATI-5 is distinguishable from other sub-categories in Annexed Table I by its heterogeneity (Mori, 1997, p.11).

Permanent residents comprise the major proportion of foreigners in ATII category. They are mostly of Korean and Chinese origin who are generally called old-comer foreigners (Chapter III). Migrants from former Japanese colonial territories who settled in Japan prior to the end of the Second World War are granted the legal status of 'special permanent resident' (Kajita, 2002, p.22; Kondo, 2000, pp.9-10). The 'long-term resident' status in the ATII was originally introduced for refugees accepted in Japan who showed a high settlement propensity (Mori, 1997, p.12). In reality, foreigners of Japanese descent or Nikkei people make up a substantial segment of the long-term residents. Only up to the third generation of Nikkei people are granted the status of long-term resident. Many Nikkei people also enter Japan under the category of 'spouse or children of a Japanese national'.

In anticipating applications from descendants of Japanese emigrants abroad (Nikkei), the Japanese government originally expected the dominance of two main groups. The first was ageing Japanese returnees from the People's Republic of China. They were children separated from their parents in the turmoil of evacuation mainly from the former Manchuria immediately after the Second World War. Many of them grew up as Chinese but eventually found out their background and wanted to return to Japan. The second group included descendants of Japanese nationals in former occupied territories of South East Asia such as in the Philippines (Kajita, 2002, pp.23-24). However, it turned out that the number of applications from the Nikkei in South American countries substantially outnumbered those of the Nikkei from China or other

Asian countries. More than ten percent of the Nikkei community in Brazil and nearly 40% of the Nikkei in Peru were in Japan as U-turn migrants by the mid 1990s (Cornelius, 1994, p.397).

As a result, Nikkei workers together with foreign students, foreign trainees and interns came to engage in unskilled labour fairly legitimately in Japan (Chapter III) and are sometimes referred to as 'side door' migrants. In fact, the number of unskilled workers has drastically outnumbered that of workers with special and technical skills that the central government actively promotes to accept (MHLW, 2002a; Chapter III).

As for the formulation and the implementation of policies concerning immigration control, more than one ministry of the central government is often involved in both. As different ministries have different interests and constituencies, the policy-making process in the area of immigration has a tendency to become a turf-war among the ministries concerned. For example, the ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry stand on the progressive end of the policy spectrum, promoting Japan's prominence in the international community and representing the interests of labour-short sectors of the economy. The Ministry of Justice on the other hand is generally considered to have taken a more conservative position, imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegal foreign workers and being cautious with expansionary policies that might damage the interests of Japanese workers (Cornelius, p.386).

The work of the Study Group established by the Employment Security Bureau of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare is an example of relatively progressive policy recommendations. The Study Group suggests that the formulation of an effective system for accepting foreign workers cannot be achieved without the national debate on the long-term vision for the country as a whole, including discussions on what is meant by 'citizenship' and 'nation-state' (MHLW, 2002a). The Group emphasizes the

importance of addressing the social implications of accepting foreign labour such as the question of the costs of social integration and the protection of foreigners' human rights and cultural identity.

The Study Group goes on further to acknowledge that the current institutional mechanisms for immigration control in Japan are not designed with the premise that foreign workers and their family may stay in the country for a long period of time. Regardless of the 'official' policy of the central government, increasing numbers of both skilled and unskilled foreign workers already reside in Japan (Chapter III). How to prevent their social marginalization and facilitate harmonious coexistence among Japanese and foreign residents are important policy issues to the central and local governments of Japan (MHLW, 2002a).

POSITIVE RIGHTS AND BENEFITS OF FOREIGNERS AND THE CRITICAL ROLE OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Apart from the aforementioned three laws for immigration control, the Japanese Constitution sets out the fundamental principle of universal equality of people under the law in a democratic society (Article 14, Paragraph 1). Accedence to international human rights conventions also led to changes in relevant domestic legislation in Japan and contributed to the improvement in the national legal framework towards the elimination of racial discrimination. As a result, the Japanese welfare system has a long history of extending the entitlement of benefits to foreign residents (Tables IV-2 and IV-3). Why and how the Japanese welfare system has come to integrate such a human rights based approach is in itself a complicated issue and perhaps better dealt with as a subject of another study. This section illustrates that foreigners in Japan are entitled to an impressively wide range of positive rights and benefits, including social rights such

as education and healthcare as well as formal legal rights. It also outlines the importance of the local government's role in implementing these rights.

Overview

As the supreme law in Japan's legal system, the Constitution's philosophy of respect for fundamental human rights (Articles 13 and 14) has a significant importance as a guiding principle for delivery of social services in the country (MOFA, 1999). The fundamental human rights in this context include (i) civil liberties such as the right to liberty and freedom of expression, thought, conscience and religion, and (ii) social rights such as the right to receive education and the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living (ibid.).

The Constitution of Japan states that there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin (Article 14). Article 25 of the Japanese Constitution stipulates that all people have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living and that the state shall use its endeavours for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security and of public health in all spheres of life. The right to political freedom of foreign residents is also considered protected under the Constitution (Tezuka, 1999). As for the specific issue of suffrage, the Constitution of Japan stipulates in Paragraph 1 of Article 15 that the right to choose public officials and to dismiss them is applicable only to Japanese citizens and not guaranteed to foreign nationals. However, foreign residents are entitled to make requests, complaints and proposals to the appropriate central or local government or entities as part of their political freedom (MOFA, 1999).

In accordance with the spirit of human rights protection stipulated in the Constitution, the government of Japan guarantees equal rights to education and equal

treatment (no tuition fees, free textbooks, etc.) for the children of foreign nationals who wish to study at public schools at the compulsory education level. Discriminatory treatment with regard to labour conditions based on nationality is prohibited and punishable by law. Basic labour laws such as the Labour Standards Law, the Minimum Wage Law and the Occupational Health and Safety Law apply to all workers being employed in Japan regardless of their nationality, including illegal workers (MHLW, 1993; Tezuka, 1999, p.222). Foreign workers are also eligible to union membership (Labour Union Law, Article 5, Paragraph 2). Public housing is available for foreign nationals as well as Japanese nationals as long as they register their domicile and identity at the municipalities of their residence (MOFA, 1999).

In the National Pension Law and the National Health Insurance Law, it is stated that any person who has a domicile in Japan is eligible for benefits regardless of their nationality (*ibid.*). Moreover, under the Welfare Pension Insurance Law and the Health Insurance Law, any person employed by an applicable company is also eligible for public services (*ibid.*). Following paragraphs of this section examine the specifics of rights and benefits that are entitled to foreign residents under the Japanese welfare system.

Table IV-2: Social Services Available to Foreigners in Japan

| Items | Coverage for foreigners | Foreigners with work permit | | Foreigners without work permit | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|---------------------|---|--|----------------------|---|
| | | Unlimited occupations (permanent residents, long-term residents and others) | Limited occupations | Trainees | College and pre-college students | Short-term residents | |
| Employment insurance | Workers' Accident Compensation Insurance | Employees in establishments | √ | √ | Applied in cases where virtually employed. | | |
| | Employment Security Insurance | Employees in insured establishment | √ | Not applied in practice. | Not applied. | | |
| Medical care | Medical institutions are not allowed to refuse medical treatment without proper justification. | | | | | | |
| Medical insurance | National Health Insurance | Registered foreigners with more than one year expected residence and are not covered under Health Insurance employees in insured establishments | √ | √ (in case of self-employed and others) | √ | √ | |
| | Health Insurance | Employees in insured establishments | √ | √ | | | |
| Pensions | National Pension Insurance | Registered foreigners | √ | √ (in case of self-employed and others) | √ | √ | √ |
| | Employee's Pension Insurance | Employees in insured establishments | √ | √ | | | |

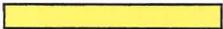
| | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| Tenant in public and communal accommodation units | Permanent residents in Japan | √ | Judged by governing bodies considering individual cases. | √ |
| School enrolment (schools of compulsory education) | Pupils with desire to attend | Not compulsory but door being opened for those who desire to attend. | | |
| School enrolment (kindergarten and nursery schools) | Children with desire to attend or to be cared for | Treated same as Japanese children. | | |
| Livelihood Assistance | Permanent residents and others | √ (applied in practice) | Not applied. | |

Source: The Administration Inspection Office, the Management and Co-ordination Agency (1992), *Gaikokujin wo Meguru Gyousei no Genjou to Kadai* (A report on the status and administration's future tasks on the issue of foreigners)(Mori, 1997, p.192)

Table IV-3: Historical Perspective of the Social Welfare Coverage for Foreigners in Japan

| | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| National pension law | | | | | 59 | | 82 | |
| Welfare pension insurance law | | | 41 | 46 | | | | |
| National health insurance law | | | 38 | | | | | 86 |
| Health insurance law (act) | 22 | | | | | | | |
| Childcare allowance law | | | | | 61 | | 82 | |
| Special childcare allowance law | | | | | 64 | | 82 | |
| Child allowance law | | | | | | 71 | 82 | |
| Livelihood protection law | | | | 46 | 50 | | | |
| Child welfare law | | | | 47 | | | | |
| Law on welfare of the physically handicapped | | | | 49 | | | | |
| Law on welfare of the mentally handicapped | | | | | 60 | | | |

| | | |
|--|----|---|
| Old-age pensions' welfare law | 63 |  |
| Workers' accident compensation insurance law | 47 |  |
| Employment security insurance law | 47 |  |

 Not applicable to foreigners
 Applicable to foreigners

Source: Yoshihiro Shimohira, *Gaikokujin no Shakaihoshou no Nipponteki Tokushitsu to Kadai* (characteristics and challenges of the social welfare system for foreigners in Japan) in Ichirou Watado (ed.) *Jichitai Seisaku no Tenkai to NGO* (policy development of the municipalities and NGO), Akashishoten, 1996, Tokyo

The history of application of livelihood protection assistance to foreigners in Japan may require explanation (Table IV-3). The original Livelihood Protection Law adopted in 1946 did not have any nationality-specific restriction in its application. At the time of adoption of a new Livelihood Protection Law in 1950, the central government of Japan adopted a legal interpretation of the Constitution that the state's responsibility for the protection of "the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living" (Japanese Constitution, Article 25) applied only to the Japanese citizen.

However, in acknowledging the responsibility of the country's colonial past and special historical background of old-comer foreigners in Japan, the government took measures in 1954 to make old-comers eligible for livelihood protection assistance (Shimohira, 1996, p.181). Newcomer foreigners are not eligible for such assistance in principle.

Employment Insurance

The Employment Insurance System in Japan is intended to secure the employment of workers with jobs and provide unemployed workers with benefits to stabilise their life and promote reemployment. The benefit is granted to persons regardless of their nationalities who have been insured for more than six months of the year before the date of leaving their jobs and have the intention and the ability to work. The benefits

are funded by the employment insurance premiums paid by workers and contributions by employers. There is no nationality clause attached to the Employment Insurance law (Ogawa, 1996, p.146). However, employers generally offer the Employment Insurance mostly to employees with the resident status of 'permanent resident', 'spouse or child of Japanese national', 'spouse or child of permanent resident', and 'long-term resident', who are entitled to work without any legal restriction (Mori, 1997, p.196). In order to receive the unemployment benefits, workers need to go the local Public Employment Security Office and receive recognition of unemployment.

Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance

According to the Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance Law, the Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance covers establishments with more than one worker. The Insurance is applied irrespective of nationality and status of residence. Therefore, it covers foreign workers who are not on work-permit status and illegally overstaying (ibid., p.197). Under this Insurance, the prescribed insurance benefits will be paid to workers for injury, disease, physical handicap or death resulting from their work or commutation. Many foreign workers and especially clandestine ones tend to occupy dangerous jobs in production processes and at construction sites. Almost 60% of accidents clandestine workers encounter are reported to have happened within the first three months after they started (ibid.). Foreign workers who lack proficiency in Japanese are likely to miss the signs at their work place warning the possible danger. However, many clandestine workers are not familiar with their rights and not insured by this Accident Compensation Insurance in practice. Employers of clandestine workers are generally hesitant to claim for insurance for fear of disclosures of illegal employment (ibid.).

Job-search Related Services

Foreigners in Japan can seek for assistance at the local employment offices for their job search. The government established the Employment Service Corners for Foreigners in 11 Public Employment Security Offices in June 1992 and staffed them by part-time interpreters to cope with increasing job enquires from foreigners (Mori, 1997, p.193). The then Ministry of Labour also established the Nikkei Employment Service Center in Tokyo in August 1991. Subsequently, the Employment Service Centers for Foreigners were established in Tokyo and Osaka in 1993 and 1997 respectively. As of 2003, 78 Public Employment Security Offices in 30 Prefectures in Japan offer employment services to foreigners (Tokyo Employment Service Center for Foreigners).

The Employment Centers provide job openings information and vocational counselling to foreigners, including college and vocational school level students. They also provide services for potential employers such as scheduling job interviews and consultation concerning immigration procedures. To use the services of the Centers, foreigners should have a residential visa status that allows employment or show that they can acquire such status.

Official statistics made available by these Employment Centers provide valuable information about the employment of foreigners in Japan. According to the 2001 Annual Report of the Osaka Employment Center, nearly half of the users of Center's vocational counselling services were foreign students and more than a third of the enquires received from potential employers were about foreign students, indicating that foreign students constitute a significant recruitment target population in the Japanese labour market. The number of openings for foreigners, the number of employers who visited the Center and the number of foreigners registered with the Center are all on the increase. Those with the resident status of 'spouse or child of Japanese national' make up the largest group among the registered foreigners at the

Osaka Center, followed by 'specialist in humanities and international services' and 'permanent resident'.

In contrast, those with the resident status of 'specialist in humanities and international services' make up the largest group among the registered foreign workers at the Tokyo Employment Service Center for Foreigners, followed by 'spouse or child of Japanese national'. According to the survey conducted by the Tokyo Center in 2001, the majority of foreign students found jobs through public services such as those provided by the Employment Center and the universities' placement services. At the same time, many students also found their jobs via informal means such as via Internet and through personal networks of friends, indicating that foreign students in Japan have been utilizing various networks for obtaining information on employment opportunities.

The statistics of Tokyo Employment Center show an interesting division among the views of foreign students about their career prospects in Japan. Among the foreign students who have confirmed their job placements in Japan, one-third of them said they were undecided about how long they would stay in Japan. Another one-third said they would like to stay in Japan as long as possible. Those who would stay up to 10 years accounted for 20%. Only five percent of them intended to return home within 3 years.

Health Insurance

Most foreigners in Japan are covered under either the Health Insurance or the National Health Insurance. The government manages the main body of the Health Insurance. The Health Insurance is designed for 'wage earners' and financed by individual insurance premiums, contributions by their firms and subsidy from the National Treasury disbursements. The Health Insurance applies to employees irrespective of nationality. Workers and employers are to share their expenses equally. It is mandatory

for employers of firms with more than five employees and corporations of any size to insure their regular employees by the Health Insurance. Insurants are exempted from 90% of the expenses incurred by medical care. Similarly, dependants of the insurants are exempted from 70%.

Even when foreign workers are employed by insured establishments, employers may prefer their workers to be covered by the National Health Insurance (see below) as it entails no cost to the employers. As employers generally do not employ clandestine workers under formal contracts for fear of exposure of illegal employment, such workers are generally not insured by the Health Insurance. Furthermore, many dispatching companies do not insure foreign workers by the Health Insurance (Mori, 1997, p.199).

National Health Insurance

In contrast to the Health Insurance, the main administrator of the National Health Insurance is the local government. The National Health Insurance is designed and practiced substantially as a medical insurance system for the self-employed. It is funded by insurants' premiums and the National Treasury disbursements. This Insurance does not concern employers and its premiums are higher than that of the Health Insurance. The insurants of the National Health Insurance are exempted from 70% of medical expenses. The nationality provision that limited the application of the Insurance only to Japanese was abolished in 1986. Accordingly, the National Health Insurance covers registered foreigners intending to reside for more than one year, including college and pre-college students.

Unpaid Medical Care Expenses

One of the main problems concerning the medical care of foreigners in Japan is the existence of unpaid medical care expenses incurred by those who are not covered by medical insurance and the Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance. Many clandestine workers are not covered by medical insurance and tend to avoid public places such as hospitals for fear of the disclosure of their illegal stay until their conditions deteriorate and become serious. Hospitals generally request the guarantee of payment from the patients but prefectural and city hospitals cannot refuse the treatment due to the public nature of their institutions, especially when the patients are brought in for emergency treatments. As a result, a large number of public hospitals are caught by unpaid medical expenses.

Since 1954, in cases where medical institutions face the accumulation of unpaid medical expenses incurred by foreigners, municipal bodies applied livelihood assistance benefits to foreigners so that they could pay for their medical bills. However, faced with the rapid increase of cases, the then Ministry of Health and Welfare prohibited municipalities from such application of livelihood assistance to newcomer foreigners in 1990. Due to this strict policy of the central government, public medical institutions offer medical services for insolvent foreign patients on a humanitarian basis. Surveys conducted by local medical associations reported a rapidly increasing phenomenon of the enormous amounts of accumulated unpaid medical expenses in the early 1990s and claimed that it was threatening the operation of many medical institutions (Mori, 1997, p.201).

The intervention by the central government placed local governments who worked on the front line of the delivery of public services in a difficult position. Municipal bodies felt direct pressures from local medical institutions to initiate measures to tackle this urgent problem of unpaid medical expenses. Subsequently, the Tokyo

Metropolitan Government and the Kanagawa Prefectural Government became the first municipal bodies to reactivate the long dormant so-called 'ko-ryo ho' law (行旅病人および行旅死亡人取扱法、明治32年制定) in 1992 (Mori, 1997, p.201). The law was developed in 1899 and foresees payments from public budgets for medical and other expenses to unidentified patients who suffer accidents in particular administrative regions. The law had become disused with the establishment of the livelihood assistance system after the Second World War. However, the governments of these two Prefectures decided that reviving this law was the only option in view of the policy change by the central government in 1990s.

By the reactivation of this law, the public budget of the Tokyo Metropolitan government finances 70% of unpaid medical expenses in its administrative regions. The public budget of Kanagawa covers 100% of such expenses with application of the same law. Other Prefectures such as Gunma followed suite and started to set aside funds out of its fiscal budget for defraying unpaid medical expenses (ibid.). The central government eventually agreed to provide financial support as of 1996 to 130 designated emergency hospitals that administered first aid to over-staying foreigners. The local authorities are of the view that the ultimate responsibility lies with the central government to develop a long-term plan to cope with the issue of emergency medical treatments for illegal foreigners. The statements issued by the Association of Prefectural Governors in 1993 and 1994 reflected this view and urged the central government to implement legislative measures to protect foreigners in Japan who lacked the financial ability to bear their medical expenses (Shimohira, 1996, p.194).

Consequently, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare organised a roundtable on the issue of coverage of medical services for foreigners and conducted five meetings during 1994 and 1995. The final report of the roundtable concluded that

the introduction of new legislation or systems to grant any benefits to illegal foreigners would be inappropriate because such systems would contradict the existing legislation and might lead to an increase in illegal over-stay among foreigners (ibid., p.197). On the other hand, the report suggested that in case illegal foreigners in question were engaged in regular employment, the employers should extend to their foreign employees the coverage of the Health Insurance (Shimohira, 1996, pp. 197-198; Miyajima, 2003, p.32). This suggestion is noteworthy as it is the first public statement from a central-government organization that acknowledged the possibility of application of the Health Insurance coverage to clandestine foreigners.

Medical care offered to those who are not covered by any health insurance in Japan is made available largely by the voluntary response of a humanitarian nature by medical institutions and other non-governmental organizations. Although local governments are implementing means to deal with the problem of unpaid medical expenses, further accumulation of expenses will make it unmanageable with such ad hoc support systems. Without any effective 'national' policy, this is an area where the flexibility of the policy response by local governments makes a substantive impact. The case of coverage of medical services for foreigners illustrates the changing balance between the central and local governments in Japan surrounding the issue of the recognition of the continuing role of foreign workers. Such dynamics of changing relationship between the central and local governments are key to my research and discussed more in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

National Pension Plan

National Pension premiums are deducted from a worker's salary payment and accumulate over a period of time. Old-age pension requires at least 25 years of instalments before it becomes effective. Under this system, the majority of migrant

workers faced the prospect of making premium instalments without the provision of refund. Responding to public criticism, the government reformed the National Pension system in 1995 and enabled a once-only allowance to be granted to foreigners.

According to the reform, foreigners who have paid pension premiums for more than six months can claim the lump-sum withdrawal payment calculated according to the period of payment, if an application is filed within two years after their departure from Japan (Mori, 1997, p.199).

School Education

Children of migrant foreigners in Japan receive free compulsory-level education at Japanese schools (MEXT, 2003). Most of foreign students who attend primary schools in Japan are dependants of newcomer foreigners. These children are generally not proficient in Japanese. There is no national legislation to stipulate that school education is compulsory for foreign children in Japan. However, public schools at the compulsory education level usually encourage foreign children of school age to enrol (ibid., p.203).

To understand the conditions of foreign children at Japanese schools, the most recent and comprehensive information can be obtained from the national survey conducted in 2002 by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

According to this survey, there were 17,553 foreign students in 4,791 schools who required special training in Japanese language. Nearly 85% of these students were already receiving additional language training (MEXT, 2003).

Compared to the figures from the survey conducted five years ago, the number of foreign students who needed Japanese language training had increased by four percent. The children whose native language was Portuguese made up the largest group of foreign students who required Japanese language training, followed by Chinese-speaking students and Spanish-speaking students. These three groups accounted for

nearly 80%. At the same time, the total number of languages in use among foreign students amounted to 65, reflecting the diversity of their ethnic origin (ibid.). The number of foreign students who have been enrolled in Japanese primary schools for more than two years has been increasing. As of 2002, those students accounted for nearly 40% of all foreign students. It may suggest the tendency of the foreign migrants with school-age dependents to prolong their stay in Japan.

The trend in administrative response to the situations surrounding students with special language training needs is similar to the case of medical services. In both cases, local governments were the pioneers to implement measures to enable service provisions to foreign residents in their administrative districts. In some suburban cities, children of Nikkei workers started attending local Japanese schools as early as in the 1980s. Municipal governments of such cities introduced measures to support teachers in assisting foreign children. They dispatched part-time language teachers and offered budgetary support to finance part of the expenses related to language training for children with difficulty in communicating in Japanese (Mori, 1997, p.205).

With urging from cities with a high concentration of foreign residents, the then Ministry of Education conducted its first survey in 1991 on foreign children who were enrolled in local Japanese schools. Based on the results of this survey, the first official teaching materials for Japanese language for foreign students were made available in August 1992 in five languages. The Ministry also launched training programmes for schoolteachers in teaching methods of Japanese language in 1993 and allocated budget expenses for expanding a pool of professional teachers of Japanese language (ibid., p.206).

Education in Japan is outstanding in its almost complete absorption of children in schools at the compulsory education level (ibid., p.203). According to the Basic Survey conducted in 2001, out of 11 million school-age children of Japanese nationals,

the number of those who did not attend school was 2,214 or 0.02% (MPMHAPT, 2003a). However, with regard to the enrolment of foreign children in local schools, it is quite rare for local school boards to know exactly how many pre-school and school-age foreign children are not attending due to the lack of relevant information (Mori, 1997, p.203).

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGNERS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS: POSITIVE ATTEMPTS TO GIVE FOREIGNERS A VOICE

The previous section outlined rights and benefits of foreigners in Japan. This section examines current debates in Japan about the right of foreigners to political participation and explores what kinds of opportunities exist for foreigners in Japan to reflect their opinions in the public administration. In doing so, it also outlines positive attempts by the local government in Japan to give foreigners a voice. This section discusses the challenge of the local government concerning the dichotomy between old-comer and newcomer foreigners. The discussion here builds upon the history of migration that was examined in Chapter III. The challenge of the local government in Japan today is also linked very closely with the ambivalence expressed in public opinion in Japan about how long and how many newcomer foreigners Japan should accept, which is discussed in detail later in this chapter. The discussion here relates to the changing relationship and differences between the central and local governments in Japan, which is key to my research. This section looks at the positives to build upon as well as the tensions and contradictions in the context of globalization.

The development of debates on the rights of foreigners in Japan largely reflects the maturity of the struggle of old-comer foreigners for greater freedom during their history of settlement in Japan over the period of nearly 100 years. In recent years, the issue of political rights of foreigners in Japan has become increasingly discussed

among activists, policy makers and scholars (Kajita, 1994, pp.215-217). The most widely accepted interpretation of the national Constitution and the Public Offices Election Law in Japan is that the right to vote and the right to stand for public offices are regarded as inalienable but only applicable to Japanese nationals. With the presence of increasing number of foreigners in Japan, scholars and local government officials started to advocate the need to reassess what it means to be a 'resident' of a community regardless of one's nationality (ibid., P.218).

Debate in Japan about the Rights of Foreigners to Political Participation

As Chapter II of this thesis outlined, discussing the rights of an individual in a multicultural society in this era of globalization is a complicated task. The case of Japan is not an exception. The largest and perhaps most influential proponents of the right of 'permanent residents' (i.e. old-comers) to political participation are the members of the Korean Residents Union in Japan (Mindan). They claim that old-comers' long history of residency in Japan and their tax obligation should make them eligible for the attainment of full political rights. They also call for the enhanced political rights as part of the Japanese government's moral obligation to fulfil its post-war compensation responsibility to the citizens of its former imperial territories.

On the other hand, there are those who argue that granting the full political rights to foreigners is incompatible with the Constitution's principle that the sovereignty of the nation resides in its citizen (Momochi, 2001; Momochi, 2000; Sakurai, 1999; Nishioka, 1995). They generally take a position that the right to political participation at all levels – whether it is local or national – is an obligation as well as an entitlement that is directly tied to citizenship. They also argue that the tax obligation is in principle a price to be paid for the entitlement of public services and is not directly related to other rights. There are also those who oppose the foreigners' right to political

participation because of the possible danger in allowing foreigners to influence the debate on sensitive issues related to diplomacy and national security. The General Association of Korean Residents is also against the suffrage of Korean people in Japan because such right “may lead to the denial of the ethnic and cultural identity of Korean people in Japan” (General Association of Korean Residents, 1996).

In considering the political participation of foreigners in Japan, there is one court precedent that is particularly important. In announcing the verdict on the case of a group of Korean permanent residents vs. the Osaka Election Committee, the ‘obiter dictum’ (incidental remark) of 28 February 1995 by the Japanese Supreme Court judge upheld the conventional view that the right to elect and depose public officials specified in the Constitution was granted to Japanese citizens and didn’t apply to foreigners (Tezuka, 1999, pp.199-217; Kajita, 2002, p.35). At the same time, the judge emphasized that the principles of deliberative autonomy and the sovereignty of the people in the administration of local municipalities was protected under the Constitution and, therefore, local municipal bodies were not prohibited from exercising their legislative power to undertake measures to enable non-Japanese residents to vote for the election of the head of the municipality or members of the municipal council.

The 1995 remark by the Supreme Court judge is of critical importance for the continuing national debate on the political right of foreigners in Japan. Although it was a ‘remark’ and not ‘ratio decidendi’ (the principle forming the basis of a judicial decision) and therefore not considered judicially binding, because of this ‘remark’ it is now generally considered possible for local municipalities to grant the right to vote at the local level elections to foreign residents without constitutional amendments (Kondo, 2000, p.20).

In practice, the issue of political rights of foreigners cannot be decided solely on the discretion of local municipal bodies. The general consensus among legal experts in

Japan is that under the current Japanese legal system the central government shall guarantee the principle of local autonomy specified in the Constitution so long as it does not contradict with the legislative authority of the central government. This means that even if a local municipal body authorizes the full political rights of foreigners, the national legislative system still has the power to determine the validity of such authorization.

One option for formalizing foreigners' right to participate in political decision-making is to pass a special law that stipulates specific terms and conditions for the authorization of such right in accordance with the principles of local autonomy stated in the Constitution and the Local Autonomy Law. The formulation of such a law was suggested in the agreement to the bill issued by the 1999 three-party coalition government. Bills that would allow the right to political participation of foreign permanent residents were submitted to the Diet in 2000. The debate on the bills is ongoing since then. As it stands, it is unlikely that the local voting rights will be enacted any time soon due to the strong opposition from conservative members, including those from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (Miyajima, 2003, p.208).

Meanwhile, local authorities have already started exploring policy options of their own. Some municipalities have been experimenting with the establishment of a council of foreign residents as a mechanism to solicit feedback on the public services. Legally speaking, such a council is considered as a consultative body belonging to the executive office of the municipality (Local Autonomy Law, Article 138, Paragraph 4, Section 3). The foreign residents councils that currently exist in various prefectures in Japan can be categorised into two models (Miyajima, 2003).

The first model is a council that consists only of foreign residents. Members of the council are generally chosen from the general public. This model is adopted in cities with large newcomer populations such as Kawasaki, Shizuoka and Hamamatsu.

For example, representatives of the foreign residents' council in Kawasaki can also participate as non-voting observers in meetings of the City Council. The foreign residents' council in this model functions as alternative tool to voting rights for foreign residents and enables them to bring issues of their concern to the attention of their local governments.

The second model is a council that consists of both foreign residents and Japanese residents. In contrast to the first model, this model is often seen in the Kansai region that hosts a large number of old-comer foreigners. The Kansai region is generally considered to have a more matured basis for the debate on the political participation of foreigners due to the long history of permanent settlement of old-comer foreigners (Chapter III). The foreign residents' councils in Osaka and Kyoto fall into this category. Members of the council may be selected from the general public and cities can also invite known local experts and activists to participate. Agenda of the foreign residents' council of this model often contain issue-specific policy matters, reflecting the depth of knowledge of participating members. It can be argued that old-comer foreigners with much stronger awareness of the importance of political participation and a clearer issue-specific policy focus than newcomers require a fora where not only their voices are heard but also they can discuss specific policies directly with fellow Japanese residents. As a result, a council of foreign residents that satisfies the need of old-comers would require the participation of both foreign and Japanese residents.

In May 2001, 13 municipalities where newcomer foreigners had a significant presence formed the Council of Cities with High Concentrations of Foreign Residents. In some cases, as much as 15% of the total residents in these cities was non-Japanese. These cities were home to a large number of Nikkei Brazilian workers, many of whom arrived in Japan in the early 1990s. In October 2001, the mayors of these 13 cities

adopted the so-called 'Hamamatsu Declaration'. It urged the government to develop policies that acknowledged foreign residents as full and important partners for the realization of community development and harmonious cohabitation.

The Hamamatsu Declaration recommended measures targeted for newcomer foreign residents such as strengthening Japanese language courses at primary and junior high schools, encouraging increased school enrolment of foreign children, revising the health insurance system and improving the working conditions of foreigners. The Declaration was a groundbreaking event as it was the first significant collective and public attempt by local authorities to promote the national debate on cohabitation with newcomer foreigners. It publicly criticized the central government's lack of policies with regard to newcomer foreign residents. As a result, a conference was held in November 2002 with representatives of the Council of Cities with High Concentrations of Foreign Residents and government ministries such as the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, and the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare to discuss the issues addressed in the Hamamatsu Declaration.

This was the first time that the representatives of local municipal bodies with daily experience in service delivery to newcomer foreigners were in direct dialogue with the officials of the central government in charge of national policy planning. The Hamamatsu Declaration was a significant landmark that showed to both the central government and general public of Japan that newcomer foreigners were here to stay and required an adequate policy response.

Other local governments have started exercising their legislative power to implement initiatives for the empowerment of foreign residents. Maihara-cho, a town in Shiga Prefecture issued an ordinance concerning the local referendum scheduled for March 2002 on the issue of a merger with neighbouring municipalities and authorised local foreign permanent residents to participate in the referendum. By doing so,

Maihara-cho became the first municipality to allow foreign residents to participate in a local referendum. Other municipalities followed suit. Over 20 municipalities have authorised their foreign permanent residents to participate in local referenda as of 2003. Approximately 30% of municipalities in Japan also abolished a nationality requirement for general administrative officials as of 1992. The City of Kawasaki abolished the citizenship requirement for posts in general office work in 1996. This was the first time such an arrangement was made in a large city (Kondo, 2000, p.19).

While there are many positive developments at the local level for the empowerment of foreign residents, staff of government agencies face a practical dilemma of reconciling different duties. According to Japanese immigration law, any official of the government or a local public entity must report to the appropriate authority if he or she has the knowledge of foreigners who are considered to be in violation of the immigration law (Article 62, Paragraph 2). As a result, staff of the local government face a dilemma of reconciling this reporting obligation with their fundamental responsibilities (Ogawa, 1996, p.157) to protect the security, the health and the welfare of all residents (Local Autonomy Law, Article 2, Paragraph 3, Section 1). It is the task of individual municipalities to come up with ways to reconcile these conflicting legal responsibilities.

Administrative Counselling Services and Foreign Residents

The previous section outlined the important role that the local government plays in administering the rights and benefits of foreigners in Japan. I also illustrated that some local municipal bodies have launched their own initiatives for the empowerment of foreign residents without waiting for development of national policies by the central government. But do foreigners have to rely on the voluntary decision of individual municipalities for their voices to be heard?

There is in fact one important statutory administrative mechanism through which foreign residents in Japan can reflect their opinions on the work of the local government. It is called the administrative counsellors system. It is a mechanism for monitoring the public opinions in Japan and has a long history. The Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications of the Japanese central government started its surveys and research activities in 1955 for monitoring public opinion regarding the public policy implementation. This led to the adoption of the Administrative Counsellors Law in 1966, which introduced the administrative counsellor system. Administrative counsellors are chosen from the public. Counsellors work closely with the local government but are not permanent staff of the government in order to maintain the neutrality of their work. Counsellors receive questions, complaints and suggestions regarding public policy issues. Currently, there are approximately 5,000 administrative counsellors in Japan.

According to the report published by the National Federation of Administrative Counsellors' Associations (NFACA), there are three kinds of existing administrative counselling services that are available for foreigners in Japan: (i) those provided by local governments; (ii) those provided by non-profit organizations funded by local governments; and (iii) those provided by private sector organizations. The report by the National Federation recommends that due to the rapid increase in the number of foreign residents and the consequent diversification of the administrative needs, it is essential for public sector organizations to work closely with private sector organizations to provide effective administrative counselling services for foreigners (NFACA, 2000).

The NFACA's study examined the situation in ten prefectures and 15 cities in Japan. In the majority of prefectures and cities surveyed (six prefectures and nine cities), non-profit organizations provided support services for foreign residents with funding from the local government, while the local government was directly

responsible for support services of foreign residents in the remaining prefectures and cities. The report noted that non-governmental organizations played an important role in supporting foreigners in Japan especially in the area of legal counselling and medical service information. Accordingly, the NFACA recommends that the local government and NGOs need to improve their communication and collaborate closely through exchanging know-how regarding the support services for foreign residents (ibid.). The NFACA's report also revealed that cases brought in by foreigners to administrative counsellors concerned a wide range of issues such as immigration control, accommodation, employment, medical services, welfare, pension and education.

The NFACA's report showed that the administrative counsellors system provided valuable opportunities for foreign residents in Japan to obtain information concerning their rights and benefits in Japan. The system suggests the positive potential to further assist social integration of foreigners in Japan. The basic principle of the administrative counselling services in Japan is to enhance the clients' knowledge base so that they are able to solve problems by themselves. To this effect, the NFACA suggests that providing foreign residents with opportunities to improve their Japanese language skills is an important first step towards their personal independence (ibid.). Findings of my case study seem to support this suggestion of the NFACA. My case study is discussed in detail in later chapters of this thesis. The NFACA also suggests that local governments and NGOs should consider recruiting foreign residents themselves as administrative counsellors of fellow foreigners. The NFACA suggests that such arrangements may encourage political empowerment of both foreign counsellors and counselees.

Old-comer vs. Newcomer Dichotomy

As examined in detail in Chapter III of this thesis, one of the most important characteristics of the foreign population in Japan is the existence of a dichotomy between newcomers and old-comers. The maturity of the discussion on the rights of foreign residents in Japan could not have been achieved without the political and social activism of old-comer foreigners. At the same time, during their long history of settlement, old-comer foreigners have increasingly integrated into Japanese society. The maturity of their social integration in the host community is considerably greater than that of newcomer foreigners. While many old-comers prefer to use their ethnic Korean or Chinese names in their daily life, the majority of old-comers speak Japanese as their primary language and are married to Japanese spouses (Kajita, 1994, p.222). Although their names and nationalities are not Japanese, their 'foreignness' in their daily life in Japan is relatively symbolic, compared to the case of newcomers.

Because of their apparent differences from newcomers (Chapter III), many old-comers have expressed their wishes to be distinguished from newcomer foreigners who are not permanent residents (Kajita, 1994, pp.225-226). Old-comers have fought for nearly 100 years to win their rights as resident foreigners and struggled for social integration without necessarily jeopardising their ethnic identities. Old-comers fear that their argument and requests will be diluted if they have to be grouped under a general label of 'foreigners' together with newcomers. This presents a significant public policy dilemma. Any discussion on the rights of foreign residents in Japan – for it to be thoroughly convincing – needs to take into consideration the political and the social implication to newcomers as well as old-comers. But their demands and needs are significantly different. This is one of the difficulties in developing a comprehensive national policy for the empowerment of foreigners in Japan. This dilemma of Japan relates closely to the discussion on general difficulties of accommodating different

interests and perspectives of different ethnic groups in society that was discussed in Chapter II.

OPINIONS OF RESIDENTS REGARDING COHABITATION

I have examined so far the rights and benefits of foreigners in Japan and the important role of the local government in administering such rights and benefits. This section looks at the issues of concern to both Japanese and foreign residents in terms of multicultural cohabitation. The purpose of this section is to illustrate the aforementioned difference in the needs and demands of old-comers and newcomers and to outline the current uncertainty expressed in Japanese public opinion about cohabitation with foreigners.

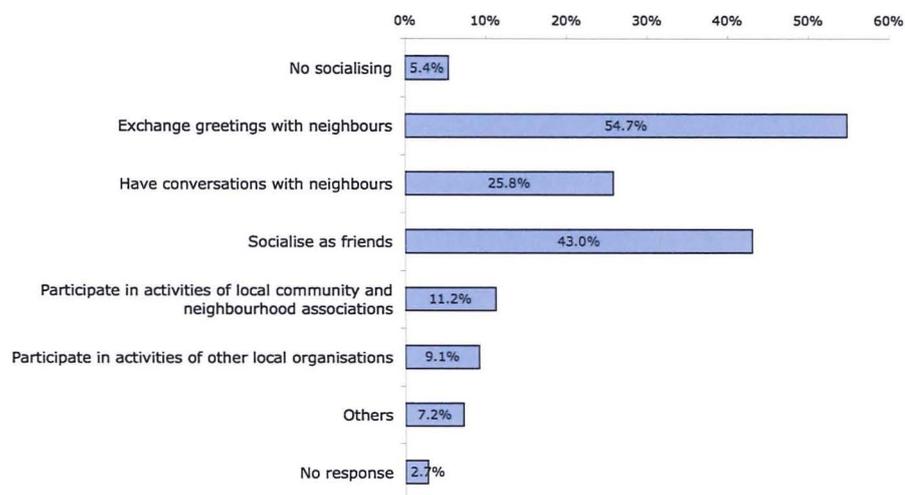
What Foreign Residents Want: Difference between Old-comers and Newcomers

To understand the views of foreign residents in Japan, there are two surveys of particular importance. The first is the survey conducted in 1996 by the Saitama Prefectural Government Office and the second is the 1997 survey by the International Relations Office of the Government of Kyoto City. The first survey is significant because it covered a wide range of subjects closely related to the daily lives of newcomer foreigners in Japan. Saitama is one of the eastern prefectures in Japan near Tokyo and has a high concentration of newcomer foreigners (Chapter III). On the other hand, Kyoto is a city in the western region of Kansai where a large number of old-comer foreigners settled (Chapter III). Accordingly, the majority of the respondents of the 1997 Kyoto survey were old-comers. Reflecting the maturity of the tradition of cohabitation with foreigners, the 1997 surveys addressed very detailed questions concerning the public service delivery in the City and contained questions that were

tailored specifically to newcomers as well as those applicable to both old-comers and newcomers.

According to the 1996 Saitama survey, the majority of newcomers reported to have some kind of socializing opportunities with Japanese people in their daily life (Figure IV-1). This figure included 11% of newcomer foreigners who were participating in activities related to community management organized by their neighbourhood associations. It was encouraging news to the Prefecture of Saitama because despite the relatively short residency in Japan, newcomer foreigners were not necessarily socially isolated from their Japanese neighbours. It also confirms the importance of neighbourhood associations in Japan, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter V.

Figure IV-1: Social Contact with Japanese People
Source: Saitama Prefectural Government 1996 Survey (N=877)



Newcomer foreigners in Saitama indicated that the government (either central or local) should provide more information to resident foreigners regarding employment opportunities, medical services/insurance and education (Figure IV-2). The most preferred medium for the distribution of such information (Figure IV-3) was foreign language newspapers and magazines, closely followed by TV. Many newcomers also

mentioned posters, leaflets and public relations publications of the municipal government. It is useful for the local government to know that residents regard such conventional methods of public outreach as effective, especially when it has a limited budget for activities targeted for newcomer foreigners.

Figure IV-2: Information the Government Should Provide
Source: Saitama Prefectural Government 1996 Survey (N=877)

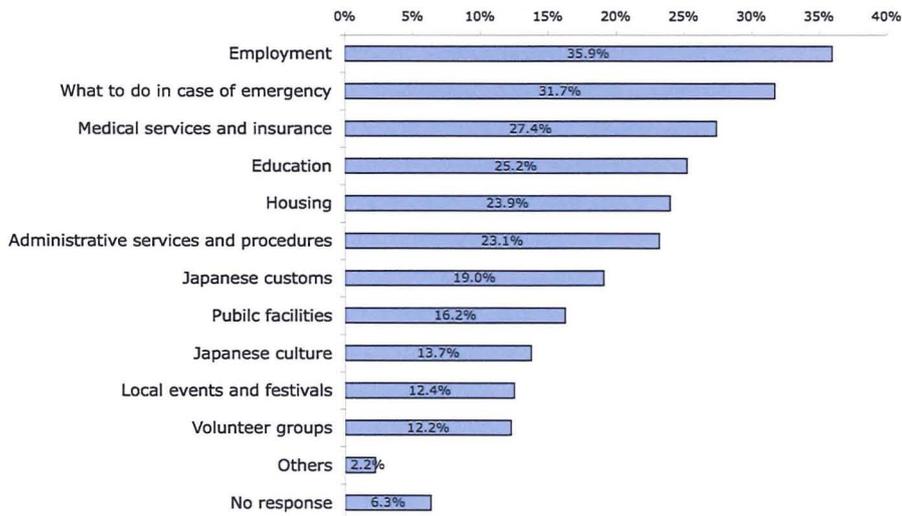
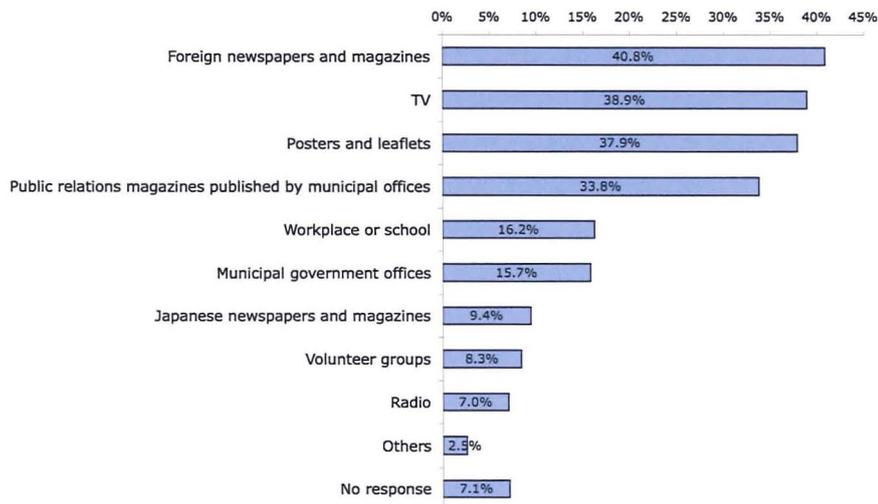


Figure IV-3: Medium for information distribution
Source: Saitama Prefectural Government 1996 Survey (N=877)



Nearly half of the newcomers surveyed in Saitama said that they wanted the government to improve the administrative counselling services for foreigners (Figure IV-4). Newcomer foreigners who participated in the 1997 Kyoto survey also urged the

government to improve administrative counselling services (Figure IV-5). As I argued elsewhere in this chapter, this survey result also indicates that the administrative counsellors system in Japan has the potential to be an effective mechanism for the outreach to newcomer foreigners. Over 70% of newcomers in the 1997 Kyoto survey felt that they needed more help from the local government on basic tools to get about such as multi-lingual information services and multi-lingual signage at public places (Figures IV-6 and 7).

Figure IV-4: Government Services to be Improved
 Source: Saitama Prefectural Government 1996 Survey (N=877)

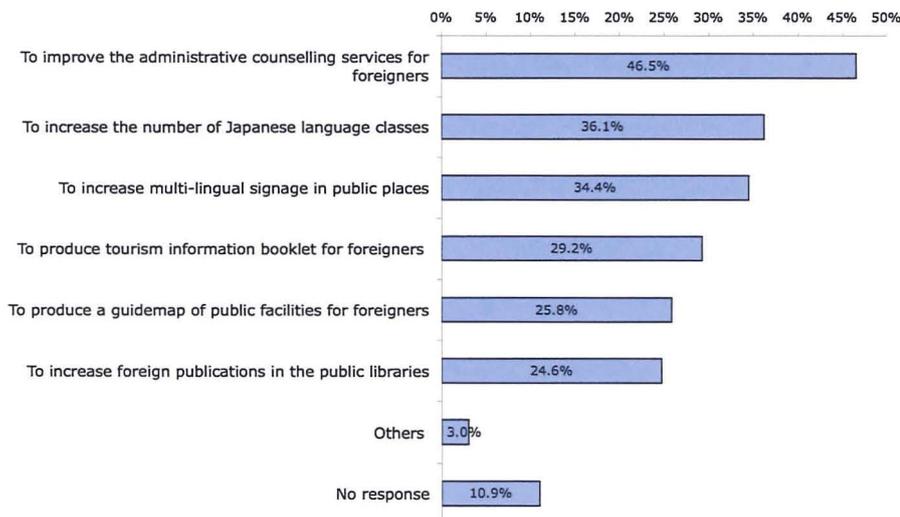


Figure IV-5: Counselling Service for Newcomers
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

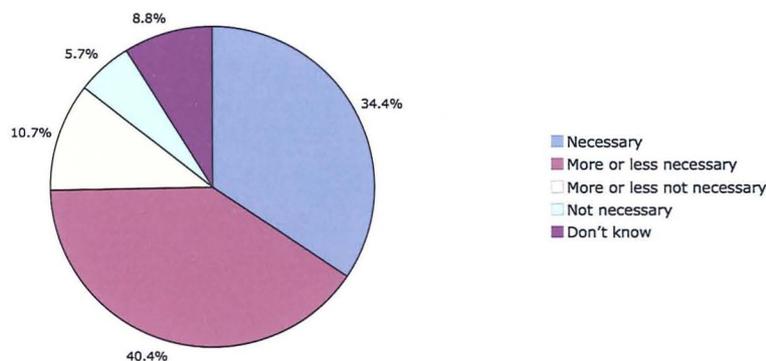


Figure IV-6: Multi-lingual Information for Newcomers
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

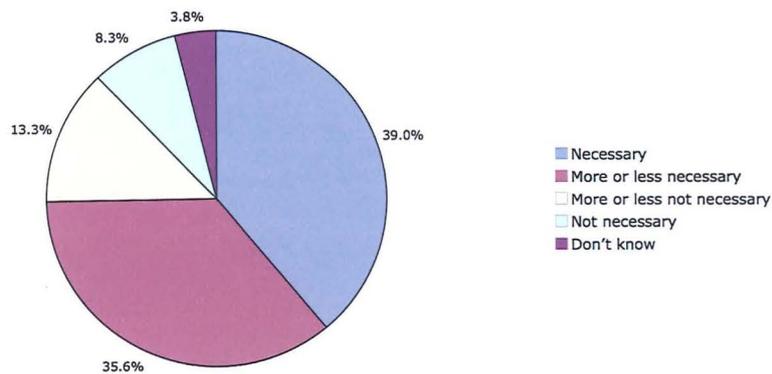
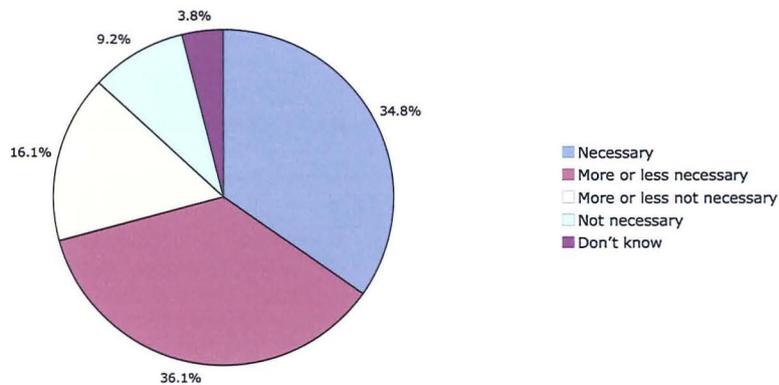


Figure IV-7: Multi-lingual Signage for Newcomers
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)



The results of the 1997 survey by Kyoto City also illustrate interesting contrasts between old-comers and newcomers. On the one hand, the levels of support among old- and newcomers are roughly the same for the public services such as promoting the elimination of racial discrimination (Figure IV-8) and creating opportunities for Japanese residents to learn foreign histories and culture (Figure IV-9). On the other hand, old-comers feel much more strongly about the responsibility of the government to protect resident foreigners' rights to preserve their own cultural identities, through public funding for ethnic and foreign schools (Figure IV-10) or other facilities of language and cultural education (Figure IV-11).

Figure IV-8: Elimination of Discrimination
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

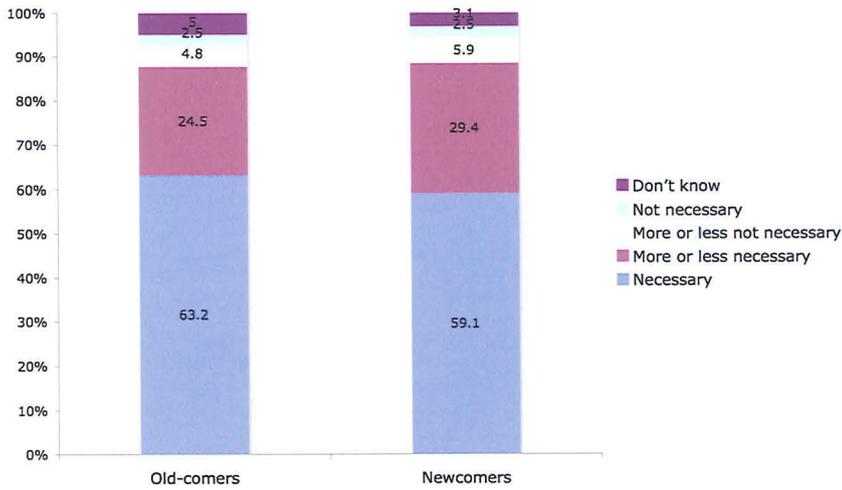


Figure IV-9: Learning Foreign Cultures
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

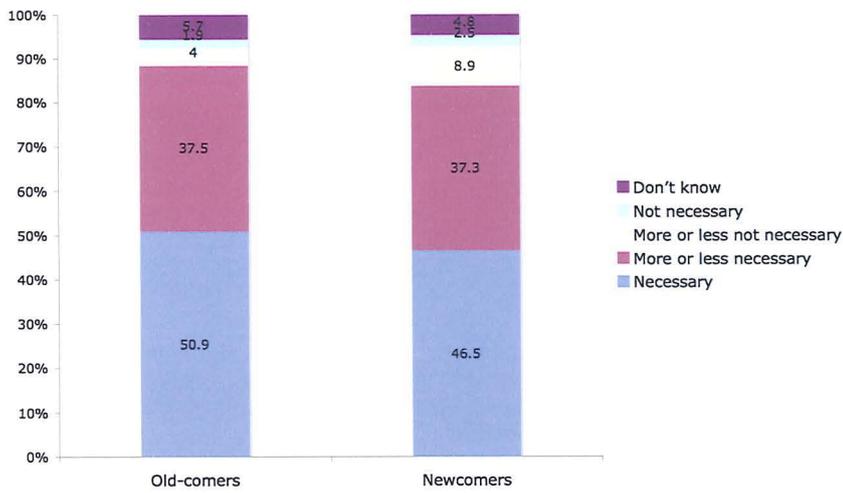


Figure IV-10: Assisting Ethnic and Foreign School
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

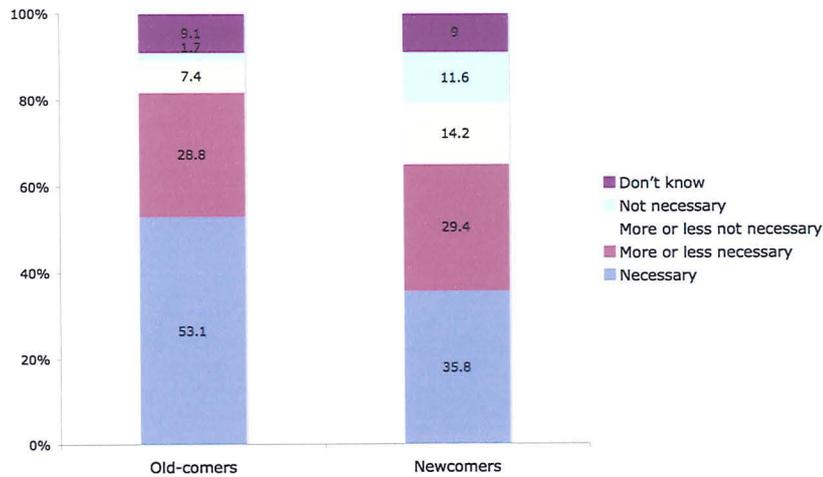
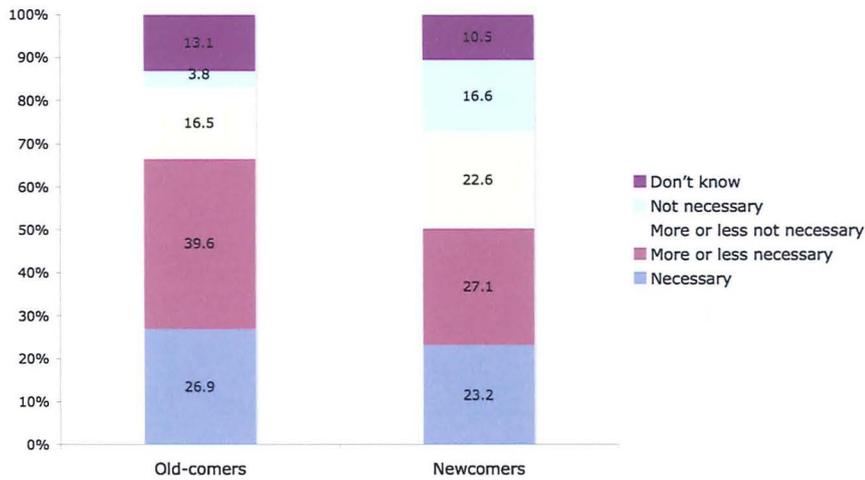


Figure IV-11: Development of Facilities for Foreigners to Learn Their Own Languages and Cultures
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)



The results of the 1997 Kyoto survey also show that issues of civil and political rights such as administrative equality for foreigners in terms of social benefits and entitlements (Figure IV-12), employment opportunities in civil service (Figure IV-13) and rights to full political participation (Figure IV-14) are of critical importance to old-comers.

