

Integration Policies of Municipalities with a Low Concentration of Foreign Residents – The Case of Kumamoto City

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Abstract

In 2006 the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications issued a policy plan on multicultural co-existing society, in response to developments in terms of integration policies on foreign residents that have taken place in municipalities, advising all local governments in Japan to develop and implement regional integration policies. With the size of a foreign population and the formation of areas with highly concentrated settlements being identified as key factors in shaping integration policies in Japan a situation was created where a large gap in terms of developments on integration policies between municipalities has occurred.

This study aims at investigating how integration policies in a local setting with a low concentration of foreign residents have evolved by identifying relevant local actors and determining factors at the case of Kumamoto City. In absence of foreign residents as the determining factor, I identify the framework of integration policies and the administrative organization within the local government both shaped by a historical path dependence in policies related to internationalization and foreign residents to have an effect on integration policies.

Keywords: integration policy, multicultural co-existence, municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents, Kumamoto City

1. Introduction

In the history of Japan's policies on immigrants the approach on integration, namely *tabunkakyōsei* (literally meaning: multicultural co-existing), is a fairly new concept compared with the regulations on immigration. It came up on the national level in 2006 when the "Plan for the promotion of *tabunkakyōsei* in local communities" (*chīki niokeru tabunkakyōsei suishin puran*) was issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC). In contrast to immigration policies, which fall under the competence of the Ministry of Justice and are carried out nationwide by regional Bureaus of Immigration, integration policies are more or less up to local governments. This had led to a situation in which the degree of progress in terms of integration policies differs between the municipalities. On the one end, there are big cities with large populations of foreign residents like Ōsaka, Tōkyō or Kawasaki City and municipalities with a high concentration of foreign residents, especially New Comer, immigrants who came to Japan since the 1970s, like Ōizumi town in Gunma Prefecture who are ahead of the national development.

On the other end of the spectrum areas with a low concentration of foreign residents are to be found. In this context, the migration by females due to international marriage into rural societies of Japan has drawn some attention, while other municipalities with a low concentration of foreign

residents have not often been subject to academic research so far, despite the fact that the majority of Japanese municipalities belong to this type. It is therefore quite reasonable to assume that they face similar issues and challenges and that results of this paper may to a certain extent be generalized and applicable for municipalities with similar features. One aim of this study is to contribute filling this gap by examining the factors influencing integration policies in municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents at the case of Kumamoto City.

Previous research on areas with a low concentration of foreign residents

Areas with a low concentration of foreign residents have not attracted much attention by academics so far. Kawabata (2012) examined in his study how everyday practices of Zainichi Koreans¹ living under individualized conditions in Okayama City differ from their counterparts living in high concentration areas by applying the framework of identity politics. His findings demonstrate that the subjects to his survey have developed strong tendencies to individualize due to the distance of ethnic enclaves and changes in values. Tawara (2013) investigated the lifestyle developments of Japanese-Brazilians in Komatsu City, Ishikawa Prefecture by analyzing changes in lifestyle in comparison of ethnic communities and ethnic networks in areas of high and low concentration. Komatsu City, the field of her research, is claimed as a low concentration area with a total population of 100.000 people of which are 526 Brazilians. Their share of the total foreign population is 40% equivalent to 0.52% of the total population. Liu (2016) presented a study on identity matters of Chinese Returnees² (*kikokusha*) living in an area with a low concentration of Chinese residents in Japan. In his findings, he showed that discrimination in Japanese society and the absence of ties with China caused the six subjects of his study to feel more Japanese and distance themselves from China as their “home”. The municipality where his research took place was not revealed by name, only some numbers were given. It had a total population of 470.000 people, of which are 7300 non-Japanese. The Japanese-foreign residents’ ratio counts 1.5%. Chinese residents have a share of 2700 people, around 0.57% of the total population. The approach taken in these studies lies on ethnic groups living in low concentration areas rather than on the receiving society respectively on the local government.

An attempt at defining municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents

In 2017 Japan had a total population of 127,095,000 people. The total number of registered foreign residents was 2,471,458, which makes a ratio of 1.94%. In other words, nearly 2 persons out of 100 had a foreign passport. Of course, this concerns the national average and as mentioned above regional differences exist. Cities or areas with a high concentration of foreign residents are referred to by the name: *gaikokujin shūjūtoshi*, meaning cities with a high concentration of foreign residents. The name goes back to a conference held in Hamamatsu City on integration matters in 2001. The 13 participants shared similar issues concerning the integration of primary New Comers from Latin America, who settled in large numbers in these municipalities. Among the participants are cities and towns such as Hamamatsu City (Shizuoka Prefecture) with a foreign resident ratio of 2.9%, Toyota City (Aichi Prefecture) 3.8%, Komaki City (Aichi Prefecture) 5.7% and Ōizumi Town (Gunma Prefecture) with a ratio of 18.1%. It is not difficult to see why they call themselves cities with a high concentration of foreign residents, just by taking the numbers into account. In despite,

an academic definition does not exist, hence the question where to draw the line, what ratio have to be exceeded in order to define a municipality as an area with high concentration remains rather uncertain. It is assumable that a certain political will is among the preconditions. The same holds true for the opposite, areas or municipalities with a low concentration. This leads unavoidably to the question; what are the academic benefits defining such areas? Applying the frame of [low concentration] shall serve two functions in this research, at first to differentiate the field of this research from areas with high concentration and with it excluding the factor [foreign residents]. Secondly, it should help to make findings of this study more applicable to other municipalities with similar features in terms of institutions involved in integration and size and structure of foreign residents.

The field of research of this study is Kumamoto City, the largest city in Kumamoto Prefecture. The demographics of Kumamoto City in May 2018 were as follows: 733.467 inhabitants, of which 5568 are foreign residents which is equivalent to 0.76%. Kumamoto City was selected because in terms of numbers and structure of foreign residents it can be located in the middle between cities with a high concentration of foreign residents and rural areas with very small numbers of foreign residents. Integration policies are approached with a focus on the local government of Kumamoto City and the Kumamoto International Foundation (note: in the following the abbreviation KIF is used) excluding other actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGO) or non-profit organizations (NPO) to the greatest possible extent. KIF is selected because it is affiliated with the local government and serves as the key actor in carrying out integration measures in behalf of the city. NGOs, as well as NPOs in Kumamoto City, are not subject to this research due to their institutional role in integration policymaking. Primarily they are engaged in providing support services to foreign residents such as consultation services, interpretation services, language instructions, legal advice etc., but rarely advocate politically on the local or national level. Because of the important role which NGOs and NPOs fulfill in local *tabunkakyōsei* on the implementation level, they will be subject to future research.

