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From Temporary Migrant to Integrated Resident: Local Government Approaches to Migrant Integration in the Tokyo Metropolis

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Summary
In January 2011, the Tokyo Metropolis (TM) was home to more than 420,000 registered migrants, or 3.24 percent of the total metropolitan population. At the micro level, local governments in the TM such as Shinjuku have populations of migrants representing eleven percent of the population or more, implying that parts of Tokyo are becoming significant migrant abodes in a city and country known for its ethnic homogeneity. Local governments in the TM play prominent roles in integrating migrants into the local communities because of their proximity to local residents, legal responsibilities for residents in connection with the Local Government Law, and the absence of a state-led integration program. This paper comparatively examines the integration practices of two wards in the TM—Shinjuku and Adachi—using a policy approach. Specifically, using Esser's model of social integration, the paper investigates the degree to which current Japanese local government integration practices in the TM overlap with traditional ideas of social integration. Employing Esser's concepts of acculturation integration, interactive integration, and identificational and placement integration, the author argues that current integration policies are primarily service-based and not truly integrative in nature. The implications of these findings are that migrants will continue to remain in a peripheral position in the TM and indeed Japan in general, as existing policies do not create a bridge enabling migrants to make a transition from being temporary migrants to an accepted, integrated minority.

Keywords: Japan, Tokyo, local government, multicultural coexistence, social integration, migrants

1. Introduction[1]

Economic development imbalances in East Asia contribute to migration from less developed countries to more developed countries for a multitude of reasons. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller (2003: 22) describe this movement of people employing push-pull dynamics in which domestic economic conditions push people into more

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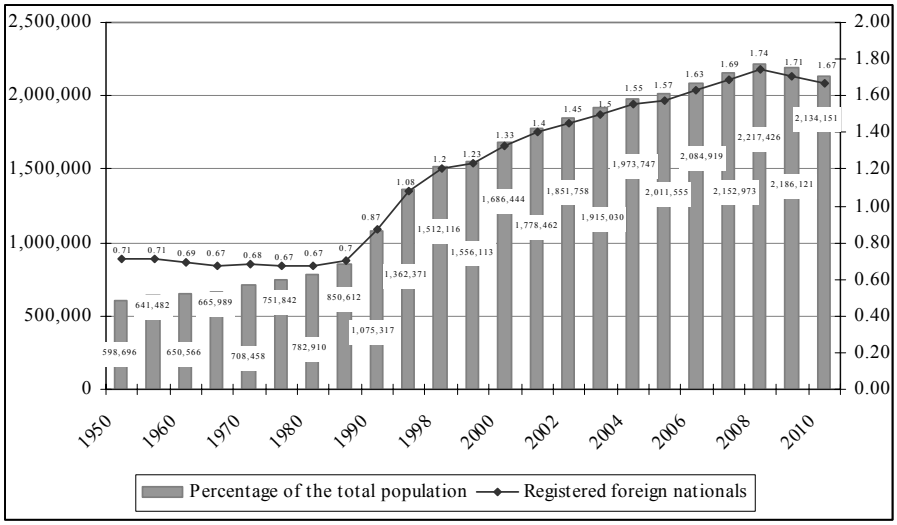
developed economies while labor shortages and development levels in other countries pull migrants there. Other scholars assert that the growing permeability of borders to migration is linked to globalization, which includes economic interdependence and the freer movement of capital, information and people liberated in liberal institutionalism, as typified by the EU (Castles and Miller 2003: 4; Sanderson and Kentor 2009; Weber 1969 [1922]: Part I). What is clear is that migration is taking place on a large scale and that we need to study it from the standpoint of policy makers and policy as well as from the perspective of migrants themselves.

At the macro level, East Asia is home to at least 60,485,000 migrants (UN 2009), who are defined as persons who have lived outside their country of birth for at least twelve months (Castles and Miller 1998: 38). On examination of migration at the micro level or city/metropolis level, it is arguable that many cities in East Asia are migrant hubs because of their level of economic development, pre-existing migrant networks (Athukorala 2006; Brettell 2008), migrant legacies associated with de-naturalization, as in the case of Japan (Chee 1983; Morris-Suzuki 2010) and a host of other reasons. Seoul, for example, was home to 255,749 migrants in 2009 (SMG 2010), Hong Kong to 490,135 migrants in 2006 (C&SD 2007) and Tokyo home to 422,226 migrants as of January 2011 (TMG 2011a).

Japan, the focal point of this paper, has seen an increase in its migrant or registered foreign population from 641,482 in 1955 to 2,134,151 in 2010 (MOJ 2011: 24). This influx of migrants is attributed to at least three factors. First, the post-WW II foreign population is a legacy of Japan's imperial period, in which Japan possessed colonies in Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria. Bestowed Japanese citizenship during the imperial period, ethnic Koreans and Taiwanese had that same Japanese citizenship revoked in the post-WW II period in an effort to repatriate non-ethnic Japanese and potential communist sympathizers (Chung 2010: 62–63; Lu, Menju and Williams 2005; Morris-Suzuki 2010; Weiner 1994: 45–50). The end result was an initial post-WW II foreigner population that was mostly of Korean and Taiwanese extraction.