Figure IV-12: Administrative Equality
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

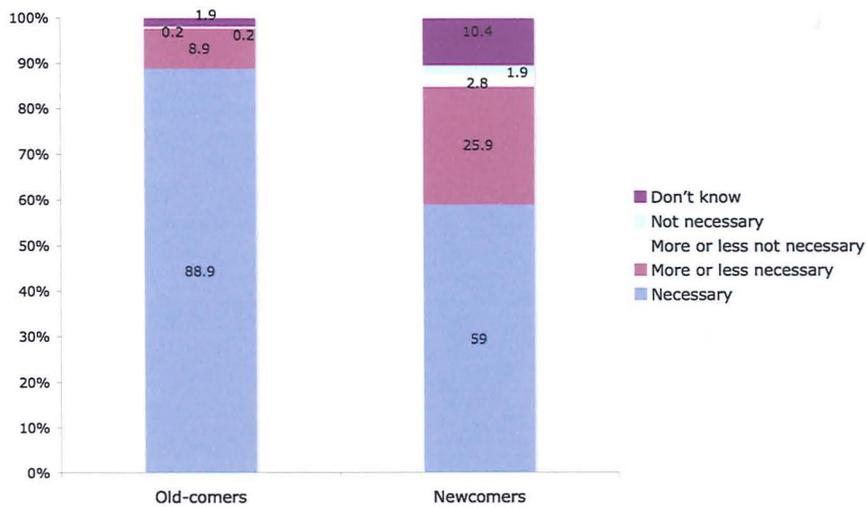


Figure IV-13: Employment Opportunity in Civil Service
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)

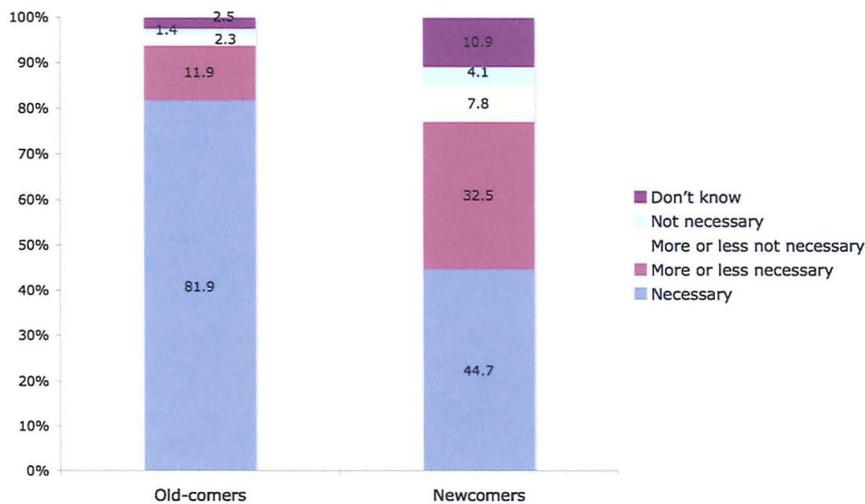
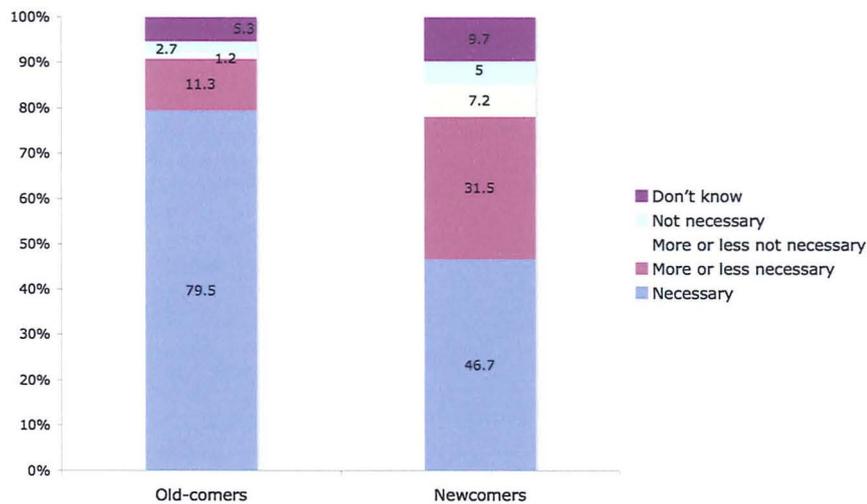


Figure IV-14: Rights to political participation
 Source: Kyoto City Government Office 1997 Survey (N=868)



What Japanese People Think: Uncertainty Expressed in Public Opinion

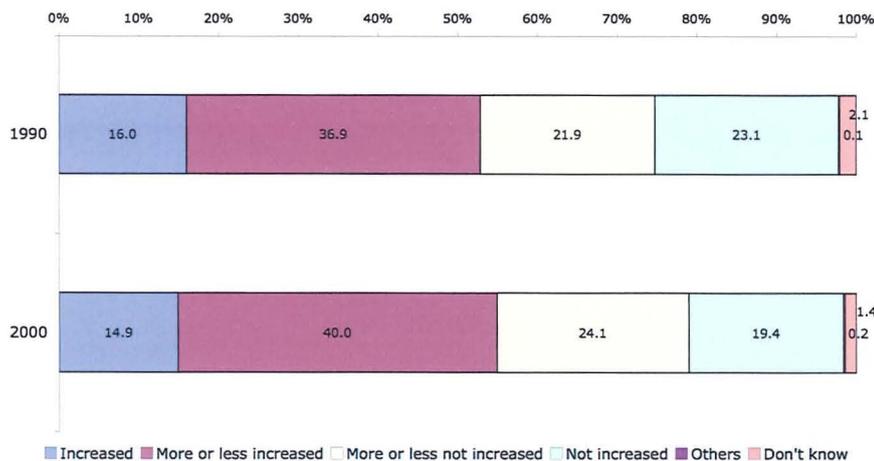
The results of the poll conducted by the Cabinet Office in 2000 provides the most recent and comprehensive data source concerning public opinion in Japan about cohabitation with foreigners. According to the opinion poll, the majority of Japanese people has opportunities to see or socialize with foreigners in their daily life (Figure IV-15). When asked whether they thought the number of foreigners in Japan in their neighbourhood was increasing, the majority responded affirmatively (Figure IV-16),

reflecting the fact that the presence of foreign residents is becoming more and more prevalent in cities across Japan and visible to Japanese residents.

Figure IV-15: Daily Contact with Foreigners
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



Figure IV-16: Increase of Foreigners in the Neighbourhood
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



When asked whether they were interested in the issues related to foreign workers in Japan, the responses were nearly equally split between those who are interested and those who are not (Figure IV-17). At the same time, over 70% of the respondents suggested that the government should continue to improve its administrative responses to cope with the diversified needs of foreigners in Japan (Figure IV-18). This result may suggest that the public considers the issue of coexistence with foreign residents as a long-term policy issue.

Figure IV-17: Interest in Issues Related to Foreigners
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)

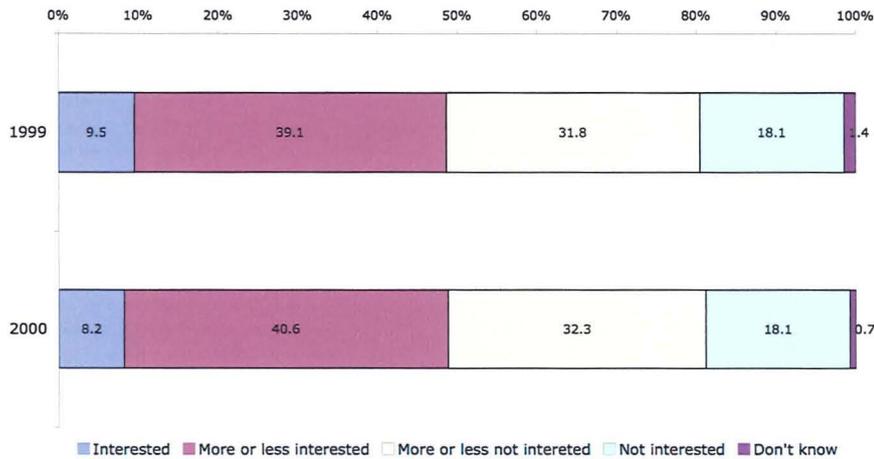
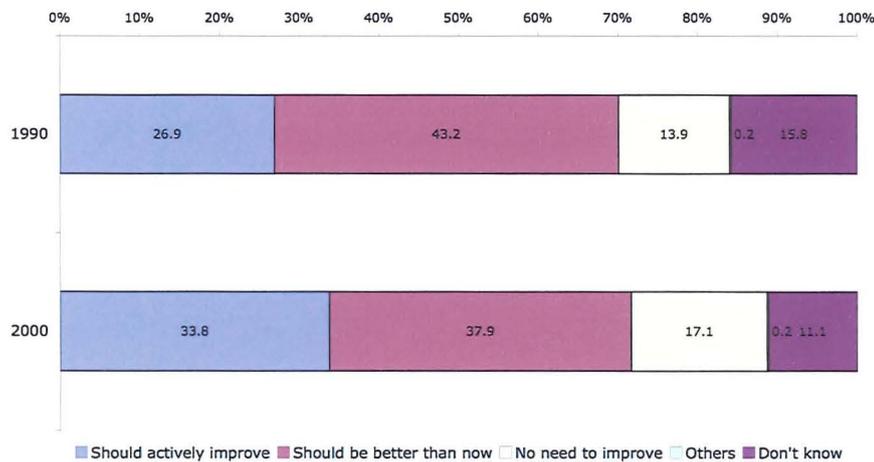


Figure IV-18: Government Responses
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



When asked what they thought about the existence of illegal foreign workers (Figure IV-19), nearly half of the respondents disapproved of such workers while over 40% of the respondents said they disapproved but thought it was ‘unavoidable’. Since the last survey was conducted ten years ago, the number of those who disapproved of illegal workers increased and the number of those who said the existence of illegal foreigners was ‘unavoidable’ declined, indicating that the public opinion is moving towards tightening the control over illegal foreigners. This potentially may be seen as part of wider global trends, which were discussed in Chapter II. As for the reasons of disapproval, over 50% said ‘because it was the violation of the Japanese regulations’

and would lead to 'deterioration of public safety and morals'. With regard to those who said that it was 'unavoidable', over 55% of them said 'because these workers had families to support' (Figure IV-20).

Figure IV-19: Opinion about Illegal Foreign Workers
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)

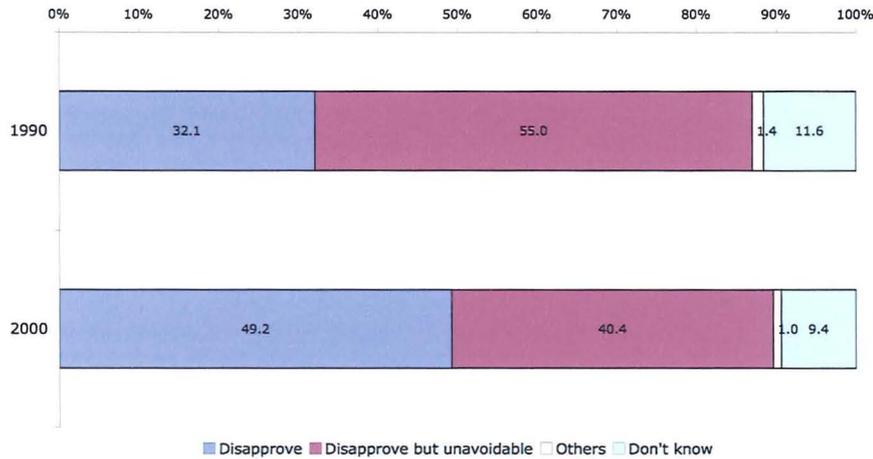
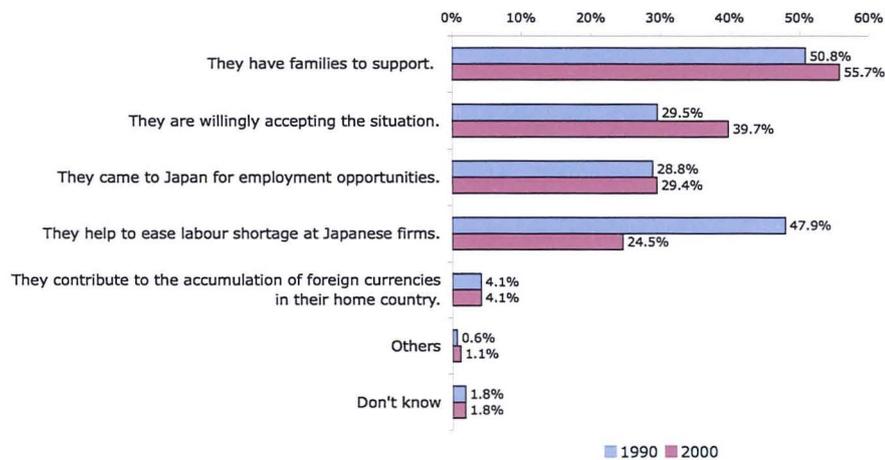


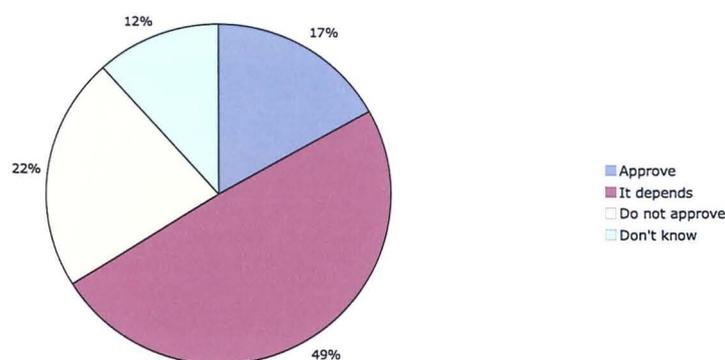
Figure IV-20: 'Unavoidable' Reasons
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



When asked how to deal with illegal foreign workers, the top answer was to tighten the immigration control and deport them in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations. The percentage of those who suggested tightening of the control increased since the last poll on the same subject ten years ago, while that of those who suggested a lax control declined during the same period (Cabinet Office, 2000). This indicates again that the public opinion calls for a tougher immigration control. When asked what

they thought of granting amnesty to illegal foreigners who satisfied certain conditions, nearly half of the respondents answered 'it depends' (Figure IV-21). This survey result indicates that even if illegal foreigners satisfied conditions such as being in the country for a long period and on regular employment, Japanese people may be hesitant to grant amnesty to illegal foreigners. This again suggests a national trend towards favouring tighter immigration control.

Figure IV-21: Amnesty for Illegal Foreign Workers
Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



When asked whether they support the current policy of the central government not to accept 'unskilled foreign labour' (Figure IV-22), over 50% of the respondents said that unskilled foreign labour should be accepted under certain conditions and regulations (Cabinet Office, 2000). This indicates that the majority of Japanese people seem to acknowledge the existence of economic demand in the local labour market to accept foreigners for unskilled work. At the same time, the number of those who opposed the introduction of unskilled labour increased from 14% in 1990 to 21% in 2000. The main reasons for the disapproval of unskilled foreign labour were 'the possible deterioration of public safety', 'the possible increase of unemployment among Japanese workers' and 'the possible disruption of public order in local communities' (Figure IV-23).

Figure IV-22: Acceptance of Unskilled Foreign Labour
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)

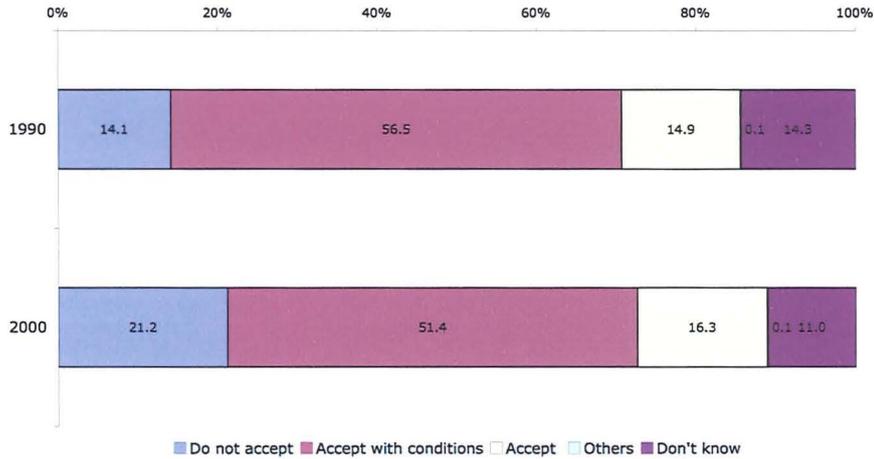
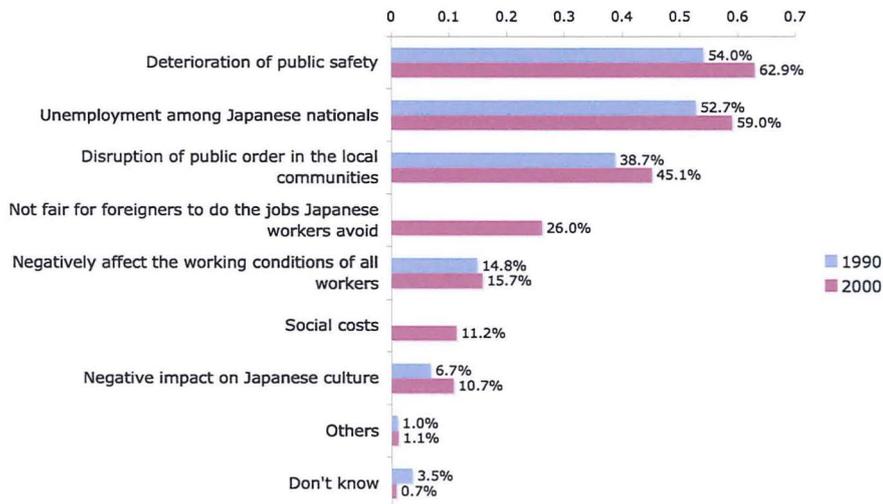
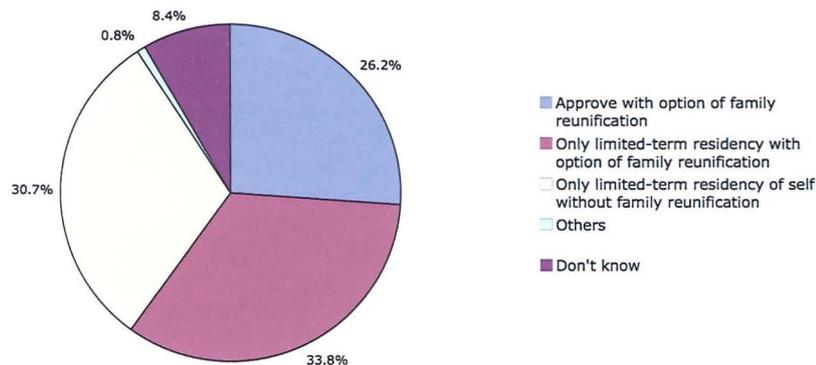


Figure IV-23: Reasons for Not Accepting Unskilled Foreign Labour
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



The Japanese public's responses regarding the permanent settlement of unskilled foreign workers further confirm the preference for a tight immigration policy. Over 60% of the respondents supported the limited-term residency (Figure IV-24). Approximately one-third of the public supported the limited-term residency of foreigners without the option of family reunification.

Figure IV-24: Permanent Settlement of Unskilled Foreign Workers
 Source: Cabinet Office Opinion Poll on Foreign Workers, 2000 (N=2070)



According to the statistics published by the Japanese National Police Agency (NPA) in 2003, the aforementioned Japanese public's fear of the deterioration of public safety and disruption of public order in local communities (Figure IV-23) is not totally unfounded. The NPA's report showed that the correlation between the increase of foreigners and rise of the crime rate was not merely a 'myth' (Wickramasekera, 2002, pp.4-6). The number of crimes committed by foreigners and the number of foreigners arrested have been both steadily increasing in Japan (Figure IV-25). Crimes and arrests both increased in 2002 from the previous year by 25.2% and 10.6% respectively. The number of crimes by foreigners that were categorised as particularly 'brutal' such as murder, banditry, rape and arson has also been increasing (Figure IV-26). Seventy percent of all the 'brutal' crimes committed by foreigners targeted Japanese citizens (Figure IV-27).

Figure IV-25: Crimes Committed by Foreigners in Japan
Source: National Police Agency 2003 report

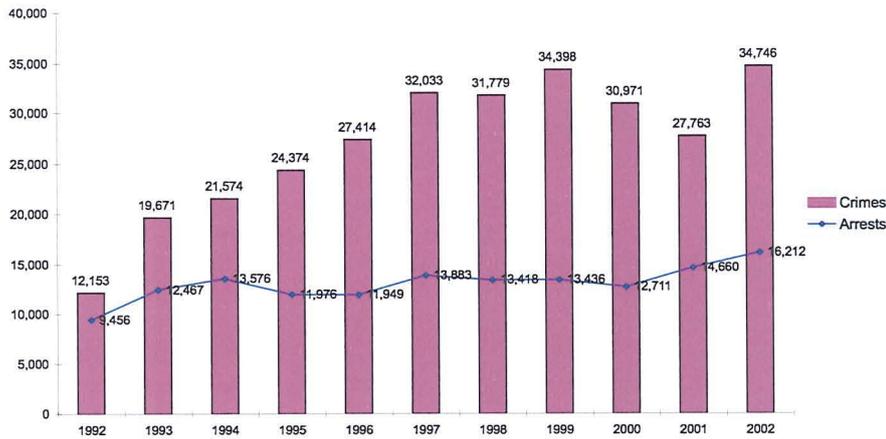


Figure IV-26: Brutal crimes committed by foreigners in Japan
Source: National Police Agency 2003 report

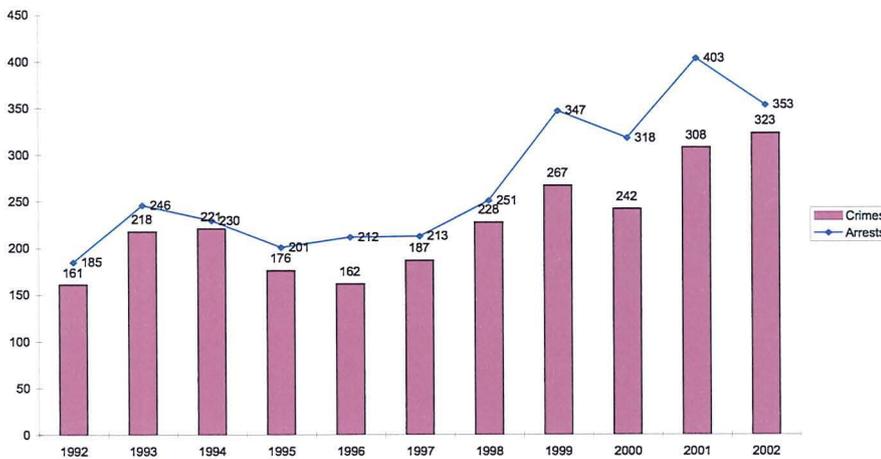
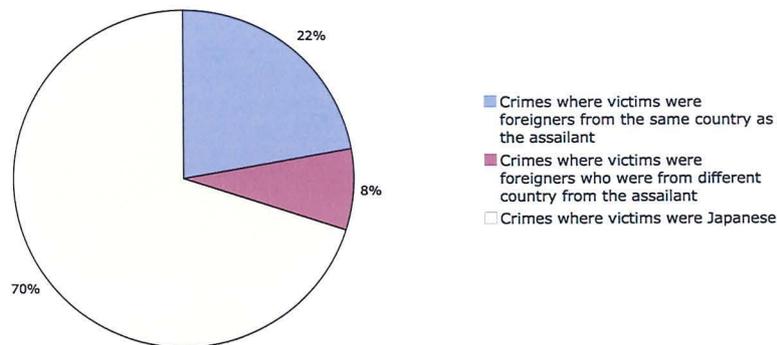


Figure IV-27: Victims of Brutal Crimes Committed by Foreigners in Japan
Source: National Police Agency 2003 report (N=353)



The report of the NPA also points out some significant characteristics of crimes committed by foreigners in Japan. Firstly, crimes are becoming more organized in

nature. Of all the criminal offences of foreigners in 2002, over 70% were committed by a group of more than three people. Nearly half of all the 'brutal' crimes committed by foreigners were also organized crimes. Secondly, the increase in the number of criminal offences by foreigners is a nation-wide phenomenon and not limited to large metropolises. For example, the number of crimes by foreigners in a rural region of Chubu in 2002 was over 24 times higher than that in 1992 (NPA, 2003). Thirdly, the majority of foreigners who committed criminal offences stayed in Japan illegally. In 2002, more than 50% of foreigners who were arrested were staying in Japan illegally (ibid.).

With the background of the increase in 'brutal' crimes committed by foreigners, what do Japanese people think about the legal entitlement and the issue of human rights protection of foreigners? The results of another poll conducted by the Cabinet Office in 2003 provide an interesting set of data concerning the public opinion in Japan about the issue of human rights of foreigners.

According to the 2003 opinion poll, the majority of the public felt that the human rights of foreigners should be protected equally to that of Japanese citizens (Figure IV-28). At the same time, over 20% said that the rights of people without the Japanese nationality could not be equal to those of the citizen (Cabinet Office, 2003). Furthermore, the percentage of the equal rights supporters has declined since the last survey was conducted in 1997 while the percentage of supporters of differentiated rights increased. The larger the size of the city, the more residents supported the equal rights of foreigners (Figure IV-29). The breakdown by age group showed that the older the residents, the less they supported the equal rights of foreigners (Figure IV-30). In view of the statistics in the aforementioned NPA report on crimes by foreigners, one possible explanation may be that older people may feel more vulnerable to crimes and

are more concerned about crime per se, which may potentially lead to their hesitant attitudes toward foreigners.

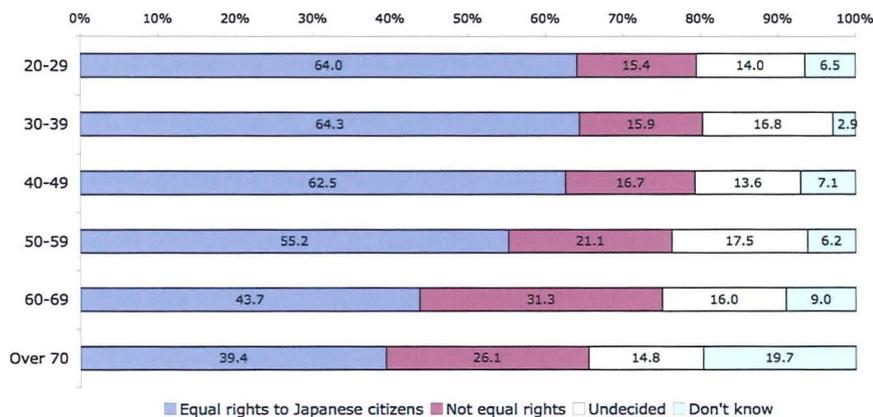
Figure IV-28: Human Rights of Foreigners
 Source: Cabinet Office opinion poll regarding the protection of human rights, February 2003 (N=2059)



Figure IV-29: Human Rights of Foreigners - By City Size
 Source: Cabinet Office opinion poll regarding the protection of human rights, February 2003 (N=2059)



Figure IV-30: Human Rights of Foreigners - By Age Group
 Source: Cabinet Office opinion poll regarding the protection of human rights,
 February 2003 (N=2059)



The results of the 2003 opinion poll showed that more than half of the public considered the inequality in treatments of foreigners inevitable (Figure IV-31). They acknowledged cultural differences and unfamiliarity with the local customs as contributing factors to such inequality. One interesting thing is that more and more people are feeling uncertain about this issue of inequality between foreigners and Japanese. The percentage of ‘I don’t know’ responses on this issue has doubled for the past ten years. The larger the size of the city, the more residents opposed to the inequality between foreigners and Japanese (Figure IV-32). At the same time, the percentage of people who thought the inequality was ‘inevitable’ did not differ very much among cities of different sizes. Larger cities had simply less people who were undecided about the issue. The breakdown by age group showed that generally younger generation of people felt more strongly against the injustice of the nationality-based inequality (Figure IV-33). Older respondents were much more uncertain about what to think about the issue.

Figure IV-31: Inequality between Foreigners and Japanese
 Source: Cabinet Office opinion poll regarding the protection of human rights,
 February 2003 (N=2059)

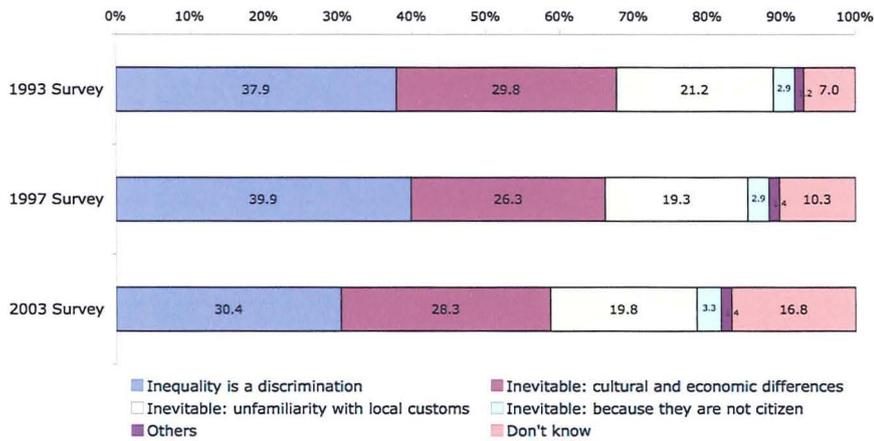


Figure IV-32: Inequality between Foreigners and Japanese - By City Size
 Source: Cabinet Office opinion poll regarding the protection of human rights,
 February 2003 (N=2059)

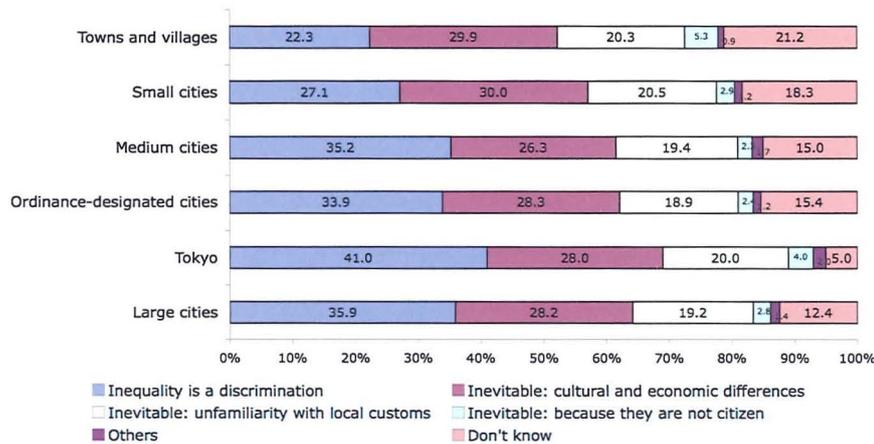
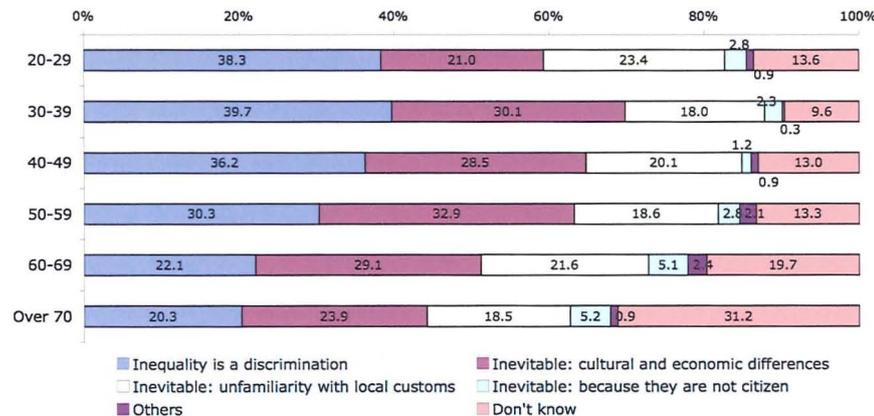


Figure IV-33: Inequality between Foreigners and Japanese - By Age Group
 Source: Cabinet Office opinion poll regarding the protection of human rights,
 February 2003 (N=2059)



As I outlined elsewhere in this chapter, the attainment of greater rights to political participation has been one of the main concerns of old-comer foreigners. According to the opinion poll conducted in 2000 by the Asahi Shimbun – one of the nation’s most respected newspapers – the Japanese public was almost equally divided into three groups on the issue of old-comers’ participation in local elections. The first group felt that the government should allow old-comers only the right to vote in local elections. The second group felt that old-comers should not have any electoral rights in local elections. The third group supported the rights of old-comers to run in local elections as well as to vote. It shows that building national consensus on this issue may not be an easy task.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This chapter highlighted positive rights and benefits that were entitled to foreigners in Japan and the importance of the local government’s role in implementing these rights. The chapter also illustrated that the Japanese constitution and legislation constituted a national legal framework that generally affirmed the universal human rights of all people. Positive developments at the local level to give foreigners a voice were also examined. In concluding, the following paragraphs highlight ambivalent characteristics of the legislative framework and related policies for immigration control in Japan.

Legal Categorization and Its Implications

The first ambivalence concerning the institutional framework in Japan for the administration of rights and benefits of foreigners is related to the legislation. The official position of the central government is not to accept unskilled foreign labour. However, in practice foreigners are coming to Japan through ‘side doors’ (Mori, 1997, p.106 and p189; Kajita, 1994, pp.52-53). They legally engage in unskilled work, using

the statuses of residence set out by the current Immigration Control Act that are essentially not intended for entrants with employment purposes. Many Asian women who work as waitresses in service industry also enter Japan with the resident status of 'entertainer', which was a category originally designed for professionals in entertainment business such as film, music and theatrical performance (Kajita, 2002, p.30).

As far as the immigration system and policies are concerned, the presence of unskilled foreign workers in Japan today is largely a product of an 'unexpected' policy implications. Given the increasing presence of foreign migrants, the important question for the Japanese government to consider is whether it is adequate to continue to address the issue of unskilled foreign labour as an unexpected policy implication. Foreigners who engage in unskilled work have come to form an important part of work force in industries such as manufacturing and services. As the absorption of unskilled foreign workers in the Japanese economy progresses, the need for the central government to address the issue of unskilled foreign labour as a subject of mainstream policies also increases. As recommendations of various commissions and economic organizations suggest, it is no longer appropriate or realistic to deal with the issue of unskilled foreign labour through unsystematic policy responses.

Foreign workers who engage in unskilled labour in Japan usually possess legal statuses that are not designed for any specific employment activities. This makes it difficult to ensure the protection of their rights as 'workers'. Even if it was an unexpected result of the immigration law, the existence of foreign workers who engage in unskilled labour is now reality and the protection of their rights requires a proper policy response.

Positive Rights and Benefits and the Importance of the Local-Government

The second ambivalence concerns the responsibility for the administration of rights and benefits of foreign residents. Although the overall framework for the protection of the rights of foreigners in Japan is set out by national legislation, the administration of rights and benefits of foreigners is largely under the purview of employers and local authorities.

Since the Japanese Constitution does not provide separate regulations regarding foreigners' rights, it is generally understood that foreigners' rights are protected with respect to the notion of universal human rights embodied in the national Constitution (Kondo, 2000, p.4). There are also many protective legal instruments in Japan that apply to foreign residents, including those related to social benefits such as health insurance and workers' accident compensation. There are little known services available to illegal foreigners such as the human-rights protection counselling services offered by the Legal Affairs Bureau. The status on the protection of the rights of foreign residents can be improved through strengthening the application of such legal instruments, without the adoption of new legislation. Since the implementation of the application of existing legal instruments depends largely on the discretion of the employers of foreign workers and the local governments of their host communities, close collaboration between business community and local governments on this issue is critical.

The potential of local governments as a catalyst to promote further empowerment of foreign residents is particularly prominent concerning the issue of rights to political participation. The Japanese Constitution stipulates the philosophy of respect for fundamental human rights. It advocates the rights of individuals to maintain the minimum standards of 'wholesome and cultured living' regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, social status or family origin. Although the rights to vote and to be

elected is considered applicable only to Japanese nationals under the Constitution, the Supreme Court has indicated that the Constitution does not prohibit local authorities to implement measures to enable political participation of foreign residents.

Progressive and practical approaches adopted by local governments have been pushing forward debate at the national level on the rights and benefits of foreigners. The Hamamatsu Declaration is one such example. Local governments have accumulated knowledge of the needs and demands of foreigners through their daily work. They also face the task of coming up with practical solutions in a timely manner. While the central government has the administrative responsibility for standard setting for overall national immigration control, local governments have been urging the central government to make coherent policies concerning foreign residents that allow flexibility for local governments to reflect special situations of their local communities in their policy implementation (Miyajima, 2003, p.33).

In the current political environment, the adoption of a national policy that acknowledges unskilled labour as an official work permit category is not probable in the near future. Meanwhile, local governments continue to face the challenge of carrying out the administrative responsibility to provide services to its residents, regardless of their nationality, visa status or legality. Local governments are increasingly in need of creative policy implementation to achieve truly inclusive local governance. There is also an increasing recognition that local governments need to coordinate closely with the private and non-governmental sector organizations for the delivery of social services. These issues are discussed further in subsequent chapters in the context of my own case study.

Old-Comers vs. Newcomers Dilemma

The third ambivalence concerning rights and benefits of foreigners in Japan relates to the oldcomer-newcomer dichotomy. One of the fundamental dilemmas that the Japanese government faces in developing policies concerning foreigners in Japan is the existence of two totally different foreign populations. The historical and the occupational backgrounds of old-comers in Japan are drastically different from those of newcomer foreigners (Chapter III). Most of the civil rights movements by old-comers are motivated by the fact that they see the empowerment of old-comer foreign residents as part of the post-war compensation responsibility of the Japanese government for its colonial past.

Many old-comers feel that their demands should be considered separately from the demands from the newcomer foreigners, who have wilfully come to work in Japan. As it is difficult to develop policies that accommodate the needs of both old-comers and newcomers simultaneously, legislation and policies both at the central and local levels may need to recognise the difference in nature of the rights and the benefits to be granted to old-comers and newcomers. It means that in the Japanese context, there may be a need to develop two different sets of policies concerning foreign residents and their rights.

Uncertainty Expressed in Japanese Public Opinion

The fourth ambivalence concerning rights and benefits of foreigners in Japan relates to the dilemma of the country about how to deal with two conflicting economic facts. On the one hand, policy makers, the business community and the public generally agree that foreign workers are structurally being integrated as an essential part of the Japanese labour market (Chapter III). Several government-supported commissions and

major business organizations such as the Japan Business Federation have been recommending the official introduction of unskilled foreign labour.

On the other hand, because of the prolonged stagnation of the domestic economy, any policy that implies the introduction of unskilled foreign labour needs to be sensitive to the already worsening employment opportunities for Japanese workers. Labour unions have been consistently against such official introduction and the opinion of the public is generally against such measures (Kajita, 2002, p.20). Considering the fact that the central government of Japan acknowledged formally the need to build a national consensus on the issue of the acceptance of unskilled labour as early as 1992 (Appleyard and Stahl, 1993, p.215), the continuing absence of national consensus may suggest the lack of concerted efforts by various Ministries of the central government to promote national debate on the issue.

The number of foreigners in Japan has been steadily increasing. Statistics suggest that foreigners with school-age dependents tend to stay in Japan longer than before and many foreign students consider a long-term residency in Japan for employment reasons after completing their study. Accordingly, more and more Japanese people live in communities where they are likely to meet and socialize with foreign residents.

According to public opinion polls, the majority of the Japanese public acknowledges that the issue of coexistence with foreign residents is a long-term policy issue. The public also supports the protection of human rights of foreigners in principle. Such progressive public opinions largely resulted from the long-standing empowerment movements vigorously pursued by old-comer foreigners. In fact, opinion poll results suggest that the Japanese public is largely undecided about the future of newcomer foreigners in Japan. Although they accept the existence of newcomer foreigners as part

of reality, a large number of the Japanese public is either indifferent to or unsure about what to think of issues related to accepting more newcomer foreigners in the country.

Because of prolonged stagnation of the national economy and the increase in serious crimes committed by foreigners, the Japanese public is showing signs of opting for tighter immigration control. At the same time, the Japanese public seems increasingly uncertain about what to think of the issues related to cohabitation with newcomer foreigners. This uncertainty expressed in Japanese public opinion makes my research very timely. It would seem that public opinion could go either way. My research aims to unpack the meanings behind these ambiguities and highlight potential areas for strengthening positive outcomes.

CHAPTER V

JAPANESE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM AND FOREIGN RESIDENTS

In Chapter III, I examined the characteristics of migrant foreigners and argued that the changes that occurred in the Japanese labour market and how they led to the introduction of foreign workers were a reflection of the structural changes in the global economy. The central government and the business community of Japan have recognized the need to create an environment favourable to increasing newcomer foreigners in the country with the background of an ageing and contracting national population. The development of effective policies for the successful cohabitation with migrant foreigners is not a choice but a critical structural necessity for the Japanese government. I also illustrated (Chapter III) that newcomer foreigners are widely dispersed geographically and are employed mainly by small and medium-size companies in their host communities that often form the bottom layers of industry.

In Chapter IV, I have examined the legal framework, the political environment and the public opinion surrounding foreigners in Japan and highlighted the ambivalence that characterized them. I have argued that although the overall framework for the protection of rights of foreigners is set out by the Constitution and other national legislation, the administration of rights and benefits of foreigners in Japan is largely under the purview of employers and local authorities. The issue of rights to political participation of foreigners suggests the potential of local governments as an important catalyst to promote further empowerment of resident foreigners in Japan. I have illustrated (Chapter IV) that many local governments have already started implementing progressive and practical measures to reflect views of foreign residents in the governance of their local communities.

As a host of foreign residents, the local government in Japan faces the need to reconcile the gap between the central government's policy not to accept unskilled labour and the reality that a large number of newcomer foreigners are entering and residing in its administrative districts as unskilled workers. With the background of no clear national consensus on the issue of further introduction of newcomer foreigners (Chapter IV), the local government faces the challenge of envisaging participatory approaches that take into account foreign resident populations, which are characterized by a dichotomy of two groups that possess considerably different characteristics and needs – old-comers and newcomers.

In view of the critical role that the local government plays in the administration of rights and benefits of foreign residents in Japan, understanding how the Japanese local government system works is of great importance to my research. The local government system in Japan is at an important juncture. The central government's current reform of the local government system has both positive and negative implications. Particularly, I learned from findings in my case study how critically important the issues surrounding the central government's policy on municipality merger was to residents of small local municipalities. Findings of my fieldwork are discussed in detail in later chapters.

The key themes I explore in this chapter are the changing relationships between the central and local governments in Japan over time and the impact of globalization on the dynamics of such relationships. On the one hand, changes in the global economy have prompted the structural reform initiative by the central government that resulted in forcible municipality mergers. On the other hand, globalization also led to the increase in the presence of newcomer foreigners in the country and caused increasing interests in internationalization at the local level. This chapter outlines that these different outcomes of the impact of globalization further interact and add to the complexity of

new challenges that local governments in Japan face today. The structure of this chapter includes discussions of the historical context and institutional mechanisms of the Japanese local government system as well as the impact of globalization on the changing relationships between central and local governments.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Japan today is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system of government. Although the Japanese imperial family is the world's oldest monarchy with some 1,500 years of history, it did not always have tightly centralized power over the country. For example, the local government system in Japan during the Edo Shogunate Era (Tokugawa Shogunate Period: 1603-1867) and several periods that preceded it (15th-16th centuries) was a federal system. Each 'Han' (domain managed by a feudal lord) was an autonomous political and economic entity. It even had the power to issue its own currency (Hashimoto, 1998, Vol.3, p.103). The culture of independent local government flourished especially during the Edo and the Period of Warring States (1467-1603) Eras. Each Han tightly guarded its own border. It mobilized its own human and natural resources, promoted unique indigenous industries and maintained its own budget. The federal system in Japan lasted approximately for 700 years until the end of the Edo Era (Kawai, 1997).

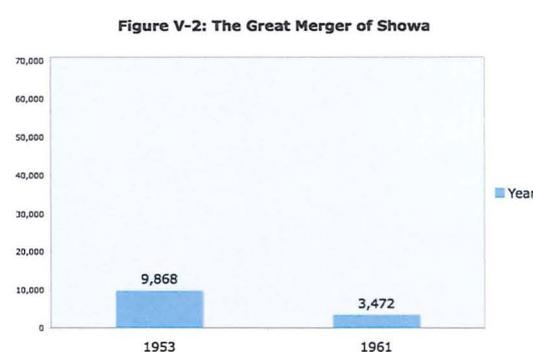
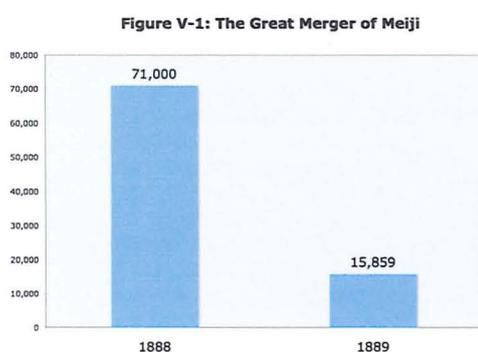
With the presence of powerful feudal lords, political power was relatively dispersed. According to Fukuyama (1995), societies that have not experienced a prolonged period of tightly centralized state power are believed more likely to develop the healthy endowment of social capital (Chapter II). To this effect, Japan was not an exception. As examined in a later section of this chapter in more detail, Japan has cultivated a wealth of social capital in the form of neighbourhood community associations.

It was the Meiji (the reign of the Emperor Mutsuhito: 1868-1912) government that implemented first steps to develop a modern local government system in Japan. The Meiji government took particular note of rural villages that had been formed over many centuries as a societal unit and used them as the official administrative unit for the local government system (Local Government System Research Council, 2003b). There were over 71,000 such villages in Japan in 1888 (Sasaki, 2002, p.28). The Meiji government later implemented policies to promote nation-wide municipality mergers to standardize the size of local municipalities to the population level of between 300 and 500 (Sasaki, 2002, pp.27-28). As a result, the number of villages decreased to 15,859 in 1889 (Sasaki, 2002; Hobo, 2002, p.29). This reform is referred to as the Great Merger of the Meiji Era (Figure V-1).

When the Meiji central government came into power, it regarded everything that was inherited from the Edo government as 'backwards', including the Han-based federal local government system (Hashimoto, 1998, Vol.3, p.104). The elites in the Meiji central government decided that only they could understand and implement the modernization of Japan. They considered lords who governed Han as too backwards to be eligible for the local governance. The Meiji central government established a new local government system where the governor of each local municipality was chosen by and sent from the central government. In an effort to modernize the country, the Meiji government in reality laid the foundation of the powerful centralization of administrative power.

After the end of the Second World War, the second attempt by the central government to decrease the number of municipalities started. The Showa (the reign of the Emperor Hirohito 1926-1989) central government launched a policy in the mid 1950s to implement a large number of local municipality mergers in Japan. This is referred to as the Great Merger of the Showa Era (Figure V-2). The merger was part of

the Showa government's effort to keep a rein on rural communities after the collapse of the landlord system at the end of the WWII (Hobo, 2002, p.35). The government published a master plan for municipality mergers in October 1953 and stated that the target of the merger policy was the small-size municipality. The central government's 1953 plan forced municipalities with a population of 8,000 or less to be merged. As a result of the Great Merger of the Showa Era, the number of the municipalities dropped to 3,472 in 1961 from 9,868 in 1953 (Sasaki, 2002, p.28).



Not only were these small municipalities forced to merge, they were also left stranded without any financial support to build new infrastructures. Although the central government estimated the cost of supporting merged Towns and Villages between 1953 and 1955 to be around 30 billion Yen, the actual financial support provided by the central government to merged municipalities was 3.6 billion Yen (Hobo, 2002b, p.37).

With the background of globalization, the central government of Japan recently launched yet another initiative to promote a large number of municipality mergers. This initiative has many negative implications to local governments and their residents, which are discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter.

MECHANISMS OF JAPANESE MUNICIPALITIES

Local Government System

The word 'Jichitai' is a key term used often in discussion of the local government system in Japan. It literally means an 'autonomous body' and can refer to a local municipality, community or municipal government. The current system of local government in Japan consists of two tiers of Jichitai (Figure V-3). So-called To-Dou-Fu-Ken or Prefectures make up the upper tier. The lower tier consists of so-called Kiso-Jichitai or Basic Municipalities. Each Prefecture consists of a group of neighbouring Basic Municipalities such as City (Shi), Town (Machi or Chou) and Village (Mura or Son). In the particular context of Japan, legislative categories such as City and Village are largely population-based. Therefore, a City in Japan may not be highly urbanized and can be a community in a rural area. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications (2005), there were 47 Prefectures and 3,191 Basic Municipalities in Japan as of 2003. As of 2002, Basic Municipalities with the population of less than 100,000 persons made up over 90% of the entire Japan by number and 40% by population (Keizai Doyukai, 2002a, p.4). According to the figures obtained through the national census in 2000, Basic Municipalities with the population of less than 50,000 accounted for 86% of the total by number and 27% by population.

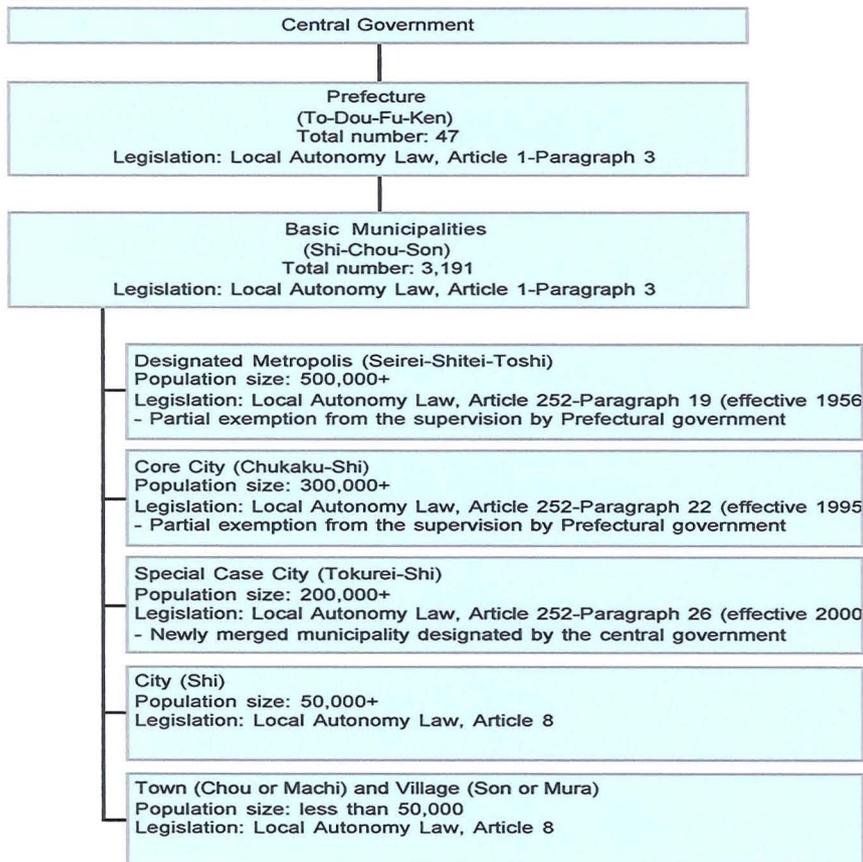
It is important to note that regardless of the difference in their population size, each Basic Municipality in Japan has the following common intrinsic characteristics:

- It has its own residents who form neighbourhood communities.
- It has a city council as its decision-making body and an administrative body represented by the head of the municipality.
- It has authority over its own financial and administrative operations.

- It has authority to enact ordinances that are of direct interest to the livelihood of its residents.
- It has autonomy for the governance of its administrative areas.

Figure V-3: Japanese Local Government System

Source: Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, "Japan Statistical Year Book 2005



Organisms of Municipalities: Community and Neighbourhood Organizations

Even with the introduction of a more centralized form of local government system in the late 1800s, the tradition of cultivating social networks at the local level in Japan has survived. As mentioned briefly in an earlier section of this chapter, neighbourhood associations already existed several hundreds years ago in each village during the feudal eras. Resident organizations were formed in the Meiji and the subsequent Taisho (the reign of the Emperor Yoshihito: 1912-1926) Eras to implement issue-specific policy responses of the local government.

The system of the 'Chonaikai' or neighbourhood associations and the 'Jichikai' or resident's associations as formal administrative mechanisms in Japan came into existence around 1940. They served as mutual aid societies during the Second World War (Mori, 2001). Inclusiveness has been one of the most important principles of these associations (Numao, 2002). Residents are automatically granted the membership of the local association in Japan as soon as they take up the residency in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood and resident's associations still actively exist today in most municipalities. According to the research conducted by the Nihon Toshi Centre (Japan Centre for Cities), out of 526 Basic Municipalities surveyed, there was only one Municipality that did not have any neighbourhood or resident's associations (Nihon Toshi Centre, 2001).