This research is based on an analysis of primary sources, such as guidelines, strategy papers and other official documents published by Kumamoto City authorities, KIF and the Ministry of Information and Communications, respectively its predecessor the Ministry of Home Affairs, and secondary sources. It is further based on data collected by a qualitative interview with Hiromitsu Yagi³, office manager at KIF, on July 2018. The interview was conducted in Japanese, recorded with an IC recorder and subsequently transcribed. Questions posed in the interview concerned the following topics: 1. KIF, organizational structure, fields of action, 2. *tabunkakyōsei* in Kumamoto City and 3. foreign residents of Kumamoto City. Further, it includes experiences the author made as a participant of the JET Programme working as a Coordinator for International Relations (CIR) in Kumamoto City, particularly at the city hall and Kumamoto International Center (note, in the following the abbreviation KIC is used), from 2008 till 2011.

2. Integration Policies in Japan

This chapter provides a brief overview of how local authorities have reacted to issues of growing numbers of foreign residents and their settlement in the past in order to understand the development of integration policies in Kumamoto City.

Matsumiya and Yamamoto (2009) argued that municipalities in which the movements of Old Comers, immigrants who came to Japan mainly before the end of Second World War, who were predominantly of Korean origin, were successful are more advanced in terms of integration policies than municipalities with a large population of New Comers. Facilitating factors in terms of integration policy are the [size of the foreign population] and the [formation of high dense settlements]. This resulted in a big spread between municipalities ahead of nationwide developments in matters of integration policies and municipalities with no progress at all. As described by Kibe (2011) the constitutive part of integration policies are the municipalities, which is emphasized in the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by the MIC. Tarumoto (2012) even went further by stating integration policies on the national level are close to non-existence. Japan's approach to multiculturalism has been criticized many times to tend to focus on the 3F, food, fashion, and festival, reducing co-existing and integration policies to these fields. According to Kibe *tabunkakyōsei* can be described as a cultural approach to integration policies; "it defines integration as a state of affairs in which people with different nationalities and ethnicities live together as members of a local community by mutually recognizing cultural differences" (Kibe, 2011: 61). Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005) criticized the approach of *tabunkakyōsei* for not exceeding the cultural aspects as the concept of integration is based on the idea of eliminating political, social and economic differences among groups of individuals. They further pointed out, that if integration is considered being part of internationalization policies foreign residents are perceived within the same frame, hence as participants of exchange programs, foreign tourist or exchange students. In this regard, they argued, Japanese integration policies are path dependent.

Pierson defines path dependence as "dynamic processes involving positive feedback, which generate multiple possible outcomes depending on the particular sequence in which events unfold." (Pierson. 2004: 20) The concept builds upon what Arthur Stinchcombe has termed "historical causation", meaning that "dynamics triggered by an event or process at one point in time will reproduce themselves, even in the absence of the recurrence of the original event or process." (Pierson. 2004: 11) In this process positive feedback or self-reinforcement performs a crucial function, making reversal more difficult with each step taken in a particular direction of an established path. This definition of path dependence shall provide a conceptual background for investigating the influencing factors of integration policies in Kumamoto City.

The three pillars of Internationalization: international exchange, international cooperation, and tabunkakyōsei. How the framing for integration policy has changed in Japan.

Foreign relations between Japanese municipalities and their counterparts overseas began in 1955 with the establishment of a sister city relationship between Nagasaki City and Saint Paul (Minnesota, USA). The approach came from the US side, where citizens' groups were looking for

ways to heal war wounds between the two countries and promote peace at the grass-roots level. This was soon followed by other municipalities in Japan. In the 1950s over 100 sister city relations between Japan and mainly the US, as well as some European countries, were established. While in the beginning, the aim of those relationships was predominantly to promote mutual understandings and peace with the Olympic Games, held in Tokyo in 1964 intentions on the Japanese side slightly began to change. With the abolishment of regulations restricting overseas travels for Japanese nationals in the wake of the Olympic Games, overseas tourism started to increase and a new reason for establishing sister city relations emerged. That of providing occasions for Japanese citizens to come in touch with foreign people and cultures within Japan. A positive aspect of this development was seen in the fact that it contributes to reducing negative attitudes towards foreign cultures among Japanese citizens. On the other hand, it cemented the Japanese-foreigner-dichotomy for a long time.

Sister city exchange activities were started by initiatives of municipalities. How did the national government react to these developments? In 1987 the Ministry of Home Affairs published a guideline on regional internationalization, emphasizing the possibilities internationalization could bring to municipalities in terms of revitalization of local societies and economies. The following year the Council of Local Authorities in International Relations (CLAIR) was founded and the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program (JET) was launched in order to further enhance this development. In 1989 the Ministry of Home Affairs advised all prefectures and ordinance-designated cities to develop guidelines promoting international exchange according to its policy guideline for promoting international exchange on the regional level (*chiki kokusaikōryū suishin taikō no sakutei nikansuru shishin*). A measure considered facilitating internationalization on the local level was the establishment of regional internationalization organizations. The guideline also concerned the question how local governments should deal with foreign residents in order to facilitate their adaption to local society and improve understandings of local culture and customs by providing foreign residents opportunities to interact with Japanese citizens. Additionally, language barriers in services provided by local governments shall be reduced. In 1995 international exchange activities were expanded to developing countries by introducing international cooperation programs in accordance with the new guideline on the international exchange of municipalities (*jichitai kokusaikōryū suishin taikō no sakutei nikansuru shishin*). The developments detailed above demonstrate a characteristic scheme in internationalization policies in Japan, the Ministry of Home Affairs respectively MIC reacts to developments on the local level by adapting assumable good practices and measures of proactive local authorities into guidelines and advise other local authorities to implement these practices and measures.