The second major influx of post-WW II migrants into Japan is associated with the labor shortages Japan experienced in the 1980s. Young Japanese shunned blue-collar work, leaving manufacturers in need of cheap labor. In response, the Japanese government slightly loosened restrictions on migrants to fill labor shortages in three major schemes: trainees, students and entertainers (Tsuda 2006). The third major influx is associated with immigration reform in 1990, which allowed the *nikkeijin*, that is persons of Japanese ancestry, to come and work freely in Japan (Vogt 2007). The ultimate result of this revision was a large inflow of ethnic Japanese hailing primarily from South America.

Figure 1: Changes in the Number of Registered Foreign Nationals and Their Percentage of the Total Population in Japan



Source: The "Number of Registered Foreign Nationals" is as of December 31 each year. The "Percentage of the Total Population in Japan" is based on the population as of October 1 every year and is calculated from "Current Population Estimates" and "Summary Sheets in the Population Census" provided by the Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MOJ 2011: 24).

Examining migration at the micro level illustrates that the migrant populations in Japan and the Tokyo Metropolis (TM) vary greatly in terms of their ethnic distribution, purpose and time spent in Japan. Cities such as Osaka and Kawasaki, for instance, have traditionally had large numbers of ethnic Koreans (*zainichi* Koreans) who trace their roots back to the aforementioned imperial period and the revocation of their ancestors' Japanese citizenship. Hamamatsu and Ōizumi town and the areas surrounding the Nagoya area host large numbers of *nikkei* Brazilians who work in the local manufacturing plants. The TM and the areas studied for this paper, namely Shinjuku and Adachi, have diverse migrant populations that include students, spouses of non-Japanese and Japanese nationals, skilled and unskilled workers, trainees and professionals. We also see growing ethnic diversity in the TM, reflecting Tokyo's economic attractiveness to would-be migrants. Micro-level diversity also plays a salient role in how local governments such as Shinjuku's and Adachi's create multicultural coexistence policies and frameworks that reflect community needs and visions of migrants and Japanese living side by side (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of Immigrants in Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Australia, Japan, Tokyo and Other Wards, Towns, or Cities in Japan

Country/ward/ town/city	Registered foreign population / foreign-born population	Percentage of total population
U.K.	4,348,000 (2009)	7.1 #
France	3,696,900 (2007)	6.0 #
Germany	6,694,800 (2009)	8.2 #
U.S.A.	38,517,200 (2009)	12.5 #
Australia	5,816,600 (2009)	26.5 #
Japan	2,134,151 (2010)	1.67 ▲
Tokyo Metropolis	422,226 (2011)	3.24 ►
Shinjuku Ward	35,805 (2011)	11.19 ►
Adachi Ward	23,443 (2011)	3.62 ►
Edogawa Ward	25,932 (2011)	3.85 ►
Oizumi Town	6,361 (2010)	15.4 ▼
Hamamatsu City	30,518 (2009)	3.7 ■
Minokamo City	5,277 (2010)	9.64 ◄

Sources: ⌗ OECD, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2011)
▲ Immigration Bureau, MOJ (2011: 24)
► Tokyo Metropolitan Government Statistics (2011b)
▼ Oizumi Town (2011)
■ City of Hamamatsu (2010)
◄ Gifu Prefectural Government (2011)

This paper comparatively examines the integration practices of the wards of Shinjuku and Adachi in the TM using a policy approach. Specifically, by applying Hartmut Esser's model of social integration, it investigates the degree to which current Japanese local government integration practices in the TM overlap with traditional ideas of social integration. Employing Esser's concepts of acculturation integration, interactive integration, and identificational and placement integration, the author argues that current integration policies are primarily service-based and not actually integrative in nature. The implications of these findings are that migrants will continue to remain in a peripheral position in the TM and Japan in general, as existing policies do not focus on creating a bridge enabling them to make a transition from being temporary migrant to an accepted, integrated minority.

The paper is divided into two sections. The first one outlines the analytical framework that has been used and introduces the key scholarship related to social integration, after which Esser's concepts of integration are explained. In the second section, the local government's social integration policies in Shinjuku Ward and Adachi Ward are described and analyzed using Esser's model of acculturation

integration, interactive integration, and identificational and placement integration. The sources on which this paper is based include primary documents collected during the author's doctoral studies in Tokyo from 2004 to 2009 and during his tenure as the Itabashi Ward International Relations Officer from 2001 to 2004 and 2005 to 2006. Other sources of information include personal interviews conducted in Japanese with local government officials and information gathered through the distribution of questionnaires to local departments concerned with foreign resident policies.

This article limits its discussion to two local governments in the TM because their plans concerning multicultural coexistence are relatively well-developed. The author realizes, however, that other local governments in Japan are also developing their own migrant policies and helping to reshape the current debate on migrant policy in Japan.

2. Social Integration in Context

Social integration is regarded by some as an umbrella term for multiculturalism, while other researchers define it as a type of adaptation or a concept between assimilation and multiculturalism (Hamberger 2009). Those scholars who have examined European experiences with migrant integration tend to treat integration nearly the same way as assimilation, stressing that the most thoroughly integrated and prosperous migrants are those who have fully adopted the way of life of their host society, that is those who assimilated.

The Canadian scholar John Berry offers us another interpretation of social integration related to multiculturalism. He views multiculturalism as one of four integration strategies, which include the "melting pot," multiculturalism, exclusion and segregation (Berry 2008). He argues that as we move toward a multiculturalist approach to social integration policy, we see both an increase in the relationship sought among different ethnic groups and greater maintenance of heritage culture and identity. The melting-pot version of integration could be characterized by increased relationships among different ethnic groups in a society, but lower levels of maintenance of heritage culture and identity as compared with multicultural approaches. The segregationist approach would be typified by low levels of interethnic interaction, but high levels of maintenance of heritage culture and identity. Similarly, the exclusionist model of integration could be described as having low levels of cultural and identity maintenance and low levels of relationships among different ethnic groups.