The majority of neighbourhood and resident's associations in Japan represents 200 households or less (Numao, 2002) and often functions as an autonomous body for neighbourhood management. Smaller Municipalities generally host stronger networks of neighbourhood and resident's associations. Neighbourhood and resident's associations in Japan carry out their responsibility as a formal part of the local government system through activities such as circulation of government notices and management of more practical communal issues such as public sanitation, streetlights and traffic safety. In many Basic Municipalities, they also function as organizing units for the management of volunteer fire fighters. In small cities that cannot afford to keep many full-time professional fire fighters on their payroll, these volunteer fire fighters also carry out community-based duties such as fire and crime prevention patrols in the evening, crisis management in the event of emergencies and restoration activities after natural and man-made disasters.

Neighbourhood and resident's associations also function as informal social networks of local residents. They organize socializing activities for their communities

such as festivals and athletic events. Neighbouring associations often work jointly to observe religious events as parishioners of local shrines and temples. Many of them also provide volunteer guards to watch over small children on their commute to and from school.

In short, these associations play key roles in each Basic Municipality. Neighbourhood and resident's associations consist of an accumulation of social resources within communities that include norms of reciprocity, social trust, cooperation and networks of civic engagement. They are valuable social capital (Chapter II) that have firmly enrooted in the Japanese Basic Municipality. In fact no Basic Municipality can realistically govern effectively without the cooperation of neighbourhood and resident's associations (Numao, 2002). According to the Nihon Toshi Centre, 90% of the Basic Municipalities and the Prefectures surveyed in 2000 recognised communities or neighbourhoods as a critical unit for local governance (Nihon Toshi Centre, 2001). With their intrinsic principle of inclusiveness, neighbourhood and resident's associations present an enormous potential for promoting active participation of both Japanese and foreign residents at the community level in local governance.

Guiding Principle of Municipalities: Statutory Strategic Planning

Social capital (Chapter II) networks such as the Chonaikai and the Jichikai function as implementation mechanisms of the administration of the local government in Japan. In terms of the guiding principle for decision and policy-making, the tool of the Japanese local government is a document called 'basic strategy'. An amendment made in 1969 to the Local Autonomy Law required the Basic Municipality to develop a "basic strategy" to be adopted by its council for "comprehensive and systematic administrative

management” (Article 2- Paragraph 4 of the Local Autonomy Law; Oomori, 2002).

Prefectures are not legally required to develop such strategies.

Accordingly, all Basic Municipalities in Japan today have adopted the management system based on their own basic strategies. After the adoption of a basic management strategy by the Council, the local government develops (i) a master plan that includes strategic measures and policies, (ii) a plan of action that includes specific administrative work and projects, and (iii) a budget. The plan of action is usually revised every 3 years and the budget is developed annually.

The merit of management based on the basic strategy is that it provides the Basic Municipality an opportunity to identify key long-term administrative objectives and organize relevant measures and policies accordingly. The design process of the statutory ‘basic strategy’ also provides residents an opportunity to participate in developing important guidelines for managing the local administrative district. It also provides an opportunity for the local government staff to exchange views with residents and learn about the needs of the communities they serve. The degree of the flexibility and the creativity demonstrated in the design process of the statutory basic strategy serves as an indicator for the strength of the autonomy of the Basic Municipality (Oomori, 2002).

In relation to the development of the statutory basic management strategy, the phrases such as Machi (town)-zukuri and Chiiki (neighbourhood or region) -zukuri are often used in Japan. ‘Zukuri’ comes from a Japanese verb ‘Tsukuru’, which means to build or create. These phrases represent an important concept concerning local governance in Japan. The concept is twofold (Hobo, 2002a). The first concerns the philosophical definition. Phrases such as Machi-zukuri and Chiiki-zukuri signify that residents manage locally both natural and social resources for the improvement of the

quality of their lives. It has been argued that this holistic approach contrasts with the anthropocentrism that often characterises Western civilization (Sakakibara, 1995).

The second element of city- and neighbourhood-building in Japan concerns the practical arrangements to be made for the realization of the abovementioned philosophy. They include the systematic identification of the relevant goals, objectives and policies. The concept represented in Machi-zukuri implies that the participation of all the parties involved is necessary for its implementation. The spirit of Machi-zukuri is an important element in the management of the Basic Municipality based on the statutory strategy.

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION: INTERNATIONALIZATION AND FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN

In the preceding sections, I discussed the historical background and institutional mechanisms of the local government in Japan. As Chapters III and IV outlined, changes in the global economy brought increasing flows of newcomer migrants to Japan and consequently presented many policy challenges to local governments. This section looks at the impact of globalization in terms of increasing interest in internationalization at the local and national levels in Japan that suggest positive implications.

With the rise of the number of newcomer foreigners in Japan in 1980s (Chapters III and IV; OECD, 2001a, p.68 & pp.197-201), 'internationalization' became a popular word both in media and formal policy documents. The number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have so-called an 'international scope' also increased. These organizations can be categorised into the following five groups (Yoshida, 1996, p.89) in terms of the causes they promote:

- (i) General education and awareness-raising

- (ii) Grassroots exchange between Japanese citizens and foreigners in Japan
- (iii) Human rights protection of the marginalized
- (iv) Cultural exchange between foreign countries and Japan
- (v) Regional alliance and collaboration with neighbouring Asian countries
through international development assistance

Many organizations from each of these five categories are involved in activities for the promotion of mutual understanding and successful cohabitation at the local level among Japanese and foreign residents. The majority of core members of such organizations are middle-aged Japanese housewives in their 40s and 50s (ibid., p.91). This is a reflection of the fact that 'international exchange' is no longer limited to a small group of people in special circumstances such as exchange programmes among the youth and jet-setting business executives. It can happen as resident-to-resident communication at the grassroots level. This also suggests that even though this particular group of Japanese women are generally considered as economically second-class temporary workers (Chapter III), they play a significant role in the maintenance and the service provision of the non-governmental sector in Japan.

On the basis of a survey conducted in 1991, Yoshida (1996) created a diagram concerning the concept of 'internationalization (Kokusaika)' in the specific context of Japan (Appendix: Diagram V-1). When asked what 'internationalization' meant to them, the top three answers of the Japanese people were (i) experiencing, understanding, accepting and cohabitating with different cultures, (ii) respect of human rights and (iii) relationship and communication among individual residents at the grassroots level. This suggests that many Japanese people conceptually link the issue of cohabitation of different cultures with the need to develop meaningful social networks among residents at the local community level. Yoshida's diagram suggests generally positive reactions from the local level towards the changes brought by globalization.

'Internationalization' in the Japanese context generally includes two aspects: one is external and the other is internal (Kajita, 2001). Addressing the issue of 'external internationalization' of Japan means to discuss the role of Japan in the global community. It has trans-national and global characteristics. Activities such as sister-city agreements, international students exchange programmes, establishment of international relations departments at universities, official development assistance (ODA) projects and the deployment of troops for reconstruction assistance in countries devastated by natural or man-made disasters fall into this category of internationalization.

The issue of 'internal internationalization' is the issue of ensuring the equality of all people regardless of their race, ethnicity and nationality in the governance of the country (Kajita, 2001, pp.2-3; Hiraishi, 1996, pp.239-240). 'Internal internationalization' in Japan usually implies activities such as long-standing efforts for the elimination of prejudice and discrimination against old-comer foreigners and more recent initiatives for the cohabitation with an increasing number of newcomer foreigners. 'Internal internationalization' at the municipality level can be seen in how local governments recruit their staff. As part of their effort to empower foreign residents, many municipalities abolished the nationality clause from the list of requirements for local civil service applicants. Approximately 30% of all the municipalities in Japan eliminated the nationality clause by the mid 1990s (Suzuki, 1997, p.315).

The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR) is an example of an organization involved in 'external internationalization'. The CLAIR is a non-profit organization established in July 1988. With its headquarters in Tokyo, the CLAIR has a network of domestic branch offices in each Prefecture and designated Cities in Japan.

The CLAIR implements the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme through which foreigners are recruited to work at local public bodies across the country as coordinator for international exchange programmes and assistant language teachers. The CLAIR also promotes the international affiliation exchange such as sister city ties of local governments by providing information to interested parties and helping to introduce prospective exchange partners. Furthermore, the Council supports the international cooperation activities of local governments such as training of foreign local government officials and dispatching Japanese local government officials overseas as experts in general administration, agriculture and environmental protection.

The Japan Intercultural Academy of Municipalities (JIAM) is an example of an 'internal internationalization' organization. The JIAM started as a training institute in April 1993 for the purpose of improving the efficiency of local administrations. It provides training programmes for the staff of City, Town and Village governments to address international issues in their work. The JIAM's curriculum is designed to improve intercultural understanding and capabilities of the participants.

Activities under the 'external internationalization' category have been promoted mainly by the central government as a part of its general strategy to cope with the inevitable tide of globalization (Kajita, 2001, p.3). In contrast, activities under the 'internal internationalization' category have been developed and implemented at the local and community levels. 'External internationalization' is largely controlled and implemented by the central government. This often necessitates follow-up activities for the local government (Hiraishi, 1996; Kajita, 2001). As members of societies become increasingly heterogeneous, addressing the issue of 'internal internationalization' including successful multi-cultural cohabitation at the community level is an increasingly important task for the Japanese local government in its strategic policy planning.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, POLICIES AND FOREIGN RESIDENTS

One of the immediate challenges of 'internal internationalization' of the local government is its responsibility for immigration control. The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act and the Alien Registration Law are part of the national legislation executed by the central government (Chapter IV). On the other hand, the actual alien registration system is an administrative function delegated to local governments by the central government. Accordingly, the local government constitutes an important part of the immigration control. Once foreigners arrive at a certain City and start living there, the local government also has the responsibility to provide services to these foreigners as residents, protect their rights and promote their participation in community development initiatives. As a result, the local government faces a difficult challenge of comprehensively addressing the issues of control, protection and participation of foreign residents in its policy making.

When the increase in the number of newcomer foreigners in Japan became especially notable in the 1980s (Chapter III), many local governments faced the challenge of developing policies to meet the specific needs of newcomer foreigners. Such needs included the provision of multi-lingual information distribution, the planning of cultural exchange events within the local communities, the posting of multi-lingual signage in public places and the establishment within the local government of a section responsible for international affairs (Chapters III and IV; Watado, 1996, p.23). These measures were largely designed on the assumption that newcomer foreigners were temporary or short-term visitors (Watado, 1996, p.23). Many local governments lacked the policy development capacity for long-term hosting of newcomer foreigners, except perhaps for a few regions such as the Kansai that had

many years of experience in hosting a large old-comer community (Chapters III and IV).

In spite of the economic recession started in the 1990s, the number of foreigners in Japan has been steadily increasing (Chapter III). The local government in Japan faces the inevitable challenge of developing a comprehensive set of policies that addresses the special situations and needs of foreigners in their local communities. Many newcomer foreigners have now established themselves as medium to long-term residents in their host communities and policies of the local government need to reflect that reality. More and more local governments in Japan have started to recognise the issues of successful cohabitation with newcomer foreigners as a key component in their overall long-term strategy (Watado, 1996, pp.24-25).

As Chapter IV outlined, the local government has the statutory responsibility over its administrative district to promote the basic human rights and inclusive social participation of its residents regardless of their nationality, race and ethnicity. With the background of increasing newcomer foreigners in Japan, many Basic Municipalities in Japan face the situation where residents in their administrative areas are not necessarily all Japanese citizens. Accordingly, the Japanese local government faces the challenge of developing flexible policies that take into consideration the possibility of 'resident' beyond the concept of 'citizen' (Chapter II; Hiraishi, 1996, pp.240-241).

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION: STRUCTURAL REFORM AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

As outlined earlier in this chapter, the central government of Japan has executed two Great Mergers under the label of 'modernization' in its effort to strengthen the centralization of administrative power. The central government is currently promoting the third major municipality merger policy again as part of the overall structural

reform. This policy is referred to as the Great Merger of the Heisei Era. Although the central government enforces the merger policy in the name of ‘enhanced local autonomy’, many argue that the current policy does not reflect the wishes of the residents of the Basic Municipality (Hobo, 2002b; Mitsuhashi, 2002; Murakami, 2002).

In fact it can be argued that the currently reform policy is a by-product of the aforementioned ‘external internationalization’ initiatives of the central government. The government’s effort to establish Japan as an important global figure consequentially necessitated the shift of financial resources from domestic realms to international ones. It seems hardly a coincidence that the central government launched a major local government system reform that allowed the reduction in the central public finance without losing the central control of administrative power (Hobo, 2002; Mitsuhashi, 2002). In contrast to the aforementioned increasing interests in internationalization that suggested some positive implications, the implementation of the current reform of the local government system in Japan seems to suggest more negative consequences. The reform of the local government system in Japan has been a complex process. This section examines the implementation of the reform policy and its impact on Basic Municipalities. More specifics of the impact of the reform in the context of a small Basic Municipality are examined in subsequent chapters that discuss findings of my case study.

The Central Government’s Reason for the Reform

A strong motive for the central government’s vigorous promotion of municipality mergers can be found in the changes in the economic and the political environments in Japan. The leading Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) that has dominated the Japanese politics had long enjoyed stable support from the rural farming communities. When the economy was steadily growing, the LDP-run central government favoured its

constituencies by increasing public spending in the form of budget allocations for local public works in rural areas. Because of the legal limitation in their taxation authority, local governments in rural areas became increasingly dependent on the financial support from the central government. However, the economic recession that started in 1990s meant the decline in public spending as well as local allocation. Moreover, in the light of the political pressure from the United States government, the central government of Japan initiated import liberalization of rice as well as livestock products and fruits. The LDP saw the decline of their constituency base among rural farming communities but could no longer afford to win them back with favourable financial arrangements.

Meanwhile, business communities and politicians based in large metropolises started demanding that the central government should increase its public spending in larger Cities to promote economic recovery. They were joined by some academics that argued that the central government had a policy responsibility to support the gradual reallocation of labour and public expenditure to the central Cities from the rural areas because such movement was the trend in the on-going globalization (Hobo, 2002b, pp.11-12). The frustration of large Cities was reflected on the results of the 1998 election for the House of Councillors when the LDP candidates in Metropolises such as Tokyo, Kanagawa, Aichi and Osaka all lost. This motivated the central government to develop policies to govern rural peripheral Municipalities as part of a broader unit that centred on Designated Metropolises. The municipality merger emerged as a possible 'silver bullet' to solve major problems that the central government was facing: the need to pull out as much funding as possible from rural communities, the need to save the central spending, and the need to streamline the financial and the political chains of command.

The objective of the current structural reform by the central government – of which the reform of the local government system is a part – is to strengthen its power to deal with international strategic issues such as economic recovery and maintenance of the international political profile of the country (Cabinet Office, 1999; 2002b and 2002c). In order to enhance the capacity to deal with such issues, it was necessary for the central government to lessen its administrative burden by transferring some functions to local governments and reorganise the public finance by significantly downsizing the allocation for local governments (Mitsuhashi, 2002). The policy priority of the central government shifted from executing its domestic responsibility as provider of social welfare services to heighten its profile as a player in the international community. The implications of such a policy shift included privatization and outsourcing of social services at the local level.

Legal Issues

As a result of ten-year long political negotiations, the central government's reform of the local government system resulted in the adoption of the Devolution of Power Law (effective April 2000). As a result, Municipal and Prefectural governments were formally classified as autonomous local governance bodies. Legally speaking, most of the designated duties of the heads of local governments before this 2000 legal reform were administrative functions that were delegated by the central government. It meant that a large part of the legal responsibilities of the heads of local governments was to execute their obligation to the central government as subordinate administrators. Before the 2000 legal reform, the power bestowed legally to the members of local councils was also limited. It was practically impossible for a local council to discuss or pass ordinances on issues related to the administrative functions delegated by the central government. After the decentralization reform of 2000, the nature of the legal

responsibilities of the heads of local governments focuses more on their obligation as elected politicians who administer on behalf of the 'residents' – the holder of sovereign power. The reform also brought similar legal liberation to the members of local councils.

The direct outcome of the 2000 legal reform of the local government system was the change in the nature of the legal responsibilities of the heads of local governments. Legally speaking, the head of local government is now a local counterpart of the cabinet Ministers and no longer their local subordinate (Shindou, 2002, p.1). The 2000 legal reform of the local government system enhanced the ability of local governments to issue ordinances and exercise their discretion in the application of existing national laws and regulations. It suggests the possibility of enhanced legislative and administrative authority of the local government. On a more ideological level, the 2000 legal reform promoted awareness among local residents on the possibility of greater self-governance and self-responsibility (Matsushita, Nishio and Shindou, 2002 Vol.5, p.240).

The enhanced responsibilities present new challenges to the Basic Municipality. The execution of such responsibilities in practice requires political awareness among residents of the importance of participatory local governance as well as leadership of the heads of local governments. In order to develop policies for the delivery of services that accurately reflect the reality and needs of their local communities, local government officials also need to have detailed knowledge of areas in which discretion can be exercised in the application of national laws at the local level.

Before the legal reform of 2000, an acute awareness existed among the heads of Basic Municipalities of the need for enhanced authority for local interpretation of national laws and regulations (Matsushita, Nishio and Shindou, 2002 Vol.5, p.244). The heads of small Basic Municipalities felt that their political power was weak and

their needs for enhanced autonomy were neglected because of their size and the geographical remoteness from the central government (NATW, 2003). Political decentralization was a more pressing issue for the heads of Basic Municipalities than for those of Prefectures.

As examined in Chapter IV, the heads of Basic Municipalities have had hands-on experience in daily exercise of duties with constraints imposed on their administrative powers by national laws, regulations and official instructions from the central government. The revised Local Autonomy Law states that Prefectural governments are responsible for the regional governance and the coordination of the Basic Municipalities under their jurisdiction. However, the Law also states that they must refrain from interfering with the local-level initiatives by the Municipal governments under their jurisdiction (Article 2-Paragraph 5; Shindou, 2002, p.5). On the same token, the central government is required by the Law to limit its involvement in local governance as a whole.

Long before the 2000 decentralization reform, local governments had started their own initiatives to explore possibilities for creative policy-making. Many local governments formed theme-based coalitions and peer networks to discuss policy options on the subjects that are of particular relevance to their administration. The examples of such coalitions include the Shi-Chou-Son (Basic Municipality) Forum on Sovereignty, the Mayors' Conference on National and Local Taxation, the Japan Coalition of Local Government for Environmental Initiative, the Shi-Chou-Son Network on Industrial Waste Related Problems, the Association of Local Government for Citizens' Welfare, the National Conference on Terraced Rice Fields and the Council of Cities with High Concentrations of Foreign Residents (Matsumoto, 2002, p.229).

These coalitions are theme-based. Participating Municipalities and Prefectures do not necessarily share physical borders and are not located in the same geographical

regions. In many cases, independent non-profit organizations serve as secretariats to these coalitions, who are often the original advocates of such theme-based municipal coalitions. These examples of municipal coalitions suggest the possibility of further development of networks among local governments for the theme-specific discussion of policy issues. They also indicate that non-profit organizations can play an important catalytic role.

Although the 2000 legal reform opened up a door for positive legal and ideological changes, the subsequent implementation by the central government conversely resulted in its stronger control over small Basic Municipalities. The following section looks at the two main areas where this problem manifests.

Negative Consequence of the Reform #1: Financial Pressures

The first problem is the lack of support strategies for local public finance.

When examining the local government system in Japan, the implication of the country's demographic change cannot be overlooked. The population of Japan has aged rapidly over the past 50 years. The structure of Japan's population formed a classic pyramid in 1950, where each successively younger age cohort represented a larger portion of the total population. Japan's demographic structure was replaced by a formation more representing a pillar by 2000, where the percentage of the population in each age cohort was more evenly distributed. A steady drop in fertility rates between 1950 and 2000 from 2.75 to 1.33 and an increase in life expectancy at birth by over 16 years and 19 years for male and females respectively account for the rapid change in Japan's population structure (Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, 2003a).

The population of Japan is expected to peak around 2006 and decline steadily afterwards (Local Government System Research Council, 2003b). At the same time,

the number of small Basic Municipalities with the population of less than 5,000 is expected to increase from current 700 to 1,200 in 2030 (Local Government System Research Council, 2003b). The low fertility rate and the ageing population have serious implications for the structural maintenance of small Basic Municipalities in Japan. With the background of the prolonged economic recession and the ageing national population, the revenue from local taxes accounted for only 35.5% of the total annual revenue of local governments (including both Prefectures and Basic Municipalities) in 2001, whereas the corresponding figure was over 40% in 1991 (MPMHAPT, 2003b). Among Basic Municipalities, large Cities collect over 46% of their revenue from local taxes alone, while the revenue from local taxes accounts for only around 30% in small Cities, Towns and Villages. The percentage of the revenue from local taxes is particularly small – 12.6% – among Towns and Villages with the population of less than 10,000 (ibid.).

Meanwhile, the percentage of the Local Allocation Tax increased from 17.4% of the total annual revenue of local governments in 1991 to 20.3% in 2001 (ibid.). The Local Allocation Tax is a pool of money held by the central government as a revenue source aimed at adjusting imbalances in the revenue sources of local governments. The Tax is designed to ensure that local governments can provide a standard level of administrative services. The total amount of the Local Allocation Tax is determined on the basis of certain ratios of five national taxes – 35.8% of corporate tax, 32% of income tax and liquor tax, 29.5% of consumption tax and 25% of tobacco tax are to be put aside every year as the Local Allocation Tax to be shared by local governments. The distribution of the Local Allocation Tax to municipalities is determined on the basis of the assessment on the financial requirements and revenues of each local government as well as special unexpected needs caused by manmade or natural disasters.

The effect of the ageing national population is also visible in the expenditure pattern of the local governments. The total amount of the local government's expenditure for education expenses in 1999 increased by four percent from 1991 but their expenditure for welfare expenses for the elderly in 1999 rose to 227% of the corresponding figure in 1991 (ibid.). Another noteworthy fact is that welfare expenses account for only 8.3% of the expenditure of Prefectures while they are the largest expenditure item (21.2%) for Basic Municipalities (ibid.). The similar trend is seen also with the expenses related to public hygiene and sanitation. Public hygiene and sanitation expenses account for only 3.1% of the expenditure of Prefectures but they account for 10.2% of Basic Municipalities' expenditure (ibid.). These figures indicate that Basic Municipalities bear much greater costs than Prefectures of being the frontline of providing the basic social services to residents in Japan.

For small Cities, Towns and Villages, the diminishing revenue from local taxes and the increased dependency on the Local Allocation Tax mean diminished opportunities for new local initiatives such as support for newcomer foreigners and increased financial control by the central government. Findings of my fieldwork revealed that such financial difficulties were causing serious concerns among the City government staff. Analysis of my research findings also led me to believe that the City's financial difficulties had negative implications to the way that the City promoted the participatory approaches to newcomer foreigners. This is discussed in detail in later chapters.

Currently, the central government in Japan deprives local governments of the power of financial decision-making. This deprivation happens through two channels. The first is through limiting the flexibility in the decision-making concerning expenditures. In theory, the legal reform of 2000 was to reduce the financial burden of the local government by relieving most of its administrative duties. However, such

changes did not materialize. Before the 2000 reform, the administrative functions delegated by the central government constituted 85% of the routine deskwork of the Prefectural governments and 45% of that of the Municipal governments respectively (Jinno, 2002, p.93). After the reform, the routine deskwork of local governments is classified into two categories: functions that are statutory and functions emanating from their autonomous responsibilities.

In reality the statutory functions are aforementioned 'delegated functions' since they are regulated by the relevant legislation passed by the central government. Accordingly, these functions continue to account for the majority of the routine deskwork of local governments. The autonomy-related work is practically controlled by the central government since it has the ultimate authority to recall initiatives by local governments. The central government also issues 'technical advisories' and 'guidelines' to control such autonomy-related work (ibid.). As a result, many of the expenditure items under the routine deskwork of local governments are non-negotiable fixtures controlled by the central government. Such non-negotiable expenditure items still accounted for the half of the general expenditure of local governments in the fiscal year 2004 (Jinno, 2002, p.137).

The second channel of control by the central government concerns the revenue sources. The taxation rates for main revenue sources of local governments are regulated by the central government and cannot be raised above certain levels (ibid., p.99). The tax that a local government can introduce is regulated under the Local Tax Law. If the local government wants to introduce a new tax that is not covered by the Local Tax Law, it needs the authorization by the central government (ibid., p.96). Furthermore, local governments are not allowed to introduce any tax in the areas that overlap with those of national taxation (ibid., p.98).

Other than the control over the local taxation, the central government also uses the Local Allocation Tax and the National Treasury Disbursements as means to control the revenue sources of the local government. Since the purpose of the Local Allocation Tax is to supplement the standard financial revenues of the local government to correct the revenue-expenditure imbalance, its amount is not sufficient to support significant new initiatives by the local government (ibid., p.101). Accordingly, the National Treasury Disbursements are currently the main revenue source for the local government to support new initiatives. The National Treasury Disbursements can be disbursed only for 'specific uses' (MPMHAPC, 2003b) designated by the central government. It means that the local government who accepts the National Treasury Disbursements can use it only to implement the programmes designed by the central government.

As examined in the paragraphs above, the local public finance in Japan remained in the hands of centralised administration despite the 2000 legal reform. The central government has been reducing the amount of the Local Allocation Tax to be disbursed to small Basic Municipalities since late 1990s without the provision of the transference of tax revenue sources (Wada, 2002, p.79). Such reduction threatens the existence of many small Basic Municipalities as they depend on the Local Allocation Tax to balance the budget.

As a protest to the central government's failure to transfer tax revenue sources to local governments, the City Government of Hirara in Okinawa (with a population of 35,000) announced that the City's budget for the fiscal year 2004 would be deficient by 670 million Yen (Asahi Shimbun, 3 February 2004). The Local Tax Allocation to Hirara was reduced by six percent from the previous year. The Hirara City government implemented the 25% expenditure cut through the reduction of personnel costs and public programmes but still could not balance the 2004 budget. The Mayor of Hirara stated that many other Basic Municipalities were facing serious budgetary deficit due to

the problematic implementation of the reform by the central government. The central government replied in an official statement, saying that the local government was responsible for balancing the budget 'no matter what happened'.

The importance of the transference of tax revenue sources from the central government to local governments has been pointed out by many. The Seiken Kouyaku Hyouka Kenkyukai (Prefectural mayors' study group on political manifestos) issued a report on 24 October 2003 and requested that the ruling LDP's manifesto needed to elaborate further on the division of labour between the central government and the local governments, especially in the area of tax and other public revenue. In the report published in April 2002, the Keizai Doyukai (Japan Association of Corporate Executives) urged the central government to develop effective systems urgently for the transfer of tax revenue sources and fiscal adjustments between the central and local governments (Keizai Doyukai, 2002a, pp.4-5).

The Committee for the Promotion of Decentralization, which was responsible for the discussion on the 2000 legal reform expressed its concern in the final report published in 2001 and stated that despite the increased authority of the local governments, the central government had taken no measures to strengthen the revenue sources of the local governments. The report of the Committee further noted that the local governments had already been suffering from a severe shortage of financial resources in view of the reduced tax revenue and the reduction in the financial assistance from the central government due to the economic recession.

Despite these protests, the central government has not developed a plan for tax revenue transfer as of 2005. Furthermore, with the backdrop of prolonged stagnation of the domestic economy, the central government has ordered local governments to issue municipal bonds to finance public projects as a means to boost local economy. As a result, the debt payment burden of local governments has been increasing in recent

years. According to the 2003 White Paper on the Local Public Finance, the total of the outstanding borrowing of local governments amounted to 131 trillion Yen at the end of fiscal year 2001. The figure is 1.3 times larger than the total revenue of local governments for the same period.

Negative Consequence of the Reform #2: Municipality Mergers

The second problem area in the implementation of local government reform concerns the forcible implementation of mergers of small Basic Municipalities by the central government. Unlike the movement towards political decentralization, the motivation for municipality merger did not come from the local level. The aforementioned Committee for the Promotion of Decentralization recommended the reduced involvement of the central government and deregulation, including the transfer of authority in certain areas from the central government to local governments. In reviewing the local government system, the Committee recommended the promotion of a local governance system based on broader geographic areas as well as the gradual devolution of authorities to Basic Municipalities. Coalition systems among neighbouring Basic Municipalities and mergers were both listed on an equal footing in the Committee's recommendations as options for the broader-based local governance system.

However, the central government has since adopted the municipality mergers as the only option in the realization of broader-based local governance (Murakami, 2002). Without waiting for the publication of the Committee's final report in 2001, the central government promptly issued the Guidelines for the Promotion of Municipality Mergers in November 2000. Subsequently, the Administrative Reform Promotion Office of the government issued a paper in December 2002 on the mergers of Basic Municipalities, which stated that the number of the Basic Municipalities should be reduced to one-third

as a result of the reform. Upon the central government's order, all 47 Prefectures developed and submitted merger promotion plans by April 2001 (Mitsuhashi, 2002). Furthermore, the government set up the Office for the Promotion of Municipality Mergers within the Cabinet Office in March 2001 and issued a Municipality Merger Promotion Plan in August 2001 (ibid.).

The Local Government System Research Council has also played an important role in the current promotion of municipality mergers by the government. It is an advisory body to the Prime Minister and convened its 28th session in 2004. The establishment of the Council originates from a law that dates back as far as to 1952 at the time of the Great Merger of the Showa Era. At the most recent session in 2004, the Council was reported to have started its deliberation on the introduction of a new regional system – 'Doushusei' (Yomiuri Shimbun, 5 January 2004).

The Doushusei generally refers to an idea that the current 47 Japanese Prefectures are to be re-grouped into ten or so regional blocks that will be used as new units for local governance. According to the report published by the Research Council in November 2003, the Council was of the view that current Japanese Prefectures were geographically too small as units for effective local governance and that the introduction of Doushusei should be considered (Local Government System Research Council, 2003b). The Chairman of the Council, Mr. Moroi was a strong supporter of the abolition of Prefectures (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2004) and the Council would most likely be favourable of the introduction of Doushusei.

The November 2003 report of the Local Government System Research Council was also forthcoming in further promotion of the elimination of small Basic Municipalities with the population of less than 10,000. A similar policy direction was expressed in an interim report published in November 2003 by a working group on local governance within the ruling LDP (Asahi Shimbun, 24 November 2003). The

LDP's report recommended that the administrative functions of small Basic Municipalities with less than 10,000 residents should be transferred either to neighbouring larger Municipalities or to responsible Prefectures.

The Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy already indicated as early as in 2001 that the structural reform by the central government should result in a fewer number of municipalities, preferably reduced to around 1,000 (Asahi Shimbun, 24 May 2001). The Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy is an internal consultative body within the Cabinet Office and consists of 11 members, including the Chief Cabinet Secretary and the Minister for Economic and Fiscal Policy. The Council is chaired by the Prime Minister. The then Finance Minister, Mr. Masajuro Shiokawa was more radical and stated that he would prefer the number of Basic Municipalities to be reduced to around 300 or one-tenth of the current level (Asahi Shimbun, 24 May 2001).

The central government implemented measures to urge as many mergers of Basic Municipalities as possible to occur before 31 March 2005. Under the current municipality merger law, the central government guarantees to the Basic Municipalities that merged before March 2005 the distribution of the Local Allocation Tax at the pre-merger level for ten years after the merger. Merged Municipalities are also granted the right to issue a special 'merger bond' to meet the financial needs for the reorganization of their infrastructures. The central government also relaxes the application of the Local Autonomy Law to those Basic Municipalities that merged before March 2005 so that they are granted a legal status as City with the minimum population of 30,000 (50,000 is the regular requirement). Small Basic Municipalities that merged after March 2005 does not receive any special financial or legal privileges.

The November 2003 report of the Local Government System Research Council suggested that Prefectural governors would eventually have the authority to force merger of Basic Municipalities with the population of less than 10,000 under their

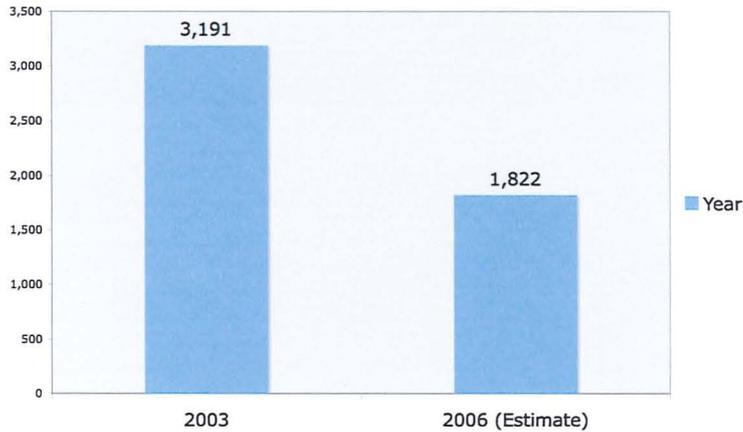
jurisdiction. Furthermore, the report suggested that Prefectural governors could demote the merged entity from a city to a 'special neighbourhood organization'. A special neighbourhood organization is not an autonomous unit for governance and does not have the power to develop its own budget or pass legislation. They are only allowed to submit policy recommendations to the head of the responsible Basic Municipality (Yomiuri Shimbun, 31 December 2003). With both the Prime Minister's policy advisory body and his Party publicly advocating the elimination of small Basic Municipalities, the current policy environment in Japan presents uncertainty over the future of small Basic Municipalities.

While the central government designated 28 Prefectures and 281 Basic Municipalities as official 'priority merger target areas', 45 out of 47 Prefectures have set up Basic Municipality Merger Support Offices as of January 2002 (Mitsubishi, 2002). In the light of the above-mentioned political pressure from the central government, 70% of all the Basic Municipalities in Japan set up committees to discuss merger possibilities as of January 2004 (Asahi Shimbun, 26 January 2004). As of January 2004, 1,840 Basic Municipalities formed statutory merger committees as part of the formal negotiation process of their merger and 384 Basic Municipalities formed 119 discretionary committees on merger possibilities (Asahi Shimbun, 26 January 2004).

Still being unsatisfied with these figures, the central government issued recommendations to further promote mergers to the Prefectures where the ratio of Basic Municipalities that were considering the merger was less than 25% (Asahi Shimbun, 26 January 2004). As a result, by March 2006 the total number of Basic Municipalities is expected to decline to 1,822, about 56% of that in 2002 (Asahi Shimbun 1 April 2005; Yomiuri Shimbun 1 April 2005; Figure V-4). It is highly questionable whether the present trend in the national policies of forcible mergers is

consistent with the spirit of enhanced self-governance at the local level that is stipulated in the Local Autonomy Law (Kobayashi, 2002, p.200).

Figure V-4: The Great Merger of Heisei



The current forcible promotion of mergers by the central government seems to limit local governments' ability to deliberate the long-term consequences of a merger (Hobo, 2002b; Mitsuhashi, 2002). Many Basic Municipalities that are designated as priority merger areas by the central government suffer from depopulation and stagnant economies. With the prospect of declining financial support from the central government, it is understandable that many small Basic Municipalities see the merger as the only way for the survival of their communities. However, mergers do not necessarily guarantee the improved quality of public services or the financial stability of the merged Municipalities.

Many Basic Municipalities that rushed to mergers before the deadline of March 2005 are now facing increasing costs and the decline in the quality of public services (Hobo, 2002b). Merged Municipalities often close down local offices and other public agencies in the smaller merger participant. As a result, after the merger, residents of the smaller Municipality experience the closing of most or all the public service offices and

facilities in their neighbourhood. Even when a local government's office in the smaller Municipality is preserved as a branch office, staff at the branch office often need to ask for the authorization from the central office, which results in a longer time for residents to complete their business (Masaki, 2002).

Many also witness the loss of budget to support community-building activities such as flower planting and entertaining events for the aged (Yamanishi, 2002, pp.16-17). Merged Municipalities generally adopt fees for public services and utilities of the larger merger participant, which are higher than that of its smaller merger partner. As a result, residents of the smaller Municipality face higher costs for public services after the merger. According to the report published by the Cabinet Office in March 2005, residents of newly merged Basic Municipalities experienced the increase in the fees of five out of nine public services surveyed such as school lunches, day care services for the elderly and disabled persons, and recycle items collection (Cabinet Office, 2005).

Not all small Municipalities are quietly resigned to the central government's merger policy. Different historical and cultural backgrounds of municipalities affect differently their decisions on merger. So-called 'ethos' of the community has a large impact on how people perceive their neighbourhood and its future. For example, the City that participated in my case study was founded as a result of the Great Merger of the Showa Era but decided not to merge despite the central government's implementation of the current merger policy. How they came to such a conclusion is examined in later chapters.

There are small Towns and Villages that have resisted mergers since the time of the Great Merger of the Showa Era in the 1950s. Obuse in Nagano Prefecture is one of such Towns, with a population of 22,000. The Town Mayor of Obuse was re-elected for his fourth term at the election in December 2000, reflecting the overwhelming support of its residents for the continuing policy of not merging with a larger City. The

Mayor of Obuse believed that small Towns and Villages would become further marginalised politically and economically after the merger with a large City (Hobo, 2002b, p.48). Furthermore, there is a small Town in Japan that not only adopted a non-merger policy but also issued a formal declaration on the subject. Yamatsuri is a Town with a population of 7,000 and located in a northern prefecture of Fukushima. In October 2001, Yamatsuri Town Council adopted unanimously the nation's first Non-Merger Declaration.

The Yamatsuri's Declaration contained three main messages. The first concerned the purpose of the on-going Great Merger of the Heisei Era. The Declaration pointed out that the central government was implementing the present merger policy so that the central government could reconstruct public finance in a way to reduce the allocation for local governments. It suggested that the fiscal improvements that result from mergers would be at the central level and not at the local level. The second concerned the necessity of the merger. The Declaration stated that Japanese Basic Municipalities had experiences of over 50 years since the end of the Second World War as the policy implementers for local autonomy. The Declaration pointed out that abilities and skills for effective self-governance did not necessitate enlarging the size of the Municipality. The third point related to the effect of the merger to small Basic Municipalities. The Declaration pointed out that a small Town such as Yamatsuri already suffered political marginalization due to the geographical distance from the central government, and suggested that the merger with a larger City would only solidify the path to further marginalization and accelerate the already serious depopulation.

Far from being an aberration, the Yamatsuri's Declaration is believed to have reflected the feeling of many small Basic Municipalities (Mitsuhashi, 2002). Since the late 1990s, the National Association of Towns and Villages has submitted policy

recommendations to the central government on the issue of Basic Municipality mergers. Their recommendations repeatedly emphasised the importance of respecting the independent decision-making process of residents and requested a non-interventionist approach by the central government (Masaki, 2002, p.114). However, there is no sign of changes in the current forcible nature of its merger promotion policy of the central government. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications is reported to be planning the announcement of a 'guideline' that instructs the Prefectural Governor to order the local Municipal Council to deliberate on the issue of merger (Asahi Shimbun, 1 April 2005).

According to the Supreme Court verdict of 27 March 1963, the Basic Municipality in Japan cannot be defined only by satisfying the legal criteria described in the relevant legislation. The verdict stated that the Basic Municipality should provide a social foundation where residents conduct an economically and culturally close communal life and share a sense of community (Mitsuhashi, 2002). It appears all the more important that this definition of the Basic Municipality is highlighted now in view of the on-going forcible implementation of the merger policy by the central government.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This chapter outlined that the local government is the front line of policy implementation in Japan. Over 90% of Basic Municipalities in Japan have a population size of less than 100,000 and their residents carry out their activities for community building under the framework set out in a statutory basic strategy that embodies holistic approaches to development rather than anthropocentrism. Basic Municipalities in Japan have traditionally cultivated active social networks of reciprocity and trust at the community level. Such networks still exist in the form of neighbourhood associations

and resident associations in the face of the efforts by the central government for a greater centralization of administrative power. Traditional neighbourhood organizations along with community-based NGOs in Japan have important roles in promoting social changes and reflecting views of different social groups in the administration of local governance.

The current reform of the local government system led by the central government is a double-edged sword. On the positive side, the 2000 reform brought about legal empowerment of the heads of local governments and the members of local councils. As a result, residents, the head of the local government and members of the local council now have a chance to re-establish mechanisms for implementing their intrinsic self-governance.

On the negative side, the 2000 reform lacks strategies to strengthen the financial resources of the local government. Despite the increased authority of the local government, the current reform policy does not include any plan for tax revenue transfer from the central government to the local government. Furthermore, the reform functioned as the official launch by the central government of the effort to eliminate small Basic Municipalities. Basic Municipalities expected that the implementation of the reform would promote the political decentralization and greater self-governance at the local level. However, my literature review led me to believe that the central government has adopted a policy to standardize the size and to some extent homogenize characteristics of local governments.

It is important to remember that the need for municipality merger did not arise from the local level. The pressure for municipality merger has come from the central government as part of its need to streamline its budget and the structure of the local government system. With the mantra of 'external internationalization', the central government has implemented policies that suggest negative implications to the local

government and its residents. While the central expenditure for the allocation to Basic Municipality steadily declines, the central government expands its overseas activities beyond its regular ODA programmes to activities such as deployment of troops in Iraq to heighten its global political profile. To regain its status in the global economy, the central government also pressures local government to finance public projects through local municipal bonds as a means to boost domestic economy, which further increases the debt payment burden of many local governments.

In the light of protests from many small Basic Municipalities (as examined in this chapter), it is highly questionable if the implementation of current merger policies comply with the principle of decentralization and non-interventionist approaches proclaimed in the Local Autonomy Law and the spirit of local autonomy stipulated in the Japanese Constitution. Findings of my case study suggested that the implementation of the current merger policies by the central government caused increasing anxiety over the future of the local community among both local government staff and residents and had potential negative implications to the service provision for foreign residents. These issues are discussed in detail in later chapters of this thesis.

As for the implementation of the local government's policies for foreign residents in Japan, there are several important elements. Firstly, many local governments already have strong community-based networks such as neighbourhood and resident's associations for promoting inclusive approaches to community management. These associations are important social capital (Chapter II) that is unique to Japan and suggest significant potential. The process of adopting a statutory development strategy can also function as a significant opportunity to promote participation of local residents in the decision-making process of the local government.

The second important element of the development of policies for foreign residents at the local level is the participation of the non-governmental sector. Many

local governments now operate services for foreign residents in collaboration with local NGOs. The voluntary sector carries out an alternative or complementary function alongside the public and the market sectors and fills the gaps that cannot be met by these sectors (Hattori, 2001, p.272). NGOs also play an important advocacy role (Hattori, 2001, p.272). One obvious characteristic of the non-governmental voluntary sector is the spontaneous nature of the activities carried out by the sector as signified in its name.

This simple fact significantly contributes to the complex profile of the sector and has a significant implication to its role as a provider of public services. The mechanism of the voluntary sector is not a part of the formal national welfare system or the function of a municipality. However, activities of voluntary organizations are subject to laws and regulations of the state and municipalities. Accordingly, a voluntary sector organization can be criticized if they are not effective in their delivery of services. It is a private entity but does not locate itself in the private market sector due to its non-profit nature. Services provided by the voluntary sector are also different in nature from those offered by private individuals in the informal sector. Their services come with a greater responsibility for accountability due to the fact that these services are funded by public donations and contributions (Hattori, 2001, p.271).

The socio-economic significance of the voluntary sector is extremely hard to define because members of this sector can also simultaneously be the members of the public, private and informal sectors (Hattori, 2001, p.273). While their role in public service provision is greatly expanding, NGOs increasingly face the need to adjust the focus of their activities and tailor programmes in accordance with the shift in funding opportunities. This also contributes to intensify the complexity of the NGO operation.

The third key element of the implementation of policies for foreign residents at the local level concerns the two conflicting institutional obligations that the local

government faces. As illustrated elsewhere in this chapter, the local government faces the obligation as local implementer of the national legislation and obligation as autonomous political body for local governance (Watado, 1996, p.28; Suzuki, 1997, p.316). These two contrasting characteristics of the local government affect its work related to foreign residents. As an autonomous local authority, the local government is responsible for enabling the social participation of foreign residents. On the other hand, its obligation to carry out the implementation at the local level of certain policies developed by the central government may conflict with the local government's interest in the empowerment of foreign residents (Chapter IV).

The Article 10 of the Local Autonomy Law states that those who possess residency within the boundary of given Cities, Towns and Villages are defined as the 'residents' of such Cities, Towns and Villages and of the Prefectures that govern such entities (Paragraph 1). The same Article 10 also states that residents have the right to equally receive services of their local public entities and have the obligation to bear the cost of such services (Paragraph 2). In the light of the guiding principles articulated in the Japanese Local Autonomy Law, it can be argued that a truly participatory local government system demands all those who reside in a given Basic Municipality to equally share the right and the responsibility as residents regardless of their sex, gender, age, race, ethnicity or nationality. With the backdrop of ongoing structural reform by the central government, this is an opportune moment for the local government and its residents in Japan to contemplate on their responsibility as well as the right to local governance.

In the particular context of Japan, the impact of globalization induced different sets of responses from the central and local governments respectively. Globalization brought to local governments an increase in the number of newcomer migrant foreigners in their communities. Helped by the public's increasing interest in 'internal

internationalization', many local governments developed positive administrative responses to the situation. On the other hand, the central government faced the challenge of tackling the economic recession and the need to increase its international profile as a result of changes in the international economic and political environments that were caused by the very same globalization. The administrative response of the central government to such challenges resulted in a structural reform of the local government system that led to the decline in the revenue of local governments and generated political pressure to force small Basic Municipalities to merge. It can be argued that different responses of the central and local governments in Japan to the impact of globalization are mutually reactive and contribute to the changing dynamics of the relationship between the central and local governments (Diagram V-2). Such mutual reactivity further also adds to the complexity of new challenges that local governments face today.

So far in this thesis, I have reviewed the literature in the field that are of key relevance to my study (Chapter II) and examined the characteristics of foreign populations in Japan as well as the structural frameworks that govern their economic, social and political participation both at the international and local levels (Chapters III, IV, and V). In the following chapters, I discuss the strategies and methods applied in this study and present the findings of my case study.

CHAPTER VI

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODS

Previous chapters reviewed relevant literature to set the scene for the discussion of my case study and its findings. Chapter II looked at the conceptual aspects of globalization's effect on citizenship, especially the increasing mobility of people. Chapters III, IV and V mapped out the context for understanding closely linked social positions of the key actors in my case study: the local authorities, employers, NGOs and newcomer foreign residents themselves. Chapters from VI to VIII discuss my case study and its findings. This chapter, Chapter VI discusses the focus of this research and the key research questions. It examines how I used my critical understanding of different research approaches and methods to develop the strategy that I adopted. Chapters VII and VIII outline the findings of my case study and discuss the analysis of those findings.

THE THEME

This research originated from my interest in the lives of migrant foreigners in Japan. I was particularly intrigued by the somewhat conspicuous absence of literature on the situation of foreign residents in a small rural municipality. The existing literature largely concentrated on experiences of large metropolises in Japan, especially negative impacts of migrants on social relations or negative experiences of cohabitation of Japanese and foreign residents. Accordingly, I felt motivated to conduct an original study on the relatively unknown experiences of small rural municipalities in Japan around the issue of cohabitation with foreign residents. I was aware of the possibility that there were positive experiences in smaller municipalities. I was interested to

explore a case with a history and culture that was positive and to learn how and why this was achieved.

Through my personal contacts in Japan, I came to learn about the experience of developing a 'statutory basic strategy' (Chapter V) in Ayabe City. I was impressed with the approaches that Ayabe City adopted to make the process as open and inviting as possible to its residents. I was also interested in the fact that the final product (strategy document) included a section on the promotion of harmonious cohabitation with foreign residents as an integral part of the main development goals.

My study is about newcomer foreign residents in Japan. The aim is to study the potential of participatory approaches to local government from the perspective of newcomer migrant foreigners in Japan, whilst taking account of the limitations arising from wider global structural forces and processes. It reflects on the mutual reactivity between the local and the global and the ways in which positive local experiences, community cohesion and community development can occur in response to global migration movements. It also argues that such positive developments are in turn limited by the ripple effects of the very global process they are trying to address.

This is essentially qualitative research underpinned by a case study. Multiple data collection techniques are employed, including those that are associated with quantitative as well as qualitative research. The research includes analyzing official documents published by multiple sources and examining articles from various newspapers. At its core, this research analyzes data collected through original surveys using questionnaires and interviews. The following sections of this chapter discuss the factors involved in my selection of methods and the process of developing my research strategy. They describe the sampling techniques, methods of information gathering and recording of data in this research. The reasons for the choice of sampling location and the samples are also discussed.

An important element of the analytical strategy of this research was my interest in adopting the perspective of the less empowered. I was interested in legal newcomer foreigners and in particular female foreigners as an example of the less empowered individual groups. I was also interested in focusing on the experience of a small-size Basic Municipality in Japan since small Municipalities seemed to represent the voice of the institutionally less empowered in the Japanese local government system (Chapter V). Because of my interest in female foreigners and in view of the importance of understanding subjective experiences of the less empowered, I incorporated aspects of feminist approaches in the research, where appropriate.

As explained in subsequent sections of this chapter, it was not possible to limit my research participants only to women. Nevertheless, feminist approaches were valuable in designing my interviews. The strengths and weaknesses of applying Western research methods, in particular feminist approaches, to interviews in the specific context of this research are discussed later in this chapter.

METHODS ASSOCIATED WITH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

I set out to study the dynamics of social participation of foreign residents in a small local municipality in Japan. It was also my intention to examine the nature of interrelationships among different constituent groups. In my view, the complexity of these issues favoured a qualitative approach rather than quantitative investigation. Hence I have adopted in this research a position that is closely associated with qualitative research.

This study combined multiple methods associated with quantitative as well as qualitative research. To explore the research question in a case study, this research adopts the strategy of triangulation. It is conventionally assumed that triangulation is

the use of multiple methods of investigation, multiple types of data and multiple data sources or participants (Bryman, 1988). Denzin (1978) goes further and stretches the potential meaning of triangulation to embrace a wider range of concerns. He conceives of triangulation as involving varieties of data, investigators, and theories, as well as methodologies (1978, p.295). In this sense of triangulation, quantitative and qualitative research may be jointly applied as different methods of examining the same research problem (Bryman, 1988, p.131).

In a conventional sense, the strategy of triangulation in this research applies to the use of multiple data sources – (i) official statistics and publications, (ii) academic literature, (iii) news articles and (iv) data collection through different types of questionnaires and interviews with stakeholders. The multiple sources of evidence provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon and its contextual conditions, which contribute to enhancing the validity of the study (Yin, 1994, pp.90-94). In a wider sense, by adopting different methods associated with quantitative and qualitative research, I also strive to achieve methodological triangulation suggested by Denzin (1978) to enhance the validity and reliability of my interpretation of the data (Walsh, 1998).

Another form of validation I applied in this research is respondent validation. Firstly, I made conscious efforts to ask for clarification directly from participants on the spot during interviews so that I could accurately reflect respondents' views. Secondly, I shared my findings with research participants for verification and any additional comments. Other than those consciously adopted methodological approaches, some of my personal attributes also played an important part in enhancing validity and reliability of findings of my case study, as subsequent sections of this chapter describe in more details. For example, my Japanese heritage equipped me with the familiarity with the special perspectives and nuances of meaning of those Japanese residents I was

studying. My situation as a woman working abroad resulted in causing the female foreign residents I interviewed to feel immediate affinity with me.

CASE STUDY, PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWING

This research involves a case study and employs multiple methods of data collection.

This section discusses methodological issues concerning case studies and the two methods adopted in this research: participant observation and interviewing.

Case Studies

The case study is a distinctive form of empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. It is especially suitable when the focus of the research is to investigate the relevance of contextual conditions to the phenomenon of study (Yin, 1994, p.13). Case studies are the preferred strategy when the nature of the research question is explanatory – involving ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions. The case study generally relies on multiple sources of evidence with data that need to converge in a triangulating fashion. In this sense, case studies are more a research strategy than a data collection tactic (ibid., pp.15-16). Case study research can include both single and multiple case studies. It can include both quantitative and qualitative evidence.

A common misconception is to rank the use of various research methods hierarchically – i.e. case studies are only an exploratory tool and have to be complemented with surveys for the descriptive phase of an investigation and experiments for explanatory or causal inquiries (ibid., p.3). The more appropriate view is to consider all the strategies in a pluralistic fashion as part of an inventory for doing social science research. Case studies can be the strategies for exploratory studies, descriptive studies (Whyte, 1955) or explanatory studies (Allison and Zelikow, 1999).

The use of case studies is thought to be most suitable when research questions are of an explanatory nature, a researcher has little control over actual behavioural events and the focus of the research is contemporary as opposed to historical phenomena (Yin, 1994, pp.3-4).

A common concern about case studies is that they provide little basis for scientific generalization. Yin (ibid., p.10, pp.35-36) argues that the goal of a researcher who adopts the case study is to expand a particular set of results to broader theories to achieve analytical generalization and not to enumerate frequencies for statistical generalization. In this sense, the case study differs from survey research and does not represent a 'sample' that readily generalizes to a larger universe (Lipset et al, 1956, pp.419-420). As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, this study explores the question of how positive local experiences can occur in response to global migration movements and how such positive developments are in turn limited by wider global structural forces. In view of this explanatory nature of my research and given the fact that this research aims to highlight an example of the mutual reactivity of the local and the global, I decided to adopt the case study as a research strategy.

Participant Observation

Denzin (1978) suggests that participant observation is a "commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences" (p.182).

Adopting participant observation complemented my familiarity with the language and the rules of etiquette and nuances inherent in Japan. According to the categorization by Denzin (1978), the participant observation strategies applied in this study can be categorized into the following two types: (i) participant as observer and (ii) observer as participant.

The participant as observer initially makes “his or her presence as an investigator known” and attempts to “form a series of relationships with the subjects such that they serve as both respondents and informants” (Denzin, 1978, p.188). This type of investigation often passes through several phases as the researcher conducts observations. The researcher would initially present himself or herself as an investigator who was interested in making observations and would be gradually accorded the status of provisional member (ibid., pp.188-189). In the investigation where a researcher employs the role of the observer as participant, the researcher would typically include a small limited number of contact with the respondent. The nature of the contact is brief and highly formalized through the use of questionnaires. Accordingly, there is typically no enduring relationship with the respondent (ibid., p.190).