Integration policies in a narrow sense trace back to what is called *uchinaru kokusaika*, meaning inward-oriented internationalization, which is widely associated with the upspring of a social movement by Zainichi Koreans in the 1970s. At that time foreign residents were not granted access to public services such as national health insurance, children's allowance or public housing. Kawasaki City was the first municipality in Japan who gave foreign residents access to the national health insurance in 1972. Three years later this was extended to children's allowance and

public housing. On the national level, further changes were brought by Japan's ratification of the Covenant on Human Rights in 1979 and the accession to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1981. In this context the Ministry of Construction granted nationwide access to public housing and restrictions related to nationality in the national pension law, health insurance law and children's allowance law were abolished. According to the model of Tomas Hammar (1990), the last field distinguishing denizens, i.e. foreign long-term residents, from citizens are electoral rights, which were claimed by Zainichi Koreans in the 1990s. The Supreme Court denied these claims in 1995 by ruling that the constitutional definition of Japanese citizens applies to Japanese nationals only (The Japan Times, 2014). With growing immigration from Asian countries during the 1980s local NGOs concerned about the situation of foreign workers in terms of human rights became active and the core of migrant support. A turning point in migration matters marks the amendment of the Immigration Law in 1989 resulting in rapid and large-scale immigration of Nikkeijin, descendants of Japanese emigrants to South America. This has triggered a change in politics on foreign residents. As more and more New Comers, predominantly Nikkeijin, settled down municipalities, especially those with a larger population of Nikkeijin, were confronted with issues concerning integration matters ranging from language problems to daily life matters such as garbage disposal to problems concerning the education of accompanied children. Municipalities with large communities of Nikkeijin responded to these issues by holding a conference on integration issues in Hamamatsu City, which ended with a joined declaration urging the national government to launch comprehensive integration programs. The widespread utilization of the term *tabunkakyōsei* itself goes back to the *Tabunkakyōsei* Center founded in Ōsaka in the aftermath of the Great Hanshin Earthquake, which hit the Kansai Region in 1995, in order to provide support to foreign residents.

How did the central government react to these developments? The MIC deployed a study group on integration matters. The results found their way into the "Plan for the promotion of *tabunkakyōsei* in local communities" (in short: *tabunkakyōsei* plan) issued in 2006. Contrary to previous official documents issued by the government the plan now recognizes foreign residents as part of the community, living and working in Japan. To some degree, this has contributed to reducing the foreigner-Japanese dichotomy. As mentioned earlier the *tabunkakyōsei* plan is a culture-oriented approach on integration measures, this is reflected in the fields of action including such as communications, multilingual information, language classes, improvement of public services etc., which are proposed to local governments. One exception in this regard is the field of disaster prevention, which has significant relevance in a country where natural disasters like earthquakes, typhoons, and tsunamis are likely to occur. Additionally, the ministry advised all municipalities to implement a regional *tabunkakyōsei* plan. According to MIC, the situation in April 2018 in terms of implantation was as follows: 45 of 47 prefectures, all 20 designated-ordinance cities, in total 46% of all local governments have implemented integration policies into a regional plan, either as an independent or integrated plan (MIC, 2018).

3. The case of Kumamoto City

How has multicultural co-existence in a setting with a low concentration of foreign residents

evolved, who are the relevant actors and factors shaping integration policies in Kumamoto City? As foreign residents are the subject to integration policies and cannot be ignored I first like to analyze the situation of foreign residents living in Kumamoto City in terms of nationality, legal status, age, gender, and geographical distribution. As mentioned above, Kumamoto City had 733,467 inhabitants in 2018, of which 5,568 were foreign residents. Unfortunately, data concerning foreign residents in terms of legal status, nationality, living area, age, and gender structure are not available from one source. Data used in this study were retrieved from the Ministry of Justice via the e-stat webpage, the Statistics Bureau of Kumamoto City and from KIF. Statistics concerning the total population of Kumamoto City are published monthly by city authorities, whereas numbers concerning foreign residents, their nationality and legal status are published in greater intervals. This explains, why numbers concerning the total foreign population and data on the legal status and nationality differ in time and the actual number. The most detailed data set available on Kumamoto City's foreign residents providing a correlation between nationality and legal status is from September 2017 and was published by KIF in a leaflet named "Diversity Kumamoto" in February 2018.

Table 1: Foreign residents by nationality and legal status 2017

	Special Permanent Resident	Permanent Resident	Student	Technical Intern Training	Dependent	Spouse or Child of Japanese National	Other	Total
China		820	332	102	130	106	350	1840
Vietnam		5	240	313	10	9	40	617
Korea	243	121	51		15	40	16	522
Philippine		393	9	32	10	56	12	512
Nepal		1	154		24		36	215
USA		70			4	42	62	178
Indonesia		10	54	40	55	9	7	175
Taiwan		31	33	0	5	8	75	152
Thailand		11	17	45	1	15	4	93
Bangladesh			39		32		6	77
Sri Lanka		11	20		5	1	14	51
Other		169	135	27	56	61	150	598
Total	243	1642	1084	559	347	347	772	5030

Source: KIF, 2018b; Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office

City authorities have started publishing data on foreign residents living in the city from 2012 onwards, the year that the former alien registration system was abolished and with the introduction of the new residency management system, the handling of residence records was shifted to the municipalities (Ministry of Justice, 2012). Prior to that statistics were collected and published by the Ministry of Justice and its regional Immigration Bureaus. The foreign population in Kumamoto City has constantly increased and almost doubled in a period of 20 years since 1996 as shown in figure 1 below. According to the data set by KIF in September 2017 5030 people of

foreign origin were living in the city. When looking at the foreign community in terms of nationality four large groups with a share of more than half of the foreign population can be identified, as shown in table 1 above. By far the largest group with 1840 persons and an equivalent share of 36,6% are Chinese residents. Second are Vietnamese (617 persons; 12,3%) followed by Koreans (522; 10,4%) and people from the Philippines (512; 10,2%).