The consensus on social integration definitions and strategies in East Asia continues to remain a challenge owing to different political systems, levels of development, ideological barriers and national narratives which revolve around ethnic and cultural homogeneity. This is most clearly demonstrated when we look at Japan, which dealt with labor shortages, lack of marriage partners and declining populations through

immigration reform that was preferential to those of Japanese ancestry in an effort to maintain self-perceived ethnic and cultural homogeneity.

3. Social Integration as a Process of Inclusion and Its Four Dimensions

Shifting from the concept of social integration to its core components, Wolfgang Bosswick and Friedrich Heckmann (2006) interpret social integration as the process of inclusion and acceptance of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes toward society. It is the result of conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation between individuals and groups (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006: 2).

At a deeper level, Esser (2000) stresses that social integration is composed of four basic dimensions: (1) acculturation; (2) placement; (3) interaction; and (4) identification. These core components of social integration are further elaborated by Bosswick and Heckmann (2006: 9–10) as (1) structural integration (the acquisition of rights and the access to position and status in the core institutions of the host society); (2) cultural integration (or acculturation); (3) interactive integration (the acceptance and inclusion of immigrants in the primary relationships and social network of the host society); and (4) identificational integration (inclusion in a new society on the subjective level, which is indicated by a feeling of belonging to the host society and identifying with it).

Berry's (2006: 72–73) interpretation of the core components of social integration stressing a multiculturalism emphasis highlights the following: (1) a cultural component (providing support and encouragement for cultural maintenance and development among ethno-cultural groups); (2) a social component (seeking the sharing of cultural expressions by providing opportunities for inter-group contact and the removal of barriers to full participation in society as a whole); and (3) a communication component (promoting the learning of the host nation's language). Through these core policy pillars, Berry argues that the multiculturalism form of social integration as practiced in Canada has the fundamental goal of enhancing mutual acceptance among all ethno-cultural groups dwelling in Canada as citizens, denizens, or otherwise.

Berry, Bosswick and Heckmann share similar views on social integration components. They differ in the fact that Berry's focus is on a multicultural Canada, a country that from its outset was multicultural and bilingual. The gradual influx of new immigrants with new languages and cultures compelled the state to build a multicultural policy on a bilingual framework in which language was to be the tool of interaction, to access society at large and to foster interethnic relations. The cultural and social components of Berry's social integration model provide the opportunity for interethnic contact, cultural exchange and negotiation to weave additional multicultural characteristics into Canada.

Bosswick and Heckmann's views of social integration resonate with Berry's, especially the interactive and cultural integration components, as they also focus on cultural exchange via interethnic contact. Where they differ is that Bosswick and Heckmann infer that social integration comes through structural integration, in particular through access to position and status in a migrant's chosen society first rather than having structural barriers to integration already dismantled.

4. Assimilation as the Final stage of Integration

Unlike the views stated above, which stress a coexistence of ethnic-cultural maintenance that exists side by side with emotive and cognitive identification with one's chosen land, Otto Schily, a former German Minister of the Interior (1998–2005) and "father" of both a new citizenship and a new immigration law in that country, stressed that "the best form of integration is assimilation" (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006: 5). In a similar vein, Robert Park postulates that the eventual outcome of a cycle of immigrants/host society patterns of interaction would be assimilation, representing the disappearance of ethnic differences, groups, or conflicts (Schmitter Heisler 1992: 626). Unlike Park, Milton Gordon does not view assimilation as the predetermined eventual outcome of all immigrant host society interaction. Thus, mere acculturation by adopting the language, religion and other cultural characteristics does not necessarily lead to the next step. Once a group becomes structurally assimilated, however, the final outcome of assimilation is inevitable (Schmitter Heisler 1992: 626). In a European context, assimilation has been understood as a one-sided process involving the attempt to create culturally homogeneous nations and is often associated with ethnocentrism or cultural suppression. In the American context, however, Richard Alba has argued that "assimilation need not be a wholly one-sided process: it can take place as changes in two (or more) groups, or part of them, [and] shrink the differences and social distance between them" (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006: 4–5).

5. Social Integration in Japan

In Japan, the meaning of social integration varies at the state, ministerial and local level, not to mention among academics (Nagy 2008). Most recently, social integration was defined in an official government report issued by the Council for the Promotion of Regulatory Reform. According to the Council, social integration refers to

> approving various rights to live in the socio-economic environment of a foreign country, taking into account human rights and cultural and social backgrounds of the foreigners and their families, and at the same time ensuring that they fulfill their obligations. (CPRR 2005: 107)

This statement contrasts greatly with the views of Hidenori Sakanaka, former director of the Tokyo Immigration Bureau, who in his book has stressed the significance of social integration in a multi-ethnic society, with immigration policy supporting the integration of foreigners by granting them language support, access to social services and political rights and fostering in them a feeling of belonging as a means to create a genuinely multicultural society (Sakanaka and Asakawa 2007). The Council regards migrants as having a peripheral role in Japanese society, highlighting that they live in a *foreign* country. Sakanaka, on the other hand, promotes the idea of social integration of migrants, with them "belonging" to Japanese society as political, economic and societal stakeholders.