As ‘the participant as observer’, I made my presence as an investigator known and tried to form collaborative relationships with the research participants over time. I applied this strategy in my data collection from Japanese volunteers and foreign resident members of the Ayabe International Exchange Association (AIEA). Although my interaction with them within a limited timeframe did not allow me to develop close friendships with these participants, my Japanese heritage and repeated exposure to their weekly activities enabled me to be accepted as a temporary member of their circle.

As ‘the observer as participant’, my investigations included only one visit or interview with the respondent. I adopted this strategy in my data collection from employees of the Ayabe City government, the Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Ayabe Rotary Club and the Kyoto Prefectural Comprehensive Center for Small and Medium Enterprises. The nature of my contact with these respondents was brief and relatively formalized in comparison with the time I spent with the respondents of the AIEA.

In the process of participant observation, the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955). In part, the role of the researcher in participant observation can be defined for him/her by the situation and the outlook of the observed (Paul, 1953). Since the social sciences deal with the analysis of human conduct within a certain context of social reality, such an analysis has to by necessity refer to the subjective point of view and the interpretation of the action and its settings in terms of the actor (Schutz, 1967). The responsibility of a reflexive researcher then is to be aware that s/he is observing and describing the meaning structures employed by the research participants while simultaneously translating such meaning structures through a set of her/his own meaning structures based on her/his personal experiences and knowledge. The researcher also needs to record carefully the details of the changes s/he may have influenced through contact with the observed.

One of the criticisms of the participant observation method concerns the issue of external validity. Can the observation of one case be sufficient for scientific generalization to other populations? In fact, the concerns raised by quantitative researchers of generalizability and replicability are relevant to all qualitative research and not only those that adopt participant observation. Such concerns are also closely related to the abovementioned social sciences' need to refer to the subjective point of view (Schutz, 1967). As discussed briefly in the preceding section on case studies, since qualitative research often involves the study of unique settings that change over time, it is not realistic to expect that the exact viewpoint of the original researcher can be regained through revisits (Seale, 1999). To this effect, I have addressed the issue of external validity by providing a reflexive account of procedures and methods adopted in this research and by demonstrating details of the inquiry process that led to particular conclusions. To address the issue of internal validity, I have taken various measures

such as recording observations during or immediately after each observation took place to ensure accuracy, maintaining communication with key study participants after the fieldwork for the purpose of verification and clarification, and using audio tape-recording in all interviews.

Interviewing

The interview is an instance of ongoing interaction. The dynamics of the interview may also vary during the course of the conversation that makes up the interview (Denzin, 1978). Denzin suggests that a good interviewer is by necessity also a participant observer because the interviewer is “participating in the life experiences of a given respondent and is observing that person’s report of himself or herself during the interview-conversation” (ibid., p.129). Good interviewers should “acquire an in-depth working knowledge” of interviewees, have some “acquaintance with the times and places of interaction that make up the subjects’ world”, and acquire “some feeling for the relationships that exist between their respondents” (ibid.).

The interview is a special form of face-to-face interaction and is not a conversation in the usual sense. Interview conversations impose a certain degree of constraints on each actor’s freedom to choose topics and to range widely in discussion (Denzin, 1978, pp.130-133). Certain characteristics of interviews may provide sources of potential invalidity. For example, the fact that interviews take place primarily due to the researchers’ intent to elicit intimate and private perspectives of the interviewees relates to the problem of “reactivity” (Bryman, 1988, p.114). The knowledge that he or she is being interviewed or observed may lead to the interviewee to deliberate monitoring of the self and result in offering only certain aspects of his or her perspectives (Denzin, 1978, p.127). This is a difficult problem to tackle, as there is no definite way to prove or disprove that it is the case.

This is partly an ethical issue as well as an issue of validity. The problem of reactivity arises from the need that interviewees feel of presenting a certain image of themselves or their surroundings. Such a need is often linked to the presumed risks or benefits that the research may present for interviewees (Reynolds, 1982, pp.1-21). I tried to address this problem by implementing a set of rules to ensure reflexivity and to keep my research ethically correct.

First of all, in my effort to demonstrate my respect to their right to privacy I made it clear to all of my potential study participants that they had the right not to participate in my study. Once they agreed to participate, I explained clearly the purpose and the intention of my research and told them that they were free not to answer any questions they felt uncomfortable answering. By doing so, I hoped to emphasize the overt nature of my observation and express my respect to the interviewee's freedom of thought. I explained the flexible strategy of my research and told my interviewees that I did not have any presupposed theory to be proved with their responses. I also explained that my research was an independent PhD case study and was not funded by any public or private institution. By doing so, I showed that there was no 'hidden agenda' and hoped that they would not feel the need to present any particular type of opinions.

Another problem associated with interviews concerns the issue of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee (Denzin, 1978). The closer the relationship between the two develops, the better the interviewer becomes attuned to the feelings and perceptions of the interviewee. At the same time, such rapport may hamper the interviewer's ability to be objective in the data collection as well as the analysis of the data. Although I maintained regular written communication with many of the research participants before, during and after the study, the tone of the correspondents were not personal. Furthermore, the duration of face-to-face contacts with them was limited. I do

not believe that my limited exposure to the research participants resulted in building rapport that would threaten the validity of the study.

Although it is generally suggested that the unstructured interview is better suited for exploratory studies and that the structured and standardized interview is better suited for hypothesis testing, it is possible to employ the two approaches complementarily (Denzin, 1978, p.117). The decision as to what kind of interview approaches should be used in any given research can be made on the basis of “the personal preferences of the investigator, the intent of the investigation, the available resources, and the investigator’s decision concerning what type of interaction is desired” (ibid., p.123). As the following sections of this chapter explain in more detail, I employed both structured and unstructured interviews in this study, depending on the degree of access granted to me for the interviewees and the type of information I needed.

RESEARCH METHODS

As stated in previous sections of this chapter, I was particularly interested in the situation of legal foreigners in small rural municipalities in Japan. An important element of this research is my interest in understanding the viewpoint of the least powerful (Acker et al, 1991; Mies, 1983). The two main subjects of this study both generally constitute the least powerful groups in their respective spheres: small-size Basic Municipalities in the local government system and foreigners in the local residents community. I was also interested in understanding the impact of public policies on female migrants in particular. Accordingly, I decided to incorporate aspects of feminist approaches in designing my case study.

At the same time, it was obvious that female migrants in Japan did not exist in isolation. It was essential that I understood the overall economic, political, legal and

social contexts that they were in and how such contexts were all interrelated.

Accordingly, this thesis discusses these contexts in Chapters III, IV and V. Chapters VII and VIII of this thesis discuss findings of my case study and examine relationships and interactions among different stakeholders in the context of one particular community. The case study is designed to collect data from different groups of the community such as local government staff, local business leaders, Japanese residents and foreign residents.

Issues Concerning the Application of Western Interview Methods in the Research of Foreigners in Japan

As discussed in more depth elsewhere in this chapter, this case study involves data collection through face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face in-depth interviews are often considered the definitive qualitative research approach (Kelly, Regan and Burton, 1992). This section discusses the application and relevance of Western methods of qualitative research, in particular feminist approaches, in this case study in relation to interviewing techniques.

i) Involvement of emotions and feelings in the process of interviewing

Feminist researchers emphasize the importance of the involvement of emotions and feelings. Stanley and Wise (1991, p.268) suggest that emotional involvement cannot be controlled by mere effort of will and that such involvements and consequent possible changes in consciousness must be welcomed for the insights that they may bring.

An instance of emotional involvement I experienced in this case study also prompted new insights and shed more light on the issues related to Japanese volunteers that provided support services to foreign residents at the community level. I encountered a few visibly hostile Japanese volunteers, who showed particularly

protective attitudes towards the foreign residents they were helping. They showed a contempt of an 'outside researcher' who they thought was not as dedicated as they were to the work of their organization. I tried to explain without antagonizing them that I had no intention to exploit foreign interviewees for my academic advancement. However, their hostile attitude did not change. I felt extremely distressed and disappointed that my intention was misunderstood, even though it was by a very small number of people. This experience led me to consider who represented the foreigners in a community and what qualified those people as representatives. These questions go beyond the scope of this research and suggest possibilities of further research areas to be explored in separate studies.

ii) Role of the researcher

The traditional interview paradigm emphasizes that a researcher should be a distant stranger, whereas feminist researchers highlight the potentially close relationship between the researcher and the researched. The arguments of both traditional and feminist interview methods emphasize the dyadic relationship between the researcher and the researched. A new element that came into play during my fieldwork in Japan was the significance of membership to the 'community'. Interviewing was easier because I was considered an 'honorary' local because of my own Japanese heritage.

Those who participated in the surveys and the interviews of this research emphasized how critical it was to know that I was originally from Ayabe City when deciding whether or not to participate in the research. The importance that Japanese participants attached to the local heritage and community membership positively affected their approval of the research as well as their decision on participation. This experience made me aware of a new dimension of the relationship between the

researcher and the researched in Japan, which stretched beyond a mere dyadic emphasized by many Western interviewing methods.

iii) Involvement of subjectivity

The traditional interview paradigm emphasizes objectivity, whereas feminist researchers advocate the involvement of the self in the process of interviewing. Acker et al (1991, p.140) point out that the research process is a dialogue between the researcher and the researched and neither the subjectivity of the researcher or the subjectivity of the researched can be eliminated in the process. What I realized through my research was that 'subjectivity' started playing its part even before the process of interviewing actually began. It affected whether and how my potential interviewees reacted to my invitation to participate in the study. My status as an unpublished and totally unknown researcher seemed to have evoked certain subjectivity in them – some apprehension about the purpose of my study and the need for their participation. At the same time, my Japanese heritage and the association with Ayabe City evoked different kind of subjectivity in them, which consequently led to their approval of my research and the consent to participation. This kind of subjectivity is an 'X-factor' in a research that cannot always be precisely predicted.

Some of the foreign resident interviewees were intrigued by the fact that I had been living and working abroad over ten years although I was originally from Japan. They saw a similarity between their situation and mine as a foreign resident living away from home country. This recognition of similarity seems to have evoked in foreign resident interviewees an instant sense of familiarity and connectedness with me. Revealing my background to interviewees was a necessary part of due diligence as a responsible researcher and happened with all the interviewees regardless of their nationality. However, in the case of interviews with foreign residents, respondents

acknowledged my 'subjectivity' positively and even overlapped it with their own. This directly created a positive effect on my relationship with the interviewees.

The acknowledgement of the subjectivity also created a positive effect on my relationship with Japanese interviewees. My Japanese heritage and the association with Ayabe City affected positively the decisions of the persons and the organizations I contacted to participate in this study. Some interviewees told me that if they did not consider me as a kind of 'honorary local', they would not be so frank and open in their statements. At the same time, there might have been some possible downside of me as a researcher being seen as a 'local'. Knowing my Japanese heritage and the association with the City, Japanese interviewees might have made assumptions about what to tell me. They might have omitted the reference to certain facts or events because they presumed that I would 'naturally' know such things. Conversely, although I was seen as a 'local', my residency abroad might have influenced interviewees to emphasize certain points in their interviews more than they would do in their normal conversations with their fellow residents in Japan.

iv) Interviewer's control over the interview

Feminist researchers emphasize that an interviewee can lead the discussion while traditional interview methods highlight the fact that a researcher has more power to control the process of the interview. However, it is a customary etiquette in Japan that one does not voluntarily submit opinions and personal information in a normal conversation unless specifically asked to do so in a form of question. It is also considered improper to answer questions with more information than what is minimally necessary in a normal conversation. Accordingly, it is usually difficult to expect an interviewee that one meets for the first time in a rural small community in Japan to 'lead' the discussion. Although my primary goal was to make interviewees feel

comfortable and free to talk in their own words, it was not practical to adopt totally unstructured interviews as a method of data collection in the context of this research. Even in semi-structured interviews, I had to devise methods to facilitate conversations without being intrusive or directive, as most of the interviewees were accustomed to keeping their responses to minimum.

Another important language-related aspect of the fieldwork of this research was the lack of ability of some foreign interviewees to speak and understand Japanese or English. The level of Japanese and English that some of the foreign interviewees could command was minimal. Although, I went through several phases to simplify questions, interviews with some foreign participants still required assistance of Japanese volunteers and dictionaries. In the case of interviews with these foreign interviewees, it was not possible to expect that interviewees would lead the discussion. It was not for the lack of desire but because of the lack of linguistic ability to do so.

v) Non-hierarchical relationships between the interviewee and the interviewer

To facilitate a reciprocal relationship with the interviewees, qualitative researchers often emphasize a non-hierarchical relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. But this principle was not practicable in the specific cultural context of my case study. One of the most complicated linguistic etiquettes in Japan occurs when one speaks to those who are older in age. In this situation, one normally employs a set of special grammatical rules including not only prefix, pronoun or preposition but also verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs as well as phrases in conversations so that one creates a form of linguistic world where one is placed hierarchically lower than the other. Older generations of Japanese people are more insistent practitioners of this tradition. They tend to look down on younger people who do not or cannot carry out

such sophisticated linguistic manoeuvres as ‘the uneducated’. The same linguistic rule applies when one speaks to a stranger.

Most of the Japanese interviewees of this research were older in age than I. Furthermore, most of the interviewees were total strangers to me. Accordingly, it was important for me to follow the aforementioned linguistic tradition in each interview in order to gain respect and cooperation of interviewees. This created an interesting interviewing environment that was not addressed in Western interviewing methods. It was a hierarchical environment but was largely a linguistic one and placed the researcher in a lower stratum. Furthermore, it was an absolutely necessary cultural requirement in order to show respect to the interviewees and build a mutually trustful relationship. This particular hierarchical relationship prevented the interviewees from taking hostile or sceptical attitudes towards me and enhanced the validity of their statements in return.

vi) Culturally constructed experience

Japanese people who were interviewed in this research tended to describe their achievements in a modest way. For example, they used expressions such as “We are just doing what we can” or “We still have to make a lot more improvements”. I grew up in the same cultural environment as the interviewees and understood that such statements did not necessarily reflect their lack of confidence or dissatisfaction with their achievements. Their statements reflected an aspect of Japanese culture that emphasizes humility.

It is important to keep in mind that interviewees’ accounts of their experiences may be culturally constructed as they experience events and relationships through a cultural construction. The occurrence of such cultural construction does not automatically discount the validity or the credibility of the accounts of interviewees. As

Fortier (1998) suggests, if we accept that social research is informed by personal systems of values, beliefs, politics and histories, we need to find ways to making use of them.

SAMPLING

This section discusses how the location of this case study was identified. It also describes the methods used to identify the participants of the case study and the criteria used to select them.

Choice Of Location: Why Ayabe?

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the decision to choose Ayabe City as the subject of the research was made primarily because of its generally positive culture that seemed to encourage participatory approaches in community governance there. It suggested the possibility of lessons to be learned from understanding such culture. The review of the official documents concerning the development process of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy – the City’s new ten-year development strategy – revealed that both the City government and residents acknowledged the process as a positive experience in terms of the implementation of inclusive local governance. I was impressed with the thorough and inclusive preparation process of the strategy, which spanned over two years. This provoked my interest. At the same time, there were other factors that indicated that Ayabe City was the suitable choice.

The first is the geographical location of the city and its historical implication. It is located in Kyoto prefecture in the Kansai region, which is the largest host region of old-comer foreign residents in Japan. As the main host of old-comers, the Kansai region has a long tradition of cohabitation with foreign residents (Chapters III, IV). Accordingly, the environment surrounding the local governments’ policy responses for

the cohabitation with foreigners is fundamentally different from that in the Tokyo metropolitan area and the Tokai region where the majority of foreign population is newcomers. It is understood that the Kansai region has a more mature culture of cohabitation with foreign residents due to the decades of settlement. This suggested the existence of positive culture in the region that was central to my research question.

Another reason for the choice of Ayabe City is related to its population size and the economic environment. The population of Ayabe City as of March 2001 was 38,870. According to the 2000 Population Census, the national average population size per city in Japan was 39,000 (Statistics Bureau, MPMHPT, 2003). Furthermore, most of the local municipalities in Japan belong to the category with the population size of 50,000 persons or less (Statistics Bureau, 2003). Skilled workers, clerical workers and sales workers are the top three occupations that account for the highest numbers of Japanese labour population, followed by labourers, technical workers and agricultural workers (Statistics Bureau, 2003). The industry profile of Ayabe City shows a similar trend to the nation's average occupational distribution pattern. In other words, Ayabe City bears the demographic and the economic characteristics of typical 'average' cities in Japan.

The third reason concerns a literature gap. The literature on foreign residents in Japan is concentrated on the analysis of the situations in large metropolitan areas with unusually large numbers of newcomer foreign residents. There is a scarcity of intellectual resources that benefit smaller 'average' rural areas. With my research on the experiences of small municipalities, I hope to assist smaller municipalities in Japan in their effort to improve their policy environments.

The accessibility to data and the confirmation of willingness to participate in the research by many parties concerned also contributed to the decision to choose Ayabe City as the subject of the research. As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, my Japanese

heritage and family connection in Ayabe City were the determinant of the participants' endorsement of my research. This opened up many possibilities for accessing critical 'gate keepers' and data collection.

Sampling

In order to collect information on specific issues that were not adequately covered in the existing literature in Japan, it was necessary for me to conduct interviews and questionnaire-based surveys with different groups of the population with certain characteristics. Therefore, I decided that a probabilistic sampling strategy was not appropriate in the particular context of this case study (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996, pp.79-83). To study views of the key stakeholders, I identified the following sample groups: (i) public sector employees of Ayabe City government; (ii) members of local NGO community; (iii) local business community; and (iv) local foreign residents. The snowball sampling technique was adopted to identify samples from each group. The criteria used to select the case study participants in each of the abovementioned four groups were as follows:

Group (i): City government employees

1. Employees are working in divisions or departments of the Ayabe City government that are directly involved in policy administration that affect the lives of local foreign residents.
2. Employees are involved in implementation of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City.
3. Gender balance among samples is taken into consideration as appropriate.

Group (ii): NGO community

1. In principle, individuals are residents of Ayabe City. If individuals are not residents but spend a significant amount of time in Ayabe City for their

work or volunteer activities and are willing to participate in the case study, they may qualify, provided that the total number of non-resident participants does not overwhelmingly exceed that of resident participants.

2. Individuals are currently active members of local NGOs.
3. Individuals are members of NGOs that support foreign residents, promote social interaction between Japanese and foreign residents or promote intercultural understanding.
4. Gender balance among samples is taken into consideration as appropriate.

Group (iii): Business community

1. Individuals are members of the Ayabe business community.
2. In principle, individuals are residents of Ayabe City. In case they are not residents, they spend a significant amount of time in Ayabe City for their work and are considered by Ayabe residents as important partners of the local business community. The total number of non-resident participants does not overwhelmingly exceed that of resident participants.
3. Gender balance among samples is taken into consideration as appropriate.

Group (iv): Foreign residents

1. In principle, individuals are residents of Ayabe City. If individuals are not residents but spend a significant amount of time in Ayabe City for their work or volunteer activities and are willing to participate in the case study, they may qualify, provided that the total number of non-resident participants does not overwhelmingly exceed that of resident participants.
2. Individuals possess an adequate level of language ability either in Japanese or English so that they can understand the questions they are asked.
3. Individuals are registered alien in Ayabe City. They reside and work legally in Ayabe City.

4. Individuals are newcomer foreigners.

5. Gender balance among samples is taken into consideration as appropriate.

When drafting questions to be asked in questionnaires and interviews, I consulted past surveys conducted in Japan concerning the issue of cohabitation with foreign residents (Komai, 1995b; Komai 1998; Kawasaki City Government, 1995; Saitama Prefectural Government, 1997; Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office, 1995; Tokyo Metropolitan Institute of Labour, 1995, 1996 and 1998; Chiba Prefectural High School, 1998).

City Government

The request for the consent to participate in the case study was made in the form of letter and was sent to the Planning and Public Relations Division of the Planning and Policy Department of the Ayabe City government. Consequently, I learned that the Planning and Public Relations Division played an important coordination role in the development of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy. I also learned that the Division was responsible for general monitoring of resident opinions, including views from local foreign residents. From this point on, a female employee who worked at the Planning and Public Relations Division – Ms N – acted as a gatekeeper for my access to potential participants among the City government employees.

After Ms N confirmed her division's participation in the case study, I sent her a questionnaire (Appendix: Questionnaire VI-1) that contained key questions concerning the administration of policies in Ayabe City that affected the lives of local foreign residents. Ms N suggested that the best way to go about it was for her to approach relevant departments concerned. She proposed to sound them out on the willingness to participate in the study, coordinate with them to synthesize the responses to my questionnaire and return the document back to me. Ms N also suggested that during this

process, she might be able to persuade responsible personnel at some of the departments concerned to give the consent to participate in interviews with me so that I could ask further questions if necessary. Subsequently, Ms N identified 11 different divisions of the City government that agreed to participate in the case study. Five divisions among these 11 confirmed their willingness to participate in face-to-face interviews with me.

Table VI-1 shows how closely the profile of the sampled civil service employees matches the abovementioned selection criteria. All participating divisions were involved both in the implementation of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy and the administration of the policies concerning local foreign residents. Ms N, the gatekeeper, succeeded in confirming the participation of employees who were directly responsible for day-to-day operation in each division concerned, which resulted in the gender imbalance among the interviewees. However, I have made the decision that confirming the availability of the participants who could make substantive contribution to the study was more important than achieving an artificial gender balance in statistics. As for the staff that participated in my questionnaire survey, staff of each division (both men and women) collectively participated in drafting the response to my questionnaire. Accordingly, the definitive number of participants in questionnaire response from such divisions and information on their gender balance were indeterminable (Table VI-1).

Table VI-1: Profile of Participating Civil Service Employees

| Division | Implementation of 4th Comprehensive Strategy | Foreign residents. policy administration | Number of interviewees | Gender of interviewees | |
|---|--|--|------------------------|------------------------|------|
| | | | | Female | Male |
| Planning and Public Relations Division, Planning and Policy Department | ✓ | ✓ | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Resident Affairs Division, Resident and Environmental Protection Department | ✓ | ✓ | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Human Rights Promotion Division, Resident and | ✓ | ✓ | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Environmental Protection Department | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| General Administration and Management Department | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Health Promotion Division, Welfare, Health and Medical services Department | ✓ | ✓ | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Structural Engineering and Construction Division, Construction Department | ✓ | ✓ | Participated only in questionnaire | N/A | N/A |
| Commerce, Industry and Tourism Division, Industries and Housing Area Sales Department | ✓ | ✓ | Participated only in questionnaire | N/A | N/A |
| National Insurance and Medical Services Division, Welfare, Health and Medical Services Department | ✓ | ✓ | Participated only in questionnaire | N/A | N/A |
| Welfare Division, Welfare, Health and Medical Services Department | ✓ | ✓ | Participated only in questionnaire | N/A | N/A |
| School Education Division, Education Board | ✓ | ✓ | Participated only in questionnaire | N/A | N/A |
| Ayabe Medical Services – public-service corporation | ✓ | ✓ | Participated only in questionnaire | N/A | N/A |

NGO Community

I identified the names of two local NGOs as potential participants of the case study on the basis of examining on-line information provided by the Kyoto prefectural government on local NGOs that were active in the areas of internationalization and international exchange. The request for the consent to participate in the case study was submitted to these organizations in the form of letter. Consequently, the Ayabe International Exchange Association (AIEA) and the Ayabe Rotary Club (ARC) were confirmed as study participants.

After confirming his participation in the case study, the President of the AIEA suggested that I could participate in regular weekly programmes organized by the Association, where I could communicate directly with participating Japanese volunteers and ask them to participate in the case study. Following up on his advice, I succeeded in identifying and confirming eight Japanese volunteers as participants.

Since I was provided with opportunities to participate in activities of the Association, I also collected information through participant observation.

Table VI-2 shows how closely the profile of sampled Japanese volunteers of the Association matches the abovementioned selection criteria. They were all active members of the Association and regularly attend its activities. The Association is an organization that supports local foreign residents and social interaction between Japanese and foreign residents in Ayabe City. The participating volunteers included a few non-Ayabe residents but their number did not exceed that of resident participants. The majority of the membership of the Association was female and the study sample inherently reflected the existing gender imbalance in the membership.

Table VI-2: Profile of Participating Japanese Volunteers of Ayabe International Exchange Association

| | Residency in Ayabe | Active member | NGO supports international exchange | Gender balance | |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|------|
| | | | | Female | Male |
| Volunteer 1 | Resident | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Volunteer 2 | Resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Volunteer 3 | Resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Volunteer 4 | Resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Volunteer 5 | Resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Volunteer 6 | Non-resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Volunteer 7 | Resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Volunteer 8 | Non-resident | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |

The ARC agreed to participate in the case study in exchange for my making a speech at one of their weekly meetings as a guest speaker. I accepted the condition. On the day of the speech, I distributed copies of the questionnaire (Appendix: Questionnaire VI-2) at the beginning of the speech, used the time for the speech to explain my case study and asked the meeting attendants to fill the questionnaire during my speech. The ARC had 55 active members and their weekly meetings generally attracted 45 or so attendants. At the end of the weekly meeting, I collected completed questionnaires from 37

attendees. I was also able to have brief informal conversations with several members of the ARC immediately before and after I attended the weekly meeting.

In terms of the match with the abovementioned sample selection criteria, all the participating Rotary member respondents were residents of Ayabe City, active Rotarian and male. The ARC does not have any female members. The Rotary Club is committed to services to the community and international cultural exchange. As the ARC is the largest as well as most active non-governmental and non-profit organization that is actively involved in neighbourhood development and internationalization of the local community in Ayabe City, I have made the decision to pursue its participation in the case study despite the gender imbalance in its membership.

Business Community

The membership of the ARC consists of local business owners and entrepreneurs. The ARC is a non-profit organization and is dedicated to social services to the local community. At the same time, it also functions as a socializing club of powerful, well-established and well-respected local business leaders. To this effect, I decided that the data to be collected from members of the ARC could be analysed as reflection of views and opinions of the local business community as well as those of NGO members.

Apart from the ARC, the Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Kyoto Prefectural Comprehensive Center for Small and Medium Enterprises agreed to participate in the case study. Small and medium companies are main employers of foreign residents in Japan (Chapter III). To this effect, I decided that collecting information from the local prefectural body whose sole purpose was to support the local small and medium enterprises would be valuable to the case study.

With regard to the profile match of the confirmed samples in this category with the selection criteria mentioned above, all participants were active members and

respected partners of the local business community. Table VI-6 shows the profile of the business community participants and how it matches with the selection criteria. The issue of gender imbalance among members of the ARC is dealt with in a section above. The persons available for interviews from the Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Kyoto Prefectural Comprehensive Center for Small and Medium Enterprises were both male.

Table VI-3: Profile of Participants from Business Community

| | Number of study participants | Member or partner of Ayabe business community | Residency in Ayabe | Gender | |
|---|------------------------------|--|--------------------|--------|------|
| | | | | Female | Male |
| Ayabe Rotary Club | 37 | Senior executives and business owners | Resident | 0 | 37 |
| Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry | 3 | Coordination and support organization for local business | Resident | 0 | 3 |
| Kyoto Prefectural Comprehensive Center for Small and Medium Enterprises | 1 | Support organization for small and medium enterprises in management and technology development | Non-resident | 0 | 1 |

Foreign Residents

It is clear from statistics concerning foreigners in Japan that the overwhelming majority of foreigners in Japan reside there legally. There were estimated 224,000 foreigners who were illegally living in Japan as of January 2002 (MOJ, 2002c). However, the proportion of illegal foreigners is relatively small compared to 1,778,462 registered legal foreign residents in Japan as of the end of 2001 (MOJ, 2002a). Registered legal foreign residents account for 1.4% of the total population in Japan and 1.09% of the total labour population in Japan (MPMHAPT, 2003a). Meanwhile, the number of estimated illegal foreigners has been declining.

Legal migrant foreigners duly pay taxes and contribute to various institutional mechanisms of social welfare such as the pension system and the health insurance

system (Chapter IV). However, the focus of a large body of the literature has been on the negative elements or ‘problems’ of cohabitation with foreigners in Japan such as the presence of illegal workers and disputes between foreigners and Japanese residents. The portrayal of foreign residents in Japan and especially newcomer foreigners in the majority of the literature tends to emphasize the negative. There is a lack of literature on the discussion of the positive experience of legal newcomer foreigners in local residents’ neighbourhood-building efforts.

In the light of the increase in the number of newcomer foreigners in Japan and the aforementioned absence of literature, it was my belief that understanding the current status of legal foreigners as residents in their host communities was critical for both the central and local governments in Japan in designing public policies that enabled social participation of all residents. To this effect, by targeting legal residents as fieldwork participants this case study intends to contribute to the accumulation of this much-needed literature.

As Chapters III and IV outlined, old-comer foreigners possess different characteristics as residents in Japan from newcomer foreigners, not only in their legal status – the majority of them are permanent residents – but also in terms of the historical, social and economic backgrounds of their settlement in Japan. Most old-comer foreigners in Ayabe City were born in Japan and/or have spent most of their life in Japan. They are well integrated in their local community because of their long-established residency.

Furthermore, old-comer foreigners have a tendency to distance themselves from newcomer foreigners, especially when it comes to the issues of social and political empowerment (Chapter IV). The needs of old-comers and those of newcomers are distinctly different in nature. In view of the above and also to collect information that is

not covered by the existing literature in Japan, I decided that this case study would be better suited to focus on newcomer residents.

Similar to the case with the identification of Japanese volunteers, the President of the AIEA suggested that I could establish contact with foreigners who participated Association's weekly Japanese lessons. Accordingly, 16 foreign residents were identified and confirmed as participants.

Table VI-4 illustrates how closely the profile of participating foreign residents matches the aforementioned sample selection criteria. All participants were newcomer foreigners who resided in Ayabe City. Some of them were not fluent either in Japanese or in English. However, with the help of language dictionaries and Japanese volunteers of the AIEA who could speak their mother tongues, they could understand the questions they were asked.

Table VI-4: Profile of Participating Foreign Residents

| | Residency in Ayabe | Language ability | Gender balance | |
|---------------------|--------------------|---|----------------|------|
| | | | Female | Male |
| Foreign Resident 1 | ✓ | Intermediate Japanese. Mother tongue is Indonesian. | | ✓ |
| Foreign Resident 2 | ✓ | Intermediate Japanese. Mother tongue is Indonesian. | | ✓ |
| Foreign Resident 3 | ✓ | Intermediate Japanese. Mother tongue is Indonesian. | | ✓ |
| Foreign Resident 4 | ✓ | Intermediate Japanese. Mother tongue is Indonesian. | | ✓ |
| Foreign Resident 5 | ✓ | Minimum Japanese. No English. Mother tongue is Chinese. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 6 | ✓ | Minimum Japanese. No English. Mother tongue is Chinese. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 7 | ✓ | Fluent in Japanese and English. Mother tongue is Tagalog. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 8 | ✓ | Fluent in Japanese. Mother tongue is Chinese. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 9 | ✓ | Fluent in Japanese. Mother tongue is Tagalog. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 10 | ✓ | Fluent in Japanese. Mother tongue is Tagalog. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 11 | ✓ | Minimum Japanese. No English. Mother tongue is Thai. | | ✓ |
| Foreign Resident 12 | ✓ | Minimum Japanese. No English. Mother tongue is Thai. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 13 | ✓ | Intermediate Japanese. Mother tongue is Indonesian. | | ✓ |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|---|--|
| Foreign Resident 14 | ✓ | Fluent in Japanese. Mother tongue is Chinese. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 15 | ✓ | Minimum Japanese. No English. Mother tongue is Thai. | ✓ | |
| Foreign Resident 16 | ✓ | Minimum Japanese. No English. Mother tongue is Thai. | ✓ | |

Access That Did Not Materialize

There were two groups of newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City to whom I could not establish access. The first group was female Latin American workers, almost all of which worked at one company. This company was involved in a dispute over working conditions with the dispatch agency of its foreign workers. One of my contacts in the local business community informed me that this 'agency' was owned by one of the biggest organised crime (mafia) groups based in Eastern Japan. Due to the physical as well as the legal threat imposed by this mafia group on the company in question, members of the local business community strongly warned me not to include this company in the case study.

The second group was Filipina women who worked at local nightclubs and salons. Many of these spots were closely linked with mafia groups. These organised crime groups in Japan are notorious in imposing serious physical threats upon those who 'snoop around and interfere' with their business. Accordingly, I felt a credible degree of danger in further exploring the possibility of involving the Filipina workers in question.

I was concerned over safety of not only mine but also of residents and officials in Ayabe who were already closely collaborating with me for this research. I felt that if I became a target of harassment by mafia groups, I would also expose my research participants to danger as a result. The presumed negative effect on the participating community of the research was far greater than the benefit of information to be gained from those groups of foreigners (Reynolds, 1982). I felt that it was irresponsible to

pursue the participation of aforementioned workers at the risk of safety of those who were already willingly and actively contributing to this research.

GATHERING AND RECORDING OF DATA

This section describes the methods and strategies used to collect the data of this case study. Table VI-6 illustrate the overview of the data sources and the methods of data collection applied in each of the key theoretical areas of the study. I took notes during each interview and prepared a summary after each of them. Each interview was also taped with the consent of the interviewees. I conducted all of my interviews at the workplace of the interviewees so that I could minimize the interruption to their daily work and also to observe their organizational atmosphere. At the beginning of each interview, I explained what my background and research interests were, what my interview would be about and roughly how much time it would take.

Findings of my case study are discussed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. Since the data collected through my case study was not large and did not require highly sophisticated statistical analysis, I decided to use Microsoft Excel to process my data for analysis rather than more complex system of statistical analysis such as SPSS.

Ayabe City Government

Table VI-5 illustrates the status of participation of the Division concerned. As mentioned in the section above, two different methods were used to collect data from City government employees. The first was a questionnaire and the second was face-to-face interviews. The questionnaire contained a set of key questions concerning the implementation of policies that affected the lives of local foreign residents. In designing questions of this questionnaire, I consulted reports of various surveys conducted in Japan in the past that dealt with issues related to foreign residents in

Japan. I adopted a similar format and questions to the 1993 survey conducted by the International Affairs Section of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office since it was the most recent, comprehensive and wide-scale survey available at the time on the subject of internationalization of local municipalities in Japan.

One interview was organized per each of the five participating Divisions and two of the five interviews were group interviews. In advance of interviews, I sent a list of key policy areas that I wanted to talk about with the interviewees of each Division. I adopted semi-structured interviews on the basis of this list. In most cases, interviewees observed the protocol I mentioned elsewhere in this chapter of keeping their responses brief. At the same time, they all seemed pleased to see that someone showed interest in their work. When the interviewee's responses did not provide me with in-depth enough information, I would follow up with further questions in a way that was as non-directive as possible. I felt that my interviewees acknowledged my note taking as positive nonverbal feedback for them. It seemed to affirm to the interviewees that they were saying something important and worthwhile. The length of interviews varied, depending on how closely the interviewees interacted with foreign residents in their daily work. Some lasted 60 minutes and others ran about 30 minutes.

Apart from the questionnaire and face-to-face interviews, I collected the information about the development of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy from the documentation. I examined copies of the digest version of the Strategy as well as the Strategy itself. I also consulted electronically-compiled records of past events and discussions organized by local NGOs, electronic archives of local as well as national newspapers and electronic documents posted on the homepages of the public entities such as the Ayabe City government and the Kyoto prefectural government.

Table VI-5: Status of Participation of Divisions Concerned

| Division | Questionnaire | Face-to-face Interview |
|---|---------------|------------------------|
| Planning and Public Relations Division, Planning and Policy Department | ✓ | ✓ |
| Resident Affairs Division, Resident and Environmental Protection Department | ✓ | ✓ |
| Human Rights Promotion Division, Resident and Environmental Protection Department | ✓ | ✓ |
| General Administration and Management Department | ✓ | ✓ |
| Health Promotion Division, Welfare, Health and Medical services Department | ✓ | ✓ |
| Structural Engineering and Construction Division, Construction Department | ✓ | N/A |
| Commerce, Industry and Tourism Division, Industries and Housing Area Sales Department | ✓ | N/A |
| National Insurance and Medical Services Division, Welfare, Health and Medical Services Department | ✓ | N/A |
| Welfare Division, Welfare, Health and Medical Services Department | ✓ | N/A |
| School Education Division, Education Board | ✓ | N/A |
| Ayabe Medical Services – public-service corporation | ✓ | N/A |

Ayabe International Exchange Association

The President filled out a questionnaire (Appendix: Questionnaire VI-3) concerning historical, operational and programmatic aspects of the Association’s work. He was also interviewed. The decision was made to use questionnaires to obtain a standardized set of responses from Japanese volunteers (Appendix: Questionnaire VI-2). For interviews with foreign residents, I used structured interview techniques (Appendix: Questionnaire VI-4).

Ayabe Rotary Club

I used questionnaires to obtain a standardized set of responses from the Rotarians.

Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry

The interview with the Managing Director of the Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry was semi-structured on the basis of the questionnaire (Annex: Questionnaire VI-5) that was sent to him in advance. After completing the interview with me, the Managing Director introduced me to two of the Chamber's staff responsible for advisory services for local small and medium enterprises. I conducted a brief group interview with them to learn about the management advisory services of the Chamber, which lasted approximately 20 minutes. Notes were taken during the interview and a summary was produced immediately after the interview.

Kyoto Prefectural Comprehensive Center for Small and Medium Enterprises

The Chief of the Planning and Research Unit of the Business Planning Department agreed to be interviewed. The purpose of the interview was to learn about the services of the Center and find out whether they had experiences in advising local business entities on the issues related to employment of foreigners. Accordingly, semi-structured interview techniques were adopted on the basis of these two topics.

Table VI- 6: Source of Data Collection Check-list

| <i>Source of data</i> | Literature review | Statistics and publication (central government, local authority, international organizations, NGOs), Periodicals (national and local) | Ayabe City government (interviews and questionnaire) | Business community in Ayabe City (interviews and questionnaire) | Japanese residents in Ayabe City (interviews and questionnaire) | Foreign residents in Ayabe City (interviews) |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---|--|---|---|--|
| <i>Key theoretical themes</i> | | | | | | |
| Local government and citizenship | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Local government and migration | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Social policy | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Local government system | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| Gender | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH

My access to foreign residents in Ayabe City was made possible through my relationship with the President of the AIEA. Accordingly, all the samples of foreign residents are members of the Association. The two-month in-country fieldwork period was too short to develop relationships that would enable access to non-Association member foreigners. As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, there were newcomer Latin American and Filipina residents that were employed at a local company but were intentionally left out from the case study.

One thing I realized after all the interviews were concluded was the potential use of more detailed notes on non-verbal gestures of interviewees. Although interviews were taped, I made efforts to take as detailed notes as possible during the interviews so that I had a clear record of important key issues raised during each interview.

Unfortunately, such note taking did not allow detailed notes to be taken of gestures and

other body languages of interviewees during the interview. I registered some, such as an interviewees' laughter or a look of uncomfortableness. I could have added more detailed observations immediately after each interview on the basis of my memory but it did not occur to me. This experience provided me with a positive learning point for future research.

At the same time, it has to be noted that availability of and the accessibility to opportunities to collect non-verbal gestures varied in respective data collection methods. For example, the questionnaire-based surveys conducted with members of the ARC and the AIEA did not provide me with opportunities for a close personal interaction with individual members. Therefore, the means to collect non-verbal gestures was not available.

The structured interviews with foreign residents presented different problems. The first was time constraints. Because of the need to conduct as many interviews as possible within a limited amount of time and the need to minimize the disruption to the weekly programmes of the AIEA, each of the interviews with foreign residents had to be kept as brief as possible. This also made it difficult to make notes on non-verbal gestures of interviewees. The second problem was the language ability of interviewees. When interviewing a foreign resident whose language abilities in Japanese and English were not developed enough to communicate with me efficiently, it was extremely difficult to judge whether the perplexed expression on the face of the interviewee was due to the question s/he was asked or due to her/his incomprehension of the meaning of the question itself.

An internal personnel transfer at the Ayabe City government that happened after the initial data collection phase also affected my research. I learned that the timeliness of the response to my request and the very supportive nature of the cooperation of the City government were largely due to the personality of my 'gate-keeper', Ms N. I

found myself at the receiving end of nothing but one brief response from the City government to my follow-up questions once Ms N was transferred to another department.

This taught me a lesson on how strongly the willingness of a key gatekeeper influences on the success of the researcher's data collection. The organizational personnel changes such as the one I experienced in this research are unavoidable and beyond the control of a researcher. However, in my case the timely identification of necessary follow-up questions in an early stage of the data collection minimized the potential damage due to the loss of access to a cooperative gatekeeper.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This research is essentially qualitative research that involves a case study in Japan. At the same time, it adopts multiple data collection methods that are associated with both qualitative and quantitative research to benefit from the respective strengths of two research traditions. In particular, methodological guidelines proposed by feminist scholars for data collection through interviews were helpful. To enhance the reliability of my interpretation of data, information was collected from multiple sources to observe the strategy of triangulation.

As I engaged in research on human subjects, I was aware of the moral dimension in my work, especially the potential to exploit non-academic participants for my scientific ends. To this effect, I decided on a set of rules to be observed to address this ethical dimension – to respect the rights of participants and be sensitive of costs and benefits that my research might cause for them. My decision not to pursue interviews with vulnerable workers as explained elsewhere in this chapter is one example. To be aware of the moral dimension of my research and be reflexive of my decisions meant that I was responsible towards not only those who were involved in my

research but also my discipline. If I did not negotiate legitimate access to information, ultimately my discipline and my colleagues who engaged in social science would be discredited.

I made an effort to enhance the validity of my interpretation of data and to reflect the complexity of the social relations of participating respondents. Multiple data collection techniques were used, depending on the types, the volume and the depth of information that needed to be collected. A semi-structured interview technique was critical in enabling the interviewees to tell their experiences in their own words as much as possible. Because it was difficult to gain access to local people who could talk in detail about many of the past events and decisions that were relevant to the study, the examination of documentary information served as valuable means to collect data to this effect. Document analysis was also a useful way to confirm reliable and accurate records of past events because people's memories of past events could be sometimes distorted or erroneous. The combined use of questionnaires and a structured interview technique enabled me to collect a standardized set of compatible data that was useful for quantitative analysis.

Qualitative research interviewing techniques developed in Western society, particularly feminist approaches, emphasize non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian and non-manipulative relationships between the interviewer and the interviewee, and involve emotions and feelings. Incorporating certain aspects of feminist interview techniques enabled me to build productive interactions with the participants and enhanced my sense of commitment. At the same time, there were some factors that were unique in the particular context of applying these principles in Japan. This suggests that some traditional Western interviewing techniques may not apply in non-Western society and may have to be adjusted in accordance with the cultural and the social appropriateness of each study.

My experience with cultural differences in the applicability of qualitative research methods presents a much bigger question regarding the applicability of Western methods of data collection in general, which I do not have the space to discuss in this research. For the purpose of this research, the lesson I learned is that what is appropriate and ethical varies because it is inevitably related to the complexity of social and cultural conditions of the researched (Punch, 1986). Researchers need to make a conscientious effort to be sensitive to particular social and cultural contexts of what they study, be reflexive of the implications of the methods they apply and be explicit in a full history of the research process.

CHAPTER VII

CASE STUDY: AYABE CITY AND ITS TEN-YEAR COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY

Chapter VI outlined my research strategy and methods. This chapter and Chapter VIII discuss findings of my fieldwork. This chapter discusses the experience of the local government and residents of Ayabe City in the development and implementation of the City's new statutory basic strategy. Ayabe City is a small rural municipality in the Kansai region of Japan that has a long history of promoting peace and human rights-based approaches. Ayabe City has adopted an inclusive approach in its development of a new ten-year development strategy. This chapter illustrates positive experiences of Ayabe City and explores the background of how they occurred. It also outlines negative factors that are overshadowing the outcome of such positive experiences.

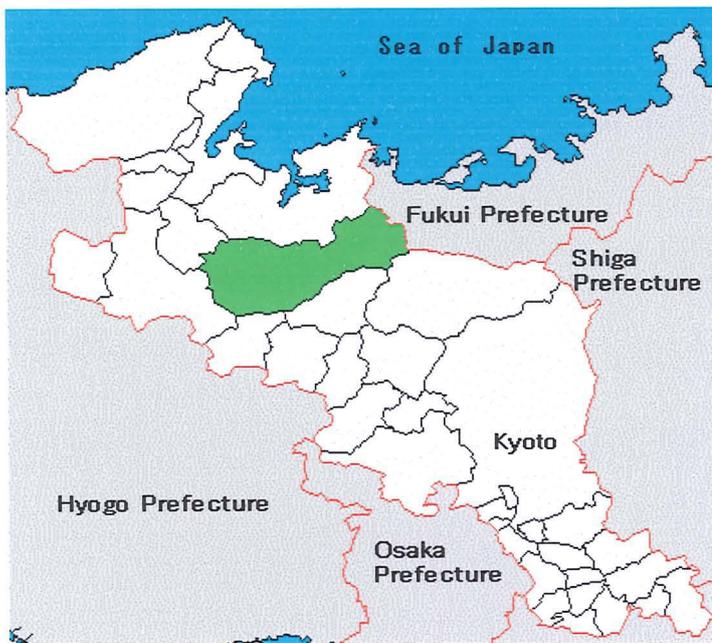
The main focus of this chapter is two-fold – the development of the strategy and then people's reflection on this in the context of current policies of the central government, which are pulling Ayabe City in different directions. This chapter relies on the analysis of two different sources of data. The first source of data is my document analysis of the Ayabe City's new statutory basic strategy and other related official publications. The second source is my findings from original fieldwork based on interviews and questionnaire responses.

PROFILE OF AYABE CITY

Map VII-1: Location of Kyoto Prefecture



Map VII-2: Location of Ayabe City within Kyoto Prefecture



People, Land and Economy

Ayabe City is situated in the Prefecture of Kyoto in the western region of Kansai in Japan. With the area of 347.11 km², Ayabe City is the fourth largest City by area in the entire Kansai Region, after Kyoto City, Kobe City and Sasayama City. Like many other cities of the similar population size, Ayabe City came into existence on 1 August 1950 as a result of a large-scale merger of neighbouring small Villages during the Great Merger of the Showa Era (Chapter V).

The population of Ayabe is 38,407 as of 2003. As is often the case with small municipalities in rural areas in Japan, Ayabe City is suffering from depopulation, especially of younger generations. The population of the City has been slowly declining. During the period of ten years between 1993 and 2003, the City's population declined by 7%. On the other hand, the number of newcomer foreigners in Ayabe has been increasing. According to the statistics of the Ayabe City government, there were 488 foreign residents living in Ayabe as of September 2002. The figure nearly doubled during ten years since 1992 when the number of foreigners was 248. Foreign residents currently represent approximately 1.2% of the City's population. This ratio is representative of the national average of 1.4% (as of December 2001).

A more detailed look of the profiles of foreign residents in Ayabe shows further similarities with the national average statistics. As of 2002, Asian and South American foreign residents made up 78% and 19% of the total foreign residents in Ayabe respectively. The corresponding national figures were 74% and 19% (as of December 2001). As is often the case with other cities in the Kansai region, Ayabe is home to many old-comer foreigners. However, the percentage of newcomer foreigners in Ayabe is slightly higher than the national average. Nearly 70% of the foreign residents in Ayabe were newcomers in 2002 while the national average was 62%.

In terms of the local economy, the manufacturing industry is the biggest employer, followed by the service, whole-sale/food and drink dispensing and construction industries. The manufacturing industry is also the main employer of local newcomer foreigners. Between 1999 and 2001, the share of the service industry increased in terms of both the number of business entities and the number of employees. The share of the transportation/communication industry has also increased. Meanwhile, the share of the manufacturing industry and that of the whole-sale/food and drink dispensing industry have both declined during the same period.

Liberal Environment – Ethos of the City

Ayabe City has a long history of promoting inclusive local governance. Ayabe City belongs to the region of Kansai, which is a host of a large number of old-comer foreigners (Chapters III and IV). Accordingly, the City has been active in organizing activities at schools and at community level for the promotion of human rights protection of old-comer foreigners. As outlined in Chapter V, Basic Municipalities in Japan usually host very active community and neighbourhood associations (Jichikai). Ayabe is not an exception.

For example, the Ayabe City government adopts a system of public information distribution called a 'Kairan-ban' system. 'Kairan' is to circulate in Japanese and 'ban' in this context refers to a clipboard. Copies of official notices from the City government are distributed to the chairman of each neighbourhood association as well as displayed in public places. The chairman then inserts these official notices into a clipboard together with a circulation checklist with names of all the members (each household is represented by a designated 'head of the household') of the neighbourhood association and hands it to the first member listed on the circulation checklist. The clipboard is circulated in accordance with the order in the checklist from one household to another.

Upon receipt of the clipboard, you as a member resident are required to cross out your name off the list once you have read the materials provided and then hand carry the clipboard to the next person on the list within a reasonable timeframe while logging the date on the list when the clipboard left your house.

The use of this pass-along clipboard in Ayabe necessitates direct face-to-face interaction of immediate neighbours in a given community. Most residents prefer to hand over the clipboard in person to the next household (to avoid misplacing it) and often get to know their immediate neighbours and their family makeup very well.

Interactions among residents that are promoted through the circulation of this clipboard sometimes develop into something more substantial. Some residents learned that their neighbour was an old couple and tried to watch out for them to make sure they were all right. While this system typically works very well, on the negative side there have been a few known cases where residents chronically held up the circulation and built up a dishonourable reputation in the neighbourhood of being unreliable. The clipboard itself is a means to circulate official notices and information from the City government. However, the circulation of the clipboard in Ayabe City has developed into a process through which a form of social capital can be accumulated within a given neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood association in Ayabe also manages more practical communal issues such as public sanitation, streetlights and traffic safety. It also functions as organizing unit for the management of local volunteer fire fighters. Because the City can keep only a limited number of full-time professional fire fighters on its payroll, these volunteer fire fighters carry out community-based duties such as fire and crime prevention patrols in the evening, crisis management in the event of emergencies and restoration activities after natural and man-made disasters.

The neighbourhood association is often a hub of social advocacy activities in Ayabe as well. The Ayabe Women's Association often organize fund-raising activities for international organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Red Cross. Each neighbourhood association houses local branches of the Women's Association and is actively involved in raising awareness on social issues among residents. Some neighbourhood associations collectively organize an annual athletic festival, where the participating neighbourhoods compete against each other not only in sports but also in costumes and cheerleading performances. Many neighbourhood associations in Ayabe often organize social events to observe religious festivities as parishioners of the same temple or shrine.

In short, neighbourhood associations in Ayabe City play an important role in the lives of local residents politically, socially and religiously. Through various events, neighbourhood associations in Ayabe promote the personal interaction of residents, mobilize residents around social issues and play an important role in creating the spirit of solidarity and belonging among its residents. The neighbourhood association in Ayabe City is a critical mechanism to promote active social participation of residents.

Ayabe also has its unique local factors that have led to fostering a liberal spirit in the City. The World Federalist Movement (WFM) and the Oomoto are two examples of such local factors.

Ayabe joined the WFM in October 1950 and became the first local municipality in Japan to do so. The WFM is a global citizens' movement with members and associated organizations around the world. The WFM international secretariat is based in New York City, U.S.A.. Founded in 1947 in Montreux, Switzerland, the Movement brings together organizations and individuals committed to the vision of a just world order through a strengthened United Nations. The WFM is a non-governmental

organization in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Twenty-eight Prefectures and 350 Basic Municipalities in Japan are active members of the WFM as of January 2004. Member municipalities of the WFM in Japan jointly established the Council of the World Federalist Municipalities in Japan in 1954. The Mayor of Ayabe City is the president of the Council and the City government of Ayabe serves as the permanent secretariat of the Council.

Another important local factor in Ayabe is the existence of Oomoto. Oomoto, which may be loosely translated as The Great Origin, or The Great Source, came into being as a religion and spiritual movement of lay people in 1892. Nao Deguchi, an impoverished widow with eight children founded the movement. Its teachings and principles are largely influenced by those of the Shinto religion. Initially, the group that formed around Deguchi remained a local organization centred in Ayabe. Then Kisaburo Ueda married Nao's youngest daughter, Sumiko, and took the name of Onisaburo Deguchi. After Nao's death, Onisaburo began to extend Oomoto's membership and influence throughout Japan at an astonishing rate. In so doing, he came in sharp conflict with the imperial government of Japan at the time due to his call for reconstruction and reform in society. The central government felt increasingly threatened about Oomoto's activities.

Consequently, what is called the First Oomoto Incident took place in 1921, upon which Oomoto, its activities and adherents were suppressed by the Japanese government. The government ordered police to enter and search the Oomoto precincts at Ayabe and arrested its leaders on charges of high treason and violation of the legislation concerning the press. Drastic curtailment of the sect's activities and the destruction by government order of Oomoto sanctuaries soon followed. The first trial ended 5 October 1921 with a verdict of guilty. Despite this political pressure, in the late

1920s Oomoto extended its activities in Europe, America as well as neighbouring Asian countries and carried out activities advocating world peace and humanity. In 1935 with the background of the rise of fascism, the Second Oomoto Incident occurred, when the authorities arrested over 200 members of Oomoto with the charges of blasphemy and violation of the public order maintenance law. The central government officially banned the religion subsequently. Despite the suppression, Oomoto continued its anti-war activities.

With the end of the Second World War in 1945, the central government's case against Oomoto collapsed. Oomoto joined the World Federalist Movement in 1949 and launched various inter-faith and inter-religious activities to promote causes such as world peace and prohibition of nuclear weapons. Through its turbulent history of over 100 years, Oomoto has also become the origin of many strands of newly founded religious movements in Japan in contemporary history.

The teachings of Oomoto advocate such principles as positivism and liberal progressivism for the betterment of social conditions. The two 'incidents' that Oomoto suffered indicate that Oomoto acted not only as a religious body but also as an advocacy organization for social changes and pacifism. Although not all residents in Ayabe are members of the religion, there is evidence that the presence of Oomoto and its eventful history have influenced the lives and the thoughts of Ayabe residents. As examined in the subsequent section of this chapter, the importance of spiritual influence of Oomoto is acknowledged in the new ten-year strategy of Ayabe City adopted in 2000.

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW TEN-YEAR STRATEGY OF AYABE CITY

The main focus of this section of the chapter concerns my analysis of documents concerning the process of adopting a new ten-year development strategy in Ayabe City. I was intrigued by the efforts of the local government and residents of Ayabe City to make the process as inclusive and deliberative as possible. At the same time, I also witnessed that the City faced financial difficulties and merger pressure at the implementation phase of the strategy. The local government of Ayabe City was facing a difficult challenge. It was entrusted to carry out the plan of action that was adopted as a result of participatory joint effort of local residents. But it was also forced by the central government to consider merger with neighbouring municipalities (Chapter V).