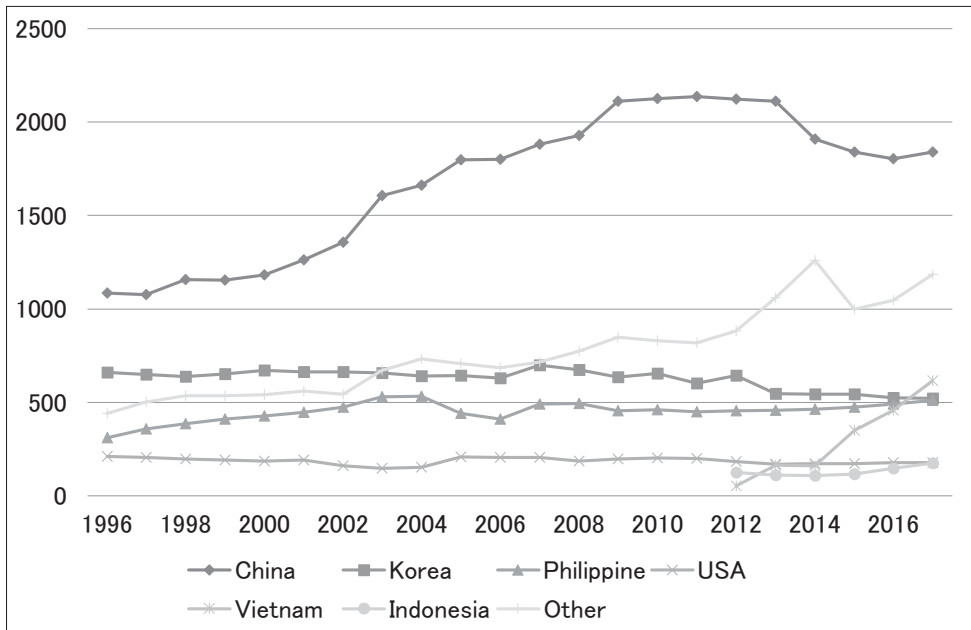


Figure 1: Population development of foreign residents in Kumamoto City 1996-2017

Source: KIF, 2018b; Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office

In terms of population movement, each of the four groups has shown a different development, as shown in figure 1. While in a period of 20 years the numbers of people from the Philippines have slightly increased, numbers of the Koreans have slightly declined, both by not more than 100. The growth of the Chinese population was comparably faster and more dynamic, peaking in 2011 and slightly declined since then. The most dynamic development can be seen among Vietnamese residents; while being a minor group with 54 persons in 2012, within just five years the numbers have increased more than tenfold. If taking a closer look at this group in terms of legal status, which can be an indicator for migration intentions, it shows that the group predominantly consists of two categories: students and technical intern trainees. The latter can be regarded as the driving factor of the recent increase in population developments, as the Technical Intern Training Program has been expanded to Vietnam in this period of time. The group of Korean residents consists mainly of long-term residents, respectively special permanent residents (50%) and permanent residents (24,9%). If the category of spouse or child of Japanese nationals is added, the share is even larger (80%). This also may explain the slight decline of population, when considering the general population development of Zainichi Koreans in Japan, who decreased in numbers through naturalization and natural population change. Among Filipinos, permanent residents are the largest category with an equivalent of 76,8%, followed by the category spouse or child of

Japanese national with 10,9%. Although statistics on foreign residents with a correlation of nationality, legal status and sex are not available, from several conversations with KIF, migrant support groups and a representative of the Filipino Organization in Kumamoto (FOK) while working at KIC the author concludes that the majority of Filipinos in Kumamoto City are female. Their legal status and the history of immigration from the Philippines to Japan, in general, suggest that not a small part is or was in the past in a marital relationship with Japanese men. Taking into further consideration that possible children of these relationships under certain circumstances would obtain Japanese citizenship and the fact that immigration from the Philippines stagnates on a low level partly explain the population development of this group. Chinese residents are comparably a little bit more diverse in terms of legal status. 45% obtained a permanent resident visa, making it the largest group, and students second. Notably is also a fair number in the category Technical Intern Training Program.

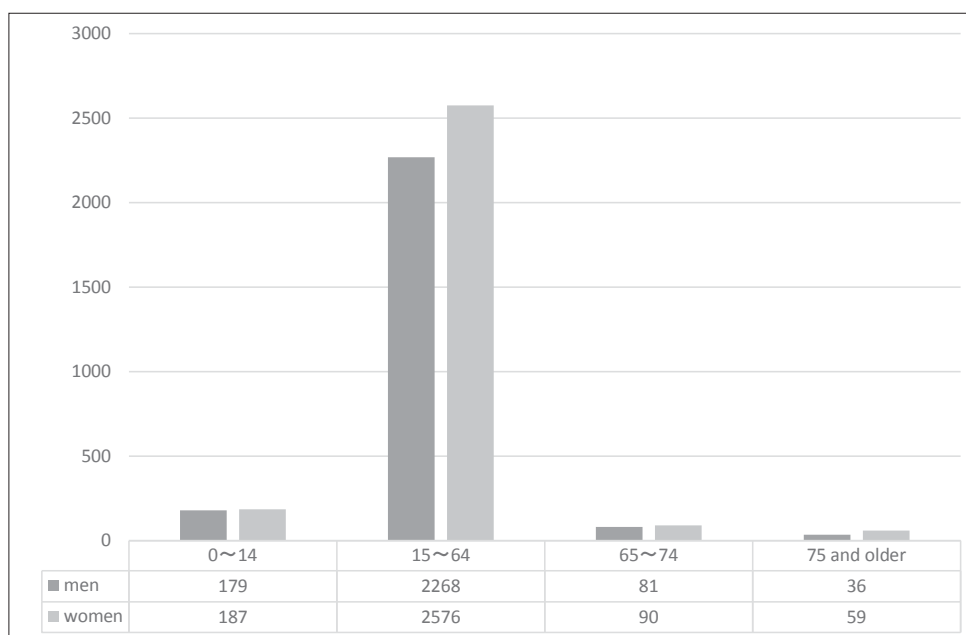


Figure 2: Age structure and gender distribution of foreign residents 2018

Source: KIF, 2018b; Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office

The age structure and gender distribution of foreign residents in Kumamoto City are displayed in figure 2. The majority belongs to the age cohort of 15 to 64, in Japan respectively referred to as the working age population. This makes sense when taking into consideration that students and technical intern trainees fall into this age category. Further, the majority of foreign residents are, with the exception of Zainichi Koreans, first generation New Comers, who came to Kumamoto City as presumable adults since the end of 1970. The migration from China to Japan and Kumamoto City began with normalization of relations between both countries in 1975. Second generation migrants, born before the new millennium, also belong to this age cohort. Their number though remains vague, since the length of stay or birthplace is not recorded in the statistics. In terms of gender distribution, women outnumber men in every age cohort to a small extent. A possible issue