6. Indicators of Social Integration

Esser's social integration components provide us useful barometers for better understanding the social integration policies of local governments in the TM. Their utility becomes apparent when we apply them to local government policies, as they offer us four distinct types of integration measures and useful examples for each measure that can be positively or negatively identified (see Table 2). They also represent a broad consensus among scholars regarding the key components of social integration and are a tool that we can use to examine specific regional cases, such as the social integration policies of local governments in the TM.

Table 2: Types of Social Integration and Associated Measures

	Contents of reform	**Specific measures**
Structural integration	Structural changes within the local government itself that secure the removal of barriers to the economy and labor market, education system, local housing system, local welfare institutions and services, health system and local political rights	(1) labor market policies (2) policies related to ethnic entrepreneurship and self-employment (3) support for education (4) support for vocational or professional training (5) housing and health policies (6) local citizenship (naturalization) policies (7) the promotion of civic and political participation
Cultural integration	Policies that support and facilitate an individual's cognitive, behavioral and attitudinal change, which allow for acculturation in the host society (municipality)	(1) language training (2) support for foreign residents' (immigrants') culture (3) support for secular or religious practices (4) support for sporting activities

	Contents of reform	Specific measures
Interactive integration	Policies that encourage the acceptance and inclusion of foreign residents in the municipality's social networks, voluntary organizations, parent/ teacher associations (PTA), etc.	(1) provision of opportunities for Japanese and non-Japanese to interact as co-residents (2) non–nationality-based education (3) non–nationality-based housing (4) Japanese language training
Identificational integration	Policies which encourage foreign residents to develop a feeling of belonging to the host society (municipality)	(1) multiculturalism policies (2) policies of recognition of foreigners' (immigrants') secular and religious organizations (3) promotion of a culture of local citizenship ceremonies and events

Source: the author's own compilation

7. Local Governments in the Tokyo Metropolis: the Wards of Adachi and Shinjuku

Both Shinjuku and Adachi are wards that employ the word "multicultural coexistence" to describe the policies that they have created for the integration of migrants in their midst. The term is derived from the Japanese expression *tabunka kyōsei*, referring to the many cultures coexisting in harmony within a Japanese cultural context. We should also note that multicultural coexistence is the latest in a series of phrases used to describe policies that are targeted at migrants in Japan, which include but are not exclusive to "incorporation policies," "foreigner policies," "local citizenship," or "partial citizenship" (Andrew and Goldsmith 1998: 101–107; Kashiwazaki 2000: 435; Tegtmeyer-Pak 2001; Tsuda 2006: 7–12).

Turning to the case studies outlined in this paper, a cursory examination of Shinjuku and Adachi's multicultural coexistence policies quickly illustrates that they are shaped by different visions of multicultural coexistence. Using the barometers of integration mentioned above allows us to determine which social integration policies are being focused on and what these policy focuses are.

7.1 Structural Integration

By examining the multicultural coexistence plans of these two wards, we can identify many congruent approaches in their focus and respective commitment vis-à-vis the four types of social integration listed above. Adachi's multicultural coexistence initiative is premised on forging a community that stresses "richness in difference" (AKK 2006: 16–19). Aiming to "create multicultural coexistence in

Adachi with the cooperation of people with different mother tongues, culture and customs," Adachi's plan consists of four basic pillars: (1) communication assistance; (2) lifestyle assistance; (3) the creation of a coexistent multicultural municipality; and (4) the setting-up of multicultural coexistence initiatives (AKK 2006: 16–19).

Similarly, based on the report titled Policies for Foreigners: The Plan for the Promotion of the Creation of a City of Multicultural Coexistence (*Tabunka kyōsei no machi zukuru (gaikokujin jissaku) no suishin ni tsuite,* SBKKZ 2004a; 2004b), Shinjuku's initial steps toward integrating its large and diverse foreign resident population have emerged as a strategy that strives to promote exchanges between foreign and Japanese residents and to foster mutual understanding of their respective culture and history in order for them to live together harmoniously. The key initiatives here are: (1) creating a municipality which is easy to live in; (2) deepening foreign residents' understanding of Japanese residents; and (3) creating a municipality in which foreign residents can easily live alongside their Japanese counterparts.[2]

The two local governments include varying degrees of structural, cultural, interactive, and identificational integration reform in their initiatives (see Table 3). Under the umbrella of structural integration reform, both Shinjuku and Adachi have commenced removing many of the preexisting structural barriers that hampered migrants' access to social welfare programs, enrolling in education programs, residing in public housing and fully leveraging their human capital when participating in the local labor market. Shinjuku and Adachi have removed nationality requirements for public housing, simplified enrollment procedures for health care, employment of non-Japanese nationals in health and welfare areas (when eligible) and the employment of non-Japanese nationals in other administrative positions that directly deal with foreign residents, such as International Exchange sections.

Differences still remain, nonetheless. Adachi, for instance, has promulgated three initiatives that set it apart from Shinjuku: (1) the establishment of a Centre for Business Creation; (2) the provision of non–nationality-based start-up loans; and (3) the conduct of investigations regarding the inclusion of eligible foreign residents in local referenda. Each initiative is an important indicator of Adachi's commitment to the social integration of foreign residents. It also represents an attempt to come to terms with the changing ethnic diversity in the ward. The Centre for Business Creation forms a nexus in which foreign and Japanese residents can come together to engage in mutually beneficial business activities. Transactions are supported by the local government through introductions and the provision of venues for meetings, non–nationality-based start-up loans, contractual information, legal

[2] This information was collected during a personal interview by the author with the Managing Director of International Exchange at the Shinjuku Foundation for Culture and International Exchange (2006/09/21). Also see SBKKZ (2004a).

guidance and the like. Investigations on how foreign residents can participate in local referenda are important indicators of the steps being taken to disconnect a person's residency status from national-based citizenship and introduce local-based citizenship instead (Table 3).