These findings made me reflect on the changing dynamics of the relationship between the central and local governments, which is key to my research. This section outlines the planning process of the new ten-year strategy of Ayabe City that suggests positive developments for inclusive citizenship. As discussed in Chapter VI, I tried to maintain a reflexive approach to my fieldwork. I was especially mindful of possible sources of bias in data and did not take it at face value without analyzing it fully.

As discussed in Chapter V, periodically updating a long-term development strategy is a statutory requirement of a Basic Municipality in Japan. Ayabe City started its process of developing a new statutory basic strategy, called the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy in May 1999. The Planning and Policy Department of the City government served as the secretariat. From the outset, the Mayor and the City government of Ayabe have proactively adopted the position to make the development process of its new basic strategy as inclusive and accessible as possible. The guiding principles adopted by the City government illustrate what they were trying to achieve. The guidelines were as follows:

- (i) Efforts must be made to hear the ideas and opinions of as many residents as possible;
- (ii) The outcomes of the past strategy have to be critically examined to identify problems; and
- (iii) In order to enhance the sense of its local ownership, the development of the strategy should not be commissioned to an outside consultant.

The Mayor of Ayabe also requested to the secretariat that the final wording of the strategy should be straightforward and intelligible so that anyone with the lower secondary school level education could understand its content. The timeline for the process is described in Table VII-1 below.

Table VII-1: Timeline of Planning Process of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City

| Time line | Activities | Participants |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| June 1999 | Questionnaire survey <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questionnaires on the public services in Ayabe City were distributed to 1,000 randomly chosen residents. | 608 residents |
| June ~ July 1999 | Campaign to solicit ideas and opinions from residents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information leaflets were distributed to all the households in the City. | 55 submissions |
| August ~ October 1999 | Local community discussion fora | 148 participants in 12 districts |
| June ~ October 1999 | Campaign to solicit project proposals from local NGOs | Submissions from 15 organizations representing 121 residents |
| December 1999 | Discussion with City Mayor on project proposals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The organizations that submitted project proposals got together with the Mayor to exchange views and opinions about the new basic strategy. | 22 NGO representatives |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| June ~ October 2000 | Basic Strategy Deliberation Committee (statutory); and Drafting of the Strategy by the Secretariat | 19 sessions with 43 Committee members |
| December 2000 | Adoption of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy at the City Council of Ayabe | |

At the first phase of the development of the new basic strategy, the City government started reviewing the outcomes of the Third Comprehensive Strategy and simultaneously launched a fairly comprehensive set of activities for monitoring the ideas and opinions of its residents (Table VII-1).

The results of the June questionnaires survey showed that the majority of Ayabe residents were satisfied with the living environment in general, including natural environment, street conditions and public hygiene and sanitation services (Ayabe City Government, 2001, pp.176-182). As for the delivery of public services, the residents were also “generally satisfied” with the quality of the City’s medical and social services (ibid.). The results of the survey showed that the residents were generally satisfied with the quality of education, culture, sports and other recreational activities available in the City (ibid.). The residents showed their general satisfaction with the City’s services for emergency and fire fighting, traffic safety, disaster prevention and pollution control (ibid.). The residents thought the level of development of the local commerce and industry were more or less acceptable but the amount of employment opportunities available locally was not at the satisfactory level (ibid.).

The June survey results showed that about 80% of the residents were enthusiastic about participating in activities and events for community building (ibid.). The survey results also indicated that the issue of City’s population size divided the local residents into two groups. One group was of a view that it was “necessary to implement policies specifically targeted to increase the number of the population in order to revitalize local economy and general morale” (ibid.). The other group

suggested that “policies of the City should aim for the improvement of the residential environment in general rather than focusing on demographic trends” (ibid.).

As part of its outreach effort to residents, the City government included foreign residents as the target population of questionnaires, opinion solicitation and discussion fora. However, the City could not produce relevant documents in multi-language format due to financial constraints. Accordingly, the participation was in practice limited to residents who possessed above a certain level of Japanese language ability.

The list of group project proposals submitted by local NGOs showed impressive range in terms of the nature of the participating organizations as well as the areas of the proposal subjects (Appendix: List VII-1). The subject areas of the project proposals were also wide-ranging, and covered issues such as economic revitalization, population growth, environmentally sustainable development, lifelong learning, senior citizens’ welfare and public hygiene.

The City’s existing system of municipal administration monitoring also played an important role in the planning of the new basic strategy. Ayabe City introduced a ‘resident monitors’ scheme in 1977 as a means to invites opinions from its residents. The ultimate goal of this system was to reflect opinions of residents in public policy making and implementation. The City government publicizes the scheme at the beginning of each fiscal year in April and invite applications from residents through such mediums as City government newsletters, radio and closed-circuit cable broadcasting. The original number of the resident monitors in the 1970s was around 15. There are currently around 40 monitors, which include a few foreign residents. Anybody who resides in Ayabe City and is 20 years of age or older is eligible to be a resident monitor. The maximum limit of the resident monitors is set at 50 seats. If the City receives applications from more than 50 people, the priority is given to those who

have never been a resident monitor before and the remaining seats are filled in a random drawing.

Each monitor has tenure of two years. Fifty percent of monitor seats become available for new selection each year. The resident monitors meet as a group once a year. They form smaller sub-groups depending on their interests and meet as appropriate. There are currently four sub-groups on the following subjects: community development, environment, education, and health/welfare. No official rule exists as to how often they need to meet. Each sub-group decides their own operation rules. Sub-groups submit reports of their meetings to the Planning and Public Relations Division (PPRD) of the City government periodically.

The PPRD coordinates with relevant offices of the City government to discuss the feasibility of suggestions from the sub-groups and respond to questions raised by resident monitors. The PPRD sometimes publishes opinions and suggestions submitted from the sub-groups on the City's Website as well as newsletters. The suggestions submitted from resident monitors have led to various changes in the City government.

“We have quite a good number of examples of such changes. As a result of the recommendation from resident monitors, we extended the business hours for certain services until seven o'clock in the evening. The City government staff are required to wear name badges also because of the recommendation from resident monitors. Based on the suggestions from resident monitors, the City is also exploring the ways to better utilize the Internet in its monitoring of the opinions of residents.” – Mr N, PPRD

On the basis of the findings from the abovementioned opinion-gathering activities, the City government started the process of developing a draft of the new basic strategy in November 1999. Simultaneously with the drafting process, the Basic Strategy Deliberation Committee was established in June 2000. The Mayor of the City nominated 43 members of the Deliberation Committee from local NGOs, City government staff and experts in the relevant fields. These members included four residents who were selected through public application. The list of members of the

Deliberation Committee shows participants from an impressively wide range of expertise (Appendix: List VII-2).

During the course of four months between June and October 2000, the Deliberation Committee carried out its discussions on the new basic strategy at three plenary meetings, 12 Sub-committee meetings and four meetings of the Sub-committee chairpersons. On the basis of the final report submitted by the Deliberation Committee on 11 October 2000, the City government finalized the draft strategy and submitted it to the City Council for its deliberation in December 2000. After a two-day deliberation by the Council's special committee on the review of the comprehensive strategy, the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy was adopted at the plenary of the City Council on 26 December 2000.

FOURTH COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY OF AYABE CITY: 2001-2010

The previous section examined the inclusive nature of the development process of the Ayabe City's ten-year strategy. This section contains the document analysis of the contents of the strategy paper itself. The Fourth Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City covers the period of ten years from 2001 through 2010. The Strategy consists of two major parts. The first part is entitled "Basic Concept" and provides the outline of long-term policies for the ten-year period. The second part is entitled "Basic Programme" and contains the programme of action to be implemented in each of the policy areas identified in the Basic Concept.

Basic Concept

At the outset, the Fourth Strategy explains its purpose. It states that the goal of the Strategy is to provide the guidelines for general local governance and management of local finance. The document makes it clear (p.12) that "the Strategy is not only the

administration guideline for the City government but is also intended as the guideline for the partnership among the City's residents, the private sector and the public sector".

The Strategy states that the evaluation of the outcomes of the previous basic strategy (Third Comprehensive Strategy developed in 1987) identified the continuing relevance of four policy issues. They are namely the City's infrastructure, population, finance and revitalization of local economy. The Fourth Strategy then goes on to identify (pp.6-9) nine new policy issues that have become relevant since the development of the old Strategy. These new issues include the following:

- (i) Declining and ageing population
- (ii) Preservation of the environment
- (iii) Effect of the globalization
- (iv) Advancement of the information technology
- (v) Importance of spiritual and cultural heritage
- (vi) Lively non-governmental organization community
- (vii) Broader-based and partnership-based regional governance
- (viii) Trend in national political environment for decentralization and local autonomy
- (ix) Deterioration of the local and the central public finance

The Strategy emphasizes the importance of the issues of local demography and geography in particular. The Strategy points out that "the City has been suffering the declining and ageing population in recent years" (p.13). The Strategy states (p.13) that "while it is difficult to expect a large-scale increase during the ten-year period in question, it is essential to maintain a certain level of the local population in order to sustain the vitality of the City". Accordingly, the Strategy sets the target population level at 40,000 as of 2010. As for the local geography, the Strategy emphasizes "the

richness of the City's natural environment" (p.14), especially the quality of its rivers, streams and mountains and strongly advocates their preservation.

The Fourth Comprehensive Strategy proclaims that Ayabe's efforts for 'Machizukuri' (city building; Chapter V) must "result in the development of 'hometown' where politically conscious residents participate in local governance in partnership" (p.15). To this effect, the Strategy advocates the following five underpinning 'themes' that constitute the vision of new Ayabe (pp.15-18):

(i) Taking advantage of the existing superior characteristics of the City such as:

- Rich natural environment
- Function as an important transportation junction of both railways and highways that connects the southern and the northern regions of Kyoto Prefecture
- Home of several national blue-chip companies
- Home of Oomoto – a religious organization
- First Japanese city to join the World Federalist Movement

(ii) Investing in people through:

- Promotion of human resource development not only for the fostering of future business leaders but also for the enhancement of residential autonomy
- Improvement in school and life-long education of all residents

(iii) Promoting healthy and active life of senior citizens

- Building society that provides senior citizens with comfortable living environments and opportunities to play a more active role

(iv) Preservation of the rich natural environment

(v) Preservation of the residential population and promotion of visitor population

As we can see from this list of main themes, the Strategy of Ayabe places the highest priority on preserving its rural characteristics. It is noteworthy that the main

development ‘themes’ of the City do not refer to industrial development. Instead, the Strategy emphasizes the importance of human resource development and affirmation of its “existing superior characteristics” (p.15). “Residential population” and “visitor population” (p.18) under the theme (v) above may include newcomer foreigners since the Strategy paper does not contain any nationality-specific description on this subject. This may suggest the possibility of accepting newcomer foreigners as new members of the community.

Building upon the abovementioned policy issues and themes, the Strategy of Ayabe sets out the six key “Pillars” of policies as follows (p.19):

- Pillar 1: Residential Partnership
- Pillar 2: Spiritual and Cultural Heritage
- Pillar 3: Welfare, Health Care and Medical Services
- Pillar 4: Conservation and Improvement of Environment
- Pillar 5: Traffic and Urban Infrastructure
- Pillar 6: Promotion of Local Economy

Again, as in the case with the main development ‘themes’, this list of key policy pillars suggest the City’s heavy emphasis on human resource development, especially embracing its spiritual and cultural heritage.

Basic Programme

This second part of the Strategy contains the lists of policy measures and projects to be implemented under each of the policy pillars mentioned in the Basic Concept section. One of the unique characteristics of the Basic Programme section is that it includes examples of the original ideas and opinions submitted from residents that became the basis of the formulation of relevant policy measures and projects. These are suggestions submitted from residents at various stages of the aforementioned opinion gathering

process in 1999 of the planning of the Strategy. They were gathered from resident questionnaires, public write-ins and community discussions. The inclusion of such examples makes the Strategy more accessible and contributes to the increased sense of residential ownership of the document. This is a direct result of the efforts made by the City government secretariat to remain true to the guiding principles established at the beginning of the planning stage of the Strategy.

The following paragraphs examine the details of the policy measures and projects contained in the Basic Programme under three of the abovementioned six Policy Pillars that are of key interest to my research, namely Policy Pillars 1, 2 and 6 (see Appendices: Lists VII-3, 4 and 5 for other Policy Pillars).

Policy Pillar 1: Residential Partnership

The Strategy states (p.20) that “the City government and the residents shall equally share the responsibilities to materialize the participatory local governance that actively promote civic initiatives”. In honouring the history of the City as the first local municipality in Japan to join the World Federalist Movement, the Strategy urges “each resident to respect and promote the principles of the protection of basic human rights and world peace” (p.21). It is significant that the issue of respect and partnership among residents stands as the first priority of the development policy of the City. In particular, it is noteworthy that the Strategy recommends (p.21) “measures to further improve the living environments to accommodate special needs of foreign residents” (see the list below). The Strategy also “acknowledges NGOs as important partners” (p.20).

The Strategy (pp.38-47) proposes the following project areas under Policy Pillar

1:

- (i) Promotion of civic initiatives

- Supporting civic organizations such as neighbourhood, community and women's associations
 - Supporting community-based initiatives and volunteerism
 - Improving the accessibility of public facilities such as community centres for promoting partnership building among residents
 - Promoting partnership with non-governmental organizations in the implementation of projects under the Strategy
 - Developing the system of support of and partnership with volunteer and non-governmental organizations
 - Promoting the participation of residents in volunteer activities
 - Introducing a 'volunteer bank' system for the identification of existing human resources and the fostering of future leaders
- (ii) Respect of human rights and peace and promotion of partnership
- Providing counselling services for the protection of human rights by legal advisors and human rights protection commissioners
 - Promoting the further implementation of the Ayabe Plan of Action for the Human Rights Education. This is a five-year plan that the City adopted in December 2000 as a policy response to the observation of the United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education: 1995-2005.
 - Implementing measures to further promote gender equality and empowerment of women
 - Continuing the promotion of the World Federalist Movement
 - Implementing measure to further improve the living environments to accommodate special needs of foreign residents
 - Promote international exchange activities related to the City's sister city programmes

- Promote international social events and home-stay programmes specifically targeted for the youth
- Respecting the existing natural environment as well as the local agricultural industry and using such resources to promote partnership among urban and rural populations

Policy Pillar 2: Spiritual and Cultural Heritage

“To respect individuality and promote self-motivation of each resident” (p.22), the Strategy urges educational institutions, families and local communities to “work in partnership and cultivate the infrastructure for life-long education opportunities for residents” (p.22). Furthermore, the Strategy states (p.23) that “the history, arts and both tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the City must be respected and preserved in planning the future of the City”.

The Strategy (pp.50-68) proposes the following project areas under Policy Pillar 2:

- (i) Formal education
 - Improvement on pre-school education
 - Improvement on school education
- (ii) Life-long education
 - Development of a comprehensive promotion system that involves relevant entities
 - Fostering a pool of instructors through such measures as a ‘volunteer bank’
 - Mobilization of senior citizens as instructors
 - Supporting activities at community centres
 - Development of activities targeted for the physical and mental health of young people

(iii) Culture, arts and sports

- Promotion of arts and cultural activities
- Fostering of local artistic talents
- Fostering of the future generation to preserve the traditional cultural events and activities
- Conservation of local cultural heritages
- Promotion of further utilization of existing local facilities
- Promotion of life-long sports activities

Policy Pillar 6: Promotion of Local Economy

The Strategy (p.30) states that “the revitalization of local economy has to be further promoted especially through the strengthening of the agricultural sector”. The Strategy calls for “initiatives for creative business opportunities and human resources development” (p.30). The Strategy recommends that “tourism industry be strengthened” (p.31). The Strategy (p.31) also suggests that “measures have to be implemented to create employment opportunities for returning Ayabe residents, senior citizens, women and the physically handicapped”.

The Strategy (pp.126-144) proposes the following project area under Policy Pillar 6:

- (i) Strengthening the local industry and revitalizing agricultural villages
- Strengthening of the primary industry
 - Regeneration of agricultural villages, including through means such as green- and eco-tourism, nature schools and agricultural schools
 - Commerce and service industries
 - Manufacturing industry
 - Tourism

- (ii) Promoting responsible consumption
- Advisory services for consumers
 - Promotion of recycling and energy conservation

The Strategy emphasizes the need to strengthen the agriculture and the forestry industries in so-called Satoyama (mountain villages) and other rural areas in accordance with the principle of the environmentally sustainable development, rather than the general promotion of business and commerce in urban areas. It suggests that the City has chosen a path to build its future largely through the conservation and sustainable use of its rural and agricultural characteristics, rather than radical urbanization.

Guidelines for Implementation

The Strategy (pp.32-33 and pp.145-153) contains a set of four guidelines for implementation of the proposed projects under the aforementioned six Policy Pillars. These guidelines are important in understanding what the local government and residents of Ayabe thought would most critically influence the success of the City's development. This section examines these guidelines individually.

Guideline 1: Government-Residents Partnership

The Strategy (p.32) emphasizes the "importance of partnership between the local government and residents". The Strategy states that "active participation of residents and the close partnership between the local government and its residents are essential for the successful local governance" (p.32). Even before the development of the Strategy, the City government of Ayabe "had been utilizing various different means for the distribution of public information to its residents, such as local newspapers,

magazines, Internet, FM Ayabe and cable broadcasting” (p.146). The City had been also “implementing initiatives to promote feedback from residents” (p.146). Examples include the local policy advisory commissions, aforementioned resident monitors system and periodic public discussion fora on current policy issues. The City also organizes so-called “Meet the Mayor Days” (p.146) when the Mayor receives public visitors to discuss policy issues. Through the Volunteer Promotion Office, the City had been also working closely with local NGOs in its project implementation. The Strategy pledges the continuation of such on-going initiatives and advocates more active participation of residents (pp.146-147).

Guideline 2: Efficient Administrative Management

The Strategy (p.148) warns that “while the needs of residents become more and more diversified and individualized, the City government increasingly faces severe financial difficulties”. The Strategy (p.148) “pledges the continuing efforts by the City government to implement restructuring for the improvement of its administrative efficiency”. At the same time, the Strategy (p.149) suggests that “some services will have to be out-sourced to NGOs and entities in the private sector”.

Guideline 3: Healthy Public Finance

The Strategy (p.150) points out that “the fiscal stability of Ayabe City is very feeble”. In fact, the fiscal health of the City became so deteriorated that Ayabe was once designated as Local Government in Financial Reconstruction (Zaisei Saiken Junyou Dantai) in the past (p.150). The Strategy warns that “the on-going fiscal reform of the central government results in a rapid decline in the financial assistance to the local government” (p.150; Chapter V). At the same time, “as a result of the instruction by the central government to issue local bonds to promote the regeneration of local economy,

many local governments including that of Ayabe face grave fiscal difficulties” (p.150). The Strategy warns that the City government “has to carry out radical cuts in its expenditures and increase administration fees in order to ensure the financial resources for the successful implementation of the Strategy” (p.150).

Guideline 4: Broader-based Regional Governance

The Strategy states that as the “daily life and economic activities of residents increasingly stretch over wider geographic areas that often spread beyond the border of one Municipality, clear guidelines need to be established on the administrative division of labour among the Basic Municipality, the Prefecture and the central government” (p.152). The Strategy (p.153) advocates exploring the possibility of “regional governance systems in partnership with neighbouring Basic Municipalities”. The Strategy also suggests discussions on the possibility of mergers with neighbouring Basic Municipalities (p.153).

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STRATEGY: IMPLICATIONS FOR FOREIGN RESIDENTS

The preceding sections contained my document analysis and examined the development process and the contents of the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City. They outlined the inclusive nature of the planning process, the main policy areas for the City’s future development and issues of concern to the local government and residents of Ayabe City. This section examines the implementation phase of the Strategy in the context of current policies of the central government, which are pulling Ayabe City in different directions. This section contains original findings of my fieldwork on the basis of interviews and survey responses from the staff of the City government.

In this section, I examine the comments of City government staff and illustrate that there are many positive elements to build on for inclusive citizenship of foreigners at the local level. As stated earlier in this chapter and in Chapter VI, I tried to maintain a reflexive approach to my fieldwork. Especially, I was mindful of possible sources of bias in data and did not take it at face value without analyzing it fully. I was aware that what people said in interviews did not necessarily always represent what they would do in practice. I was also aware that in interviews people might feel defensive about their positions and try to justify themselves by shifting the blame onto somebody else. My record here is not a simple reproduction of what people said but represents my analysis as a result of reflexive research.

General Issues Concerning Implementation

One of the key challenges of the City government immediately after the adoption of the Strategy was to keep the momentum of the planning process of the Strategy and to maintain the constant flow of feedback from residents concerning local administration. To this effect, the Planning and Public Relations Division (PPRD) of the government of Ayabe City plays an important role. It is the local government's front line of the interaction with residents. The staff of the Division hold a key to successfully reflect and integrate opinions of the City residents into the management of the City administration (Chapter II).

I asked the staff of the PPRD what they thought was their main issue of concern in terms of implementation of the Strategy. At the outset, they said that the staff of the City government generally felt a big gap between the policy created by the central government and policies that residents want the local government to implement. The staff of the PPRD said that they felt an increasing need to be creative and flexible in carrying out their work.

According to the PPRD staff, the main concern of the City government was financial difficulty. They were particularly concerned with the central government's policy to significantly reduce the Local Allocation Tax for the small Basic Municipalities that refused to merge. As examined in Chapter V, an individual local government receives the Local Allocation Tax from the central government as financial supplement for its activities. However, the central government has been reducing the amount of the Regular Local Allocation Tax, particularly for small Basic Municipalities.

The PPRD staff believed that such situations generally reflected a trend in policy-making by the central government that preferred and praised the policy implementation of larger Basic Municipalities. They felt that under the current policy environment, unless a small-size city increased its population either by merger or promoting influx of population from other cities, the central government deemed that the city implemented unsuccessful policies. The staff of the Ayabe City government felt a strong dissatisfaction with a strong emphasis on population size for measuring success in local governance. They didn't believe that such an emphasis necessarily led to successful public policy from the residents' point of view. They were also concerned that too much emphasis on accommodating the needs of younger (reproductive age) residents might alienate senior citizens. One PPRD staff, Mr N said:

“The population size is an indicator for the planning of the basic infrastructure and services such as sewage system, garbage collection, gas and water services, etc.. However, the size of the city does not necessarily tell you anything about how closely public policies really reflect the needs of residents.”

The preferential treatment of larger Basic Municipalities by the central government and the suppression of small Basic Municipalities were hot political issues among the staff of the City government of Ayabe. The staff feared that the open display of disdain by the central government of small rural Municipalities was solidifying the stereotypical

image of rural communities as the destination for ‘losers’. Younger people who stayed or come back to their hometown in rural regions in Japan have traditionally been seen as ‘losers’ who had failed in a bigger city and sought refuge in their hometown.

According to Mr N, the revitalization initiatives in a small Basic Municipality would have to start its battle with dealing with issues at the psychological level. They need to somehow create a conversion in the national conceptual trend of negativity surrounding rural communities.

“It is a tall order but the old stereotype has to be overcome. Living in a small rural city is and should be recognized as a positive life-style choice, not an escape or failure.” – Mr N, PPRD

Resident Monitors Scheme

As explained elsewhere in this chapter, Ayabe City introduced a resident monitors scheme in 1977 as a means to invite opinions from its residents. At the time of introduction, the resident monitors scheme was the main route for soliciting views and opinions from residents. In recent years, more and more residents voice their opinions directly to the City via phone, letters and Internet. Accordingly, the resident monitors scheme has become “one of various means” (Mr N, PPRD) of collecting opinions of residents about general public policy issues. The PPRD welcomes opinions from foreign residents whenever they receive such communication, but it does not implement any special measures for opinion gathering targeted specifically to foreign residents.

“We talked to both Japanese and foreign residents about having a separate opinion monitoring system for foreigners. Both residents generally felt that having a public mechanism specifically targeted for foreign residents would single them out from the community. They thought that such a mechanism might work adversely to the effort of integrating foreigners as fellow residents. As a result, we decided to encourage participation of foreign residents in the existing resident monitors system rather than establishing a separate mechanism.” – Mr N, PPRD

Measures to Improve the Living Environment for Foreign Residents

As outlined in the preceding section of this chapter, the number one priority listed in the Strategy of Ayabe City is ‘residential partnership’ (Policy Pillar 1). Furthermore, one of the project areas of the ten-year programme of action (Basic Programme) under this Policy Pillar is to accommodate special needs of foreign residents. The following paragraphs discuss my findings on the measures that the City has undertaken to improve the living environment of foreign residents. I look at general administrative issues as well as specific service areas for foreign residents.

(i) General Administrative Issues

After the launch of implementation of the Strategy in spring 2001, the Resident Affairs Division of the Resident and Environmental Protection Department of the Ayabe City government prepared a document in 2002 that included comprehensive statistics and analysis on the foreign residents in Ayabe. It was part of the City’s efforts to strengthen its database for improving public policies and services. The Resident Affairs Division was responsible for annual report on the statistics concerning the local foreign residents for the Ministry of Justice. The staff of the Division told me that the techniques used in such annual reporting became useful in synthesizing the information on foreign residents for more comprehensive analyses.

The City “does not impose any nationality related restriction on the hiring of its staff” (questionnaire response from General Administration and Management Department). “Both Japanese and non-Japanese residents can apply for public service jobs at the City government” (ibid.). Ayabe “has not conducted any independent study concerning the issue of political participation and rights of foreign residents” (ibid.).

However, the staff of the City government “follow closely the debate conducted at the national level” (ibid.). The aforementioned resident monitors scheme “provides a valuable means to foreign residents for political participation in Ayabe City” (Mr N, PPRD).

The staff of the Ayabe City government told me that they believed in principle that allocation of financial resources for activities targeted to those who were considered socially vulnerable or marginalized such as the physically disabled and foreigners, should not be limited to any certain scale solely on account of the statistical smallness of such population groups. In other words, social vulnerability of all population groups should be equally taken into consideration in implementation of public policies.

“We don’t determine the quality of services needed for a particular group of residents on the basis of their demographic size. They are resident, however minority they may be. Their voices need to be heard.” – Mr N, PPRD

But the reality of service provision does not necessarily reflect this principle.

“Public finance at the local level is facing serious difficulties at the moment. With our shrinking budget, it is not possible to provide ‘target-specific’ services such as multi-lingual services in all areas, especially when the number of non-Japanese speaking residents in our community is so small.” – Resident Affairs Division (questionnaire response)

The staff of the City government subscribed to the holistic approach to development that is manifested in the Strategy. For example, they felt that improvement of ‘hardware’ such as wheelchair friendly streets and traffic lights should be accompanied with that of ‘software’ in the corresponding area, such as awareness education in acknowledging special needs of the physically disabled. In the specific context of Ayabe City, vitality of the local spirituality and culture matters as much as materialistic improvement of the infrastructure of the City. This principle applies to the issues of foreign residents. Mr N of PPRD said:

“Improving services such as multi-lingual signage and legal counselling are just a beginning. They should be accompanied with awareness education for successfully co-existing with non-Japanese residents to complete the wholeness of an enabling environment for foreign residents.”

In response to the questionnaire, the staff of the PPRD answered that the concept of ‘internationalization’ in the context of Ayabe meant “to promote the principles of the World Federalist Movement”. The promotion of democracy, justice, peace and partnership constituted an integral part of the ‘internationalization’ of the City. Activities related to various sister-city schemes were designed to contribute to such causes. For example, the City accepted a group of medical professionals from China for international technical cooperation training in the past.

Although the staff of the City government acknowledged the importance of reflecting increasingly diverse needs of different groups of residents, the tightening budget of the City has negative impact on not only the services they could provide but also the resources available for the human resource development of the City’s staff.

Interviews with the City staff revealed that the City did not have enough resources to train its staff to deal with the increase of newcomer foreigners in the community. My question about the training opportunities of the City staff in relation to the increase of newcomer foreigners prompted some City staff to express their concern about the lack of financial resources for human resource development in general at the local government level. They told me that opportunities for general training of the local government staff were becoming increasingly precious commodity.

“Local authorities in Japan have been suffering from shrinking budgets, which has been particularly exacerbated since 1998. Accordingly, the financial resources available for training, seminars and other opportunities for professional development of City government staff were becoming increasingly scarce. With the background of economic recession, residents have increasingly become sensitive about the use of public funding. They are keenly aware that their tax money is supporting all the public services. They get very easily frustrated and even can be abusive to the City staff when they are not satisfied with the services they receive.

The pressure has definitely increased for the public sector to implement changes and improve the quality of services. Some changes involve reorganization. Other changes require reallocation of financial resources from one area from another. Internal administrative requirements such as opportunities for local government staff training sadly make an easy target for criticism from residents. In the private sector, staff training constitutes an important part of organizational management plan. In the public sector, it is becoming very difficult to defend financing of such human resource development opportunities. It is regrettable but residents can be short-sighted sometimes.” – Messrs K and M, General Administration and Management Department

In view of the increasingly difficult financial situation of the City, it is not possible to expect any training opportunity for City staff in the near future to cope with the increase of newcomer foreigners in the community. This means that any initiative to accommodate special needs of newcomer foreigners in terms of interactions with City staff has to rely on voluntarism and discretion of individual staff.

(ii) Multi-Lingual Services

One of the most basic ways to make the life of foreigners easier is to introduce multi-lingual signage. Streets and other public signage, tourist information booklets and some of the Ayabe City’s official publications are available in multi-lingual formats in Japanese and English. The map of the City and the information booklet about Ayabe and its public facilities are also available in English. The City government acknowledged that not all foreigners in Ayabe were fluent in English. However, in view of the financial difficulties that the City faced, it was “extremely difficult to implement a comprehensive multi-lingual public information system that served all foreign residents in the City” (questionnaire response from the Resident Affairs Division). The City government publishes a monthly newsletter that contains information and topical administrative subjects. But it is available only in Japanese.

“We understand that there is much more to be done to improve the access of foreign residents to public information. Unfortunately, our current resources do

not allow us to enable the publication of a multi-lingual newsletter.” – PPRD (questionnaire response)

The Resident Affairs Division provides foreign residents with multi-lingual information leaflets produced by the central government ministries. Such leaflets contain detailed information on some key subjects such as the alien registration and the National Pension Plan, and are available in English, Hangeul (Korean), Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Thai and Tagalog. According to the staff of the Resident Affairs Division, foreign residents who come to the City government office for the alien registration are usually accompanied with someone such as employers or spouses who can speak Japanese.

“Actually, our staff are hardly required to speak any foreign language on duty, as a result.” – A staff of the Resident Affairs Division

“We receive enquiries from non-Japanese residents from time to time. If such enquiry is employment-related, we refer the enquirer to the local public employment centre. All the other enquiries are forwarded to an NGO called the Kyoto Prefectural International Centre, because it accepts general enquiries from non-Japanese residents living in Kyoto Prefecture.” – A staff of the Resident Affairs Division

(iii) Medical Services

The Ayabe City government does not employ a multi-lingual medical expert at the government office. But according to the Health Promotion Division of the City, many doctors at hospitals in the City speak and understand English. Foreign residents who have completed their alien registration and live in Japan with the visa status that allows a stay over one year period – which practically covers all the foreigners in Ayabe City – can receive insurance benefits under the national Health Insurance, provided that they are not covered by the employer-supported Health Insurance or any other insurance schemes (Chapter IV). The City also provides the Maternal and Child Health Handbook in eight different languages.

“We acknowledge the need for access to basic health services of all residents. Once registered with us as resident, a clandestine foreigner can have the

minimum level of services such as general health advice and health checks of their babies and small children.” – Health Promotion Division (questionnaire response)

The Ayabe City Hospital is the core of the City’s health care system and medical services. The Ayabe City Hospital is a so-called third-sector corporation, which is a public-private joint enterprise. Besides regular medical services, the Hospital provides 24-hours emergency services. If a patient is brought to the emergency room, a hospital staff will obtain information from the patient regarding his/her name, contact telephone number and address. They treat patient immediately if the condition is grave and admit them to a ward. In case of less serious conditions, patients after preliminary treatment are asked to return the next day for a check-up. If an emergency case happens during after-hours for administrative office, patients will be asked to come back to pay the treatment fee the following day.

According to the City’s Health Promotion Division, most of the foreign patients who use the Hospital are local residents. Accordingly, the Hospital usually does not have a problem in collecting the treatment fee for emergency services. However, there are a few known cases every year of missed payment by foreign patients who used emergency services at the Ayabe Hospital. These cases always involved patients who were not residents of Ayabe.

“They register illicit contact numbers and addresses when being admitted at the Hospital. They deliberately visit the hospital after the administrative office closed. By the next day, we realize their contact information is falsified but it is too late. We could not trace the patients. They had clearly intended to shirk payment from the beginning. ” – Mr A, Ayabe Hospital

The Ayabe City Hospital does not receive any supplement from Ayabe City to make up the loss caused by those who abuse emergency services. Such losses have to be absorbed by the Hospital (Chapter IV).

Mr. A said that there was a ‘black list’ in the medical community of those who were known to have abused emergency services at various hospitals.

“Private hospitals are having easier time refusing these repeat abusers of emergency services than public-sector hospitals. There is an established notion among the public in Japan that private hospitals are run for the pursuit of profit and, therefore, are allowed to refuse patients that are known to abuse the emergency medical service system. On the other hand, if a public-sector hospital such as the Ayabe Hospital refuses a patient due to his/her abusive payment history, such a hospital would be severely criticized of discriminating a member of the public. We, the public-sector hospitals are supposed to serve the public. People don’t like to see public hospitals refuse patients. The public is harsher on us because of our ‘public’ nature.” – Mr A, Ayabe Hospital

(iv) Housing

The City government of Ayabe recognizes the eligibility of old-comer foreigners for public housing. The eligibility of newcomers depends on the discretion of the each municipality.

“Ayabe City adopts a non-discriminatory policy towards foreigners in terms of public housing. The City recognises the eligibility of foreign residents for public housing services. In Ayabe City, applications from non-permanent (newcomer) resident foreigners can be considered if they have completed their alien registration. Applications from non-registered foreign residents may be rejected.” – Structural Engineering and Construction Division (questionnaire response)

(v) Counselling Services

The City government of Ayabe offers various counselling services to its residents. They are mainly targeted to Japanese residents but are also open to foreign residents. The services available include counselling by legal experts, land registry officers, administrative advisors, pension plan experts, civil case arbitrators, crime and violence counsellors, traffic accident advisors, human rights counsellors and women’s issues counsellors. All the counselling services are organized monthly, except for the counselling by land registry officers that occurs less frequently.

“In most cases, the counsellors are not fluent in other languages than Japanese and the counselees may have to bring their own interpreters if they are not fluent in Japanese.” – Ms K, Human Rights Promotion Division

Out of the services listed above, the counselling by women's issue counsellors constitutes an important part of one of the policy Pillars mentioned in the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy, related to gender equality.

“The Human Rights Promotion Division of the City organizes a monthly feminist counselling service on every first Wednesday of the month with a specialist counsellor from a NGO called Women's Counselling Kyoto. Every week, the City books up to three participants for appointment with the counsellor. Each participant receives free 50-minutes counselling. The majority of participants generally are in their 60s-70s and predominantly Japanese.” – Ms K, Human Rights Promotion Division

Ayabe City adopted a plan of action for improving status of women in 1992, which was revised in 1997.

“The current feminist counselling service started in 1998. The City government publicizes the counselling and invites appointments from residents through such mediums as the City government's newsletters, radio and closed-circuit cable broadcasting. Other than this counselling service, the Division also organizes lecture series for women. These usually attract 10-15 participants. All such services for women are open to foreign residents. Although some counsellors are fluent in foreign languages, they may not be fluent in the mother tongues of all potential foreign counselees. I am afraid that this may prevent some foreign women from benefiting from this service.” – Ms K, Human Rights Promotion Division

(vi) Clandestine Foreigners

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the City government recognises the eligibility of clandestine foreigners for some public services once they have completed alien registration (questionnaire response from Resident Affairs Division). The staff of the City government exercise their discretion in deciding how to handle the case when a clandestine foreigner contacts the City. Depending on individual circumstances, staff may (i) register the foreigner as a resident of the City regardless of the legitimacy of their stay in Japan and provide guidance on how to request the change in his/her status of residence; (ii) register the foreigner and also report the case to the Immigration Bureau; or (iii) refuse to register the foreigner and report the case to the Immigration Bureau.

“Even if s/he is illegally staying in Japan, we (the City government) recognize the eligibility of clandestine foreigners for public services as long as s/he is registered with us as resident.” –Resident Affairs Division (questionnaire response)

(vii) Support Services for Foreign Residents through a Local NGO

Other than the services that are mentioned above, the City government of Ayabe provides financial assistance to a local NGO called the Ayabe International Exchange Association for its support services for local newcomer foreigners. The Association organizes activities such as Japanese language classes and legal counselling services for newcomer foreigners. The City government recognizes the public nature of the activities of the Association and considers them as integral to the overall public welfare system of the City.

“We would like to provide special services for foreign residents by ourselves if we had enough staff and financial resources. But we don’t. We decided that the second best solution was to work together with a partner organization like the Exchange Association who could provide services on behalf of the City.” – Mr N, PPRD

To this effect, the financial assistance provided by the City to the Association is classified as the fee for the ‘out-sourcing’ of the City’s services and not a general NGO support grant. My findings of the activities of the Association and the views of its members are discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapter.

THREAT OF MERGER: IMPACT OF POLICIES OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

As Chapter V outlined, small Basic Municipalities in Japan are increasingly pressured to merge under the current reform policy of the central government. Ayabe City is not an exception. On the basis of official documents and interviews with local residents, this section examines the impact of policies of the central government on the lives of residents of Ayabe City. The aim of this section is to illustrate that the current policies

of the central government are affecting the positive elements for participatory citizenship in Ayabe City discussed in preceding sections of this chapter.

Under pressure from the central government to promote mergers among small Basic Municipalities (Chapter V), the Prefectural government of Kyoto, the Association of City Mayors belonging to Kyoto Prefecture and the Association of Towns and Villages belonging to Kyoto Prefecture established jointly the Study Group on the Local Finance and Administration in Kyoto Prefecture in February 2000. The members of the Study Group included representatives of Basic Municipalities, the Director of the General Administrative and Management Department of the Kyoto Prefectural government and academic experts. The Group met nine times and published its final report in February 2001.

According to the report of the Study Group (2001), nearly 70% of the 44 Basic Municipalities in the Prefecture of Kyoto had the resident population of less than 20,000 as of the year 2000, including 15 Basic Municipalities whose population was less than 8,000. Between 1960 and 1999, the population level increased or stayed more or less at the same level in the majority of the Basic Municipalities while 34% of the Basic Municipalities experienced a decline in its resident population by over 20%. The report pointed out that “many of the Basic Municipalities with smaller resident populations suffered from the lack of financial resources to improve streets, sewage systems and waste collection systems” (p.3). The report further warned that the gap between the quality of the basic municipal infrastructure between larger Basic Municipalities and smaller ones was widening (pp.4-12). The report also indicated that “smaller Basic Municipalities suffered from the shortage of specialists in its administrative staff due to the lack of financial resources” (p.6).

The report showed that with the background of ageing and declining population, the “public finance of many smaller Basic Municipalities in the Prefecture of Kyoto

was increasingly dependent on the resources outside the regular revenue sources, such as revenues from the Local Allocation Tax and special local bonds” (p.4). This reflects a nation-wide trend outlined in Chapter V. The report (p.8) estimated that the average ratio of senior citizens (those who are older than 55 years-old) in the Prefecture would reach 20% in 2015. There were already “some Basic Municipalities whose ratio of the elderly is more than 50%” (p.9). The report warned that in these Basic Municipalities, “ensuring the upkeep of the basic infrastructure was becoming difficult” (p.9).

The report (p.11) strongly recommended that “each Basic Municipality should develop and implement measures to improve its finance”. The report (p.47) stated that the municipality merger “could be one of the important options to be considered to this effect but it did not necessarily solve all the administrative issues that faced the Basic Municipalities in Kyoto Prefecture”. The report included 26 different scenarios of municipality mergers in the Prefecture of Kyoto among its 44 Basic Municipalities for consideration (pp.63-116). The report (p.47-55) concluded that each Basic Municipality had to “promote active discussions at the community level” (p.47) on the improvement of public services, community building and the enhancement of local autonomy.

Upon the publication of the report of the Study Group, Ayabe and five neighbouring Basic Municipalities of northern Kyoto Prefecture established the Administrative Reform Promotion Committee in August 2001. The participating Basic Municipalities were Ayabe City with a population of over 38,000, Fukuchiyama City with a population of over 68,000, Maizuru City with a population of over 94,000, Miwa Town with a population of over 4,400, Yakuno Town with a population of over 4,800 and Ooe Town with a population of over 5,700.

If all the six Basic Municipalities agreed to merge, a new merged Municipality would have a population of over 200,000 and be entitled to the legislative recognition as Special City under the Local Autonomy Law (Article 252, Paragraph 26) with

various benefits including an extended authority of local governance (Chapter V). However, such an agreement was not reached through the work of the Committee. Fukuchiyama City and three Towns agreed to consider the possibility of municipality merger independently. Consequently, they went on to set up a separate committee in June 2002 for further discussion on the details.

The discussion on the merger possibilities started at the City Council of Ayabe in September 2001 and the Council officially established the Special Committee on the Study of the Municipality Merger in September 2002. Through its deliberation, the Special Committee discussed merits and demerits of the Ayabe's merger with its neighbouring Basic Municipalities and examined different scenarios of the municipality merger. The Special Committee conducted six sessions and organized seven discussion fora with local residents between September 2002 and February 2003. However, it did not reach any conclusive decision. Several Members of the Council complained that the community-level discussions among residents about the merger and the future of Ayabe in general had not been adequately promoted (Sasaki, 2003). Others pointed out that the views and opinions from the local youth had not been heard (Sasaki, 2003). Some warned the danger of an over-optimistic view of the municipality merger and insisted that Ayabe should consider the path of non-merger and independent local governance (Sasaki, 2003).

Opinions and views expressed by residents at the aforementioned seven discussion fora were also mixed. Some had already formed strong opinions about whether they were for or against merger. However, the majority of participants expressed their concern about the lack of adequate level of discussion on the issue among residents. Participants generally agreed that the financial situation of the City had to be improved but were also sceptical about making hasty decisions about the merger solely on the consideration of the short-term financial merits that was offered

by the central government. Those who supported the merger emphasized the “possibility of a stronger autonomous City” (Sasaki, 2003). Those who opposed expressed their “concerns on the prospect of exacerbated marginalization of rural communities and widened distance between the local policies and the reality” (Sasaki, 2003). In the end, the general feeling of the majority of residents was that unless all six Basic Municipalities in the region merged to create a new City, other options would be de facto ‘acquisition’ of neighbouring communities by larger Cities and, therefore, not favourable to Ayabe (Sasaki, 2003).

In the President’s Summary submitted to the Council in February 2003, the president of the City Council declared that the local governance system in Japan was “facing a critical moment after the long suffering from the centralization of the political power” (Sasaki, 2003). He stated that the northern region of Kyoto would become a much stronger base of local governance if all the six Basic Municipalities concerned were to merge and form a new Special City with a population of over 200,000. The report of the Secretary of the City Council submitted to the Council at the same session in February 2003 stated that there was “no clear consensus yet among local residents about the future of Ayabe, including the possibility of the merger with neighbouring Basic Municipalities” (Sasaki, 2003). The Secretary recommended that the Special Committee should continue its deliberation and promote more lively discussions among residents.

The Ayabe’s Special Committee on Merger submitted its report to the Mayor of Ayabe in February 2003 and stated that if the merger was inevitable, the option of six Basic Municipalities creating a new Special City was the most preferable. However, the Committee doubted the feasibility of this option and stated that it was not clear how and when the consensus on such a large-scale merger could materialize. Upon receiving the report of the Special Committee, the Mayor issued a statement at the Council

meeting in March 2003 that it was not realistic to expect that residents of Ayabe would reach any conclusive decision about the issue of merger within the timeframe set out by the central government in the legislation concerning the promotion of Basic Municipality mergers, which was to finalize any possible municipality merger before March 2005. Accordingly, the Mayor stated that the City of Ayabe in principle “would continue its administration as independent Basic Municipality” (Sasaki, 2003). At the same time, the Mayor added that depending on the further development in policy environment and public opinion of the neighbouring Basic Municipalities, the City government was prepared to take a flexible stance about the possibility of merger.

CONCLUDING ANALYSES: LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF AYABE CITY

The planning process of the Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City and the contents of the Strategy paper itself indicate positive elements in the City’s response to the increase of newcomer foreigners in the community. At the same time, questionnaire responses from and interviews with City government staff revealed that the implementation of the Strategy was overshadowed by negative effects of the reform policy of the central government. This section contains the analyses of the main findings of my fieldwork regarding the local government of Ayabe City. As stated elsewhere in this chapter and Chapter VI, I tried to maintain a reflexive approach to my fieldwork. Especially, I was mindful of possible sources of bias in data and did not take it at face value without analyzing it fully. I was aware that in interviews people might feel defensive about their position and try to justify themselves by shifting the blame onto somebody else. I was also aware that what people said in interviews did not always represent what they would do in practice. The argument here represents my reflexive analysis as a result of weighing up such theoretical possibilities.

If the order in which the key Policy Pillars are listed in the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy is an indication of the administrative priority, the City clearly places much greater emphasis on human resource development and conservation of the rural characteristics rather than radical urbanization. Along with preservation of the City's rural characteristics, it is noteworthy that the Strategy places emphasis on the spiritual well-being of City's residents. The adoption of policies that promote qualitative development rather than materialistic development of the City can be understood as the decision of its residents to take advantage of the City's smallness.

Building upon the residents' will to preserve the smallness and the rural characteristics of the City, the Strategy of Ayabe City suggests that its residents look to the possibility of a broader-based regional governance. The Strategy advocates the exploration of a regional governance system in partnership with neighbouring Basic Municipalities, which may be considered a more innovative approach than a merger (Chapter V).

Another important element documented in the Ayabe's Strategy is the promotion of active participation of residents in community building. The examination of the Comprehensive Strategy revealed that residents of Ayabe City were highly supportive of volunteerism and community-based organisations. Reflecting the importance of active volunteerism, the first Policy Pillar of the Strategy is dedicated to the residential partnership. Furthermore, the promotion of civil initiatives is the first project area under this Policy Pillar. The Strategy clearly states that the residential partnership and activism constitute an important foundation of community building. It also recognizes that volunteer-based and community-based support systems play important roles in the provision of social services.

In promoting active participation of all residents, the Strategy specifically points out the importance of creating a living environment that takes into consideration special

needs of foreign residents. Under the Strategy, foreign residents in Ayabe City are recognized as important partners in the participatory local governance. Statements made by staff of the City government reaffirm that foreign residents of Ayabe City are recognized as integral part of local resident populations. Foreign residents participate in the resident monitors system, where they have opportunities to reflect their opinions in the policy development and administration. They were also invited to participate in the process of developing the Strategy of the City.

The percentage of foreign residents in Ayabe City is at the same level as the national average. Accordingly, the progressive nature of the inclusion of foreign residents in the development and implementation of the City's statutory Strategy in Ayabe is not a response to an unusually high concentration of newcomer foreigners in the community. It can be understood as the reflection of the City's originality in implementing an inclusive approach to its policies. It can be also interpreted as an extension of the City's emphasis on the human resource development as manifested in the Strategy.

The following comments from residents about the development process of the Strategy suggest that the Strategy carefully incorporated what residents of the City had to say.

"I had thoughts and opinions about the City's administration but never really felt that I was actually participating in the City's governance. I am very happy for being given an opportunity to participate in the questionnaire survey for the preparation of the Strategy. It provided me with a valuable opportunity for taking part in the local government" – Female, Over 70 years old (Ayabe City Government, 2001, p.146).

"Existing neighbourhood associations and residents associations constitute the core of the City's civic community. At the same time, the environments surrounding such associations are gradually changing due to factors such as changes in the awareness of residents, differences in opinions of new and old residents, depopulation in rural communities and urbanization of downtown areas. The City government needs to support voluntary and autonomous activities of residents in order to promote the sense of ownership among

residents of building the future of the City.” – Basic Strategy Deliberation Committee (ibid., p.166).

“Spiritual well-being is essential to create a City that has unique characteristics, which clearly set it apart from others.” – Male, Over 70 years old (ibid., p.42)

“We need to create an environment that further promotes volunteerism among residents.” – Participant of the community forum (ibid., p.40)

“I would like to see that the City government supports more volunteer activities of residents.” – Female, 50s (ibid., p.40)

“The promotion of peace is one of the Ayabe’s most important spiritual traditions. Adopting such a spiritual guideline as a theme for further City building will be quite fitting in the particular context of Ayabe.” – Male, 50s (ibid., p.46).

“Nurturing the sense of affinity with the community has to be a part of the education programmes. Young people need to be encouraged at home as well as at school to participate in activities of community building.” – Male, 20s (ibid., p.56)

“Finding a new purpose in life or a new way of life is a key to the fulfilment in post-retirement years. Cross-generational social activities especially between the elderly and school-age children will be useful to this effect.” – Female, 50s (ibid., p.71)

“The key to the success of the local welfare system of the future is to enable individual resident to feel valued.” – Participant of the community forum (ibid., p.70)

“I would like Ayabe to be a City that remains old-fashioned ‘rural’ in a sense that it makes people to feel peaceful.” – Male, 20s (ibid., p.130)

These comments as well as the Strategy make me think of the existence of a unique spirit of the local culture or ‘ethos’ of Ayabe City. Ayabe City has unique local factors that have long contributed to fostering a liberal spirit in the City. Ayabe prides in its long history of promoting international justice, peace and partnership as the first Japanese Municipality to join the World Federalist Movement. Ayabe is also home to Oomoto, one of the most prominent religious organisations in the contemporary history of Japan that is known for its advocacy activities for liberal progressivism.

There is one interesting anecdote concerning why Oomoto decided to be based in Ayabe City. It has been said that the founder of Oomoto looked into numerous cities

in Japan before announcing Ayabe City as its home. She is believed to have said to her colleagues that Oomoto had to be based in Ayabe because the City had a history of almost no natural and manmade disaster. This anecdote is significant because it suggests that by the time of the founding of Oomoto in the nineteenth century, Ayabe City might have already developed a reputation of being a peaceful place. By the same token, throughout the data collection process, I had an impression that local Japanese residents in Ayabe City generally perceive their City as a positive place. They believed in a positive spiritual energy of the City. I felt it in the tones of conversations with both participant and non-participant Japanese residents of the City. I also felt it in the Comprehensive Strategy document and numerous Web sites of local NGOs.

It is possible that such positive feeling of local Japanese residents about their City may be allowing them to open-mindedly accept foreigners in their community as fellow partners in local governance. Developing a system to scientifically measure such 'ethos' of the City was beyond the scope of this research. However, it is more than likely that such 'ethos' has been an integral part of making the liberal and progressive approaches in the City's policy development possible.

On the basis of the analysis of documentary evidence, it became clear that Ayabe City has adopted highly inclusive approaches in policy development related to its new ten-year Comprehensive Strategy. During the development process of the Comprehensive Strategy as well as in the final document itself, the inclusive nature of local governance in Ayabe City manifested itself as the acknowledgement of the importance of actively promoting the participatory cohabitation with foreign residents. The City government considered foreign residents as an integral part of the City's resident population in both policy development and implementation. Foreign residents in Ayabe City were entitled to various social services of the local public authority.

Furthermore, staff of the City government exercised their discretion to allow illegal foreigners to register as residents so that they could have access to social services.

The findings of my fieldwork revealed that these positive elements coexisted with negative elements. Ayabe faces the same problems that many other Basic Municipalities in Japan face today. As examined in Chapter V, financial difficulties, a declining and ageing population and the threat of municipality merger are the main issues of concern to the majority of Basic Municipalities in Japan. The case of Ayabe illustrates the struggle of a small Basic Municipality in search of new opportunities for strengthening local governance.

Staff of the Ayabe City government felt that the central government was implementing a population-size based local government system that favoured larger municipalities and necessitated the elimination of small municipalities. This sentiment echoes with the views expressed by many other small Municipalities in Japan (Chapter V). Because of the decline in financial support from the central government, the City faces uncertainty in the future implementation of policies it developed. This negatively affected the morale of City employees and was evoking frustrations among them. Although the City has adopted an interim decision of not pursuing the merger in the near future, the process during which that decision was adopted indicates a significant amount of confusion among residents about the future of their City. The possibility of reduction or termination of support to foreign residents cannot be denied if the current trend in the policy of the central government continues.

CHAPTER VIII

CASE STUDY: JAPANESE VOLUNTEERS, BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN AYABE CITY

The key stakeholders in this research are foreign residents in Japan, their employers and the local authorities in their host community (Chapter VI). The previous chapters of this thesis examined the characteristics of these stakeholders and the complexity of their relations (Chapters III, IV and V). This chapter explores the views of these key stakeholders in the context of Ayabe City on issues concerning social participation of foreign residents. At the local level, what do people think about foreign residents' right to social participation? Who is providing services for foreign residents? What kinds of services are available? How does the division of labour work among the voluntary, public and private sectors? What are the views of the stakeholders as to who should be responsible for service delivery for foreign residents? These questions are addressed in this chapter.

As Chapter VI outlined, the aim of this research is to study the potential of participatory approaches to local government from the perspective of newcomer migrant foreigners in Japan, whilst taking into account the limitations arising from wider global structural forces and processes. It reflects on the mutual reactivity between the local and the global and the ways in which positive local experiences, community cohesion and community development can occur in response to global migration movements. Through the examination of the positive views expressed within the non-governmental organization (NGO) and business sectors as well as the views of the newcomers themselves, this chapter explores the potential in Ayabe City of participatory approaches. This chapter also identifies some possible barriers arising as a

result of wider pressures that can impact upon the NGO sector's ability to keep responding positively.

This chapter discusses the experiences and views of different resident groups in Ayabe City. As examined in Chapter VII, Ayabe City is a small rural municipality but hosts an NGO community that participates actively in the planning and implementation of the City's statutory development strategy. Ayabe City has adopted an inclusive and participatory approach in its development of a new ten-year development strategy. This chapter analyzes the data collected from Japanese residents, the business community and foreign residents in Ayabe City.