in the future in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* may concern the aging of foreign residents and the issues related to an aging population in fields such as healthcare. Taken the fact into consideration, that half the foreign population are permanent residents who will presumably continue to live in Kumamoto City with growing age, issues are likely to occur. KIF stated in this regard that they are aware of these concerns and that staff members have attended workshops and information events related to this topic in other municipalities which already have to deal with these issues.

When looking at the geographical distribution of foreign residents on the macro level Kumamoto City can be regarded as a city with a low concentration of foreign residents. But as figure 3 shows on the micro level, the reference base here are the city's five districts: central district, east district, west district, south district, and north district, nearly half of the foreign residents concentrate in the central district with an equivalent ratio of 1.48%, two times higher than the average rate. And within the central district areas with even a higher concentration exist, for example in Kurokami, a district close to Kumamoto University, where many exchange students are living.

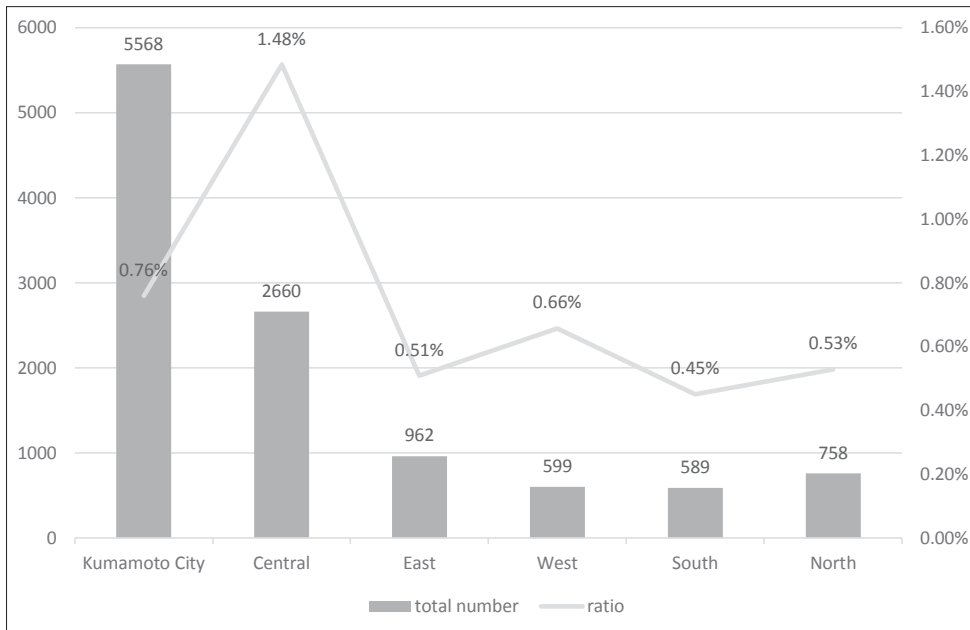


Figure 3: Geographical distribution of foreign residents in Kumamoto City 2018

Source: Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office

Summarizing the statistics on foreign residents in Kumamoto City, three large groups appear when talking of legal status. These are the categories: Permanent Resident (32,9%), Student (21,7%) and Technical Intern Training Program (11,2%). In terms of nationality, the largest groups are Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipinos and Koreans. Concerning the question of how many foreign residents can be considered Old Comers, it cannot be answered with certainty as there are no data regarding the length of residence. A hint in this context provides the category of Special Permanent Residence. At least all 243 persons belonging to this category can be considered Old Comers. Therefore, the vast majority can be perceived as New Comers. This was confirmed in the

interview with KIF, affirming the question if the majority of Kumamoto City's foreign residents could be considered New Comers.

Who makes integration policy – relevant actors and determining factors at the local level

Till now I failed to answer the question who the relevant actors and influencing factors in terms of integration policies in Kumamoto City are. In this regard, Kumamoto City's Internationalization Guideline (*kumamotoshi kokusaika shishin*) of 2010 will be used as an example to show how several determining factors have influenced the decision-making and the outcome of the guideline. Crucial to understanding how *tabunkakyōsei* is implemented in Kumamoto City is the fact that both international exchange and *tabunkakyōsei* policies take place within the same framework of internationalization policies. This view is shared by KIF, expressing that international exchange and *tabunkakyōsei* cannot be divided. At first glance, this may seem surprising as both approaches assumable address different target groups and take place on different political levels. International exchange refers primarily to a relationship between Japan and foreign countries on the individual and institutional level, whereas integration policies are perceived to address individuals living in Japan, respectively foreign residents. They refer to a state of affairs on the domestic level concerning municipalities and its residents. KIF underlines its perspective on *tabunkakyōsei* and international exchange as follows: If both approaches are broken down to the smallest common denominator this would be the social interaction between individuals, namely, Japanese citizens and foreigners. Thus, the social interaction between individuals with different cultural backgrounds provides the foundation of internationalization, consequently, this applies to both, to the outward-oriented international exchange and to inward-oriented integration policies. This questions the assumption that foreign residents are the main target group of integration policies.