Table 3: List of Specific Measures Undertaken by Adachi and Shinjuku Wards Vis-à-vis Integration

	Shinjuku Ward	**Adachi Ward**
Structural integration	(1) establishment of the Multicultural Coexistence Plaza (2) simplification of enrollment procedures for health care, pension system (3) establishment of a multilingual advisory and information center (4) non–nationality-based public housing scheme (5) special permanent residents, permanent residents, long-term residents and spouses of Japanese nationals can apply for public housing (6) hiring of non-Japanese in the health and welfare sectors	(1) establishment of Centre for Business Creation (2) availability of non–nationality-based start-up loans (3) establishment of multicultural coexistence section (4) availability of non–nationality-based public housing (5) provision of multilingual services and information (6) hiring of foreign staff (7) support for collaboration between Japanese and non-Japanese businesses (8) all relevant administrative units involved in multicultural coexistence (9) investigations on including eligible foreign residents in referenda
Cultural integration	(1) provision of multilingual information and advisory services (2) online video providing information on living in Shinjuku (3) enrichment of Japanese language-learning opportunities (4) provision of multicultural awareness education with a focus on mutual respect and understanding (5) strengthening current Japanese language training (6) availability of advisory services availability of education subsidies for foreign children	(1) Japanese language classes (2) intensive Japanese language courses for children (3) multilingual information and advisory services (4) seminar on living in Japan (5) encouraging promotion of immigrants' ethno-cultural background in festivals, schools (6) fostering international understanding and human rights education (7) providing education for returnees (8) interpreting and translation services (9) guest teacher program

	Shinjuku Ward	Adachi Ward
Interactive integration	(1) provision of multilingual disaster training (2) recruitment of foreign residents for festivals, cultural exchange programs (3) encouraging participation in PTA (4) promotion of networking of foreign residents with other foreigners as well as with Japanese residents	(1) recruitment of foreign residents in PTA, festivals, awareness programs (2) diversity training (3) employing foreign staff (4) non–nationality-based urban planning committees, e.g., Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Committee (5) expansion of opportunities for foreign residents to attend schools (6) encouraging joint ventures between Japanese and non-Japanese businesses (7) introductions to the local Chamber of Commerce (8) children's assembly
Identificational integration	(1) establishment of a Multicultural Coexistence Plan (2) promotion of mutual respect and understanding through cultural events	(1) institutionalization of the Multicultural Coexistence Plan (2) establishment of multinational Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Committee (3) offering multicultural coexistence education programs (4) future establishment of a Foreign Advisory Council

Source: the author's own compilation

Policy shifts in Shinjuku and Adachi can be explained by international and local factors. Pressures to adhere to international conventions related to the rights of migrants and international human rights standards have compelled local governments to take action and created political space for them to remove obstacles hindering the employment of foreign residents in certain administrative sectors of local government. Being the immediate interface between foreign residents and the national government, local governments have also rationalized the provision of services to be on a par with those offered to Japanese residents (Kashiwazaki 2000: 462; Menju 2003: 34–38).

In the early 1980s, Adachi and Shinjuku, along with other municipalities in Japan with high concentrations of foreign residents, became aware that structural impediments such as restrictions on public housing and administrative services solely provided in Japanese hinder foreign residents, not only preventing them from successfully navigating through local community life, but also from thriving in local communities. Some of the commonest problems included not receiving or not understanding information related to school enrollment, vaccinations, enrollment in

health care, pension systems, education and language acquisition and child subsidies, as illustrated below in comments made by two foreign residents living in Shinjuku:

> My son has only been in Japan for a year. With regard to understanding Japanese, he seems to have no problem. However, when it comes to writing and reading, he doesn't seem to be improving. He'll soon be graduating from junior high school. I'm worried about his future.
> (male, 40–49, ethnic Chinese) (Shinjuku City 2008: 49)

> I would like simpler instructions on health care, taxation, the pension system, and such things. I would like more information to be provided—in the short term, if possible.
> (female, 40–49, ethnic Chinese) (Shinjuku City 2008: 49)

Removal of these barriers had a dual purpose: first, it ensured that the local government would not be responsible for providing the cost of health-care coverage to uninsured foreign residents; and second, it was part of an overall strategy promoted and recommended by the then Ministry of Home Affairs[3] to internationalize from within, ensuring that each municipality was easy to live in for all of its residents.

7.2 Cultural and Interactive Integration

Shinjuku and Adachi share numerous approaches to cultural and interactive integration. The increased numbers of newcomers who are linguistically and culturally disadvantaged has propelled Adachi and Shinjuku to invest heavily in multilingual information and services, language and culture courses and foreign advisory services. Importantly, the provision of these services reflects the voices—and, in particular, the needs and concerns—of both Japanese and migrant residents, as found in large-scale surveys conducted in their municipalities on multicultural coexistence (Shinjuku City 2008: 48). Importantly, the advent of these language-support policies reflects how local governments can and do respond to specific resident demands. It demonstrates that policy can develop in a bottom-up manner, in which resident demands are translated into policy.