LOCAL NGO COMMUNITY AND SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN RESIDENTS

Before examining the specific context of Ayabe City, I would like to provide a brief outlook of the non-profit sector in Japan. The non-profit sector in Japan first came to be noticed while providing humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance to the victims of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (a.k.a. Great Kobe Earthquake) of 1995. In fact, activities of organizations in the non-profit sector in Japan go beyond emergency relief operations and include various social services. As the need increased for diversified social services, the public interest in the capabilities of the NGO sector as a social service provider increased in Japan (Yamauchi, 1999; Dentsu-Soken, 1996; Yamaoka, 1997). The non-profit-sector's economic 'value added' has steadily increased since the 1970s and accounted for 2.3% of the Japanese Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as of 1996 (Yamauchi, 1999, p.4). The number of full-time employees of the non-profit sector in Japan increased by 450,000 or 23% during the five years between 1990 and 1995 (Yamauchi, 1999, p.6). The combined number of full-time workers and volunteers of the Japanese non-profit sector in 1995 was nearly three million, which was an equivalent to 40% of the public sector workforce at the time.

In terms of both the number of employees and current expenditure, organizations that provide medical services make up the largest share of the Japanese non-profit sector, followed by those in education/research and social services (Yamauchi, 1999, pp.6-7). These three categories of organizations account for 70% of the Japanese non-profit sector (Yamauchi, 1999, p.6). Organizations that are involved in environmental issues, community development, philanthropy and activities of an international nature tend to draw more attention from the public than the aforementioned three but their share in the Japanese non-profit sector is significantly smaller (Yamauchi, 1999, p.6). Membership fees and admission fees of events are the largest revenue sources of NGOs in Japan and account for 52% of the revenue. Financial assistance from the public sector accounts for 45% (Yamauchi, 1999, p.8).

The majority of small NGOs with a budget of less than one million Yen in Japan came into existence in the 1980s and 1990s. Most of these small NGOs do not have a permanent office space for their secretariat or full-time staff (Yamauchi, 1999, p.10). Their activities generally depend on volunteers and part-time employees. These small NGOs are primarily involved in the areas of social services delivery, education and culture, promotion of sports activities and various community-based activities (Yamauchi, 1999, p.10).

This is the context within which the NGO community in Ayabe City operates. Local volunteers and the NGO community in general are important partners for the Ayabe City government in the implementation of its Comprehensive Strategy (Chapter VII). Ayabe City has a lively NGO community. According to the 2003 statistics of the City, over 80 non-governmental organizations and associations received general NGO support grants from the City. To draw on both differences and similarities of a wide range of local NGOs, I chose two non-governmental organizations as participants in this study (Chapter VI). Both are well known and highly respected in the local

community. At the same time, they bear very different characteristics. One is a relatively new organization and has a loose and flexible management structure. Its membership is largely women but spans a wide range of age groups. The other is a well-established local branch of an old and famous international organization. It has a structured management system of its membership and consists solely of male membership. While the former is generally recognized as an inclusive volunteer-based organization, the latter is considered an exclusive membership-based club of business and professional elites. The former is called the Ayabe International Exchange Association (AIEA). The latter is the Ayabe Rotary Club (ARC).

The AIEA carries out various activities aimed at promoting partnership among Japanese and non-Japanese residents in Ayabe. The opinions of AIEA members reflect the voices of progressive and socially conscious Japanese residents who actively promote collaborative cohabitation of local residents. The profiles of members of the Association are diverse. They include those who have lived in Ayabe less than five years as well as those who have lived in Ayabe for more than 20 years. Members also include a few who do not live in Ayabe City but live in a neighbouring city with a larger population. These members reported that although their own city was much bigger in size and hosted more foreign residents than Ayabe, it did not have a NGO like the AIEA that was actively involved in the support of foreign residents. Accordingly, they commuted to Ayabe City every week to participate in AIEA activities.

The ARC develops community service projects that concern environmental conservation, international exchanges of students, teachers, and other professionals, and vocational and career development of local residents. It also organizes fund-raising events for humanitarian projects abroad. Members of the ARC are influential leaders of the local business and professional communities who have the authority to make important management decisions concerning the local economy. Accordingly, their

opinions reflect the mood of the local private sector that plays an important role in the implementation of the City's Comprehensive Strategy. The overwhelming majority of ARC members have lived in Ayabe for more than 20 years.

On the basis of my interviews, this first section discusses general characteristics of the two major NGOs in Ayabe City (Chapter VI), the support services that they provide to local foreigners and the challenges that they face. As discussed in Chapter VI, various different methods are used to collect information from the AIEA and the ARC. The analysis of this section is based on an interview and questionnaire survey with the President of the AIEA, informal conversations with members of the Association and Rotary Club and documents provided by these two organization's secretariats (Chapter VI).

Ayabe International Exchange Association (AIEA)

(i) Mission

The AIEA plays an important role in providing support services to newcomer foreign residents in Ayabe. The Association was founded in 1999 by two retired high-school English teachers in Ayabe, Mr K and Mr U. Mr K has since passed away and Mr U is currently serving as the president of the Association. The mission statement of the Association states that the Association is a "volunteer-based, non-governmental and non-profit organization that carries out activities to promote 'internationalization' of Ayabe" (AIEA, 1998). This section discusses activities of the AIEA on the basis of data collected through my interviews with the President and members of the Association.

The mission statement refers to the City's history as the first Basic Municipality in Japan to join the World Federalist Movement. It also refers to the presence of Oomoto, a religion and spiritual movement (Chapter VII) and stresses that "the City

has a solid foundation for further promoting new initiatives for international partnership” (ibid.). At the same time, the mission statement points out that “the living environment that City provides for its foreign residents still requires further improvements” (ibid.). The Association “aims to promote partnership between Japanese and non-Japanese residents of Ayabe through its activities” (ibid.).

The Association currently carries out activities in the following areas:

- Japanese language class: weekly
- Legal advisory counselling services for foreign residents: biannual
- English speaking society: twice per week
- International cuisine cooking club: biannual
- English translation and interpretation class: as needed
- Social events: as needed
- Lectures by guest speakers: as needed

(ii) Activities

The Association has around 40 members. 20 or so are regularly active. All activities are open to non-members. The weekly Japanese classes (Nihongo Kouryukai) are the most popular activities both among Japanese and non-Japanese participants. The classes normally attract 40 plus participants, including 14-15 Japanese volunteers and 25 or so foreign residents. The English speaking society (Jijieigo) has around five or six regular attendees. Among them are schoolteachers, former Japanese expatriates and regular office workers. The current members of the English speaking society include two British English Teaching Assistants who work in Ayabe on the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme (Chapter V). Depending on the topic and the level of English required at the time of each lesson, the number of the participants in the

Jijieigo class varies. The weekly Nihongo Kouryukai is particularly popular among foreign participants.

“They all really look forward to it every week.” – Mr U

Mrs S is the manager responsible for the Japanese classes. She is a retired junior high school teacher. She is a dedicated volunteer and holds classes every Friday evening. She commutes every week from a long-distance to come to teach the classes and does so at her own expense. According to Mr U and Mrs S, the main reasons for the popularity of the class can be summarized as follows (in order of importance):

- i) The majority of Japanese volunteers of the class are middle-aged women who are mainly housewives with part-time jobs. They seem to have a relaxed attitude towards volunteering and show a high level of willingness to take care of others in need. These volunteers have been quite successful in creating a homely, warm and welcoming atmosphere for the participating foreign residents, who are generally younger.
- ii) Participating foreigners can meet with other resident foreigners in Ayabe and share or exchange useful information.
- iii) Participating foreign residents can socialize with fellow residents and make friends.
- iv) Participating foreign residents can learn Japanese.

The majority of participating foreign residents work and live in Ayabe with a visa status of ‘trainees’ and ‘interns’. Accordingly, the Association experiences a large-scale turnover of its foreign participants every three to five years, corresponding to the expiration of their visa to stay in Japan. Foreign participants of the Association’s Japanese classes also include foreign spouses of Japanese residents and other professional foreign workers such as JET programme teachers.

Japanese volunteers of the Association are aware that there are those Japanese and non-Japanese residents who are interested in the Japanese classes but cannot attend. The classes are organized between 7:30pm and 9:00pm on Fridays. Those who do shift work during these hours may not be able to join, for example.

“I know that some foreigners may simply be choosing to take up extra shifts for extra money rather than socializing with Japanese residents because they know their time in Japan is limited.” – Mr U

The neutrality of the Association is important to its co-Founder, Mr U. He believes that one of the important factors for building trust between the Association and its foreign participants is that the Association is not associated with any of the employers that foreigners work for. In order to maintain the neutrality of the Association, it does not solicit any donation from companies that employ participating foreign workers.

“It is important that foreign participants feel free to talk in a friendly environment.” – Mr U

Even though the main reason for foreign participants attending the weekly Japanese class is a social one, there are those who are career-minded as well.

“Some foreign participants actually told me that their working experiences in Japan would enhance their possibility of getting better jobs when they go back to their country of origin. They are eager because if their Japanese language ability improves, it will also contribute to their better future back home.” – Mr U

Many participants, both Japanese and non-Japanese, see the weekly Japanese class as a general socializing opportunity. But the Association also organizes separate activities specifically aimed at socializing. They organize bus tours that go around tourist spots in Ayabe and neighbouring cities, for example. During summer time, they organize a day trip to beach, where they host socializing activities such as barbeques.

“Such socializing events are very popular and constantly attract 50 or more participants from both members and non-members of the Association.” – Mr U

Mr S who is a qualified Shakai Hoken Roumushi (social welfare counsellor) based in Ayabe provides biannual legal counselling services for foreign residents in Ayabe in collaboration with the Association.

“We often find that there are very few participants every time we organize a legal counselling day. This is what they call ‘the shop is open but there is no business’, you know. But we think it is alright. The important thing is that we remain open for regular counselling. As long as we are here regularly, when the word finally gets around and someone in need comes in, s/he can find us here. We were even thinking of making the counselling service monthly. We think that there are more potential counselees here. They just may not know we are here. We think that we may need to improve on our effort to publicize the existence of our counselling services. But the problem is, of course, we have to do everything within our tight budget.” – Mr U

Currently, the counselling day is publicized in a weekly community paper published in Japanese. The advertisement will run both in Japanese and English. Mr U and Mr S thinks that not all foreign residents read this community paper but that they may have some Japanese acquaintances who can inform them of the availability of the service. Mr U and Mr S also suspect that many foreigners are discussing their problems with their friends.

“They may prefer not to discuss their problems with a legal specialist because of the fear that the counselling may lead to an official complaint to their employers. It may then result in making their continuing employment difficult. They wouldn’t want that to happen, would they?” – Mr U

There are activities that are popular but suffer from the difficulty of ensuring the regular availability of Japanese volunteers. The international cooking club is organised by Mrs T. She is an active volunteer in many different fields and serves as a board member of other NGOs. Accordingly, the cooking club can take place only twice or three times per year, depending on her availability. There are activities that were once popular but phased out. The English translation and interpretation group created the Ayabe City’s first English tourism information booklet in 2000. However, the group is no longer active.

(iii) Management of the organization

Staff shortage

After the passing of Mr K, co-founder of the organization, Mr U has been running the secretariat of the Association alone. Mr U is retired but occasionally works as a temporary substitute teacher at local high schools. As he is a one-person secretariat, he finds it difficult to run the organization when he is in employment. Mr U is one of the very few volunteers not in regular employment. Most volunteer staff are not willing or their schedule is not flexible enough to allow them to spend more time for administrative activities.

“Sometimes I am literally out of breath (ikigire-suru), running the Association as a one-person secretariat.” – Mr U

The busiest season for the organization is from March through May.

“As the Japanese fiscal year ends in March and starts in April, there is a lot of work to be done in preparation of the Association’s annual general assembly in April, including budget, report of the last year’s activities and plans for the next year activities.” – Mr U

Income

Ayabe City provides the organization with two kinds of financial assistance. One is a general ‘NGO activity assistance’ grant (100,000 Yen) and the other is a Itaku (contracted work) fee (100,000 Yen). The Itaku fee is given by the City to the organization for the activities that are considered as of public nature. In the case of Association, Japanese classes and legal advice services qualify. In view of the financial difficulties, the City introduced a universal cut of 20% in all general support grants to local NGOs in the fiscal year 2003. The City decided not to apply such a budget cut to the Itaku fees for organizations such as the Association. Although the level of the Itaku revenue remained unchanged as of 2004, the financial situation of the City and the future of the Association’s income from the public resources is uncertain.

The other income of the Association is membership fees. Each participating member is asked to pay 800 Yen per month or 8,000 Yen per year. Each non-member participant is also asked to pay a nominal fee for each event to cover part of the costs. However, not all activities of the Association can be covered by such fees. Mr U and other volunteers often pay for things out of their own pocket, such as costs for transportation to and from the event venues, telephones, faxes and so on.

“It will be much nicer if the City can afford to have one staff, even a part-timer, to support activities of NGOs such as the Association.” – Mr U

(iv) Future

Mr U envisages that the weekly Japanese class may become the main activity of the Association in the future.

“ I don’t think that the City can take over activities that are currently done by the Association such as Japanese classes and legal counselling. I think that we are expected to expand its activities in the area of supporting foreign residents in Ayabe.” – Mr U

While Mr U would like to see the continuing involvement and interest of the City in the issue of the benefit of foreign workers, he feels that his organization has advantages that the City lacks.

“Foreign workers may feel more at ease about coming to talk with volunteers rather than officials at an City office. The Association also has a much more flexible structure for the execution of its activities than the City and is capable of adjusting itself to reflect the changing needs of participants.” – Mr U

“I don’t think the current system of support for foreign residents in Ayabe is adequate. But we know the City government cannot afford to provide much more because of the financial difficulties they face. The extent of the services provided by a volunteer-based organization like ours is limited because we rely on charity of the public. I think that the time has come when the public sector and the private sector need to work more closely to develop a more structured support system for foreign residents. Volunteer-based NGO communities can participate in the system as supplementary capacity.” – Mr U

“I believe that Ayabe is a relatively tolerant society because there has not been any serious case of incident of non-Japanese resident discrimination or harassment so far. I really hope that it remains that way. Once they arrive in Ayabe, most newcomer foreigners are making an effort to be polite and courteous to the people in their host community and respectful of the local law

and regulations. They came here to work. They want to successfully complete their contract period without interruption. Harmonious cohabitation is of benefit to them as much as to their fellow Japanese.” – Mr U

Ayabe Rotary Club (ARC)

The ARC was founded on 18 June 1954. Since its establishment, the ARC has remained a key player in the local NGO community. It is widely recognized and highly respected as the centrepiece of the local business and professional community. Rotary itself is a worldwide organization of business and professional leaders that provides humanitarian service. It encourages high ethical standards in all vocations, and promotes goodwill and peace in the world. Approximately 1.2 million Rotarians belong to more than 31,000 Rotary clubs located in 166 countries. Rotary club membership represents a cross-section of the community's business and professional men and women. The Rotary clubs meet weekly and are nonpolitical, nonreligious, and open to all cultures, races, and creeds.

The main objective of Rotary is service in the community, in the workplace, and throughout the world. Rotarians develop community service projects that address many of today's most critical issues, such as children at risk, poverty and hunger, the environment, illiteracy, and violence. They also support programs for youth, educational opportunities and international exchanges for students, teachers, and other professionals. The Rotary motto is “Service Above Self”.

The Rotary Foundation of Rotary International is a not-for-profit corporation that promotes world understanding through international humanitarian service programmes and educational and cultural exchanges. It is supported solely by voluntary contributions from Rotarians and others who share its vision of a better world. Since 1947, the Foundation has awarded more than US\$1.1 billion in humanitarian and educational grants, which are initiated and administered by local Rotary clubs and districts.

The ARC does not host events for the specific purpose of promoting the social interaction between Japanese and foreign residents in Ayabe City. However, it supports international exchange programmes for students and organizes home-stays of foreign students from time to time. Those members who accepted a role of host of such home-stay students usually organize social events for their guests.

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS: NGO COMMUNITY

Two major local NGOs in Ayabe City participated in my case study (Chapter VI). On the basis of my interviews and the analysis of relevant literature, the preceding section discussed characteristics of these NGOs, services that they provided and general challenges that they faced. The following paragraphs summarize the findings concerning the local NGO community in Ayabe City. This sets the scene for understanding the specific views expressed by the members of these two NGOs about cohabitation with newcomer foreigners, which are examined in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Finding #1

According to official statistics (Sasaki, 2003), there are many kinds of NGOs in Ayabe City. There are over 80 active civil society organizations that receive general support grants from the City government in Ayabe. The history and the size of organizations vary. As outlined in Chapter VII, the local government and residents of Ayabe City actively support local community-based initiatives and activities of NGOs in general (Ayabe City Government, 2001, pp.38-47). As explained in Chapter VI, the two organizations that participated in this study reflect the diversity in the local NGO community in Ayabe City and show different attributes.

Finding #2

The active presence of the non-governmental sector in Ayabe City is not without challenges. NGOs constantly struggle to keep the minimum level of core active participants and make a great effort to ensure volunteers to take up the responsibility of managing programmes.

One common issue that was raised in conversations with members of both the AIEA and the ARC was that they were having a hard time recruiting new members. In the case of the Rotary Club, one member explained to me that because each Rotary Club member had the obligation to make financial contribution for domestic and international programmes, the prospect of such financial commitment prevented many people from joining the Club. The President of the AIEA told me that because the work of the secretariat of a NGO could be time-consuming and tedious, it was difficult to persuade even regular members to become a secretariat staff. In the case of the AIEA, regular members seemed to be willing to participate in programmes but were hesitant to be involved in the management of such programmes.

Stable and functional secretariats are critical requirements to ensure the effective implementation of NGO programmes. While the City's Strategy paper emphasizes the importance of the non-governmental sector and active participation by residents in volunteer activities (Chapter VII), NGOs in Ayabe face challenges. The City currently hosts a lively volunteer population. But the challenge now is to recruit members who are willing to take on the management responsibilities as well as participate in regular activities.

In a wider context, it is an issue related to the future leadership of Ayabe. The NGO community of Ayabe together with traditional neighbourhood associations constitutes a wealth of networks and fora for face-to-face social interactions and communications of residents (Chapter VII). NGOs and neighbourhood associations in

Ayabe are both based on the efforts of individual residents to act collectively to achieve non-monetary goals that ultimately serve the betterment of their own community. Such collective action represents societal investments of time and effort to create social capital (Hirschman, 1984). Therefore, these organizations are a fundamental part of the social capital of Ayabe. If the NGO community suffers from an insufficient pool of future leaders, the prospect of leadership to effectively maintain and further grow the social capital of Ayabe is in danger.

Finding #3

Women play an important role in certain volunteer activities in Ayabe City. The majority of the volunteer members of the AIEA are women, particularly middle-aged housewives with part-time jobs. These women successfully contribute to creating a warm and caring atmosphere at events of the Association. Although these women volunteers take up a somewhat typical gender-biased role, they willingly assume the role of care and support provider to young newcomer foreigners. Furthermore, by doing so, many women volunteers felt that participation in the Association's activities provided them with the satisfaction that was not achieved by other means available in their daily life. They believed that they were participating in socially important initiatives and it gave them a sense of pride.

Many volunteers initially came to participate in the activities of the Association because they were interested in socializing with local foreign residents. "I wanted to do something helpful" was the statement I heard many times during my conversations with Japanese volunteers of the AIEA. Subsequently, the involvement with the Association motivated participants to be interested in the volunteerism in the non-governmental and non-profit sectors in general. The activities of the AIEA provide rare opportunities of social participation to local female Japanese volunteers as well as foreign residents that are not available to them elsewhere.

Finding #4

NGO volunteers in Ayabe City play an important role in their respective communities to advocate empowerment of foreign residents. NGO volunteers not only participate in the activities hosted by their organizations but also play an important advocacy role in their respective communities. They tend to discuss the activities and the missions of their organizations with their neighbours or colleagues. They also sometimes bring their neighbours and colleagues to volunteer events. The individual members of NGOs such as the AIEA and the ARC are valuable contributors to the promotion of grassroots advocacy for cross-cultural understanding at the community-level.

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY FINDINGS – VIEWS OF JAPANESE VOLUNTEERS

As explained in detail in Chapter VI, Japanese volunteers who participated in the case study included members of two different organizations: the Ayabe International Exchange Association (AIEA) and the Ayabe Rotary Club (ARC). This section discusses the views of Japanese volunteers of local NGOs in Ayabe City about cohabitation with newcomer foreigners. The following analysis is based on the questionnaire surveys conducted with members of the AIEA and the ARC (Chapter VI).

Who They Are

Tables VIII-1~5 and Figures VIII-1~5 show the profile of the Japanese volunteers who participated in the study. They were over 40 years old and the majority had lived in Ayabe City over ten years. The majority of them saw foreigners in their neighbourhood regularly or occasionally, while 22% of them did not have any foreign neighbours at all. The majority (58%) of them had participated in activities that were specifically aimed for the promotion of interaction with foreign residents whereas 40% of them had

never participated in such activities. The participants of the study included a few people who were not residents of Ayabe City but commuted to Ayabe City regularly to participate in volunteer activities.

Table VIII-1: Japanese Volunteers – Sex

| Sex | |
|--------|----|
| Male | 38 |
| Female | 7 |

Figuer VIII-1: Japanese Volunteers - Sex

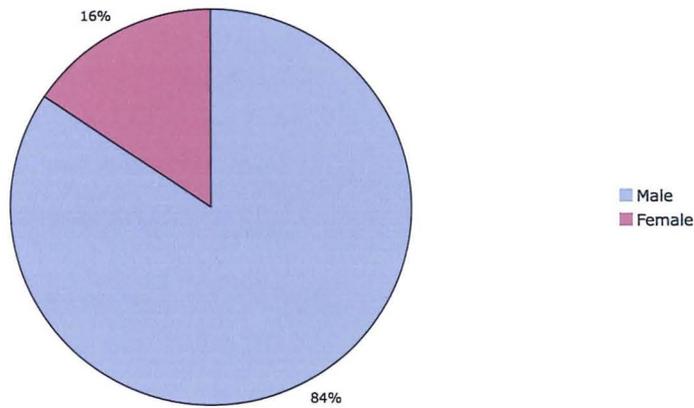


Table VIII-2: Japanese Volunteers – Age

| Age | |
|-------------|----|
| 30s | 0 |
| 40s | 6 |
| 50s | 13 |
| 60s | 14 |
| 70s and up | 11 |
| No response | 1 |

Figuer VIII-2: Japanese Volunteers - Age

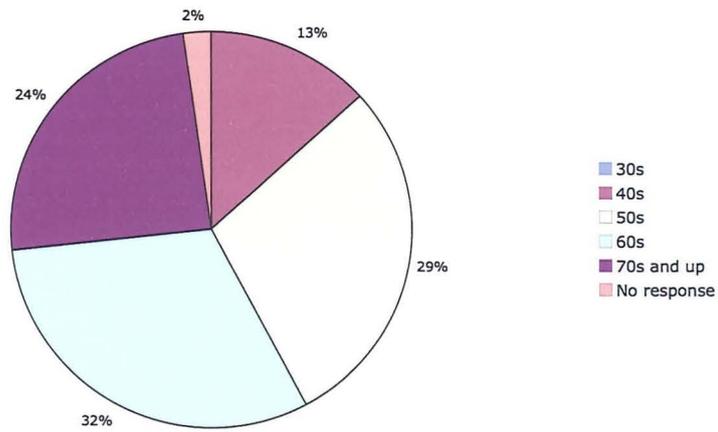


Table VIII-3: Japanese Volunteers – Length of Residency in Ayabe City

| Length of residency in Ayabe City | Count |
|-----------------------------------|-------|
| Less than 1 year | 0 |
| 1-4 years | 1 |
| 5-9 years | 1 |
| 10-19 years | 4 |
| More than 20 years | 36 |
| Live outside Ayabe | 2 |
| No response | 1 |

Figure VIII-3: Japanese Volunteers - Length of Residency in Ayabe City

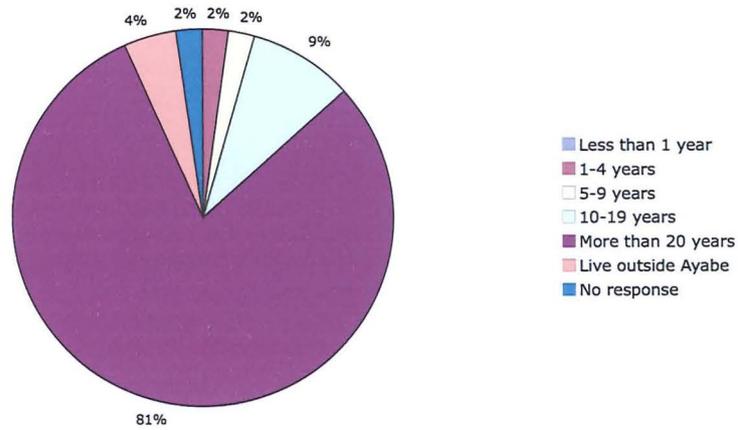


Table VIII-4: Foreign Neighbours in the Community

How often do you see foreigners in your community?

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| Frequently | 12 |
| Time to time | 5 |
| Only occasionally | 18 |
| Not at all | 10 |

Figure VIII-4: How often do you see foreigners in your community?

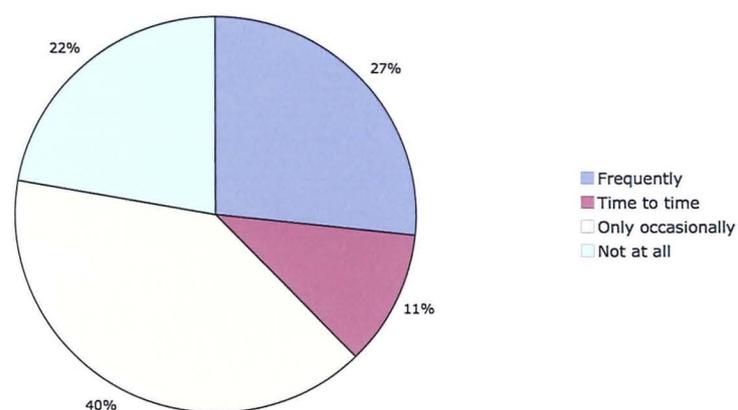
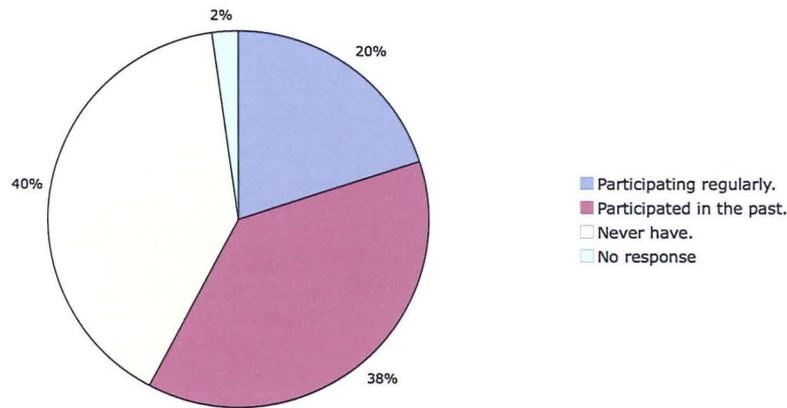


Table VIII-5: Interaction with Foreign Residents

Have you participated in activities aimed for the promotion of interaction with foreign residents?

| | |
|---------------------------|----|
| Participating regularly. | 9 |
| Participated in the past. | 17 |
| Never have. | 18 |
| No response | 1 |

Figure VIII-5: Have you participated in activities aimed for the promotion of interaction with foreign residents?



Social Participation of Foreign Residents

Table VIII-6, Figures VIII-6a and VIII-6b show how the respondents felt about the participation of foreign residents in various events in Ayabe City. When asked about social participation of foreign residents, the respondents were extremely supportive. They supported the participation of foreign residents in festivals and events organized by the City and its local business community. They also thought that interested foreign residents should feel free to participate in events and activities organized by their local community or neighbourhood associations. It should be mentioned that the respondents who chose the answer “They can if they want” clarified their responses by saying that they did not think that it was a good idea to force foreign residents to participate in activities related to neighbourhood management if they were not interested. It meant that Japanese residents left it to individual foreign residents to decide whether community-based activities were for them.

Table VIII-6: Social Participation of Foreign Residents

Do you think foreign residents should participate in the following?

(a) Festivals and events organized by City and local business community

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| They should participate often. | 27 |
| They can if they want. | 18 |
| I don't want them to participate. | 0 |

(b) Events and activities organized by your local neighbourhood association

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| They should participate often. | 23 |
| They can if they want. | 21 |
| I don't want them to participate. | 1 |

Figure VIII-6a: Festivals and Events Organized by City and Local Business Community

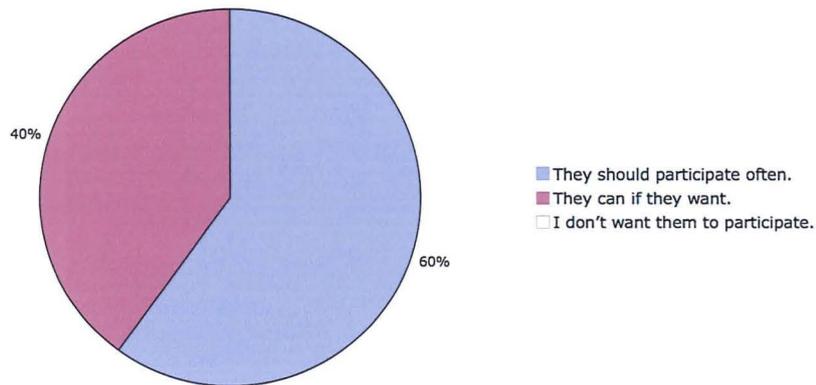
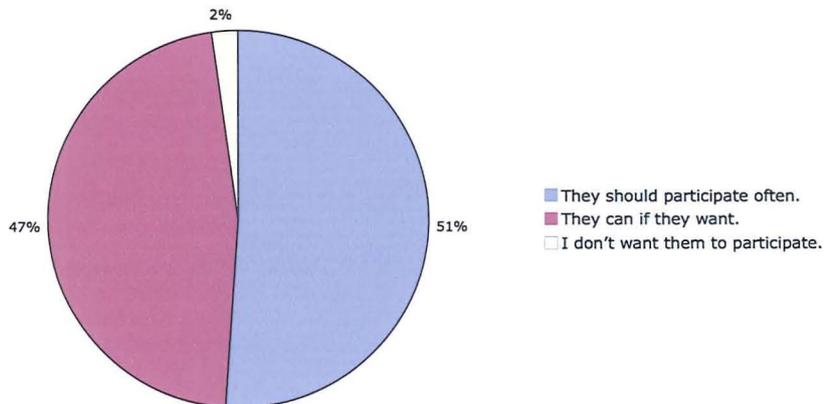


Figure VIII-6b: Events and Activities Organized by Your Local Neighbourhood Association



Settlement of Foreign Residents

Table VIII-7, Figures VIII-7a and VIII-7b illustrate how the Japanese residents in Ayabe City felt about the settlement of foreign residents in their community. Although the overwhelming majority of them supported the permanent settlement of foreign residents in Ayabe City, the opinions were nearly equally split on the question of the number of foreign residents in the City. Those who said did not object to the increase in the number of foreign residents slightly outnumbered those who preferred the number to remain at the current level.

The results may suggest two things. Firstly, Japanese residents of Ayabe City did not have any major problem in the current situation of coexistence with their foreign resident neighbours. Accordingly, they did not object to the prospect of permanent settlement of foreign residents who currently resided in Ayabe City. However, secondly, many Japanese residents of Ayabe City were hesitant about accepting more foreign residents. Considering the general liberalism prevalent in the City (Chapter VII), the result may indicate their concern of the uncertainty about the consequences of such an increase.

Table VIII-7: Settlement of Foreign Residents

| <u>(a) What do you think about the number of foreign residents in Ayabe City?</u> | |
|---|----|
| Can increase | 24 |
| Should remain at the current level | 19 |
| I would prefer that they would not live in my city. | 0 |
| Don't know | 2 |

| <u>(b) What do you think about the duration of stay of foreign residents in Ayabe City?</u> | |
|---|----|
| They can live for a short period of time. | 5 |
| They can settle for good. | 36 |
| Don't know | 4 |

Figure VIII-7a: What do you think about the number of foreign residents in Ayabe City?

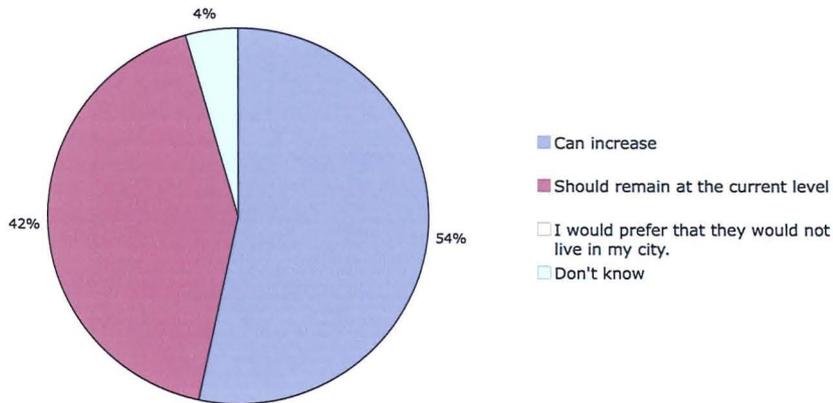
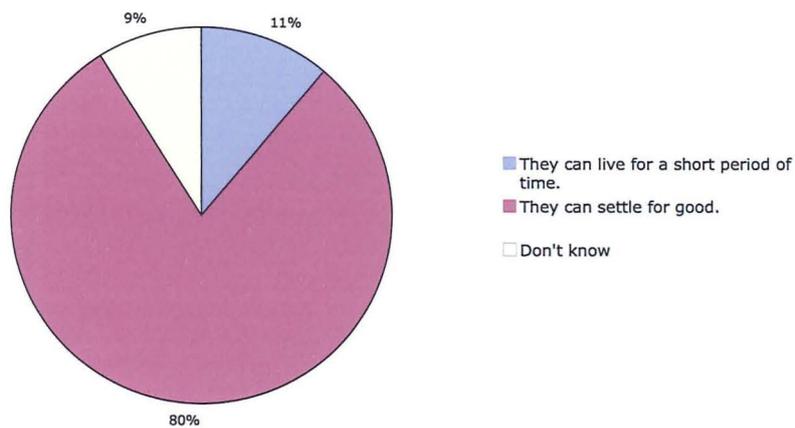


Figure VIII-7b: What do you think about the duration of stay of foreign residents in Ayabe City?



Effect of Foreigners in the community

Table VIII-8, Figures VIII-8a, 8b, 8c and 8d show the opinions of the Japanese volunteers in Ayabe City concerning the effect of foreigners on various elements of their lives in the City. Overall, the majority of people felt that the presence of foreigners either positively affected or did not affect their lives in Ayabe City at all. This may be a reflection on the small size of the foreign resident community in the City. As for the City's development in general, people's opinions were almost equally

split between those who thought that the presence of foreigners had a positive effect and those who thought that foreigners did not have any effect. A small percentage of the respondents (four percent) thought that foreigners had a negative effect on the development of the City.

With regard to the wage and the working conditions in Ayabe City, 15% of the respondents thought that foreigners affected positively whereas 78% of them thought that foreigners did not affect such conditions at all. Those who thought that foreigners negatively affected the wage and the working conditions in Ayabe City were only four percent. On the other hand, the percentages of those who felt the positive effect and negative effect of foreigners both rose to 22% and 11% respectively on the issue of local employment opportunities. As for the foreigners' effect on local culture, the opinions of Japanese volunteers further diversified. The majority of them (50%) felt no effect of foreigners on local culture. At the same time, those who felt the positive effect amounted to as much as 33% and those who felt the negative effect accounted for 13%.

Table VIII-8: Effect of Foreigners

| <u>What do you think the effect of introducing foreign workers in your city on the following?</u> | |
|---|----|
| (a) City's development | |
| Positive | 19 |
| No effect | 23 |
| Negative | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| (b) Wage and working condition | |
| Positive | 7 |
| No effect | 35 |
| Negative | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| (c) Employment opportunity | |
| Positive | 10 |
| No effect | 28 |
| Negative | 5 |

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| Don't know | 2 |
| (d) Culture | |
| Positive | 15 |
| No effect | 22 |
| Negative | 6 |
| Don't know | 2 |

Figure VIII-8a: Effect of Foreigners - City's Development

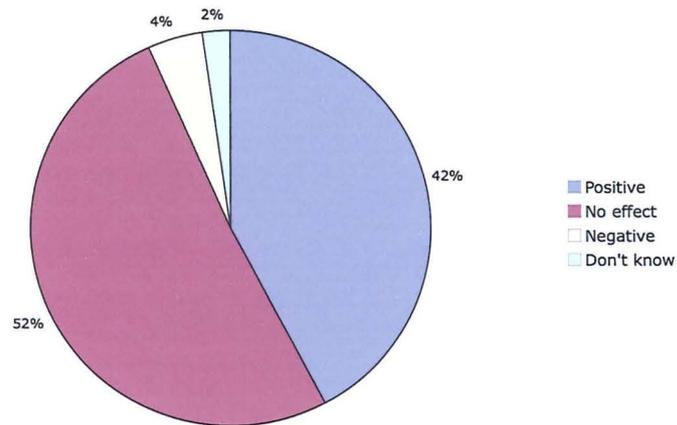


Figure VIII-8b: Effect of Foreigners - Wage and Working Condition

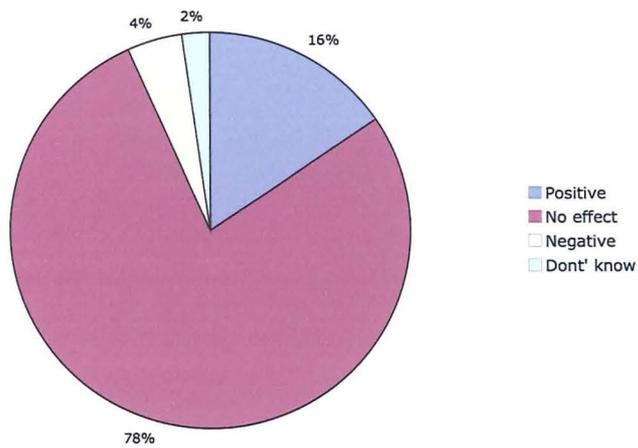


Figure VIII-8c: Effect of Foreigners - Employment Opportunity

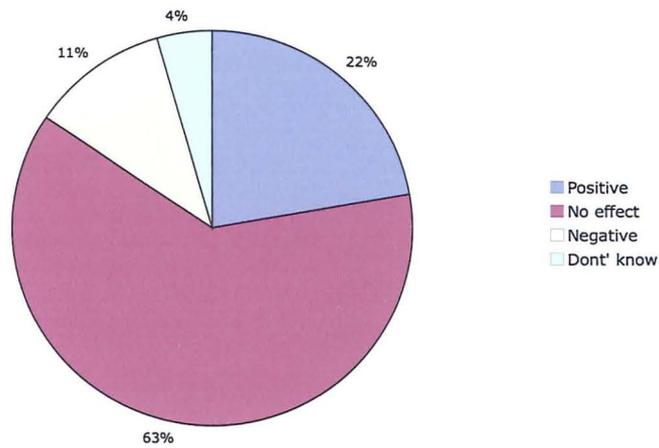
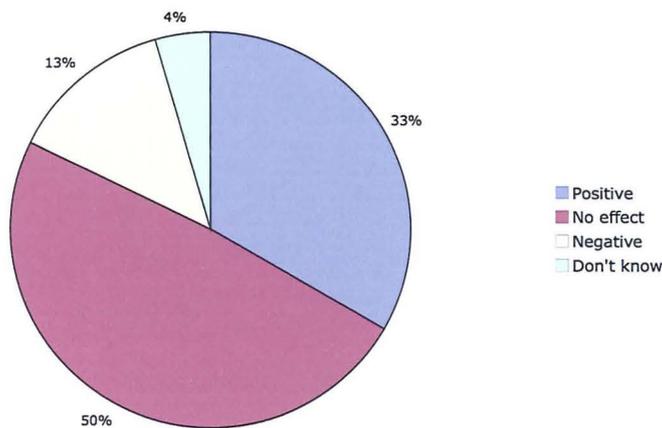


Figure VIII-8d: Effect of Foreigners - Culture



Assistance for Foreign Residents

Tables VIII-9, VIII-10, Figures VIII-9, VIII-10a, 10b and 10c show the opinions of Japanese volunteers in Ayabe City on the assistance to be provided for foreign residents. When asked who they thought should bear the additional costs of accepting foreign residents, 48% of the respondents thought that the employers of foreign workers should be responsible for such costs. The opinions of the remaining half of the respondents were divided. Those who thought that foreign residents by themselves

should bear such costs accounted for 18%, closely followed by those who thought the local government was responsible (16%). Seven percent of them thought that the central government should bear the costs of assistance for foreign residents. Two percent wanted to limit the number of foreigners in Japan so that no additional costs would be necessary.

If the number of foreign residents was expected to increase, the overwhelming majority of the respondents thought that the public sector should provide such services as Japanese language classes for foreign residents (82%) and socializing events for Japanese and foreign residents (80%). The opinions were split on the issue of employment counselling services run by the public sector. Although 56% of the respondents felt that the public sector should strengthen efforts to provide such services, those who thought that such services were not necessary at all accounted for as much as 33%.

Table VIII-9: Administrative Costs

When additional administrative costs are incurred to the local government by accepting foreign residents, who do you think should bear such costs?

| | |
|--|----|
| The employers | 22 |
| Foreign residents themselves | 8 |
| Central government | 3 |
| Local government | 7 |
| Should limit the number of foreigners so that no additional cost is necessary. | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| No response | 1 |

Figure VIII-9: Who should bear additional administrative costs?

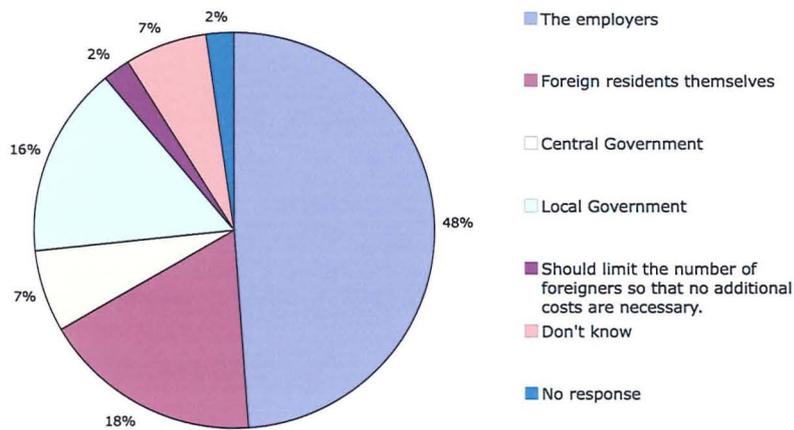


Table VIII-10: Services for Foreign Residents

What do you think of providing public services for foreign residents in the following areas?

| | |
|---|----|
| (a) Employment opportunity counselling | |
| Should promote | 25 |
| Not necessary | 15 |
| Should not promote. | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| (b) Japanese language classes for foreign residents: | |
| Should promote | 37 |
| Not necessary | 7 |
| Should not promote. | 0 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| (c) Social events with Japanese and foreign residents: | |
| Should promote | 36 |
| Not necessary | 7 |
| Should not promote. | 0 |
| Don't know | 2 |

Figure VIII-10a: Services for Foreign Residents - Employment Opportunity Counselling

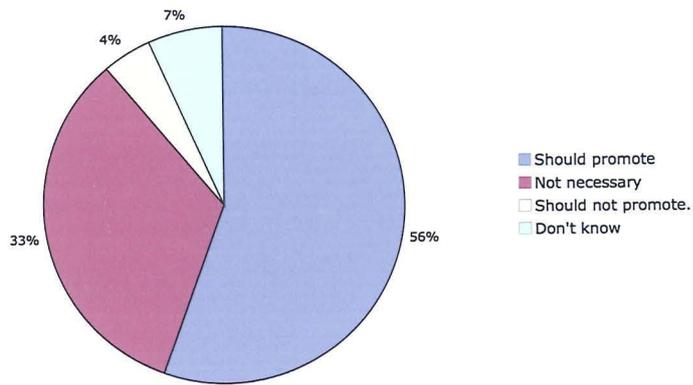


Figure VIII-10b: Services for Foreign Residents - Japanese Language Classes

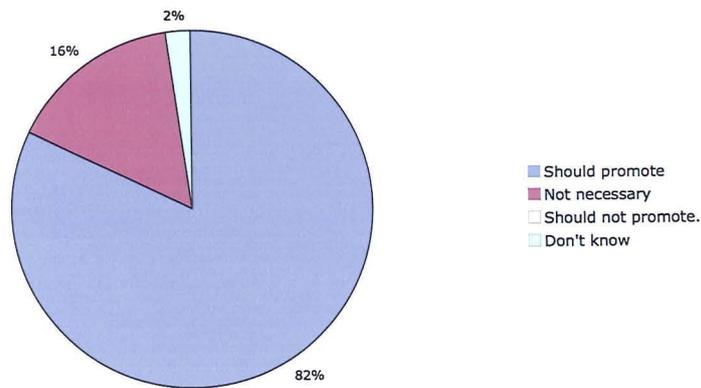
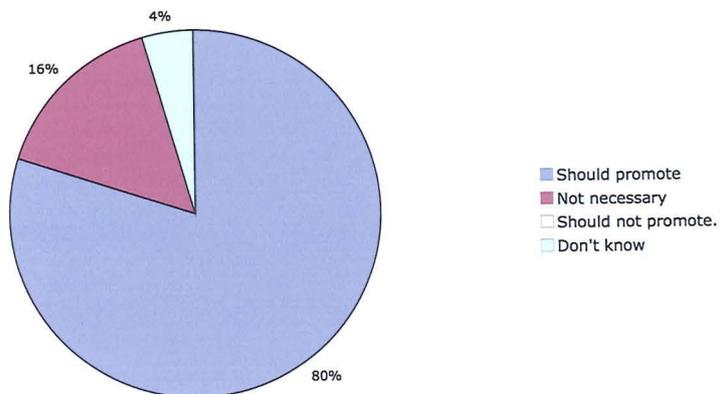


Figure VIII-10c: Services for Foreign Residents - Social Events with Japanese Residents



ANALYSIS OF SURVEY FINDINGS – VIEWS OF BUSINESS COMMUNITY

As explained in detail in Chapter VI, local business leaders who participated in this case study were members of the Ayabe Rotary Club. This section examines the views of local business leaders about cohabitation with newcomer foreigners. The analysis in this section is based on the questionnaire survey conducted with members of the Ayabe Rotary Club (Chapter VI).

Who They Are

Tables VIII-11~15 and Figures VIII 11-15 show the profile of the members of the local business community in Ayabe City who participated in the study. They were male and over 40 years old. The overwhelming majority (92%) had lived in Ayabe City over 20 years. Most of them saw foreigners in their neighbourhood regularly or occasionally but 27% of them did not see any foreign neighbours in their communities. The business community members were almost equally split between those who had participated and those who had never participated in activities designed for social interaction between Japanese and foreign residents. This indicated that although they all belonged to a NGO that promoted intercultural understanding (ARC), business community members of Ayabe City might not necessarily participate in activities to promote socializing with local foreign residents.

Many respondents told me that they regularly socialized with old-comer foreigners in their communities but did not particularly consider those old-comers as ‘foreigners’. This confirmed the characteristics of old-comer foreigners in Japan that were discussed in Chapters III and IV. It indicated that many respondents automatically thought of newcomer foreigners when someone referred to a ‘foreigner’. The implication was that old-comer foreigners in Ayabe City – as was often the case with

old-comers in Japan as a whole – had been well integrated in their host communities through their long history of settlement in Japan. Accordingly, their social interactions with Japanese neighbours occurred through their normal daily life both at work and in their neighbourhood and not through specially created opportunities for socializing.

I had a chance to talk with two small business owners who were currently employing or had employed foreigners. They were both impressed with their foreign employees and were enthusiastic about employing more foreigners in the future. They told me that they regarded foreign workers as important part of the workforce at their companies (Chapter III).

Table VIII-11: Business Community – Sex

| Sex | |
|--------|----|
| Male | 37 |
| Female | 0 |

Figure VIII-11: Business Community - Sex

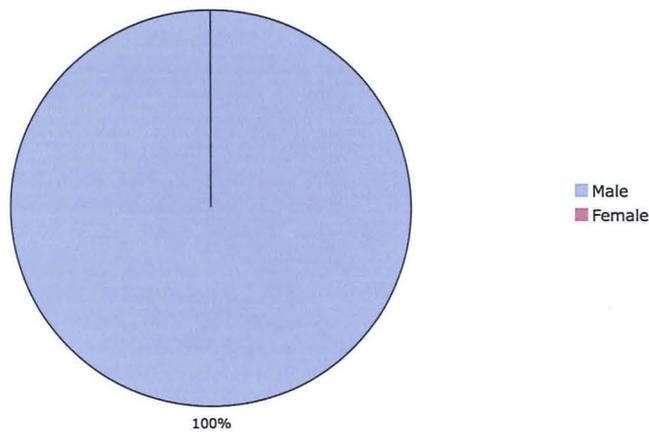


Table VIII-12: Business Community – Age

| Age | |
|-------------|----|
| 30s | 0 |
| 40s | 4 |
| 50s | 10 |
| 60s | 11 |
| 70s and up | 11 |
| No response | 1 |

Figure VIII-12 Business Community - Age

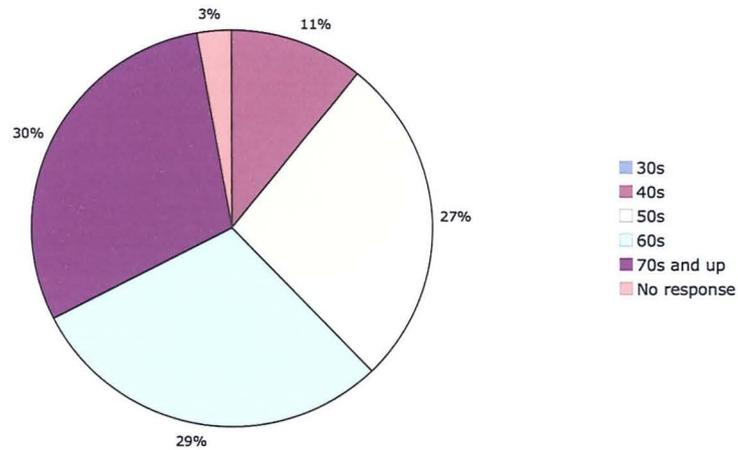


Table VIII-13: Business Community – Length of Residency in Ayabe City

| Length of residency in Ayabe City | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Less than 1 year | 0 |
| 1-4 years | 0 |
| 5-9 years | 0 |
| 10-19 years | 2 |
| More than 20 years | 34 |
| Live outside Ayabe | 0 |
| No response | 1 |

Figure VIII-13: Business Community - Length of Residency in Ayabe City

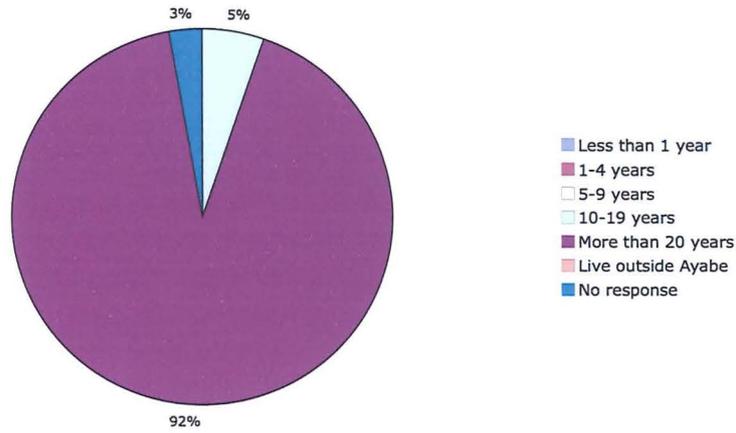


Table VIII-14: Foreign Neighbours in the Community

How often do you see foreigners in your community?

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| Frequently | 8 |
| Time to time | 2 |
| Only occasionally | 17 |
| Not at all | 10 |

Figure VIII-14: How often do you see foreigners in your community?

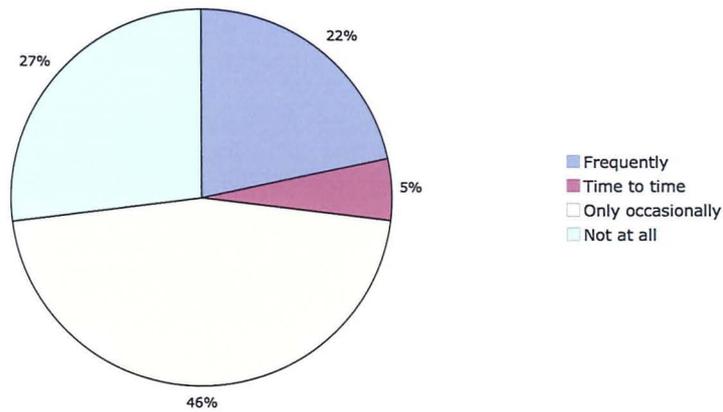
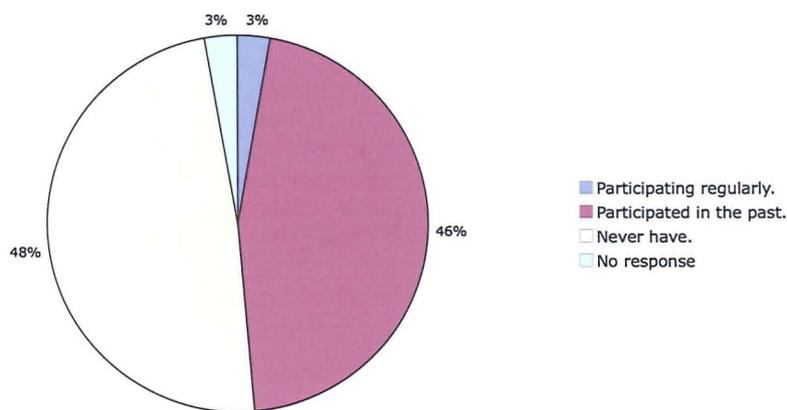


Table VIII-15: Interaction with Foreign Residents

Have you participated in activities aimed for the promotion of interaction with foreign residents?

| | |
|---------------------------|----|
| Participating regularly. | 1 |
| Participated in the past. | 17 |
| Never have. | 18 |
| No response | 1 |

Figure VIII-15: Have you participated in activities aimed for the promotion of interaction with foreign residents?