The International Affairs Section

In consequence, the historical development of internalization resulted in the fact that in Kumamoto City one section within the local government is responsible for both matters; international exchange and integration policies. That is the International Affairs Section (*kokusaika*), which is part of the General Policy Division (*sōgō seisakubu*) besides the Policy Planning Section and the Public Relations Section, belonging to the superior Policy Department (*seisakukyoku*). The International Affairs Section is responsible for framing integration, primary by issuing plans, guidelines and strategy papers. The roles in terms of integration within the local government are described by KIF as follows: The International Affairs Section decides in which direction developments in terms of integration may take place and KIF, the Citizen's Affairs Division, the Children's Support Division among other sections at the local government, which are often frequented by foreign residents, implement resulting measures. This statement shows how roles are defined in the local setting of Kumamoto City, and secondly, it emphasizes the significance of KIF as an implementing institution of the local government. Also, worth noting in this respect is the Kumamoto City Council which functions as a legislative body. As integration policies and foreign residents do not occupy a prominent role in the public discourse in Kumamoto City the city council tends to remain rather passive. The reason being the perceived significance of foreign residents due to small numbers and the fact that foreign residents do not have electoral rights.

The relevance of KIF is emphasized in Kumamoto City's first Guideline on Internationalization, which was issued in 1999, by the following sentence: based on the idea of an open society where everyone is able to live secure and pleasant the city takes several measures in order to promote internationalization in cooperation with KIF and the Kumamoto International Center as the core facility (Kumamoto City, 2010). This ideal was reaffirmed in the amendment of the Internationalization Guideline in 2010 with the motto "aiming to become a vital city open to the world", by stating: In order to flexibly meet the various demands of local internationalization, the city takes several political measures in cooperation with KIF, who provides citizens in terms of international exchange / international cooperation and foreign residents support, and with Kumamoto International Center as the core facility (Kumamoto City, 2010). Although not legally binding the guideline marks a turning point in the history of policies on foreign residents in Kumamoto City, because for the first time the city committed itself to *tabunkakyōsei* in an official document and proclaimed foreign residents being members of local society. In this context, it is remarkable, that integration programs such as Japanese language classes, consultation services for foreign residents or multilingual information concerning community life have been launched prior in behalf of KIF at the Kumamoto International Center in 2004. Actually, two years earlier than the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications advised doing. KIF explained this discrepancy occurred because of two reasons, first KIF was at that time already following the general discourse in Japan that has evolved around the question how to react to permanent settlement by foreign residents and resulting issues. Second, although comparably small in numbers, the situation in Kumamoto City concerning foreign residents was not without issues. This caused KIF to provide support in cooperation with other organizations and individual volunteers.

The Kumamoto International Foundation

Because of their important role in terms of *tabunkakyōsei*, KIF as an actor and the Kumamoto International Center (abbreviation: KIC) as a locational factor, both shall be introduced briefly. The Kumamoto International Foundation was established in 1993 as a public interest incorporated foundation (*kōeki zaidan hōjin*) with public funds. The foundation is the current operational manager of KIC. In 2012 the type of foundation was changed to the current form of general incorporated foundation. The objectives, targets, and activities of the foundation are defined in the foundation's provision, which was revised in 2012 when and new objectives concerning *tabunkakyōsei* were added in accordance with the 2010 issued Internationalization Guideline. According to chapter 3 of the provision the foundation aims at promoting internationalization, culture and arts, regional revitalization and contributing at building and maintaining enduring peace and stability (KIF, 2018a). Chapter 4 goes into further detail describing how the objectives defined in the previous chapter are to be achieved by certain activities:

1. Activities to promote building a multicultural co-existing society (*tabunkakyōsei*)
2. Activities to develop human resources capable to act and understand regional societies from a global point of perspective
3. Activities promoting regional internationalization

4. Activities promoting culture and arts and promoting operational management of culture facilities as the base for a town development which enables citizens to participate
5. Activities required in order to achieve other objectives of the foundation

In consequence, KIF's four main fields of activity are 1. *tabunkakyōsei*, 2. global citizen development, 3. internationalization and 4. management of cultural facilities and town development. Added by a fifth: foundation management, including personnel management, crucial for daily operations. The fields of activity are reflected in the way the foundations' office, which carries out daily operations, is organized. In 2018 the foundation's personnel consist of 11 regular employees, which are divided into three groups according to their field of work: general affairs, facility management, and planning. The first team is responsible for matters concerning organizational, financial and personnel affairs. The second carries out tasks concerning the facility management but also language learning programs. The planning team which is in charge of integration measures among others consist of 4 persons. The fact that this small team is responsible to carry out Kumamoto City's integration programs explains the dependence on NGOs and NPOs in terms of implementation. How this works in detail will be discussed later at the example of consultation services and language classes at KIC. Here a major issue in terms of integration policies becomes evident, limited resources and personnel. And this may be applicable to other municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents. KIF expressed in this regard, that it has become even more difficult because issues are increasing and becoming more complex while the size of personnel remains the same.

The Kumamoto International Center

The Kumamoto International Center, designated core facility in terms of internationalization by the city authorities, is a seven-story building, which opened its doors to the public in 1994 after a two-year long construction phase. It is located within the central district of Kumamoto City, close to the city center and its shopping arcades, the city hall and Kumamoto City's number one tourist attraction the Kumamoto Castle. On the ground floor, the reception and KIF offices, as well as a Café, are located. In the entrance lobby information and bulletin boards are installed, where a wide range of information in a variety of languages are offered, ranging from public announcements to private matters, such as offers and searches. The first floor provides space for several activities. Tables, chairs, books, and magazines in different languages provide opportunities to study or language learning. An area, equipped with TVs where DVDs can be watched is also installed on this floor. The first floor is further used by many NGOs for their activities. Noteworthy in this context is, for example, the Japanese classes of the *Kurashi No Nihongo Club*, which take place at this revenue. And last but not least the *Tabunkakyōsei* Office, a help desk, where KIF, NGOs, and volunteers provide foreign residents consultation services, is located here. The services provided at the *Tabunkakyōsei Office* as well as the *Kurashi No Nihongo Club*, especially in regard of the fact that language support takes an important role in the culture-oriented approach of Japanese integration policies, will be further discussed later. From the second to the fourth floor are conference and meeting rooms of different sizes, including a Japanese tatami room and a tea room, appropriate for holding a Japanese tea ceremony. On the fifth floor is a large hall suitable for

larger conferences and other activities with a total capacity of 230 persons.