Through the removal of language and cultural hurdles to accessing services and participating in the local community, such cultural integration reforms facilitate acculturation and serve as interpretation mechanisms to mediate pressing needs. Support for Japanese language classes, multilingual advisory services, multicultural awareness education and intercultural and human rights education all contribute to language proficiency, self-reliance and bi-directional acculturation.

At the cognitive level, both Japanese and foreign residents are being sensitized to their mutual needs, concerns and anxieties regarding each other. At the behavioral

[3] The Ministry of Home Affairs since 2001 is part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

and attitudinal levels, language and cultural tools are being provided such that Japanese and foreign residents can alter their behavior and engage in relationships that are marked by communication, cooperation and awareness instead of intercultural friction and misunderstanding. Significantly, both Japanese and non-Japanese recognize the crucial nature of these initiatives, as illustrated by the following comments by Shinjuku residents:

> If you can't speak Japanese, you have little opportunity to interact with Japanese and immerse in Japanese society. I would like more opportunities to learn Japanese.
> (male, 40–49, ethnic Chinese) (Shinjuku City 2008: 48)

> If we can't communicate in words, it is difficult to understand each other. I also want to learn a foreign language little by little.
> (female, 60–69, Japanese) (Shinjuku City 2008: 78)

Another example is the promotion and support of foreign residents' business activities through collaboration and exchanges with local Japanese business leaders. Initiatives to establish nursery-school facilities that can accommodate foreign residents' children, the enhanced training for nursery-school staff, educational advisory services, disaster training, aid for foreigners interested in starting up their own companies and the creation of volunteer groups that can be dispatched to help foreign residents when they encounter difficulties also exemplify the growing interconnectedness of Japanese and non-Japanese residents. The cultural and interactive integration reforms not only linguistically integrate foreign residents into their respective wards, but, more significantly, allow foreign residents to weave themselves into community tapestries through programs that encourage them to participate in PTA, children's organizations and Chambers of Commerce.

By focusing on policies that support and facilitate cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral bi-directional acculturation, both wards are promoting inclusiveness and promoting broader participation of all residents in their respective municipality. They demonstrate a vision of a ward in which its residents, both local and foreign, are contributors to the development of their areas.[4]

In summary, under the umbrella of cultural and interactive integration, both Adachi and Shinjuku are targeting their multicultural coexistence initiatives to (1) support and facilitate the cognitive, behavioral and attitudinal dissonance that foreign and Japanese residents feel vis-à-vis each other; and (2) encourage the acceptance and inclusion of foreign residents in their various community organizations.

The similar approaches to cultural and interactive integration in the two wards largely stem from the fact that both wards based their multicultural coexistence plans on the views of foreign and Japanese residents derived from large-scale

[4] Adachi Ward's vision of multicultural coexistence includes not only exchanges between foreign and Japanese businesses based there, but partnerships in which they work together for their mutual benefit (AKK 2006: 19).

surveys on foreign residents conducted in their wards in 2004, 2008 and 2010. Responses in each survey to questions related to challenges, problems and opinions on the integration of foreigners largely centered on cultural and interactive barriers to integration such as language hurdles, cultural awareness, a dearth of opportunities to meet each other and develop various kinds of relationships, concerns about cultural awareness and participation in local organizations.

Lastly, since these initiatives do not revolve around political rights or representation, they are politically vacuous policies in which the support and drive for their development and implementation can be easily acquired. In short, they are acceptable to both municipal governments because they do not require amassing any large-scale support for them; they do not require any changes to municipal laws related to foreign residents; they can, in many cases, be farmed out to local non-profit organizations; and they benefit all residents.

7.3 Identificational Integration Reform

The most difficult form of integration advocated by both wards is identificational integration, which is centered around policies that encourage and help bring about a feeling of belonging to the host society and community. In contrast to the shared ideas and initiatives in the cultural and interactive integration reforms in both municipalities, we see distinct differences between the wards in their identificational integration approaches.

Adachi's general approach could be encapsulated by initiatives that stress belonging and local citizenship. For instance, Adachi has at least four initiatives in its identificational integration reform: (1) the institutionalization of its Multicultural Coexistence Plan; (2) the establishment of its Multicultural Coexistence Committee; (3) the creation of multicultural coexistence programs; and (4) the conception of plans for the future establishment of a Foreigners' Advisory Committee that would directly liaise with the local government of Adachi. These initiatives encourage identification with Adachi through their promotion of multicultural coexistence, recognition of foreign residents' organizations as meaningful actors in Adachi's society and promotion of a culture of local citizenship.

For instance, Adachi Ward established a Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Committee in 2010 that consists of 14 members, eight of whom are Japanese, two Chinese, one South Korean, one North Korean, one Nepalese and one Filipino,[5] and which is legally recognized by the municipal government and mandated to promote multicultural coexistence in the ward. Its international composition, legal status and the fact that it reports its findings and recommendations directly to the local government highlight Adachi's commitment to creating a more inclusive

[5] For the complete list of participants, which includes their names, the associations they belong to, and their nationality, see AKK (2011).

municipality. As an organization with non-Japanese members, it is valued by the local government for its perspectives and potential to contribute to the ward's multicultural development. As a consequence of this recognition, Adachi is promoting a sense of local citizenship and ownership in its ward.