Social Participation of Foreign Residents

Table VIII-16, Figures VIII-16a and VIII-16b show how the members of the business community in Ayabe felt about the participation of foreign residents. The local business leaders in Ayabe City were generally supportive of the participation of foreign residents in social events at the community level. All respondents supported the participation of foreign residents in local festivals and events. Although the majority also supported the participation of foreigners in events and activities organized by local community or neighbourhood associations, a small minority voiced an objection against such participation. Since the data was collected through anonymous questionnaires, I was not able to follow up with respondents to find out the exact reasons of such objections.

Table VIII-16: Social Participation of Foreign Residents

Do you think foreign residents should participate in the following?

Q2-a Festivals and events organized by City and local business community

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| They should participate often. | 23 |
| They can if they want. | 14 |
| I don't want them to participate. | 0 |

Q2-b Events and activities organized by your local neighbourhood association

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| They should participate often. | 21 |
| They can if they want. | 15 |
| I don't want them to participate. | 1 |

Figure VIII-16a: Festivals and Events Organized by City and Local Business Community

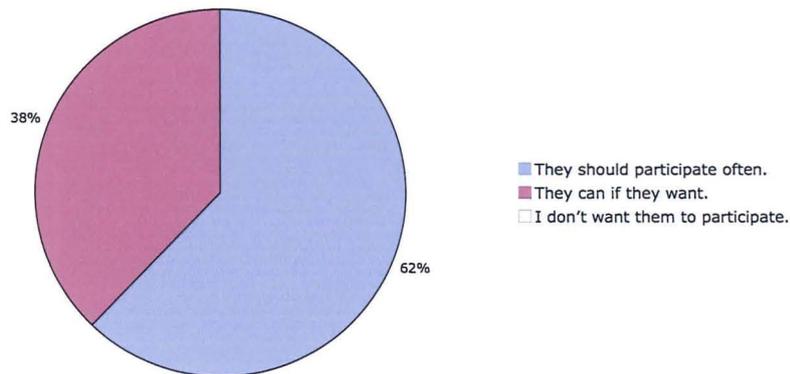
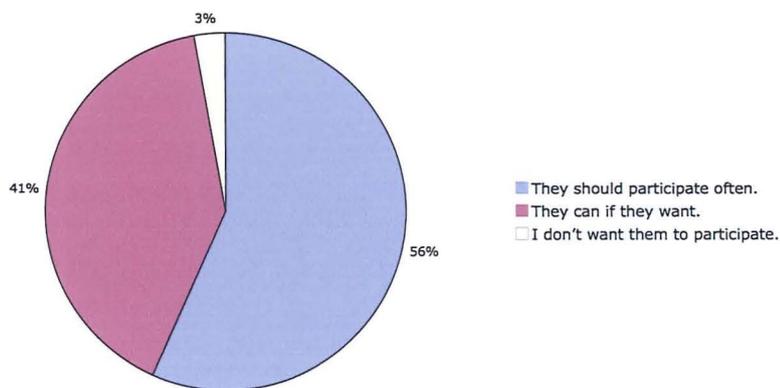


Figure VIII-16b: Events and Activities Organized by Your Local Neighbourhood Association



Settlement of Foreign Residents

Table VIII-17, Figures VIII-17a and VIII-17b show how the business community in Ayabe City felt about the settlement of foreign residents in their City. As for the duration of stay of foreign residents, the majority (75%) of them had no objection to the permanent settlement of foreigners, while 14% preferred a short-term residency. On the other hand, the opinions of members of Ayabe business community were almost equally split between those who prefer to maintain the current level of foreigners in their communities and those who would not mind an increase. This meant that there were some business leaders who preferred no increase in the number of foreign residents but would support the permanent settlement of existing foreigners. Although there was uncertainty about the number of foreigners they were willing to accept, the majority of the business community of Ayabe City showed its support for the settlement of foreign residents in their communities in general.

Table VIII-17: Settlement of Foreign Residents

(a) What do you think about the number of foreign residents in Ayabe City?

| | |
|---|----|
| Can increase | 18 |
| Should remain at the current level | 17 |
| I would prefer that they would not live in my city. | 0 |
| Don't know | 2 |

(b) What do you think about the duration of stay of foreign residents in Ayabe City?

| | |
|---|----|
| They can live for a short period of time. | 5 |
| They can settle for good. | 28 |
| Don't know | 4 |

Figure VIII-17a: What do you think about the number of foreign residents in Ayabe City?

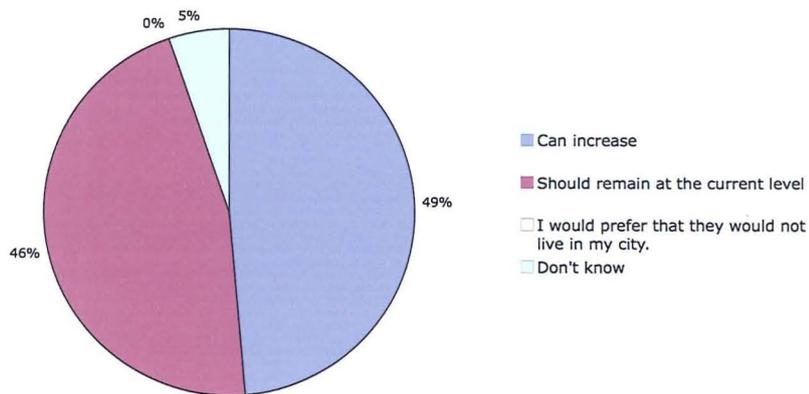
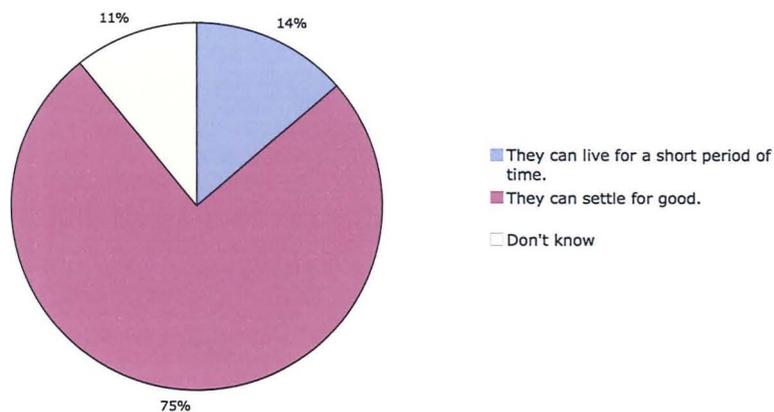


Figure VIII-17b: What do you think about the duration of stay of foreign residents in Ayabe City?



Effect of Foreigners in the Community

Table VIII-18, Figures VIII-18a, 18b, 18c and 18d show the opinions of business community members on the effect of foreigners on various elements of life in Ayabe City. Overall, the majority of business leaders felt that the presence of foreigners did not have an affect.

The percentage of those who said that the presence of foreigners made a positive impact was high on the questions of Ayabe City's development as a whole (38%) and the employment opportunities in the City (38%), while the percentage of those who felt the negative impact was small (five percent in both cases). The

overwhelming majority (81%) of the business leaders felt that foreigners did not affect the local wage and working conditions. Meanwhile, the percentage of those who felt the negative impact recorded highest on the question of 'culture'. Sixteen percent of business leaders responded that they thought foreigners had a negative impact on the culture of the City.

Table VIII-18: Effect of Foreigners

What do you think the effect of introducing foreign workers in your city on the following?

| | |
|--------------------------------|----|
| (a) City's development | |
| Positive | 14 |
| No effect | 21 |
| Negative | 2 |
| Don't know | 0 |
| (b) Wage and working condition | |
| Positive | 5 |
| No effect | 30 |
| Negative | 2 |
| Don't know | 0 |
| (c) Employment opportunity | |
| Positive | 8 |
| No effect | 24 |
| Negative | 4 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| (d) Culture | |
| Positive | 9 |
| No effect | 20 |
| Negative | 6 |
| Don't know | 2 |

Figure VIII-18a: Effect of Foreigners - City's Development

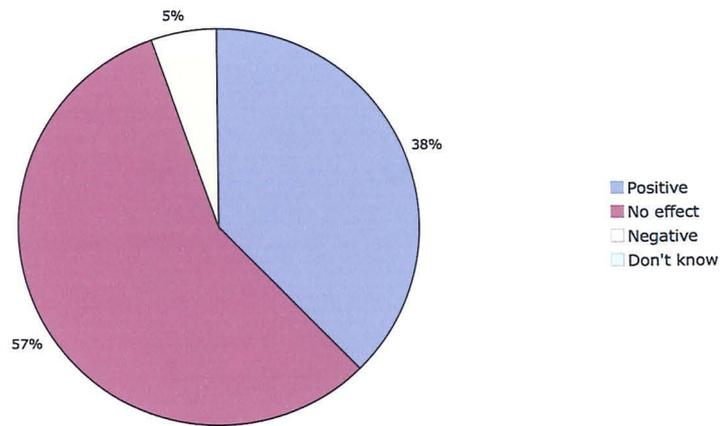


Figure VIII-18b: Effect of Foreigners - Wage and Working Condition

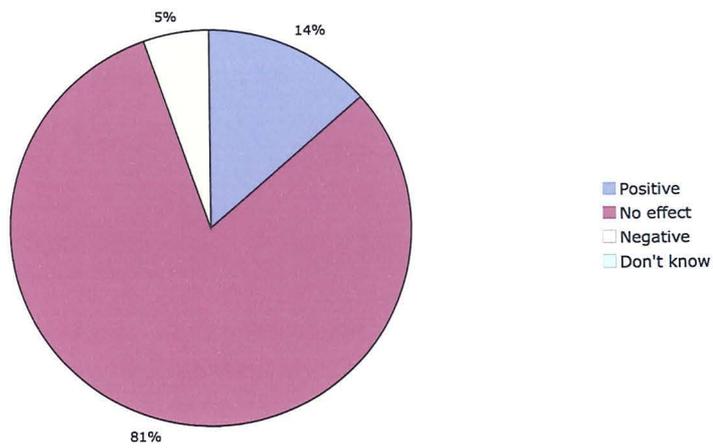


Figure VIII-18c: Effect of Foreigners - Employment Opportunity

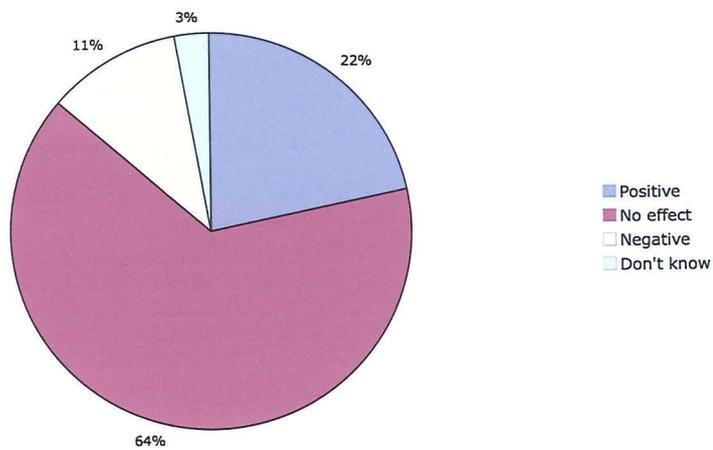
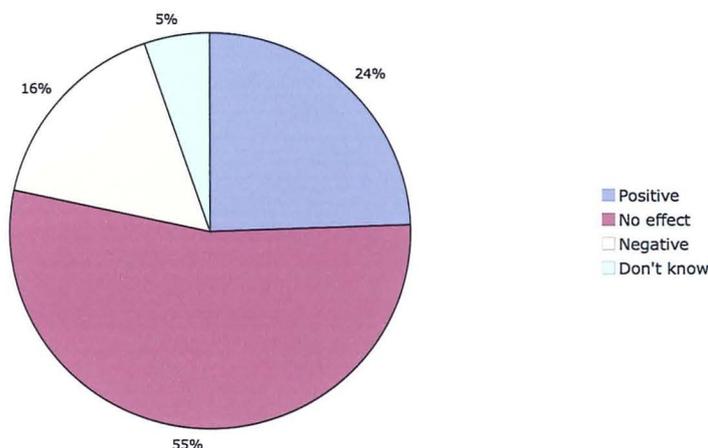


Figure VIII-18d: Effect of Foreigners - Culture



Assistance for Foreign Residents

Tables VIII-19, VIII-20, Figures VIII-19, VIII-20a, 20b and 20c show the opinions of local business leaders on the assistance to be provided for foreign residents. The results indicated that roughly half of the business leaders considered that the employers of foreigners should undertake the responsibility for any additional administrative costs of accepting such foreigners. The opinions of the remaining half of the respondents were divided. 19% of the respondents felt that foreigners should bear such costs by themselves. Those who thought that the local government was responsible (16%) outnumbered those who said that the central government should bear such costs (eight percent). Three percent of business leaders felt that the number of foreigners should be limited so that such additional costs would not occur.

If the number of foreign residents was expected to increase, the overwhelming majority of business leaders thought that the public sector should strengthen its support of activities for foreign residents in the areas of Japanese languages classes and social interaction between Japanese and foreign residents. The opinions of Ayabe business

community members were more mixed on the issue of the public sector's involvement in providing job placement information to foreigners. They were almost equally divided between those who thought that the public sector should provide such a service and those who thought it was not necessary. A small number of members went further and disapproved the provision of such a service by the public sector.

Table VIII-19: Administrative Costs

When additional administrative costs are incurred to the local government by accepting foreign residents, who do you think should bear such costs?

| | |
|--|----|
| The employers | 16 |
| Foreign residents themselves | 7 |
| Central government | 3 |
| Local government | 6 |
| Should limit the number of foreigners so that no additional cost is necessary. | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |

Figure VIII-19: Who should bear additional administrative costs?

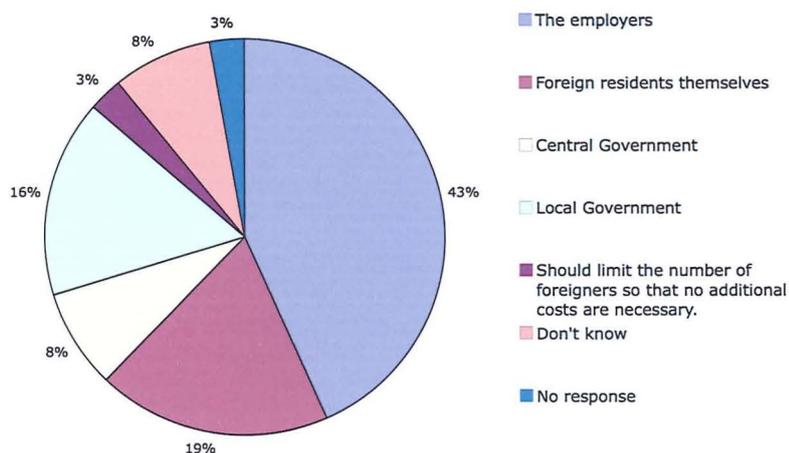


Table VIII-20: Services for Foreign Residents

What do you think of providing public services for foreign residents in the following areas?

| | |
|---|----|
| (a) Employment opportunity counselling | |
| Should promote | 18 |
| Not necessary | 15 |
| Should not promote. | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| (b) Japanese language classes for foreign residents: | |
| Should promote | 29 |
| Not necessary | 7 |
| Should not promote. | 0 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| (c) Social events with Japanese and foreign residents: | |
| Should promote | 28 |
| Not necessary | 7 |
| Should not promote. | 0 |
| Don't know | 2 |

Figure VIII-20a: Services for Foreign Residents - Employment Opportunity Counselling

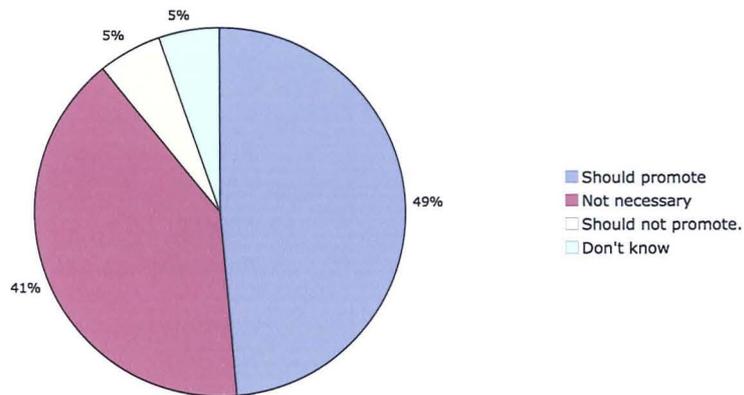


Figure VIII-20b: Services for Foreign Residents - Japanese Language Classes

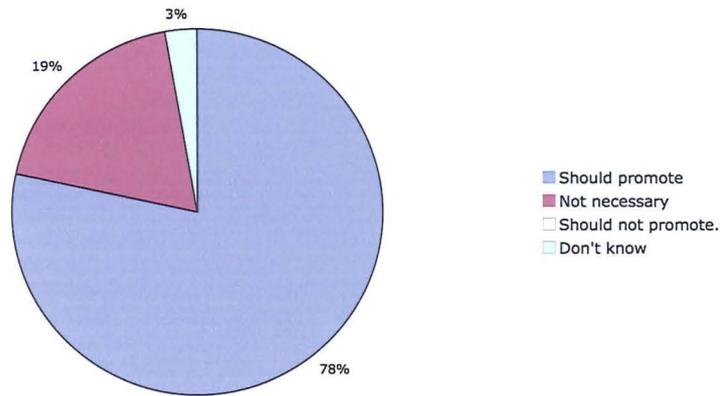
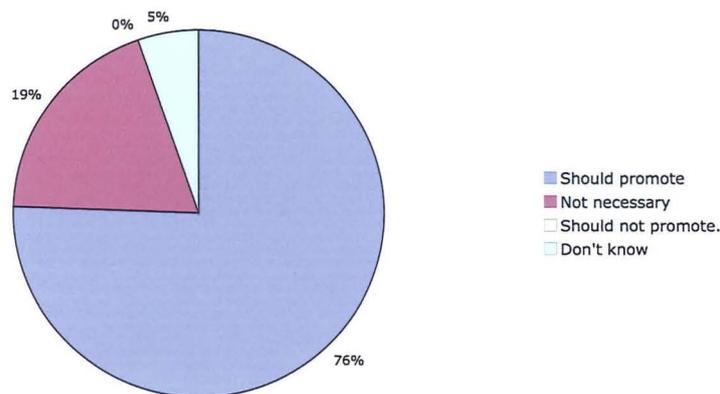


Figure VIII-20c: Services for Foreign Residents - Social Events with Japanese Residents



ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS – VIEWS OF NEWCOMER

FOREIGN RESIDENTS

As described in detail in Chapter VI, newcomer foreigners who participated in this case study are participants of activities organized by the Ayabe International Exchange Association (AIEA). The analysis in this section is based on the data collected from newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City through structured interviews (Chapter VI).

Who They Are

Tables VIII-21~24 and Figures VIII-21~24 show the profiles of the newcomer foreign residents who participated in the study. The length of the residency of the foreign residents was diverse. Roughly the half of the respondents had been living in Ayabe City between one and three years. At the same time, there were some who had residency of less than one year while others had lived in Ayabe City for more than ten years. All of the foreigners who had lived in Ayabe City for over five years were spouses of Japanese citizens.

Reflecting the national trend that Chapter III outlined, all of the foreign residents were originally from neighbouring Asian countries. Their ages ranged between 20 and 49 years old. According to the President of the AIEA, those who had children living with them in Ayabe were all spouses of Japanese citizens. Some foreign residents possessed Japanese language ability that was advanced enough to carry out a normal daily life on their own. However, others did not have the adequate level of language proficiency either in Japanese or English.

All those who came to Japan with fixed-term job-related visas came alone. Foreign residents who attended activities of the Association were all registered with the City government of Ayabe and were covered by a health insurance through their employers. Judging by the conversations he had with foreign members of the Association, the President was under the impression that most newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City had a firm intention of returning to their home countries at some point except for those who were married to Japanese citizens and settled in Japan for good.

Table VIII-21: Country of Origin

Where are you originally from?

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Indonesia | 5 |
| China | 3 |
| The Philippines | 3 |

| | |
|----------|---|
| Thailand | 4 |
| Taiwan | 1 |

Figure VIII-21: Country of Origin

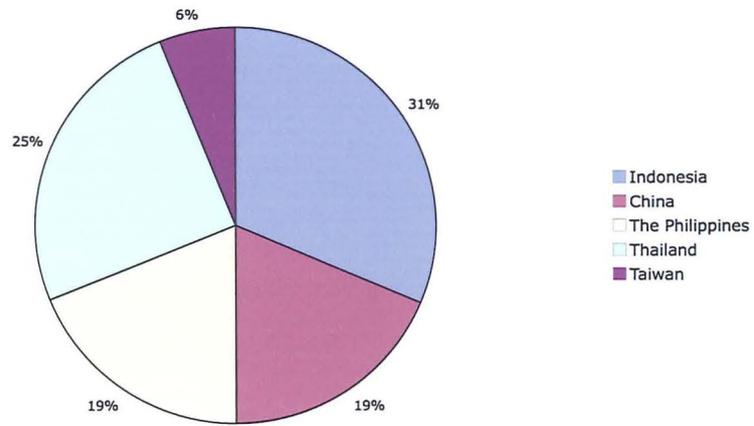


Table VIII-22: Sex

| | |
|--------|----|
| Sex | |
| Female | 10 |
| Male | 6 |

Figure VIII-22: Sex

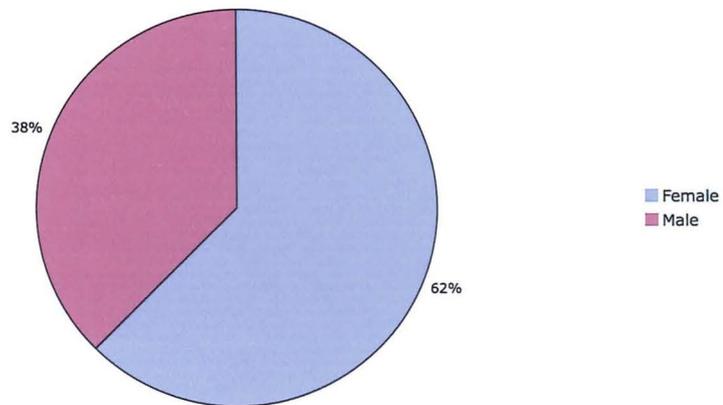


Table VIII-23: Age

| | |
|-------|---|
| Age | |
| 20-29 | 7 |
| 30-39 | 7 |
| 40-49 | 2 |
| 50-59 | 0 |

Figure VIII-23: Age

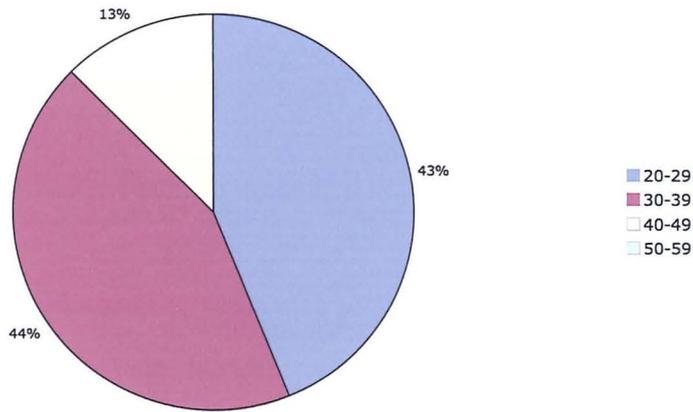
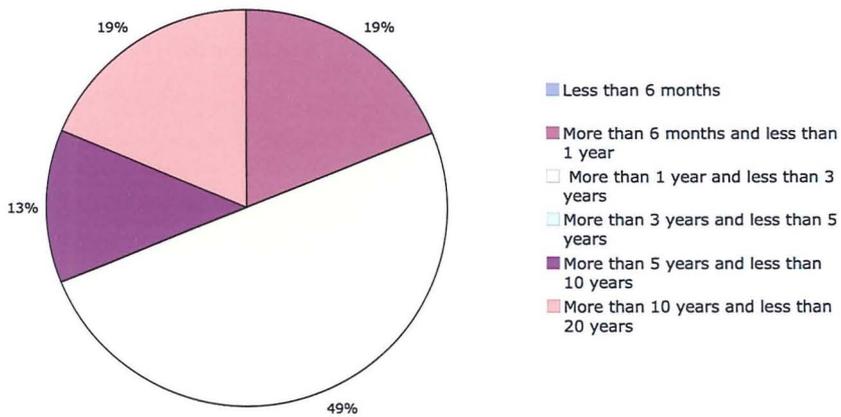


Table VIII-24: Length of Residency in Ayabe City

| How long have you been living in Ayabe City? | |
|--|---|
| Less than 6 months | 0 |
| More than 6 months and less than 1 year | 3 |
| More than 1 year and less than 3 years | 8 |
| More than 3 years and less than 5 years | 0 |
| More than 5 years and less than 10 years | 2 |
| More than 10 years and less than 20 years | 3 |

Figure VIII-24: How long have you been living in Ayabe City?



Why They Came to Japan

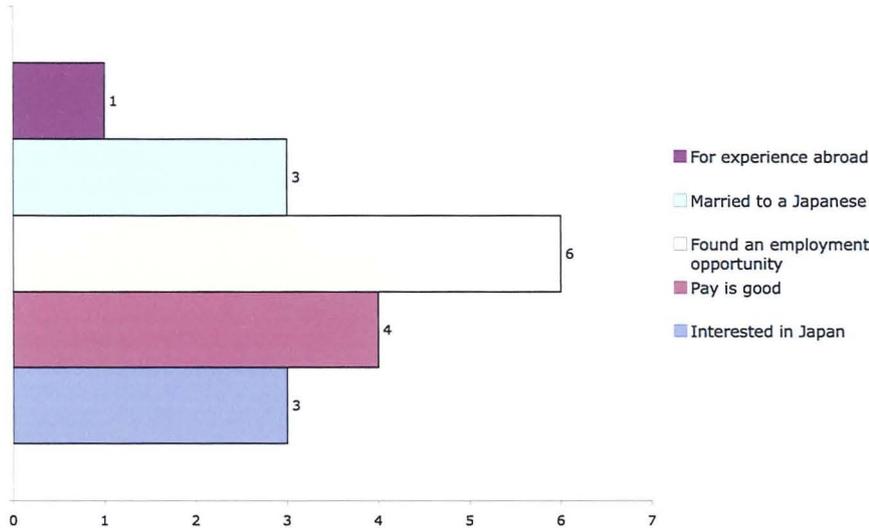
Table VIII-25 and Figure VIII-25 show the reasons why the newcomer foreign residents came to Japan. Although the details of their personal background were different, most of them had employment-related motivations. They came to Japan because they found employment opportunities while they were still in their home countries and they thought the pay in Japan was much better than at home. Some were particularly interested in Japan and purposefully sought after opportunities in Japan. Others were not particularly interested in Japan at all but married to Japanese citizens abroad and eventually moved to Japan with their spouses.

One resident came to Japan to work initially but subsequently married a Japanese citizen and settled in Japan permanently. A different resident told me that she was interested in living abroad in general. She would have preferred to live somewhere in a Western country but had decided that it was too costly to do so. Subsequently, she found a job opportunity to work in Japan and came to Ayabe City.

Table VIII-25: What is the reason for your coming to Japan?

| <u>What is the reason for your coming to Japan? (multiple answers)</u> | |
|--|---|
| Interested in Japan | 3 |
| Pay is good | 4 |
| Found an employment opportunity | 6 |
| Married to a Japanese | 3 |
| For experience abroad | 1 |

Figure VIII-25: What is the reason for your coming to Japan?



How Long Do They Want to Live in Japan?

Table VIII-26 and Figure VIII-26 show the opinions of the newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City regarding the duration of their stay in Japan. Those who were not married to Japanese citizens wanted to limit their stay in Japan to less than five years. There were a few who said that they came to Japan only for a job. They definitely did not want to stay longer than three years. On the other hand, there were also a few who thought differently. They said that their visit to Japan was mainly for a job. But now that they made some Japanese friends in Ayabe City, they would not mind staying in Ayabe City longer than they initially planned if their visas could be renewed. One resident said that if the visa situation could be worked out, he would like to stay in Japan as a student and study agricultural techniques which would be useful after his return to his native country.

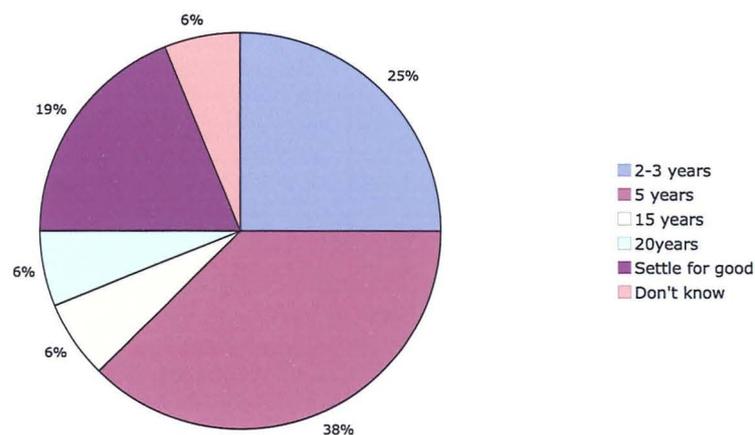
Opinions among foreigners who were married to Japanese citizens were interestingly diverse. Many of them said that they planned to settle in Ayabe City for good with their families. At the same time, there were others who would stay in Japan during their children's schooling years but wanted to move back to their native

countries with their spouses after their children became independent. It indicates that even those foreign residents who are spouses of Japanese citizens may not have the intention of permanently settling in Japan.

Table VIII-26: How long do you want to live in Japan?

| How long do you want to live in Japan? | |
|--|---|
| 2-3 years | 4 |
| 5 years | 6 |
| 15 years | 1 |
| 20years | 1 |
| Settle for good | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |

Figure VIII-26: How long do you want to live in Japan?



Life in Japan

Tables VIII-27~32 and Figures VIII-27~32 show the responses of the foreign residents to the questions concerning various elements of their lives in Japan. The questions in this category were designed to evaluate the following.

- The level of social activities in which newcomer foreigners are involved in their daily lives in Ayabe City: To evaluate this point, I asked whether they had made friends with anybody in Japan.
- The level of relationships and interactions that newcomer foreigners have developed with their local acquaintances: To evaluate this point, I asked whom they consulted when they had a problem.
- The level of support that newcomer foreigners can count on in case of medical emergency and the level of accessibility of newcomer foreigners to social services: To evaluate this point, I asked four questions concerning their experiences with medical services in Japan – (i) whether they have ever used a hospital in Japan; (ii) whether they went to the hospital with somebody who could help them understand Japanese; (iii) who accompanied them; and (iv) whether they understood the instructions from the doctor. In the specific context of Japan, hospitals are the provider of primary health care. ('General practitioners' do not exist in Japan.)

All of the foreign residents indicated that they had some degree of social lives in Japan. They had people who they considered were friends and with whom they could socialize from time to time somewhere in Japan. Many foreign residents considered the Japanese volunteers of the AIEA as their friends. Some even had Japanese and/or foreign friends outside Ayabe City.

Many foreign residents seem to have developed close enough relationships with Japanese residents in Ayabe City to make them feel comfortable to talk about their problems in daily life. When they had a problem, most of them had someone they could talk to in Ayabe City. Many would consult their Japanese friends in Ayabe City, particularly Japanese volunteers of the Association. Some would talk to their employers and others would talk to their spouses or siblings. There were a few who preferred to

talk to their families in their home countries. There were also a few who said they would prefer not to talk to anybody when they had a problem.

The majority of the foreign residents (69%) had an experience of going to a hospital in Japan to receive primary health care. Most of them were accompanied by somebody who could help them in understanding Japanese. Their non-Japanese friends, employers, spouses or colleagues came to assist them in the hospital visit. And yet, 27% of them did not understand the instructions from the doctor.

One foreign resident laughingly told me about the first time she went to a hospital in Japan. She was nervous about going to a hospital but felt somewhat reassured because she was accompanied with her Japanese husband. When the time of her consultation with a doctor came, she realized that that her husband was faced with the medical terminologies that he could not translate either into English or her mother tongue. She said that she could not quite understand the doctor's instructions after all. There were others who had similar experiences. Their companions – either Japanese or foreign – could not accurately translate instructions of doctors, as a result of which patients themselves did not understand what was going on. Another resident told me about her story. She was also nervous when she had to go to a Japanese hospital for the first time but found out that her doctor was fluent in English. She had no problem in communicating with her doctor. A different resident told me that by the time he had to go to a hospital in Japan for the first time, he had enough Japanese language ability to communicate some basic information with his doctor.

Respondents' experiences with the Japanese hospital were all different. It is impressive that the majority of the newcomer foreign residents in Ayabe City who had to go to the hospital managed to find somebody to accompany them and assist them. Some foreign residents told me that the president of their company took them to hospital when they fell ill. When the respondents said that the man who owned and

managed their company himself accompanied them to hospital, it sounded incredulous and I had to ask again to make sure I heard them correctly. They said, “Yes, Shacho-san (president/business owner) took us. Shacho-san himself.” What was more surprising was that these respondents mentioned it matter-of-factly. Judging from the expression of their faces, if they spoke fluent Japanese or English they would have said, “Of course, it was our Shacho-san. Who else could it be?” The fact that business owner himself was directly involved in the assistance of their foreign employees’ daily lives seems to suggest that the company where these foreigners worked was most likely a small-size enterprise. It would explain the situation if the company was so small that the president also carried out the function of administrative and human resource managers.

Table VIII-27: Friends

| Do you have a friend in Japan? (multiple answers) | |
|---|---|
| Japanese friend(s) in Ayabe | 9 |
| Japanese friend(s) outside Ayabe | 2 |
| Compatriot or other foreigner friend(s) in Ayabe | 5 |
| Compatriot or other foreigner friend(s) outside Ayabe | 2 |

Figure VIII-27: Do you have a friend in Japan?

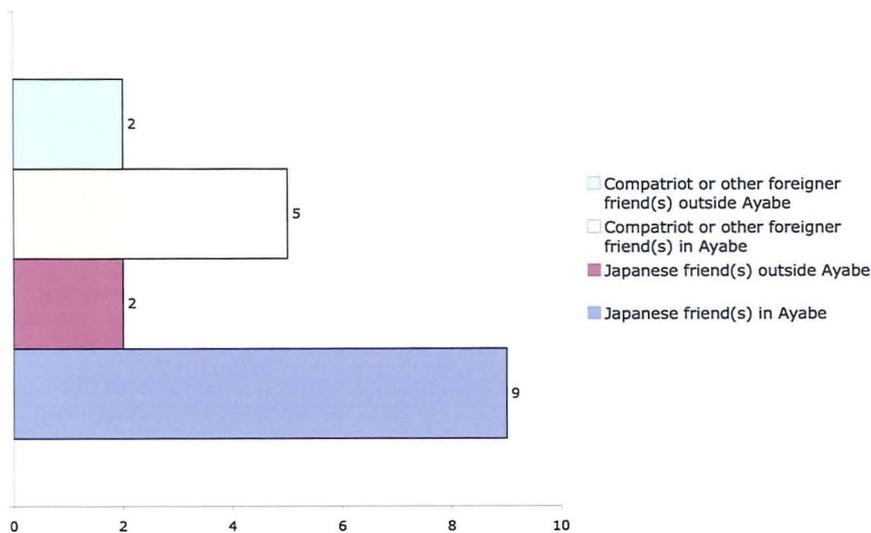


Table VIII-28: Whom do you consult when you have a problem?

| Whom do you consult when you have a problem? | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| Family back home | | 2 |
| Friends back home | | 0 |
| Japanese friends in Ayabe | | 8 |
| Compatriot friend(s) in Ayabe | | 0 |
| Support organization | | 0 |
| Nobody | | 2 |
| Others | Sister in Japan | 1 |
| | Husband | 1 |
| | Employer (president of the company) | 2 |

Figure VIII-28: Whom do you consult when you have a problem?

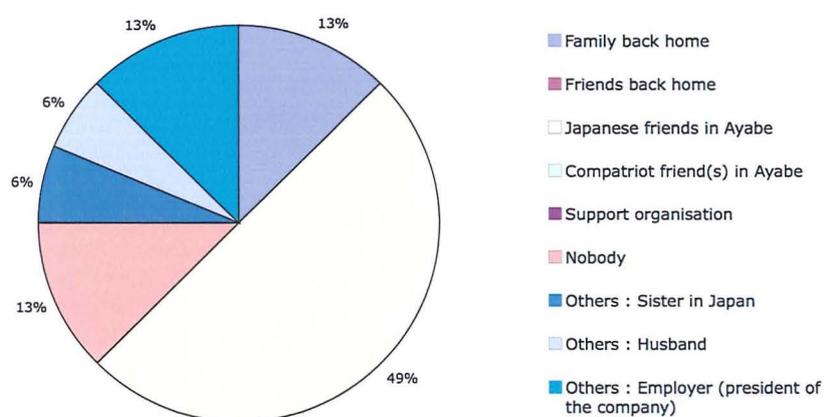


Table VIII-29: Have you been to a hospital in Japan?

| Have you been to a hospital in Japan? | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| Yes | 11 |
| No | 5 |

Figure VIII-29: Have you been to a hospital in Japan?

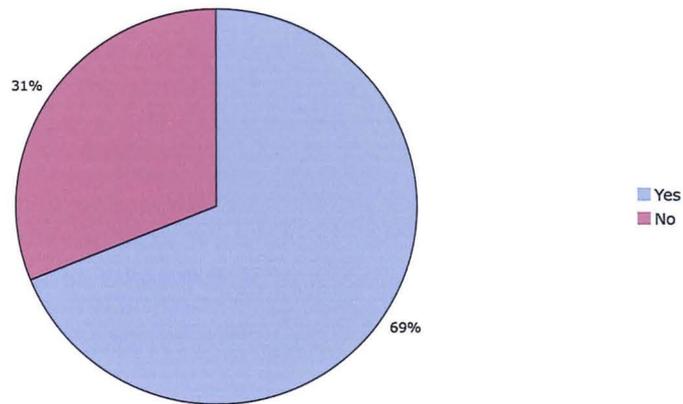


Table VIII-30: Did you go to the hospital with someone who understood Japanese?

| Did you go to the hospital with someone who understood Japanese? | |
|--|----|
| Yes | 10 |
| No | 1 |

Figure VIII-30: Did you go to the hospital with someone who understood Japanese?

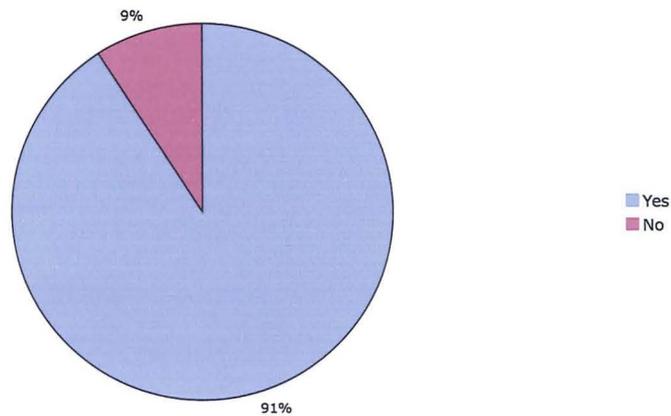


Table VIII-31: Who was it?

| Who was it? | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Non-Japanese friend | 2 |
| Employer (president of the company) | 3 |
| Husband | 4 |
| Colleague | 1 |

Figure VIII-31: Who was it?

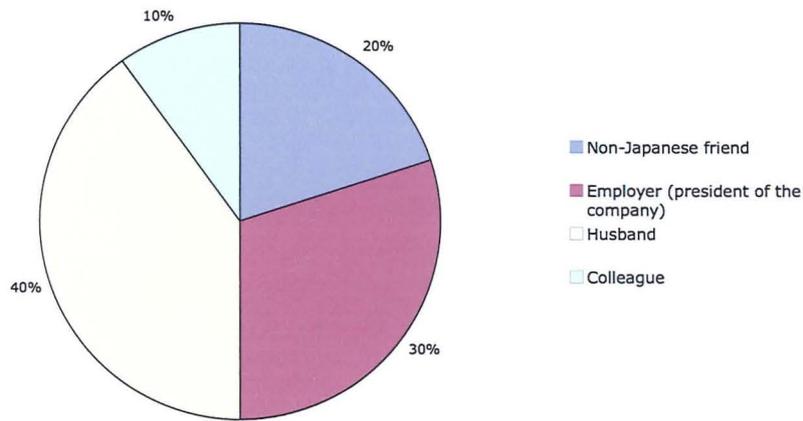
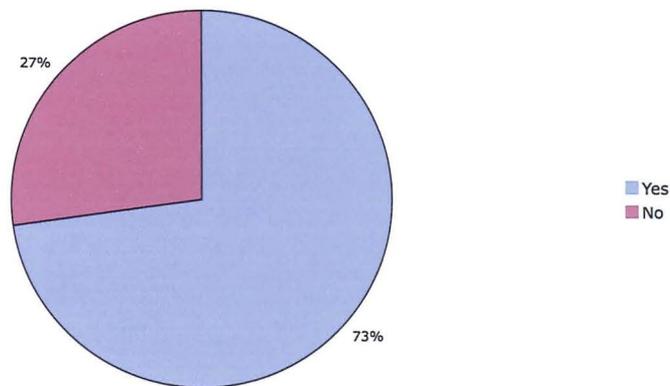


Table VIII-32: Did you understand the instructions from the doctor?

| Did you understand the instructions from the doctor? | |
|--|---|
| Yes | 8 |
| No | 3 |

Figure VIII-32: Did you understand the instructions from the doctor?



**CONCLUDING ANALYSIS: JAPANESE VOLUNTEERS, BUSINESS
COMMUNITY AND FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN AYABE CITY**

Although I am aware that people do not always behave as they say they will, the findings of the case study reveal positive elements in the responses of Japanese

volunteers and the business community in Ayabe City regarding the issue of social participation by foreign residents. At the same time, the findings reveal that such positive responses face potential threats due to staff shortages and uncertainty of continuing funding.

As discussed in Chapter VI, I employed a triangulation technique of multi-dimensional data collection. To project a fuller profile of local newcomer foreigners and their lives, I collected data from different groups of key stakeholders of the research. Furthermore, data collected through such direct personal interactions were complemented and compared with the data from other sources such as official documents and newspaper articles to determine whether they corroborated one another. I felt that speaking to people with different perspectives was a worthwhile exercise. Views expressed by different stakeholders added up to show a picture that suggest a positive environment for cohabitation among Japanese and foreign residents. The following paragraphs summarize the analyses of the main findings.

Analysis #1

The Strategy paper of Ayabe City, my survey results and my interviews with research participants all suggest that Japanese residents in Ayabe City are generally supportive of the social participation of local foreign residents. At the same time, my survey results show that they seem to be ambivalent about the number of newcomer foreigners that the City can host. Some Japanese residents do not mind the increase but the others prefer maintenance of the current level. My findings are not conclusive enough for me to argue why that is. It may be the case that in reality people do not reach an absolute consensus on any given issue, no matter how enthusiastically they carry out the debate. Or this may be a potential indication that Japanese residents in Ayabe City have not had opportunity to develop mature discussions on the issue.

Even though the Japanese residents in this study belong to organizations that strongly support intercultural understanding, some do not actively participate in events specially organized for socializing with local foreign residents. One interpretation is that they have many 'old-comer' foreigners as friends either at work or in their neighbourhood and do not feel the need to participate in special events. Another interpretation is that they prefer more organic settings than special events and are already interacting with foreign residents on the individual basis. The third and more alarming possibility is that although they belong to a reputable NGO that promotes intercultural understanding, the 'internationalization' to them does not apply in their personal life. It is something to preach and not practice.

Analysis #2

The business community of Ayabe City is generally supportive of social participation of local foreign residents. Many business owners advocate that the employers of foreign residents bear the additional administrative costs for the integration of foreign residents. It indicates that the business community of Ayabe City has a high sense of social responsibility to the host community. At the same time, local business owners have not reached consensus about the acceptable number of newcomer foreigners in the community. Local business leaders may be hesitant to accept a large number of newcomer foreigners because of the stagnant national economy and the implication of possible labour surplus. The same ambivalence about the possible increase of newcomer foreigners was prevalent among Japanese residents.

This may be related to the reliability of data that was discussed in Chapter VI. What people say in interviews may not necessarily reflect what they actually do. Although many business leaders in Ayabe City expressed their willingness to contribute financially to the social integration of their foreign employees, it is not clear

as to how much they will be willing to pay or if they actually give money at all in reality.

Analysis #3

According to the survey result, Japanese volunteers feel that foreign residents positively contribute to Ayabe City's development and growth in general. At the same time, foreign residents in Ayabe City are also thought to have more impact on the City's cultural environment than on economic factors such as employment opportunity, wage or working conditions. The number of the Japanese who said newcomer foreign residents had a negative impact was highest when asked about the cultural environment.

This is most likely the consequence of the strong emphasis of the City's Japanese residents on spiritual well-being (Chapter VII). Because the respect among Japanese residents for their own spiritual and cultural heritage is very strong, they may feel anxious about the uncertainty of introducing different cultures into their community. Such anxiety contributes to the abovementioned ambivalence about the acceptable number of newcomer foreigners. Although Japanese residents in Ayabe City acknowledge the positive contribution of foreign residents, they seem uncertain about the level of multiculturalism they can comfortably accept.

Analysis #4

Female Japanese volunteers make significant contributions to the local support system of newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City. Core members of the AIEA are middle-aged Japanese women who have part-time jobs. In most cases, their children are grown-up and have left home. More detailed examination of the volunteers' interaction with foreign residents reveals interesting facts. The first concerns how volunteers treat foreign residents. Most Japanese volunteers tend to be very protective of foreign residents with whom they interact. Because the majority of the foreign residents who

use the services of the AIEA are much younger than the Japanese volunteers and appear particularly vulnerable due to weak language ability, many female Japanese volunteers tend to behave like surrogate mothers towards young newcomer foreigners. The relationship between Japanese volunteers of the AIEA and young newcomer foreigners is not that of equal fellow residents. It is more a relationship between a guardian and a ward.

Closely related to the first point, the second concerns the representation of opinions of newcomer foreign residents. I encountered a few visibly hostile Japanese volunteers, who showed particularly protective attitudes towards their 'wards'. They seemed to regard anybody outside the membership of the Association as ignorant or harmful to the foreign residents to whom they provided services. They indicated that any amount of research on my part would be 'superficial', compared with their dedication and passion for the Association's activities. This led me to think about the question of who was 'representing' the foreign residents when they did not possess language abilities to communicate their views and opinions.

The female Japanese volunteers who displayed visible hostility towards me were helping Thai residents to learn Japanese. Since none of these volunteers understood Thai, their communication with their Thai 'wards' largely consisted of pointing at words in language dictionaries rather than direct exchange of dialogues. Yet, these Japanese volunteers were firmly convinced that they were the best people to 'represent' the views of these foreign residents. Why did they think they were entitled to speak for foreign residents? It was not based on the exchange of opinions via fully functional verbal or written communication.

It is one thing if the high level of devotion of the volunteers to the cause was making them emotionally attached to the foreign residents under their care. It is quite another if the same volunteers start equating their commitment with the entitlement to

represent the foreign residents. Such volunteers are dedicated but make rather biased intermediaries that may or may not have the ability to accurately reflect the views of the foreign residents that they claim to understand. It is most likely to have grave implications if the opinions of foreign residents expressed through such biased intermediaries are actually submitted for the use of policy-makers. It may be useful if the President and members of the AIEA discuss the issue of their credibility as spokespeople of vulnerable newcomer foreigners and the areas of responsibility of the organization and its members.

Analysis #5

Opportunities exist for newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City to socialize and develop friendship with local Japanese residents. Most newcomer residents take advantage of such opportunities. Some business owners seem to take their responsibility as the employer of foreigners seriously and take care of foreign employees in their social lives as well. In such cases, employers may take up the role of guardians or even become friends to newcomer foreigners. In the case of small business enterprises, the size of the workforce may result in a less hierarchical structure of management, which may explain such relaxed relationships between the business owner and the foreign employee.

At the same time, there are newcomer foreigners who do not participate in social events. According to the statements by AIEA president and members, some have strong financial motivation and focus solely on achieving financial goals to minimize the time they spend in Japan. Others may have work-related reasons that prevent them from socializing. There are newcomer foreigners who fail to participate in social events because they work during the hours that coincide with programmes organized by local NGOs, for example. If one works for an enterprise that is controlled by mafia groups (as was the case with some Filipina women in Ayabe) or one's employment contract is

controlled by such organized crime syndicates (as was the case with some Latin American workers in Ayabe), such employers may object to employers' participation in socializing opportunities (Chapter VI).

Regular attendees of AIEA's activities included diverse groups of newcomer foreigners. Male foreign residents who participated in the case study were predominantly Indonesian and appeared generally to enjoy their experiences in Japan. One Japanese volunteer explained that these Indonesian men faced a lot of cultural and religious constraints in their home society and therefore felt less constrained once in Japan. Most of the Indonesian men were eager to stay in Japan longer than the period that their visa status allowed. Their wishes to stay in Japan were mainly for financial reasons.

The characteristics of female participants were notably diverse. For example, there were British women who taught English in upper secondary schools in Ayabe City as participants of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. But they were not regular participants of AIEA's activities. They found it relatively easy to make friends with local Japanese residents outside of AIEA because of their links with local schools and various parents' associations. Because of the nation-wide networks among fellow JET participants, they also enjoyed exposure to social functions outside Ayabe City. Although their Japanese proficiency was limited, the fact that their mother tongue was English made it easier for them to communicate with local Japanese residents. As a result, their social participation was significantly less dependent on their association with the AIEA. Since they were not regular participants of AIEA activities, my interviews with these British women did not materialize.

Thai women were generally in their 20s, working in factories and very eager to complete their contract term and go home. Chinese women were in their 30s. They were married with children but left their spouses and children back home. They had a

very focused financial targets they wanted to achieve during their time in Japan so that they could return home and be reunited with their families. They were also generally positive about their experience in Japan. Social participation of these two groups of female newcomers and their interaction with local Japanese residents considerably depended on their association with the AIEA. Filipina women were married to local Japanese residents, had lived in Japan over five years or more and generally intended to settle in Japan. They had already established their own networks of friends and families in Japan. And yet, they faced a different set of 'social participation' issues from the aforementioned three groups of female newcomers that involved Japanese spouses, children and in-laws. The AIEA's Japanese language class offered them a tool to improve their self-sufficiency and confidence.

Regardless of the difference in their circumstances, all those who participated in the activities of the AIEA benefited greatly from the support provided by the organization. For example, Indonesian men had lived in Japan for nearly three years and possessed a good command of Japanese language thanks to the AIEA's weekly Japanese classes. With the help of Japanese volunteers, these Indonesian were trying to further improve their Japanese to pass an official language proficiency test. To others who were still new to the life in Japan, the Association's programmes provided an opportunity to acquire 'survival' Japanese vocabulary. Foreign wives of local Japanese residents came to the Association because they wanted to learn sophisticated communication rules and vocabularies that were often required of them at workplace, school functions for their children and other social occasions. Other than the practical benefits of improving their language skills, all newcomer foreigners found opportunities in AIEA's activities to make friends and socialize with fellow foreign residents as well as Japanese volunteers.

The diversity in attitudes of newcomer foreigners towards opportunities for social participation reflects the diversity of characteristics and personal agendas of foreigners. Factors such as the awareness of the employers about their social responsibility and the amount of financial resources available all come into play when determining the feasibility of social participation of newcomer foreigners. The experience of Ayabe City shows that even with the presence of active NGO programmes, it is not realistic to expect all newcomer foreigners to actively pursue social participation. Even if all the key players concerned – the City government, the business community and the non-governmental sector – work closely together and map out a detailed plan to provide diversified programmes that meet different needs of segmentalized newcomer population, there will always be a few that may not be reached.

Analysis #6

The support provided by the AIEA to foreign wives of local Japanese residents contributes to the improvement of quality of life of Japanese spouses and children as well as the newcomer foreigners themselves. Foreign wives who were interviewed for this research all said that they wanted to improve their Japanese language skills not for themselves but mainly for their spouses and children. Although their Japanese was good enough to conduct casual daily conversations, at one point or another they all felt a significant level of social discomfort due to the inadequacy of their Japanese proficiency. They were not able to handle situations that require more advanced grammatical sophistication and vocabularies. Some were told by their children not to attend their school's open day because the children were embarrassed of the "bizarre Japanese" that their mothers spoke. Others had a difficult time remaining on good terms with their Japanese in-laws because their Japanese was not good enough to

understand or express delicate nuances, which they felt was often critical in improving personal relationships.

Although the improvement of the language proficiency was essentially personal benefit to the foreign wives who attended the weekly Japanese classes of the AIEA, these wives believed that such an improvement would also greatly enhance the quality of life of their spouses, children and other family members. These wives told me that their children would be happier because their mothers would no longer speak “bizarre Japanese” in front of their friends. Happier children may be more supportive of their mothers’ participation in school activities, which may as a result widen the opportunities for social interaction of these female foreign residents. In this sense, improvement of language proficiency is not only a matter of convenience but suggests empowerment of female foreign residents in a wider context. The support services provided by the AIEA bring direct and practical benefits to foreign wives of local Japanese residents. At the same time, the support of the Association most likely contributes also to making intangible changes in the lives of family members of these women.

Analysis #7

Foreign residents in Ayabe City represent just over one percent of the total population but consist of diverse groups of individuals in terms of nationality, age and the purpose of their relocation to Japan. Many newcomer foreigners work for a limited period of time in Japan and go back to their countries of origin eventually. But subsequent changes that occur during their stay in Japan may affect the duration of their residency. There are some who came to Japan as migrant workers and eventually married Japanese citizens. Other migrant workers made Japanese friends in their host community and considered extending their stay as a result. Although most newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City possess the legal status that allows them for a fixed-term

residency and eventually return their home countries, it cannot be assumed that they will never become long-term residents in Japan. This again relates to the fact that what people say and what they actually do in the end may not be the same.