Integration policies in Kumamoto City

A brief review of the historical background in terms of internationalization and Kumamoto City's situation at that time shall help to provide a better understanding of the following matters. Kumamoto City entered the international stage in 1979 with the establishment of a sister city relation with Guilin City in the People's Republic of China. Eight years later in 1987 San Antonio (USA) became the second sister city. Followed by relations with Heidelberg (Germany) in 1992. The next step in terms of internationalization was the establishment of KIF and KIC in 1993 respectively 1994. The establishment of sister city relations, as well as the foundation of KIF and KIC, can be regarded as Kumamoto City's response to the guidelines on internationalization issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Especially the 1989 issued policy guideline on promoting international exchange on the regional level, in which all prefectures and designated cities are advised to promote international exchange through the establishment of a local internationalization organization among other measures, is widely reflected in the founding of KIF and the KIC. At this point a determining feature concerning Japanese administration becomes evident, the so-called *tatewari gyōsei*, meaning vertical administration. This implicates a top-down hierarchy in administration. A similar view in this regard was expressed by KIF: "international exchange in Japan as well as in Kumamoto City has always been proceeded by administration and administration is in a sense vertical. It can be said that the course of internationalization was changed due to vertical administration." The last sentence especially refers to KIF's perception of the change in framing from international exchange to *tabunkakyōsei* in 2006, initiated by "the MIC advising to implement *tabunkakyōsei* because foreign residents have increased".

Despite the vertical structure of administration MIC's *tabunkakyōsei* plan has not led immediately to a subsequent implementation on the local level. This didn't happen until 2010 when the Internationalization Guideline was revised and integration policies were integrated. According to the interview with KIF, the guideline has to be seen in context with Kumamoto City's situation in the years 2005 to 2006. Around that time city authorities were confronted with budget constraints which also had an impact on the field of internationalization. Existing exchange activities with sister cities were questioned in terms of costs and benefits by the City Council and citizens. The criticism aimed at cost intensive exchange programs mainly in fields of cultural activities with regions located in great distance while the benefits for the local society and economy were seen as rather limited. In the search for new opportunities the East Asian region, with stronger regional economic ties, came into focus of new strategic orientation. And this orientation was to a certain degree driven by economic interests, demanding an economic-based approach in terms of internationalization. It is no coincidence that in the tense financially situation of 2005 the Kumamoto International Center was put out for a public tender under the newly implemented designated manager system (*shitei kanrisha seido*) for a 3 years period beginning the following year. The exposure to the risks of competition is remarkable especially considering the statement in the guideline of 1999 identifying KIC the core facility in terms of international and foreign resident related activities in Kumamoto City. The system of designated managers of public facilities

appeared in the wake of decentralization and privatization reforms of the Koizumi administration as one form of “New Public Management” (Tanaka, 2010). With the amendment of the Local Autonomy Law in September 2003, a wide range of private organizations was enabled to manage public facilities as designated managers with the objective of providing welfare to local residents. The desired merit of the system is an increase in efficiency of facility management as well as an increase of service by entrusting the management operations to private organizations. KIF won the second tender and became the designated manager until 2009. According to KIF’s Annual Report 2017 the following period was prolonged to five years. In 2014 KIF started its third term equipped with a five-year contract. However, in March 2018 the guideline concerning the designated manager system was amended and the possibility of a direct placement under certain circumstances was added. This option was then chosen in May 2018 by a selection committee appointing KIF the designated manager of KIC (Kumamoto City, 2018b). According to the committee, the decision was justified by the following reasons. The importance of KIC as the key facility in terms of building a multicultural co-existing society was emphasized. In addition, KIC has been placed as a shelter and support facility for foreign residents in the event of a disaster. And finally, the broad experience and special skills of KIF are valued in regard to providing a high-quality service. Concerning the direct placement, KIF expressed the view that the experience made in the wake of the earthquake, which hit the Kumamoto region in April 2016, when KIC has served as a shelter for foreign residents, has played an important role in the committee’s decision. To my hypothetical question, assuming KIF would lose a tender and subsequently quit operating KIC, what impact would that have on the foreign community in Kumamoto City, the answer was that KIF, in that case, would continue its activities elsewhere but it would be a great loss to foreign residents.

To put the Internationalization Guideline of 2010 into a general context, it serves the 6th comprehensive city development plan (*wakuwaku toshi kumamoto*) from the perspective of fostering internationalization alongside the Kumamoto City East Asian Strategy (*kumamotoshi higashi ajia senryaku*), Kumamoto City Brand Strategy Plan (*kumamoto shitiburando senryaku puran*), and the Kumamoto City Tourism Promotion Plan (*kumamotoshi kankō shinkō keikaku*). Intentions behind the guideline can be partly derived from the guideline itself, which provides an analyzation of the city’s situation in relevant fields in the year 2009 (Kumamoto City, 2010). At first, the situation concerning international exchange and cooperation is reviewed with the conclusion that in spite of the efforts the city puts into sister city exchange programs large parts of the citizens are not able to participate in occasion providing interactions with foreigners and foreign cultures. This not only demonstrates who the main beneficiaries of international relation policies are, Japanese citizens but also how slippery formulations and wordings sometimes are. The term “foreigner” in the sentence above could also refer to a foreign resident in Japan respectively Kumamoto City. The second part concerns *tabunkakyōsei*. It is argued that in regard of increasing numbers of foreign residents and their inclusion into the local society the development of a city, where Japanese and foreign residents can live comfortably together will be an upcoming issue. As the argumentation in the strategy paper is based on an opinion poll conducted prior to the guideline it shall briefly be reviewed. The purpose of the opinion poll, which was conducted in October 2008, was to find out,