Equally importantly, Adachi's initiative to create a harmonious multicultural community includes the establishment of a Foreign Residents' Advisory Board to enable foreign residents to have a voice in the ward's administration (AKK 2006: 19, 27–28). This demonstrates Adachi's commitment to political inclusion of foreign residents. It is also demonstrative of how structural integration reforms in Adachi's local government are creating opportunities for foreign residents to become more involved in local affairs in Adachi. These include potential access to the local assembly's regular meetings to enable them to share and contribute to solving the challenges faced by foreign residents and, in some cases, Japanese residents as well. Adachi Ward is also currently investigating how it could incorporate permanent residents into local referenda (AKK 2006: 27) and is conducting research on adopting new legislation that would grant voting privileges to permanent residents in local elections. This demonstrates the ward's commitment to at least some level of inclusion of foreign residents' civic rights.[6] If realized, voting privileges would complete the inclusion circle, granting eligible foreign residents political suffrage. Here again, we are seeing strong, concrete steps to enhance foreign residents' identification with Adachi by promoting a policy that advances their sense of local citizenship through their participation in local affairs and elections.

The establishment of a multicultural coexistence promotion system institutionalizes Adachi's vision of multicultural coexistence. This includes the creation of formal municipal ordinances for the promotion of multicultural coexistence and the strengthening of networking activities with other municipalities, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and other associations, thereby sharing information on multicultural coexistence policy (AKK 2006: 21–22). More importantly, it is an open commitment to the basic premises outlined in Adachi's Multicultural Coexistence Plan—a commitment that reinforces the confidence of foreign residents vis-à-vis the recognition of their needs and ability to contribute as local citizens in Adachi.

Similar to structural integration reforms, the momentum behind identificational integration reforms in Adachi stems from the large influx of foreign residents since

[6] In February 1995, the Japanese Supreme Court ruled that the Japanese Constitution does not prohibit long-term permanent residents from voting in local elections. However, the decision was overturned in October 2003. Then in 2004, the House of Representatives scrapped the *Eijyū gaikokujin ni taisuru chihō kōkyō dantai no gikai no giin oyobi chō no senkyoken nado no fuyo ni kansuru hōritsuan* (Bill Regarding Local Government Assembly Representative Voting Rights for Permanent Long-term Residents). Despite this rejection at the level of the House of Representatives, wards like Adachi are still looking into the possibility of overturning this decision so as to allow some level of suffrage for long-term residents (AKK 2006: 27).

the 1980s, the expected increase in the foreign population and the large number of international marriages. With an increasing number of Adachi residents having some connection with foreign residents—whether through marriage, long-term residency, settlement, children, business, or other kinds of networks—Adachi has been compelled to find ways to include the voices of non-Japanese nationals and "hyphenated" Japanese nationals in its development.

While Adachi appears to want to promote a sense of belonging and local citizenship, Shinjuku's policies are actually bolstering the divide between Japanese and non-Japanese residents. Its initiatives in identificational integration are (1) the establishment of a multicultural coexistence plan; and (2) the promotion of mutual respect and understanding and cultural events. The first is an official commitment to the promotion of multicultural coexistence that gives foreign and Japanese residents an understanding of the type, style and degree of multicultural coexistence that will take place in Shinjuku. The second emphasizes the development of mutual cultural understanding and respect to reinforce the sense of belonging to the community.

Institutionalizing Shinjuku's Multicultural Coexistence Plan ensures that Japanese language classes and cultural classes provide participating residents with the rudimentary skills they need to cope with the complexities of life in Japan as a foreign resident (RCAD 2006a). Other initiatives such as multilingual advisory services and publications ensure that all resident foreigners are aware of their rights and responsibilities as residents of Shinjuku Ward (RCAD 2006b). In both cases, foreigners can develop a feeling of belonging—at least at a linguistic and informational level—by being more aware of events in Shinjuku, having information on the social welfare services that they are eligible for, and in general, being part of the information loop in the municipality. These initiatives resonate strongly with the needs voiced by foreign residents, such as the person below:

> I would like more Japanese language classes for children. Also, in case of an emergency, I would like information to be distributed in foreign languages. (male, 30–39, Chinese) (Shinjuku City 2008: 50)

These initiatives are based on the view that if foreigners are kept aware of their rights and responsibilities, and if they acquire the language and cultural skills of the local community, they will not cause any intercultural friction or be a burden to the local government and community of Shinjuku. This strategy includes contributing and receiving, when necessary, social welfare, pensions, national health care, education subsidies and child subsidies, among other things. Language training, cultural training and multilingual services are meant to reduce the likelihood that minority workers are exploited and, at the same time, increase their ability and willingness to seek medical, legal and other kinds of services when needed. These strategies ensure that migrant residents can fulfill their obligations and satisfy their needs as members of the community.

Despite the attempt to cultivate a sense of belonging in Shinjuku, we can see that the ward's multicultural coexistence practices revolve around two things: (1) a strong focus on preventing intercultural friction between Japanese and foreign residents; and (2) a large investment in printed multilingual information and advisory services for foreign residents. The objective is to provide basic services to as many foreign residents as possible through information and access to facilities. With regard to its efforts in diffusing intercultural friction, Shinjuku's multicultural coexistence platform seeks to address Japanese residents' perceptions of foreign residents, such as rising crime rates and growing friction that can result from increasing numbers of foreign residents. As seen below, to foreign residents, coexistence means reducing the amount of discrimination and racism that exist in Shinjuku and indeed in Japanese society at large (SBKKZ 2004a: 2):

> When renting an apartment, we require a Japanese guarantor. If the ward office could be the guarantor, it would eliminate a lot of problems.
> (male, 50–59, ethnic Korean) (Shinjuku City 2008: 50)