The diversity of the characteristics of newcomer foreigners means that the needs of individual foreigners are different. At the same time, many Japanese volunteers seem to believe that the ultimate goal of any support services for newcomer foreigners is to assist their efforts towards self-determination, regardless of the differences in their personal circumstances. If the provision of social services at the local level is too rigidly tied with the visa status and the corresponding duration of residency of a newcomer foreigner, it may prevent the foreigner from developing ability to achieve such self-determination.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes my thesis. It contains two sections. The first section discusses the findings of my case study and their potential implications in terms of promoting active citizenship and participation among foreign residents in a small Japanese municipality in the context of globalization. The second section reflects on my learning from the research process and methodological issues.

PROMOTING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION AMONG FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN A SMALL JAPANESE MUNICIPALITY

In this research, my aim has been to explore the potential for promoting active citizenship and positive experiences of participatory approaches in a small municipality in Japan in the context of globalization. As Chapter II outlined, what it means to be a citizen has changed over time, reflecting changes in the dominant economic and political landscapes at the national and international levels. Globalization creates new challenges for citizenship as the boundaries for the state are being eroded and the basis for people's belonging to the state is questioned by growing international mobility. Such changes have exposed fundamental ambiguities in the notion of citizenship, most notably the contradiction between the notion of the citizen as an individual abstracted from cultural characteristics and that of the national as a member of a community with common cultural values (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Soysal, 2000).

Transnational mobility of people has come to symbolize the way in which people are transcending the nation-state system. However, this does not mean the end of the nation-state. The nation-state remains the most viable and essential political

organizational structure in this era of globalization (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000; Hirst and Thompson, 1996). At the same time, the spread of trans-nationalism means that the nation-state increasingly faces a more complex mosaic of cultures, religions, languages and ethnicities. The challenge of the nation-state is to negotiate differences of its members arising from the discursive nature of 'ethnicity' and to empower them with a sense of political belonging (Solomos and Back, 1996; Byrne, 1999; Coleman and Higgins, 2000).

Since I started this research, incidents such as London Tube bombings in July 2005 and riots in France in November 2005 occurred and raised national debates in many countries about multiculturalism, social integration and political belonging of immigrants and their family members. The fact that people who were mainly responsible for these incidents were not immigrants themselves but were UK and French 'citizens' further intensified the debate. Much literature and many human rights advocates suggest that what is required is a politics of recognition and inclusion where citizens mutually recognize differences and keep a collective political existence through deliberative opinion formulation. In this era of globalization when the notion of citizenship is repeatedly tested, what the nation-state needs may be a deliberative democracy based on informed public debate and active citizenship (Habermas, 2001; Fung and Wright, 2003; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003).

As this research demonstrates, in the specific case of Japan, the colonial past and the changes in the global economic environment contributed to the construction of a dichotomy in the foreign migrant population in the country (Chapter III). A large number of so-called 'old-comer' foreigners came to Japan and permanently settled as a result of the Japanese colonial occupation of its Asian territories. Since then, economic booms in Japan and migration pressure in neighbouring Asian countries resulted in an increasing flow of 'newcomer' economic migrants to Japan. This dichotomy in the

foreign population makes the issue of citizenship and participation of foreigners in Japan a complex policy concern both at the national and local levels (Chapter IV).

Foreign migrants are already structurally well incorporated into the Japanese labour market. In Japan all non-tourist foreigners who live in the country regardless of the length of their residency are perceived as 'foreign residents'. Because of the increasing presence of such foreign residents, the Japanese public and policy makers have acknowledged that the issue of cohabitation with foreigners is not a temporary problem but is a policy challenge that requires a long-term administrative response (Chapter IV). At the same time, due to the difference in their historical backgrounds and occupational attributes, old-comers and newcomers have distinctively different needs and demands especially with regards to the right to political participation. As Chapter IV outlined, it is not practical to expect that any one legislation and policy of the central or local governments can successfully address the needs of both old-comers and newcomers simultaneously in the specific context of Japan.

As an example of the host community of both old-comers and newcomers, Ayabe City presents interestingly positive experiences in promoting active citizenship of foreigners (Chapters VII and VIII). The vision of the local government and residents for future development of the City is unique in itself because of its emphasis on the importance of cultural and spiritual aspects of the life of individuals and the preservation of its local characteristics. More interestingly, the cultural emphasis in the particular context of Ayabe City does not signify the discriminatory politics based on the superiority of single ethnicity. Regardless of its small population size and without an overwhelmingly large presence of foreign residents, the local government and Japanese residents of Ayabe acknowledge foreign residents in their community as fellow partners in the development of the City.

Like in many other small rural Basic Municipalities in Japan, changes in the global environment have brought about policy challenges in Ayabe City concerning participatory democracy. In old days, the challenge manifested in the form of old-comers who migrated to the community as subjects of the imperial government. More recently, the accelerated rate of globalization led to the increase of economic migrants in the form of newcomers. What is significant in the case of Ayabe City is that the local government and residents not only responded to these challenges but also the majority responded positively. I have identified more markedly positive features in Ayabe than I had initially anticipated.

My findings suggest that the local government and residents of Ayabe City adopted an inclusive and participatory approach to the development of the City's statutory Strategy. The Strategy itself also declared clearly that all local residents including foreigners were important partners in building the future of the City. The permanent institutional mechanisms of the City for policy evaluation of the public administration included the 'resident monitors scheme' where foreign residents actively participated. The majority of the local business community showed a willingness to financially support the social integration of foreign residents. There was also a strong network of volunteers who supported newcomer foreigners' social integration.

Ironically, however, the future of such very positive responses of Ayabe City is threatened by a set of new policy initiatives of the central government to address the effect of very same globalization on public finance. I did not fully appreciate the significance of such negative elements when I began my research. On the basis of my findings from the experience of Ayabe, the following paragraphs discuss my concerns of potentially negative implications to Ayabe and other small municipalities in Japan. Concurrently, I would like to add that my experience and findings of a case study in Ayabe alone could not conclusively prove that my concerns would definitely

materialize in the near future. Accordingly, these concerns of potentially negative implications are tentative and may warrant further research to be investigated more systematically, perhaps over the coming months and years.

The examination of Ayabe's experience indicates that the current reform by the central government of local government system significantly affects foreign residents in Japan. It shows that the current policy environment surrounding the local government system in Japan presents a potential negative impact on the chances of social participation and empowerment of newcomer foreign residents. As Chapter V outlined, the reform of the local government system by the central government originated largely from the central government's need to downsize the financial responsibility of the central government to support local governments. The streamlining exercise of the central public finance subsequently led to the forceful universal merger policy of the central government towards small Basic Municipalities. This merger policy does not seem to take account of local particularity. Many of my research participants reflected on the fact that it disregarded the maturity and success of existing policy initiatives of the Municipalities and disrespected the wishes of many local residents concerned. It does not appear to take into consideration the implication of the policy to foreign residents either.

As Chapter V outlined, small Basic Municipalities in Japan face a serious threat of extinction. Many mayors and residents of small Basic Municipalities have voiced their concerns. They suggested that the current reform was a systematic administrative marginalisation by the central government of small Basic Municipalities and their residents, including foreign residents. The current policy stance of the central government does not appear to recognize that living in a small rural community is an intentional choice by many residents. It tends to marginalize small Basic Municipality in Japan not only economically or politically but also psychologically because what it

ultimately does is to administratively classify a small Basic Municipality as negligible entity that needs dismantling. As one of my research participants said:

“Living in a small city is a positive life-style choice and not an escape or failure.” – Mr N, PPRD

The central government has the responsibility to acknowledge such a sentiment and reflect it in the overall policy framework.

Furthermore, Ayabe City’s experience indicates that the current policy environment surrounding the local government system in Japan presents potential negative impact on the chances of social participation and empowerment of newcomer foreigners. The City government staff who were interviewed for this research voiced their acute concern about the uncertainty of the future of Ayabe as a legislative City. They were also concerned about whether the provision of social services manifested in the Comprehensive Strategy could be materialized. According to the statistics of the City government, the City’s revenue from the Local Allocation Tax (Chapter V) declined by 3.4% during the first two years of the implementation of the Strategy between 2001 and 2002. The simulation prepared for the discussions at the City Council of the financial status of Ayabe suggested that the public finance of the City would become deficit-ridden in 2007.

According to the spokesperson of the City government, the implementation of the Comprehensive Strategy as of 2004 went through a series of modifications and adjustments because of the financial uncertainty.

“We are trying to implement the Strategy as close as possible to the original plan. However, because the financial situation is becoming increasingly difficult, we are delaying the launch of some projects and scaling down other projects.” – A letter from PPRD

The implementation of some projects was delayed and other projects had to be significantly downsized. The future of the implementation of the Strategy is uncertain. This situation overshadows the positive outlook laid out in the Strategy.

The implication of the current policy environment concerning the local government system to the lives of foreign residents in Ayabe City is significant. The financial outlook of the City suggests its inability to implement some of the progressive and innovative measures proposed in the Comprehensive Strategy that are designed to further improve the already existing efforts for inclusive approaches towards foreign residents. The uncertainty of the implementation of the Strategy also affects dedicated volunteers in Ayabe City who actively encourage participation of foreign residents in community-based activities (Chapter VIII). Their activities have to be reduced if the financial support from the City Government is withdrawn. The negative effect on the local business community cannot be overlooked either. My findings suggest that the local business community in Ayabe City at large has a positive attitude about the partnership with foreign residents at the moment (Chapter VIII). The majority of the business community feels that the employers of foreign workers should bear the financial responsibility of promoting the social integration of such foreigners. However, when the very existence of their City is seriously being threatened, supporting the social integration of their foreign employees may no longer be their priority.

The majority of the newcomer foreigners who received support from the Ayabe International Exchange Association worked in Japan with the immigration status of 'trainees' and were engaged in manual labour (Chapter VIII). It was very important for them to master the Japanese language skills as well as their vocational skills while they were in Japan because such language skills would increase their chance of employment in their home countries. If the City government is unable to continue its financial support to the Association's weekly Japanese classes, it will most likely affect negatively newcomer foreigners' precious opportunity for language training. Without a

chance to learn Japanese and socialize with Japanese volunteers, newcomer foreigners in Ayabe City are likely to face the danger of being socially isolated.

My findings suggest that the reduction or suspension of support services for newcomer foreign residents will most likely have special meaning to female foreigners in Ayabe City (Chapter VIII). Those who are married to local Japanese residents may lose the opportunity to improve their social interaction skills, which is essential to solidify the foundation of permanent settlement in Japan. My findings lead me to believe that such a loss may also affect negatively on the quality of lives of their spouses, children and other family members in Japan (Chapter VIII). These points are illustrated by the following quotes:

“My children won’t let me come to their school and talk to their teachers because they are ashamed of how I speak Japanese. That is primarily why I decided to attend a weekly Japanese lesson of the Association.” – A female newcomer foreigner who attends the Ayabe International Exchange Association’s weekly Japanese lesson

“I came here because I want to improve my Japanese. I want to improve my Japanese because I feel very nervous and difficult to talk to my Japanese in-laws with my current level of language proficiency. Japanese volunteers here are very kind and listen to your problems too.” – A female newcomer foreigner who attends the Ayabe International Exchange Association’s weekly Japanese lesson

The loss of opportunity to learn Japanese free-of-charge may present negative psychological effect on these newcomer foreign wives of the local Japanese residents.

The reduction or suspension of counselling services of the Association and the City government means that those who suffer from exploitation and mistreatment may be denied of the free place of refuge (Chapters VII and VIII). Although they currently do not use the services regularly, knowing that a sanctuary exists for them may produce some positive psychological effect on vulnerable female newcomer foreigners. The loss of access to the benefit of anonymous and confidential counselling may aggravate their social isolation.

The reduction or suspension of support services for newcomer foreign residents may also have an effect on female Japanese residents who volunteer at the Ayabe International Exchange Association (Chapter VIII). My conversations with female Japanese volunteers led me to believe that their participation in the activities of the Association not only helped foreign residents but also contributed to raise social awareness of the volunteers themselves. Volunteers also mentioned that becoming regular volunteers at the Association opened up a door to a unique social participation opportunity in their lives as housewives and female part-time workers. The loss of such opportunities is potentially a significant damage in terms of the empowerment of these Japanese women.

My findings from the experience of Ayabe City lead me to believe that if the central government continues to force its merger policy and the population-size based assessment of local governance (Chapter V), newcomer foreigners in a small-size Basic Municipality such as Ayabe City may face not only the loss of vital support services but also the threat of social marginalization in their host communities. The case of Ayabe City illustrates that the local municipal government alone cannot fully materialize successful empowerment of foreign residents at the local level. No matter how progressive the local community and its residents are and no matter how inclusive the policies of the local government are, unless the central government recognizes a local government system that respects the administrative individuality of each municipality, foreign residents cannot ensure the opportunities to participate in local community development efforts as fully empowered partners.

The on-going reform of the local government system in Japan is not merely a renegotiation of the division of labour between the central and local governments. It is a matter of 'life and death' to small Basic Municipalities (Chapter V). My literature review and conversations with research participants led me to believe that the current

reform of the local government system by the Japanese central government is incomplete. To say the least, the current reform by the central government does not seem to respect the right of local authorities for self-governance that is clearly stated in national legislation (Chapter V). Furthermore, it may lead to the neglect of the importance of including foreign residents as part of collective political existence of the community concerned (Chapters VII and VIII).

My literature review to explore the potential advantages and benefits of different approaches to democracy drew me to the potential relevance of deliberative democracy. From this particular perspective, successful reform of the local government system would best function if based on the principle of deliberative democracy that embraces differences of individual members and promotes active citizenship (Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Fung and Wright, 2003; Mansbridge, 2003; Cornwall and Pratt, 2003).

Another important finding from the experience of Ayabe City is that the 'ethos' of the community plays a significant part in determining how the local government and its residents deal with the issue of political participation and active citizenship (Chapters VII and VIII). Reflecting such ethos of the community, the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City lists "peaceful and hospitable nature" as one of the characteristics of its local community to be preserved (Ayabe City Government, 2001, p.16). Certain historical and cultural characteristics in a local community may contribute to producing a certain mentality of its members. Such local peculiarities are often associated with the 'closed' nature of the society, which often has the negative connotation. However, the experience of Ayabe City shows that local peculiarities are not always a synonym to the 'closed' or discriminatory society. It suggests that local peculiarities can induce exchange and participation of people with diverse personal

attributes. Local particularities can mean the local government and residents who translate their thoughts to action with innovative wisdom and intellect.

Findings of my case study led me to believe that the ethos of the community in Ayabe might be related to many different factors such as its historical and cultural heritages, social networks and certain traditional patterns of interpersonal relations. As discussed in Chapter II of this thesis, the concept of social capital is also closely related to social networks and embodied in the relations among persons (Coleman, 1997). However, the concept of ethos seems to cover a wider ground as it may include spiritual characteristics of a community that manifest in beliefs and aspirations of its members.

The issue of such ethos of a city is difficult to measure and analyze scientifically, in comparison to more tangible issues such as economic development and social services. At the same time, in the case of Ayabe City this very intangible ethos undeniably played an important part in creating an enabling environment for active citizenship and participatory approaches. What is alarming for me is that the effect of the current reform policy by the central government seems to go beyond the institutional structure of the local government system in Japan and threatens the tangible and positive products of intangible factors such as the ethos of a city that deserves more scholarly attention.

What builds such ethos and how ethos affects the delivery of tangible services will be worthy areas of future research.

REFLECTION ON RESEARCH PROCESS AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

This section reflects on my learning from the research process. It discusses the representativeness of the participants of my case study, my efforts to enhance validity

and reliability of research and lessons I learned from dealing with a series of unexpected situations.

One of the most fundamentally practical issues that I faced at the outset of my research was that it was self-financed PhD research. This implied a certain set of time and resource constraints. It was not feasible to conduct a large-scale survey that involved the entire residents of a municipality. Accordingly, the decision was made to collect data from a limited number of sample groups. I am aware that Japanese participants of this study – members of the Ayabe Rotary Club and volunteers of the Ayabe International Exchange Association – made up only a small sample of the local residents and possessed high social awareness. At the same time, efforts were made to address this issue of the representativeness of the samples and enhance the reliability of the study findings as described in Chapter VI.

The first of such efforts was to identify samples that represent different kind of groups in a wide spectrum of local resident population. The members of the Ayabe Rotary Club represented largely male and long-term residents of Ayabe City who were also senior executives of the local business community. Because of the nature of the mission of their organisation, they possessed high social awareness and were actively involved in philanthropy. And yet, nearly half of the Club's members had never participated in activities aimed for the promotion of interaction with local foreign residents. The Rotary's members generally represented a conservative group of the local population. On the other hand, members of the Ayabe International Exchange Association represented a slightly younger generation of local residents that were predominantly women and included those who were relatively new to the City. Their opinions and responses were generally more liberal than those of the members of the Rotary Club.

Addressing the 'representativeness' of foreign participants of the study presented another challenge. Foreign participants of this study made up only a small fraction of newcomer foreign residents in Ayabe City and might not necessarily represent the whole newcomer community. As described in Chapter VI, there were a few groups of female foreign residents in Ayabe City to which I could not establish access. In the end, the foreign participants of this study consisted of participants of the events hosted by the Ayabe International Exchange Associations. These foreign participants of this research had taken a significant initial step towards active social participation in their local community by being enrolled in the Association's activities. They were positive examples of the local newcomer foreigner contingent that had taken actions towards improved self-determination and empowerment. The identification of these foreigners as the study participants was important in the light of one of my key research objectives, which is to highlight positive experiences of a small Basic Municipality.

To tackle the issue of 'representativeness' of my foreign residents sample, I also made efforts to complement the data to be obtained from the foreign participants with the information to be collected from interviews with the President and Japanese volunteers of the Ayabe International Exchange Association. Such a technique of multi-dimensional data collection or triangulation (Chapter VI) aimed to project a fuller profile of local newcomer foreigners and their lives. Data collected first-hand from sample groups through my direct personal interactions were further complemented and compared with the data from other sources such as official documents and newspaper articles to determine whether they corroborated one another.

Besides being attentive to the issue of representativeness of research participants, I also made an effort to ensure reflexivity in my research (Chapter VI). The starting point of my reflexivity was to be mindful of the fact that the act of my

conducting this particular research was itself a form of intervention in the social and cultural world that I intended to study. I tried to provide a fully reflexive account of procedures and methods I used through the course of completing this thesis. It included the description of who offered data and the social situations in which this was done as well as methodological and theoretical reporting. I believed that it was part of a responsible research procedure since the replication of entire qualitative research in practice would be extremely difficult (Seale, 1999). I have also developed a collaborative working relationship with my supervisor where she periodically assessed the adequacy of my research procedures and provided a critique of their clarity and consistency. This provided me with an opportunity for adopting a systematized approach to reflexive methodological accounting that was close to 'auditing' proposed by Lincoln and Guba (in Seale, 1999, p.141).

The most basic technique but perhaps the most effective in enhancing validity and reliability of the research was the use of respondent validation. I shared the main findings of my case study with the study participants and sought verification from them. The first round of this respondent validation process took place shortly after the respective surveys and interviews were completed and, therefore, largely functioned as a matter of due diligence to confirm the accuracy of my data. This process involved all participants. However, the subsequent rounds of respondent validation took place at later phases of the research when I started drafting my thesis. By which time many of the foreign participants had returned to their home countries and were no longer available. It also became more difficult to get a response from the City government officials after my key contact there was transferred to another department and consequently became 'off the case'. I experienced first-hand the critical role a gatekeeper plays in the data collection of research.

Apart from the abovementioned issues that I was mindful at the outset of the research, there were issues that I encountered only after starting my fieldwork. I learned how to cope with them as my research progressed. Both the unexpected issues and the issues I was mindful at the outset of the research taught me important lessons. Essentially they were issues that required my flexibility, due diligence and awareness of the responsibility as a credible researcher. Through my experience with this case study, I feel that I have gained confidence as a responsible researcher.

One of the most significant examples of the unexpected is the scale of impact that people in Ayabe City felt of the reform initiative by the central government (Chapter VII). During my preparation phase of the case study, I closely examined the final document of the City's Comprehensive Strategy as well as various documents concerning the process of developing the Strategy. My preliminary examination of relevant documents showed that the City government made efforts to make the development process as inclusive and participatory as possible. It was an important starting point for my research that occurred before any of the direct data collection from individuals. Because my initial work revealed that the ownership of the Strategy belonged to the local residents and not only the City government officials and policy makers, I felt confident that the forward-looking and progressive views expressed in the Strategy document toward the building of the City's future represented the general sentiment of the local residents of Ayabe City as a whole. As a result, I felt reassured to carry on with my research in Ayabe City to explore the possibility of 'positive' experiences.

I read many newspaper articles and documents of the central government concerning the reform of the local government system during my preparation phase of the case study. However, what I didn't realize until I started talking to local residents was how strongly the reform affected the local government and residents of Ayabe

City. I was surprised to witness how significantly the reform affected the mindset of people of Ayabe City as well as practical policy issues such as the implementation of the Comprehensive Strategy. Because I had previously read about positive experiences at the local community level in Ayabe City, it was disturbing to document the considerably negative impact caused by the central government.

The second example of unexpected issues was the communication with foreign participants. Based on the information I received from the local government of Ayabe City, I knew that the majority of newcomer foreigners in the City did not speak Japanese well. Once I started my fieldwork, it became clear that they didn't speak English well either. It was an anxious moment in my research. If I could not communicate with prospective foreign participants, my data would be incomplete. A discovery like this could bring the entire research plan to a halt. Fortunately, I had generous support from volunteer members of a local NGO in facilitating my conversations with newcomer foreigners (Chapters VI and VIII).

The third example of unexpected issues concerns the access to a specific group of local foreigner population that did not materialize (Chapter VI). I made a conscious decision not to interview vulnerable female workers who were involved with Japanese mafia groups. I felt a credible degree of danger in further exploring the possibility of involving these female workers. I was concerned over safety of not only mine but also of residents and officials in Ayabe who were already closely collaborating with me for this research. I felt that if I became a target of harassment by mafia groups, I would also expose my research participants to danger as a result. I experienced firsthand ethical difficulties of researching human subjects.

The fourth example of unexpected issues concerns local Japanese volunteers who provided support to newcomer foreigners (Chapters VII and VIII). Because the Fourth Comprehensive Strategy of Ayabe City strongly emphasized the role of the

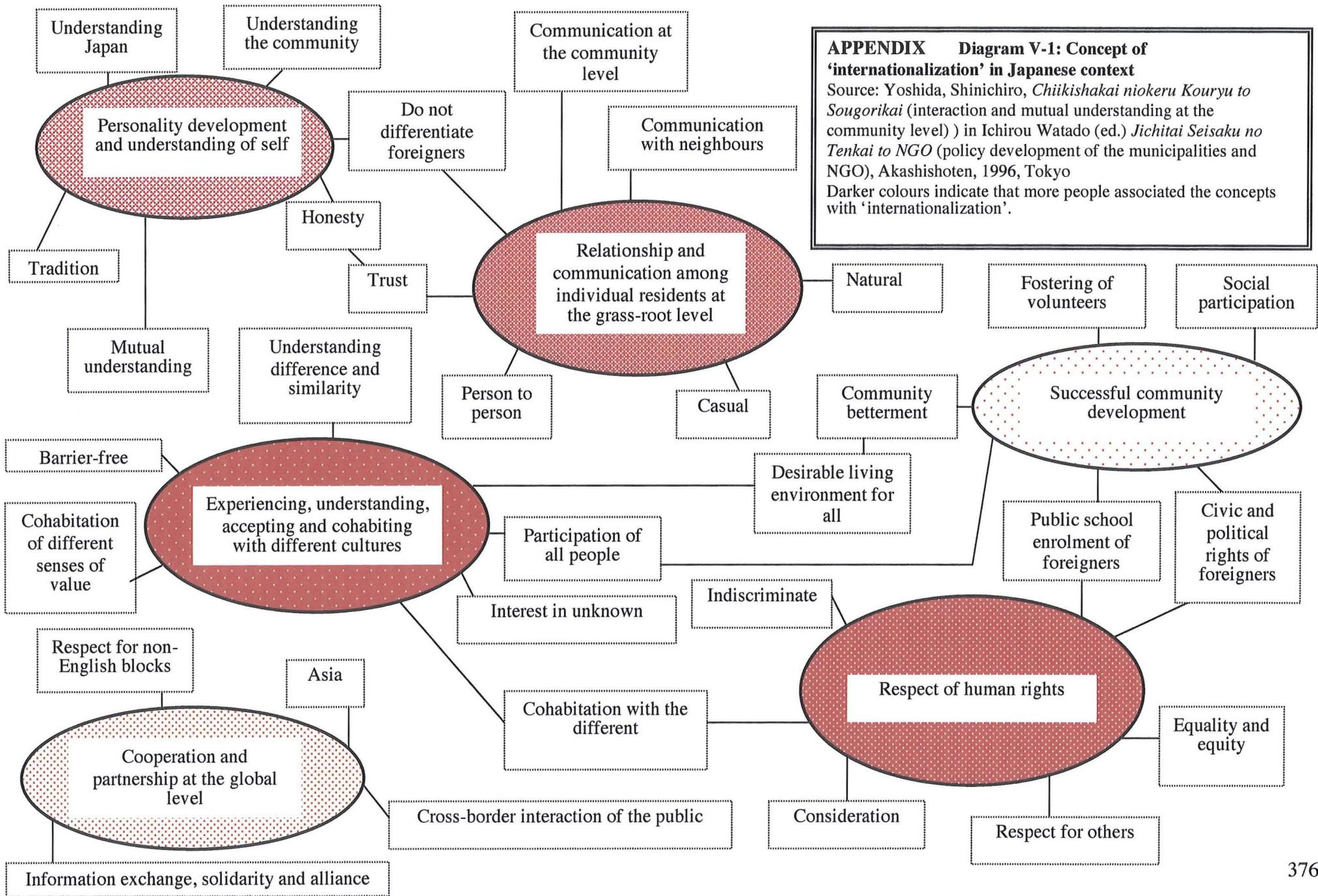
volunteer sector in the delivery of social services (Ayabe City Government, 2001, pp.20-41), I expected to see a lively NGO community in the City even before starting my fieldwork. What I realized once my fieldwork started was that female Japanese volunteers were the major contributors to the local support system of newcomer foreigners in Ayabe. Core Japanese members of the local support organization were middle-aged married women who had part-time jobs. In most cases, their grown-up children have left home. Interestingly, most of these Japanese female volunteers behaved like surrogate mothers to newcomer foreigners. These volunteers' relationship to newcomer foreigners was not that of equal fellow residents. It was more a relationship between a guardian and a ward.

This finding led me to think of the issue of representation of newcomer foreigners in the local community. When non-Japanese-speaking newcomer foreigners are still new to the community and Japanese volunteers who provide support services to them behave more like a protective guardian rather than a fellow resident, how valid is the 'representation' of the opinions of these newcomer foreigners by their Japanese volunteers? What is more, what entitles these Japanese volunteers to 'represent' newcomer foreigners? Is their representation justifiable? These are the questions that I could not explore in the particular context of this research. Perhaps they may be interesting subjects to explore in future research.

The fifth example concerns the applicability of western research methods in a non-western environment (Chapter VI). Qualitative research interviewing techniques developed in Western society, particularly feminist approaches, emphasize non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian and non-manipulative relationships between the interviewer and the interviewee, and sometimes involve emotions and feelings. Incorporating certain aspects of feminist interview techniques enabled me to build productive interactions with the participants and enhanced my sense of commitment. At

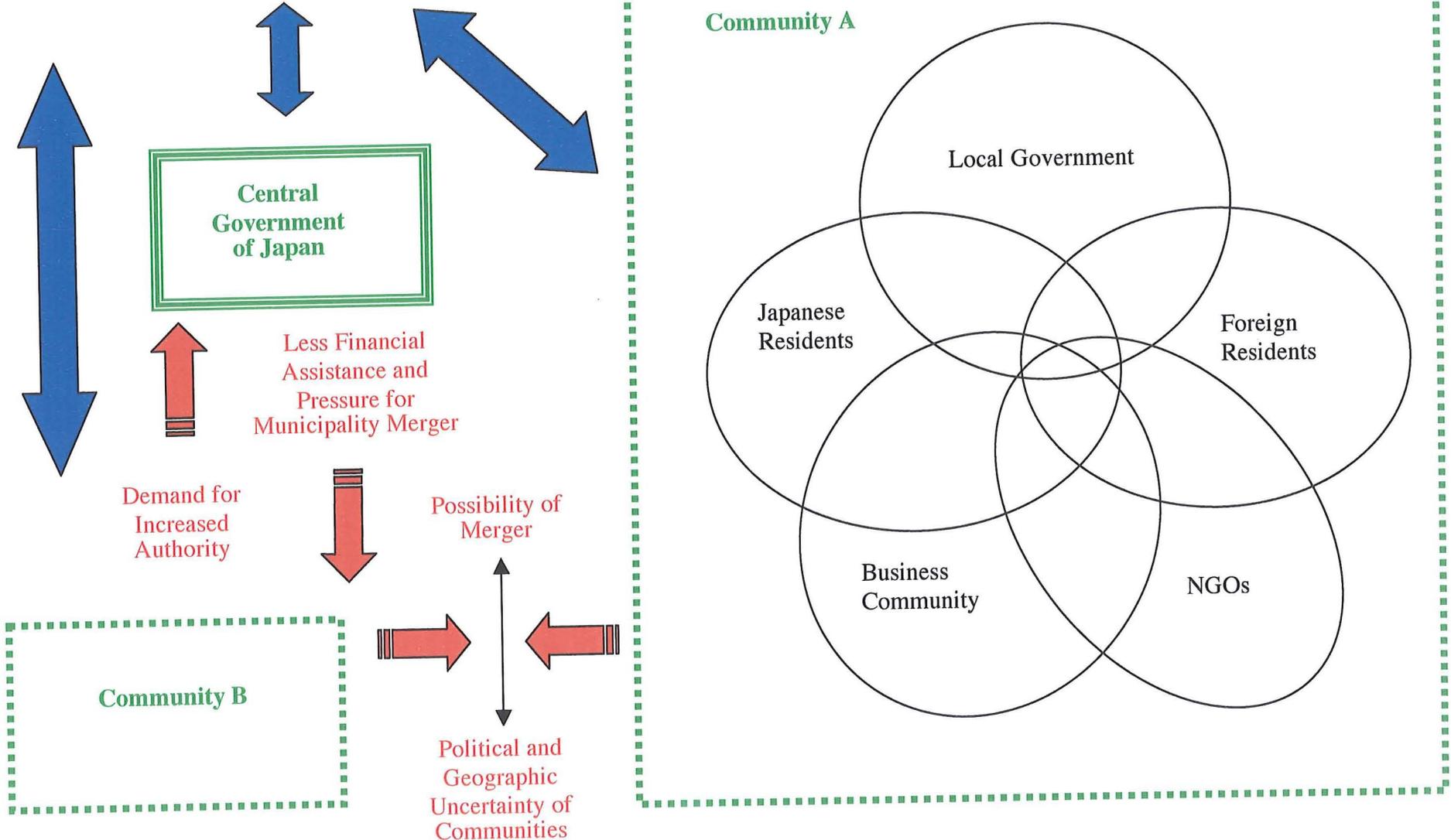
the same time, there were some factors that were unique in the particular context of applying these principles in Japan. This suggests that some traditional Western interviewing techniques may not apply in non-Western society and may have to be adjusted in accordance with the cultural and the social appropriateness of each study.

My experience with cultural differences in the applicability of qualitative research methods presents a much bigger question regarding the applicability of Western methods of data collection in general, which I do not have the space to discuss in this research. The lesson I learned is that what is appropriate and ethical varies because it is inevitably related to the complexity of social and cultural conditions of the researched (Punch, 1986). As stated at the outset of this thesis, my research concerns the mutual reactivity of the local and the global in increasingly multi-cultural society. In this particular context of my research, it seems appropriate to conclude this thesis with acknowledgment that cultural differences that can influence the potential of active citizenship can also have a significant impact on research methodology of a study of citizenship in this era of globalization.



APPENDIX Diagram V-2: Conceptual Flow Chart on the Local and the Global in the Japanese Context

Globalization and International Migration



APPENDIX

Questionnaire VI-1: Ayabe City Government 綾部市の国際化施策調査質問票

この調査は綾部市に居住する外国人に関連のある諸事項について基本的な考えと施策についてお聞きするものです。以下の質問にお答え下さい。質問は第Iセクション（基本的な考え方について）に問1～問6、第IIセクション（具体的な施策について）に項目1～項目12まであります。市としての統一的な見解がない場合は、議会等での答弁内容をふまえて、お答えになれる範囲でお答えください。なお、質問内容と形式に関しては1993年に施行されました東京都生活文化局国際部による全国33の都道府県及び政令指定都市を対象とする「国内自治体の国際化施策調査」を参考にしております。

(This questionnaire is designed to learn about the policies and principles of Ayabe City concerning issues relevant to its foreign residents, There are six questions under Section I and twelve under Section II. If City does not have an agreed official policy or principle under any of the following item under Section I, please provide general consensus to the extent possible, based on the past or current discussions at City Council or any other relevant forum. For your information, the format and the key questions of this questionnaire are based primarily on the 1993 survey conducted by International Affairs Section of Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office, concerning internationalization policies of Japanese municipalities.)

I. 主な行政対応の基本的な考え方 (General policy principles)

問1：基本的な考え方・理念 (General principles)

綾部市における地域社会の国際化とはどのように定義づけられているでしょうか。また国際化対応施策について基本的な考え方、理念がありましたらご教示下さい。
(Please explain the definition of 'internationalization' in your municipality and general policy or principles for dealing with it, if any.)

問2：多言語サービスについて

地域住民の多国籍化により、広報などの情報提供や相談事業等におけるサービスは多言語化の方向に向かっています。しかしそういった多言語サービスにはコストがかかり、アジアの少数言語等も含め、すべて網羅することは不可能です。また外国人の方でむしろ日本語を覚えるべきではないかという意見もあります。こういった情報提供、相談等における多言語サービスのあり方についての、綾部市の基本的な考え方、今後のありかたについてご意見をおきかせください。

(Please explain general principles of your municipality on multi-lingual information distribution and counselling services for residents.)

問3：外国人住民に対する医療、教育、労働、住宅施策のあり方について、下記の各項目に関する綾部市の基本的方針をお聞かせください。

(Please explain general principles of your municipality on medical, education, job-searching, and housing services for non-Japanese residents)

a)医療について (Medical services)

※ 無保険の外国人等による医療費の不払いは問題になっていますか？もしそうであれば、その対策を実施または検討していますか。その背景にある基本的な考えをお知らせ下さい。

(Is the failure to pay the medical treatment costs by un-insured foreign patients a problem in your municipality? If so, are you administering or planning any policy to deal with such a problem?)

b)教育について (Education)

※ 成人外国人の基本的な日本語教育については、行政はどのように関わっていくべきなのでしょう。綾部市の基本的な考え方をお聞かせください。（例：外国人住民数がある一定数に達すれば、市は予算をとって成人外国人の日本語教育にかかわるべきである、等）

(Please explain your municipality's general principles on Japanese language training for adult non-Japanese residents.)

c)労働について (Labour)

※ 外国人労働者のいわゆる「不法就労者」（不法入国者、超過滞在者、資格外就労者）に対応する施策について、基本的な考え方をお聞かせ下さい。

(Please explain your municipality's general principles on illegal foreign workers, including illegal entry, over-stay and out-of-category workers.)

d)住宅施策について (Housing)

※ 外国人の公営住宅入居条件について基本的な考え方をお知らせ下さい。（外国人の公営住宅入居に関する制限の有無等）

(Please explain your municipality's general principles on the eligibility of non-Japanese residents for public housing services.)

問4：いわゆる「不法滞在者」（不法入国者、超過滞在者、資格外就労者）に対する行政サービスのあり方について、基本的な考え方がありましたらお聞かせください。

(Please explain your municipality's general principles on the role of the public office for illegal foreign workers.)

問5：綾部市での外国人職員の採用についての基本的な考え方についてお聞かせ下さい。

(Please explain your municipality's general principles on hiring non-Japanese in the public sector employment.)

問6：外国人の地方自治体への参政権について、自治体として調査、研究されたことはおありですか。あればその時の経過や成果（報告書など）についてご教示ください。

(Have your municipality commissioned any study or research on political participation and rights of foreign residents? If so, please explain its background and findings.)

II. 参考施策事例 (Examples of implementation of policies)

上記の各項目でお答えいただいた基本的な考え方に基づいて行われている施策の事例についてご教示ください。下記の表に事業名、担当部局名、事業概要を記入してください。但し既存の資料で回答可能な項目があれば、その資料を添付していただき、その旨下記の票に記入して頂ければ結構です。

(Please indicate which department/section is responsible for the following as well as what kind of policies and activities are implemented in each of the following. If any of your existing documents can be used to provide information needed under any item, please attach them to this questionnaire and move to the next item.)

1 情報提供 (Information distribution to foreign residents)

外国人住民や外国人観光客を対象にした情報提供についてお聞かせ下さい。ここに記入して頂く例としては、外国人案内、外国人を対象とした出版物、ビデオ等が含まれます。それぞれの言語と内容、部数などについても簡単に記入してください。(e.g. publications in foreign languages, video, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

2 まちの表示 (Public signage on the street)

綾部市内の標識などが日本語以外でも表示されている例についてご教示ください。ここに記入して頂く例としては、ローマ字による道路標識、標示板、駅やバス停などの乗客案内等がふくまれます。(street signage, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

3 外国人の要望等の把握、外国人相談 (understanding the needs of foreign residents, counselling services for foreign residents)

綾部市内在住の外国人住民から要望等を聞き取るシステムはありますか。ここに記入して頂く例としては、審議会委員、公聴会、モニター、アンケート、外国人相談等がふくまれます。規模、言語についても簡単にご記入下さい。

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

4 保険医療 (Medical services)

綾部市がおこなう健康診断や医療相談に外国人住民も対象として含まれている場合ここに記入して下さい。医療通訳サービス等がある場合もご記入ください。(e.g. medical check-up, medical information, medical translator service, medical costs allowance, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

5 福祉 (Welfare)

綾部市で外国人も対象となる福祉施策 (国民健康保険、年金、生活保護等) はどのようなものがありますか。(e.g. national health scheme, pension plan, other welfare benefits supported by public funding, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

6 労働 (Labour)

綾部市がおこなう外国人労働相談、外国人も対象となる職業訓練、中国帰国者対策、難民定住施策、日系人労働適正化対策等があればここに記入してください。(e.g. employment information service, vocational training, refugee policy, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

7 外国人の教育 (Education, including foreign students, children of foreign residents, and adult foreign residents)

綾部市がおこなう留学生や就学生のための支援、外国人児童や生徒の日本語教育、成人外国人の日本語教育等があればここに記入してください。

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

| | | |
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8 住宅 (Housing)

綾部市在住の外国人に公営住宅への入居資格が有る場合、その要件等のご担当部局と事業の概要をお聞かせ下さい。外国人の入居に関して行政として違法な差別を禁ずる等の不動産業者への指導等がある場合もここに記入してください。(e.g. eligibility of foreign residents for public housing, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

9 地域に根ざした交流事業 (Community-based social events)

綾部市がおこなう地域在住の外国人との交流と目的とした事業、料理教室、交流パーティー、ボランティア事業、スポーツ等があればここに記入してください。

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

10 住民の国際性を育成する環境づくり (Environment for promoting internationalization)

綾部市がおこなう住民代表の海外派遣、姉妹都市プログラム、技術協力、国際化に対応した教育授業の指導、日本人を対象とした語学講座、国際交流施設の設置、ボランティア団体等への支援、育成等があればここに記入してください。(e.g. sister-city programmes, school curriculum, assistance to volunteer organizations, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

11 外国人職員の採用と国際化に対応した職員研修 (Hiring non-Japanese in the public office, training of Japanese officers for international environment)

綾部市で外国人を採用できる職種、採用実績等についてお聞かせ下さい。市役所における外国からの研修生の受け入れ、または外国への職員の研修派遣の実績や計画があればそれも記入してください。(e.g. nationality requirement for hiring, precedent of hiring non-Japanese, acceptance of civil service trainees from abroad, etc.)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

12 いわゆる「不法就労者」に対する人道上の施策として特に実施していることがあればここに記入してください。ただし上記1～11で書いたものと重複する場合には項目のみ記入してください。

(Humanitarian policies for illegal foreign workers)

| 事業名 Policy/Activities | 担当部局名 Responsible dept. | 事業の概要 Description of policies/activities |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | |

その他

上記の質問事項とは別に、この調査一般に関してご意見ご感想があれば、どうぞお聞かせください。(Other comments)

ご協力、ありがとうございました。

APPENDIX

Questionnaire VI-2: Japanese Volunteers

自治体の発展と外国人住民参加に関する調査質問票

この調査は綾部市の総合的な発展と外国人住民参加に関連のある諸事項についてあなた御自身のご意見をお聞きするものです。ご記入頂いた内容はすべて統計的に処理されますので、回答者に御迷惑をおかけすることはありません。質問は全部で問1~問10まであります。ご回答は「いくつでも」などの指示がない限り、当てはまる番号一つだけに○印をつけてください。回答できない質問項目がありましても結構ですので、どうぞご提出ください。

問1 お住まいの地域で、外国人をどの程度見かけますか。

1. かなりよく見かける
2. ときどき見かける
3. たまに見かける
4. まったく見かけない

問2 あなたは、お住まいの地域での下記の活動への外国人の参加をどう思われますか。(それぞれ一つだけ)

問2-a) 市や商店街がもよおす祭りやイベント

1. 外国人も積極的に参加したほうがよい
2. 外国人も参加したければすばよい
3. 外国人はあまり参加しないほうがよい

問2-b) 自治会の行事や活動

1. 外国人も積極的に参加したほうがよい
2. 外国人も参加したければすばよい
3. 外国人はあまり参加しないほうがよい

問3 綾部市の外国人受け入れに関するその人数や期間について、どのようにお考えですか。(それぞれ一つだけ)

問3-a) 住んでいる人数は

1. もっと増えても良い
2. 現状ぐらいが良い
3. できるなら住まない方が良い

問3-b) 住む期間は

1. 短期ならよい
2. ずっと住んでも良い

問4 綾部市で外国人労働者が働いていることは、下記のことに影響していると思われますか。(それぞれ一つだけ)

問4-a) 綾部市の発展

1. 役立っていると思う
2. 影響はないと思う
3. 役立っていないと思う

問4-b) 地域の賃金や働く条件

1. 役立っていると思う
2. 影響はないと思う
3. 役立っていないと思う

問4-c) 地域の雇用の機会

1. 役立っていると思う
2. 影響はないと思う
3. 役立っていないと思う

問4-d) 文化的に豊かな環境づくり

1. 役立っていると思う
2. 影響はないと思う
3. 役立っていないと思う

問5 外国人労働者が地域で生活する際に自治体などに行政上の費用が必要な場合、そういった費用はだれが負担すべきだとお考えですか。(一つだけ)

1. 受け入れ企業が負担すべき
2. 外国人労働者自身が負担すべき
3. 国が負担すべき
4. 県や市が負担すべき
5. 負担が増えないように受け入れ自体を縮小すべき

問6 外国人住民の数が今後増えた場合、下記のそれぞれの項目について行政はどのように対応するのが適切とお考えですか。(それぞれ一つだけ)

問6-a)外国人雇用に関する相談

1. 積極的に支援すべき
2. あまり必要ない
3. 全く必要でない

問6-b)成人外国人のための日本語教育

1. 積極的に支援すべき
2. あまり必要ない
3. 全く必要でない

問6-c)日本人住民との交流

1. 積極的に支援すべき
2. あまり必要ない
3. 全く必要でない

問7 あなたは綾部在住の外国人住民(留学生を含む)との交流を目的とする活動に参加されたことがありますか。

1. 定期的に参加している
2. 過去に何度か参加したことがある
3. 全くない

問8 あなたの性別は

1. 男性
2. 女性

問9 あなたの年齢は

1. 30代
2. 40代
3. 50代
4. 60代
5. 70代以上

問10 あなたの綾部市での在住歴は

1. 1年以下
2. 1~4年
3. 5~9年
4. 10~19年
5. 20年以上

ご協力ありがとうございました。

APPENDIX

Questionnaire VI-3: Ayabe International Exchange Association

綾部市総合計画と外国人住民の参加に関する調査質問票
綾部国際交流協会

問1 1999年に貴協会が発足されるにいたった背景についてお聞かせください。当時はどのような方々が、何人程で、どういった目的で協会を発足されたのでしょうか。(History of organization)

問2 協会の目的及び活動指針は発足以来変わりましたか。(Mission of organization)

問3 現在行われている貴協会の活動についてお聞かせ下さい。日本語交流会、料理教室、法律生活相談、時事英語勉強会、のそれぞれについてお伺いします。(Activities)

(1) それぞれの活動は、2002年に何回程行われましたか。(Frequency)

(2) それぞれの活動は、毎回平均して(2002年)何人程の参加者がありましたか。その内訳は在留外国人が何パーセント程度ですか。(Number of participants)

問4 貴協会の運営についてお聞かせ下さい。(Management of organization)

(1) 活動への参加者及び在籍会員数(日本人及び在留外国人)の推移についてお聞かせ下さい。発足当時と比較するとそれぞれ増加しましたか、減少しましたか。(Membership)

(2) 毎回の活動のおしらせはどのように会員に公布しておられますか。(Communication to members)

(3) 活動への参加者及び在籍会員数をつるための広報活動等はしておられますか。あれば、具体的な例をお聞かせください。(Publicity to non-members)

(4) 活動の運営において一番苦勞される点は何でしょうか。(活動内容の企画、場所の確保、経済面でのやり繰り、参加者集め、等)(Difficulties)

(5) 今後の活動計画を検討する上で、新しく始めてみたいと考えておられる活動分野がありましたら、ご教示ください。(New areas of activities to be explored)

問5 過去3年間の貴協会の活動の中で、特に成功したと思われる活動は何ですか。また、それはどうしてですか。(Lessons learned: positive)

問6 過去3年間の貴協会の活動の中で、特に失敗したと思われる活動はありますか。それは、どうしてですか。(Lessons learned: negative)

問7 綾部市が総合開発計画を進めていく上で、現在、在留外国人の意見を施政・施策に取り入れるための仕組みがあると思われませんか。なければ、具体的にどういったシステムがあれば有効だとお考えですか。(Ayabe's Comprehensive Strategy and foreigners)

APPENDIX

Questionnaire VI-4: Foreign Residents

調査質問表

問1 綾部市にどれくらい住んでいますか？

1. 6ヶ月未満
2. 6ヶ月以上1年未満
3. 1年以上3年未満
4. 3年以上5年未満
5. 5年以上10年未満
6. 10年以上20年未満

問2 日本に友達はいますか？

1. 綾部市の日本人
2. 綾部市以外の日本人
3. 綾部市の同国人
4. 綾部市以外の同国人

問3 困ったときはだれに話しますか？

1. 自国の家族
2. 自国の友達
3. 綾部市の日本人の友達
4. 綾部市の同国人の友達
5. 支援団体
6. 誰にも話さない

問4 日本で病院へいったことがありますか？

1. ある (問5へ)
2. ない

問5 病院へはだれか日本語のわかる人が一緒にいってくれましたか？

1. はい (問6へ)
2. いいえ (問7へ)

問6 それはだれですか？

問7 病院の医師の説明がわかりましたか？

1. はい
2. いいえ

問8 なぜ日本へ来たのですか？

問9 日本に何年くらい住みたいですか？

問10 あなたはどこの国のご出身ですか？

問11 性別は？

1. 女性
2. 男性

問12 年齢は？

1. 20代
2. 30代
3. 40代
4. 50代

APPENDIX

Questionnaire VI-5: Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI)

綾部市産業の開発・発展に関する調査質問票

綾部市商工会議所

問1 第4次綾部市総合計画（2001－2010）の策定にあたり、振興計画審議会等、計画検討の段階に商工会議所はどのように参加されましたか。ご教示ください。

(Ayabe's Comprehensive Strategy and ACCI: planning)

問2 第4次綾部市総合計画（2001－2010）の実現にあたり、商工会議所はどのように貢献されることとなりますか。主な関連事業計画等がありましたら、ご教示ください。(Ayabe's Comprehensive Strategy and ACCI: implementation)

問3 綾部市の今後の経済を担う人材の育成に関して商工会議所の基本的な考え方、理念がありましたらご教示ください。またそのような基本的理念に基づいて行われている活動や事業がありましたら、具体例をお聞かせ下さい。(上記の問に関する回答と重複する場合はその旨お知らせください。)

(Human resource management and ACCI)

問4 綾部市の女性企業家・事業家を支援することに関して商工会議所の基本的な考え方、理念がありましたらご教示ください。またそのような基本的理念に基づいて行われている活動や事業がありましたら、具体例をお聞かせ下さい。(Local business women and ACCI)

問5 商工会議所に参加する綾部地元企業のうちで外国人労働者を雇用する企業の割合は何パーセントを占めますか。(Local business and foreign workers)

問6 綾部地元企業から、商工会議所あてに外国人労働者雇用に関する相談や問い合わせを過去に受けた事がありますか。もしあれば、過去1－2年間のうちにそのような問い合わせはおよそ何件程でしたか。もし差し支えなければ、問い合わせの概要をお教え下さい。(Foreign workers and ACCI: enquiries)

問7 綾部商工会議所が主催する行事や活動には外国人も参加できますか。もしそのような参加の実績がありましたらお聞かせ下さい。(Foreign workers and ACCI: services)

問8 綾部商工会議所が支援する地元企業による外国からの研修生の受け入れ、または外国への社員の研修派遣の実績もしくは今後の計画があればご教示ください。(Foreign trainees and ACCI)

問9 綾部商工会議所のしくみ、及び活動一般について概要がわかるような資料がありましたら、ご提供いただければ幸いです。(ACCI information: general)

APPENDIX

List VII-1: Non-governmental Organizations that submitted project proposals

Participating organizations included youth and women units of traditional local establishments. They included the Rotaract – Rotary Club-sponsored service club for young men and women under 30 years old; the Young Entrepreneurs Group – youth division of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry; and the Marketing Network Yume-Ichiba – spin-off group of the local Chamber of Commerce and Industry that consisted of local women entrepreneurs and professionals.

Apart from such business and commerce associations, participating organizations also included advocacy groups such as the Ayabe Juku – a policy discussion group established by a local City Council member and the Natural Network 21 – an organization that promoted gender equality.

APPENDIX

List VII-2: List of Members of the Deliberation Committee

The Deliberation Committee established three sub-committees to deal with the following different thematic issues: (i) human rights, peace, education, culture and local public finance; (ii) welfare, health, medical services, natural environment and public safety; and (iii) transportation, urban infrastructure and industry. The list of the members of the Sub-committees I, II and III shows how inclusively the City government drew representations from an impressively wide range of the segments of the City's residents.

The chairman of the abovementioned Sub-committee I was the chairman of the Council of the Ayabe Child Welfare Commissioners. The members of the Sub-committee I included the president of the Ayabe Federation of Residents and Neighbourhood Associations, the president of the Ayabe Federation of Community Centres, the chairman of the Women's Issues Committee, the president of the Cultural Association and the Council of the Headmasters of the Lower Secondary Schools.

The Sub-committee II of the Basic Strategy Deliberation Committee was chaired by the chairman of the Residents' Council on Environment (a.k.a. Eco-Net Ayabe). The members of the Sub-committee II included the president of the Association of the Mothers Working in the Primary Industry (a.k.a. Hustle Kachan no Kai), the president of the Ayabe Federation of the Senior Citizens' Clubs, the general manager of a local nursing home for the elderly, the chairman of the Ayabe Council on Welfare of the Physically Handicapped People, the chairman of the Ayabe Social Welfare Council and the president of the Ayabe Women's Association.

The chairman of the Sub-committee III was a director of a private business firm. The members of the Sub-committee III included the director of the local branch of the Rengo (Japanese Trade Union Confederation), the president of the Ayabe Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the chairman of a non-governmental resident group for community development, a representative of a local business women's network, the executive head of the Agricultural Cooperative, a representative of a local advocacy NGO, president of the local FM radio station (FM Ayabe), the president of the Kyoto Junior College, the executive head of the Ayabe Ironsmiths Cooperative, the executive head of the Ayabe Forestry Cooperative, the president of the Ayabe Cultural Foundation, the president of the Ayabe Tourist Bureau and the chairman of the Ayabe Federation of the Groups Working for the Improvement of the Living Conditions.

APPENDIX

List VII-3

Policy Pillar 3: Welfare, Health Care and Medical Services

The Strategy states that development of a comprehensive system for the delivery of welfare, health care and medical services must be further promoted. At the same time, the Strategy urges residents to actively participate in activities that contribute to public welfare and promote the environment for mutual support.

The Strategy proposes the following project areas under Policy Pillar 3:

- (i) **Welfare**
 - Promoting education to contribute to the advancement of public welfare
 - Supporting community-based welfare services
 - Promoting the city planning for the realization of barrier-free public spaces to improve access of the physically handicapped
 - Welfare of the elderly
 - Welfare of the physically handicapped
 - Welfare of children and single-parent households

- (ii) **Social security**
 - Strengthening insurance and pension systems
 - Strengthening low-income household assistance

- (iii) **Health care and medical services**
 - Public health promotion
 - Improving medical services

APPENDIX

List VII-4

Policy Pillar 4: Conservation and Improvement of Environment

The Strategy urges residents, the private sector and the public sector to work in partnership to conserve and improve natural and living environment of the City in the materialization of environmentally sustainable development. The Strategy acknowledges that the basic infrastructures such as water and sewage systems need to be further improved as well as the systems for disaster risk management such as fire fighting and emergency services.

The Strategy proposes the following project areas under Policy Pillar 4:

- (i) Environmental conservation
 - Environmental protection
 - Waste disposal and recycling systems
- (ii) Water and sewage systems
- (iii) Disaster risk management and crime prevention
 - Fire fighting and emergency services
 - Disaster prevention
 - Regulating the waters and mountains
 - Traffic safety and crime prevention

APPENDIX

List VII-5

Policy Pillar 5: Traffic and Urban Infrastructure

The Strategy states that urban development initiatives and the improvement of the public transportation system must be implemented in a coordinated manner to create a unique and attractive residential environment.

The Strategy proposes the following project areas under Policy Pillar 5:

- (i) **Urban development and improvement**
 - Land management
 - Urban area management

- (ii) **Development and improvement of transportation networks**
 - Roads and streets
 - Public transportation system

- (iii) **Improvement of residential environment**
 - Housing
 - Parks and green space
 - Funeral halls, burial grounds and cemeteries
 - Public information networks: FM Ayabe, internet and other media and information systems

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