> I feel that Japanese seem to have a superiority complex vis-à-vis other Asian people and discriminate. It might be related to history, but it should be rectified in education initiatives.
> (male, 20–29, nationality not mentioned) (Shinjuku City 2008: 50)

Nonetheless, Shinjuku's Multicultural Coexistence Plan remains committed to ensuring that the minority resident does not become a burden to the municipal government and the Japanese residents of Shinjuku. The Managing Director of International Exchange at the Shinjuku Foundation for Culture and International Exchange (2006/09/21) explained the situation as follows in a personal interview with the author:

> Multicultural coexistence practices are not about creating a municipality that minorities want to come to; rather, it is about maintaining the integrity of the Japanese community, ensuring that the foreigners that do settle temporarily or for the long term don't disrupt the traditional patterns of Japanese life. Multicultural coexistence programs provide foreign residents with knowledge about Japanese customs and manners so they can avoid causing problems with Japanese residents. Moreover, multicultural coexistence practices are not about voting rights for foreigners.

With an approach to multicultural coexistence that views foreign residents as a potential burden that should be avoided rather than being potential contributors to the Shinjuku community, identificational integration reform in Shinjuku remains a distant and intangible objective for the current policy makers.

For Shinjuku's policy makers, the area's growing ethnic diversity, large, fluctuating foreign resident population, comparatively low international marriage rates and the continued association of foreign residents with crime and destabilization of Japanese society, particularly by xenophobic politicians, all make advocating reforms to further integrate foreign residents into the Shinjuku community a difficult challenge to overcome. As various comments made by Japanese residents in Shinjuku show

(see below), it is politically difficult to get support from constituents for reforms that will further integrate foreign residents into the local community when foreigners are characterized as crime-prone, disruptive, illiterate, culturally insensitive and temporary residents:

> Please don't let anymore foreigners enter than this. [Otherwise] crimes will increase, making it more difficult for Japanese to live [here].
> (male, 50–59) (Shinjuku City 2008: 78)

> Foreigners should learn more about Japan. [By d]oing this, discrimination by Japanese will disappear. We don't forget those who make an effort.
> (male, 20–29) (Shinjuku City 2008: 78)

> It's natural that foreigners who come to Japan should do things the Japanese way. It's strange that we provide special services for them. We should not give them any special treatment.
> (male, 40–49) (Shinjuku City 2008: 78)

Japanese residents do not see foreign residents as co-residents with a shared identity; rather, they see them as a separate group or community that exists within the local community—they are different, alien and do not contribute to the community. Consequently, they are not seen as part of a politician's political plans. From the point of view of Shinjuku's foreign residents, identification with Shinjuku remains a distant dream as long as foreign residents feel they are portrayed negatively. Identification remains a challenge when they can see other wards and municipalities across Japan recognizing the important role and contributions of foreign residents.

8. Conclusion

The social integration measures initiated in the wards of Shinjuku and Adachi are a culmination of many factors, including a consensus of views of both Japanese and non-Japanese living in each ward, harmonization to international norms and conventions, and a vacuum in state-directed social integration policy. Analyzing these initiatives with Esser's social integration components demonstrated that each local government is taking meaningful steps toward including migrants in their communities. Although there is consensus among policy makers with regard to structural, cultural and interactive integration measures, a divergence continues to exist in the degree that identificational integration measures are being initiated in the two wards. Shinjuku remains aloof to the idea of a foreign advisory council and greater inclusion of migrants in political processes in the ward. Adachi, on the other hand, has been more open to this idea. This resistance is in part related to the concentration of migrants in Shinjuku as opposed to Adachi and the association with migrant-related crime in Shinjuku often cited by prominent politicians. Fears about migrants influencing local and national politics by tilting the vote toward politicians who have friendly relations with Japan's neighbors also remain a concern among

local residents. Another important variable that has not been examined here is the number of international marriages that take place in each ward and the number of children in those families.

These two local governments in the TM are demonstrating that local governments have an important role to play in fostering social integration among migrants. Policies that include all four of Esser's integration components are more likely to integrate migrants at a qualitatively deeper level, as they foresee a role for migrants in the community and its urban development. Adachi has demonstrated this in its multinational Multicultural Coexistence Committee, non–nationality-based business support and the institutionalization of multicultural coexistence in the local government and various programs. Strong integration initiatives focusing on identification create a way of moving migrants from their temporary peripheral position in the community to one in which they are integrated members of the community. In contrast, weak integration initiatives to promote identification—as seen in Shinjuku—make the transition from being a temporary migrant to an integrated member of the community less feasible.

In closing, in light of the disaster of March 11, 2011, in Japan, the momentum of multicultural coexistence and social integration programs has dropped significantly, as local governments across the country have shifted their focus to providing post-disaster support to the many victims. In interviews conducted by the author in the summer of 2011, many local governments stressed that this may in the short term stall further reform to promote social integration at both the local and national level. In contrast, the mid- to long-term forecast for broader and deeper social integration at both of these levels may actually be positively impacted by the 3/11 tragedy, as in many parts of Japan migrants become active stakeholders in Japanese communities, functioning as translators, interpreters and providers of food and water to fellow residents. Many foreign residents were or are victims of the disaster themselves, of course, a fact that forges a shared identity with Japanese citizens through a shared local and national experience. This may significantly enhance their identification with one another, the local community and Japan in general.

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