what Japanese citizens and foreign residents think about certain issues related to culture and internationalization. This may raise questions about the survey design, why questions concerning opinions of Japanese citizens about “culture” and “internationalization” and questions about opinions of foreign residents on their “living conditions” are subject to the same survey. Well, the answer is quite simple, and the reason is found in the administrative organization in general and particularly in the section responsible for the survey. The section in charge consisted of two parts as a result of a fusion, one half dealing with cultural and the other with international matters, hence the name “Cultural and International Affairs Section (*bunka kokusaika*)” which was located in the “Culture and Life Division” (*bunkaseikatsubu*) within the superior “Civic Life Department” (*shiminseikatsukyoku*). According to the report on the opinion poll (Kumamoto City, 2009), which was published in March 2009, the criteria defining subjects eligible to the survey was being a resident of Kumamoto City regardless of gender with an age of over 18. 3000 Japanese samples were randomly selected based on the basic resident register. Dispatch and return of the survey sheets were carried out by Japanese Post gaining a valid sample rate of 41.4%. The situation concerning the samples of foreign residents was unlike different. Questionnaires were passed to universities and organizations related to foreign residents, their representatives then handed them out to fellow members or acquaintances that match the criteria of the poll. The same representative would then collect the filled-out questionnaires and submit them to KIF or the International Affairs Section. This may raise questions concerning the general value of the results collected by this survey. And indeed, among the 205 valid samples (validity rate of 41%), students are overrepresented with 57.1% compared to their equivalent of “just” 13.5% of the total foreign population in 2008. Without going into more detail, it is obvious that this may had an impact on the results of subsequent questions in the poll, such as those related to living conditions, labor, education, language abilities or giving birth and raising children, considering that exchange students, in general, have a distinct set of features in terms of age, marital status, children and work situation. On the other hand, they are highly educated and skilled in their field of expertise, are eager to learn and open to new cultures, are exposed to the receiving society, features that are generally considered to facilitate the integration process. It goes without saying that such generalizations are not free of risk. A possible explanation why the survey was carried out this way may be the fact, that at that point of time resident records of foreign residents were managed by Immigration Bureaus according to the alien registration system and city authorities had no access to them. This could also indicate problems outreaching foreign residents. Exchange students usually have a Japanese contact person at their university, who is taking care of them. Their degree of networking is considered high. These features make them relatively easy to approach by city authorities.

Coming back to the second part, the guideline identifies two key points relevant to foreign residents living in Japan (Kumamoto City, 2010). The first one is language learning precisely, the ability of Japanese, which is perceived as most important in order to participate in the local society and to gain access to information and services provided by the local government. In this context, issues foreign children face in school in terms of language instructions are remarked. Further, the fact that parents due to limited language skills have problems in understanding the Japanese school system and the communication with schools are recognized as problematic as well. The

second key point concerns culture and emphasizes the importance of a mutual understanding in order to avoid misunderstandings, prejudice, and troubles between Japanese citizens and foreign residents. Other issues identified in the poll include areas such as housing, especially the system of deposit money and key money and environmental matters like not knowing how to dispose of garbage. In terms of health care, the results show that foreign residents have difficulties in understanding the Japanese health care system and fees in general and in particular the formalities required after giving birth, examinations and immunization of newborns. And finally, difficulties in finding a job due to the fact of being a foreigner indicates discrimination in the labor market.

The focus on language and culture as core elements of integration policies here can be regarded as a reference to the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by MIC. The influence, the *tabunkakyōsei* plan had on the guideline, becomes even more obvious if the principal objective “building a multicultural co-existing city comfortable to live in for foreigners” is further investigated. The “multicultural co-existing city” is defined as a place, where people with different nationalities and ethnicities live together as members of a local community by establishing equal relations and by mutual recognizing cultural differences. The wording of the definition is in large parts borrowed from the “universal design town development” of MIC’s *tabunkakyōsei* plan.

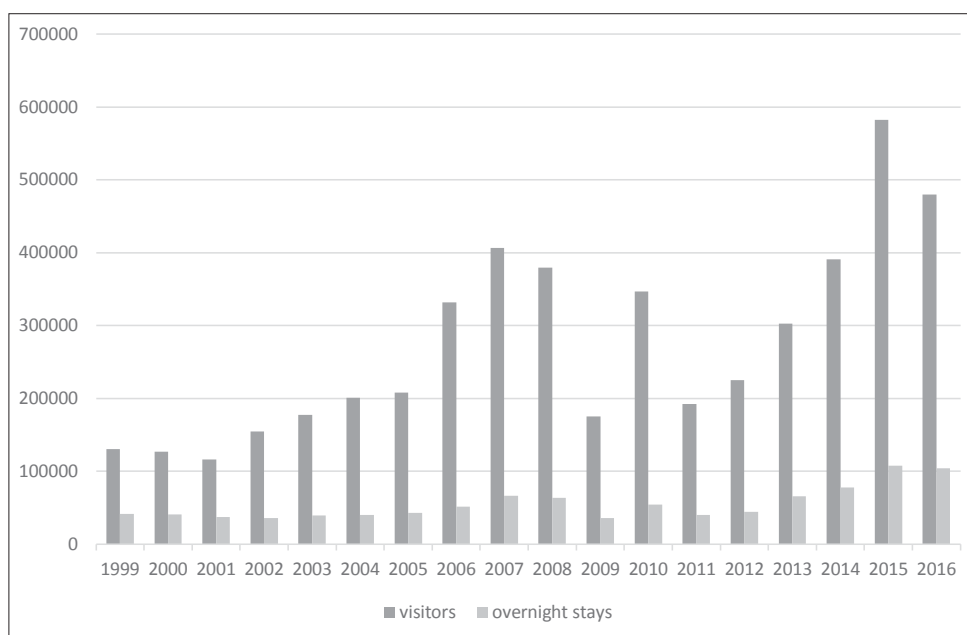


Figure 4: Foreign visitors and overnight stays

Source: KIF, 2018a

The following part in the guideline concerns tourism and its promotion highlighting the fact that foreign visitors have increased in a period of 5 years by more than two times, from 177,000 (2003) to 379,000 (2008) as shown in figure 4 above. International tourism is perceived as an important economic factor contributing to local revitalization. In order to make Kumamoto City more attractive as a destination for overseas tourists, the guideline presents two initiatives, one is a

cooperation with other municipalities in Kumamoto Prefecture and cities in the Kyūshū region promoting the region overseas. The other initiative concerns the touristic infrastructure in Kumamoto City, aiming at improving multilingual information and signs throughout the city, in public transport, department stores, and hotels. As a side effect, foreign residents especially those with limited language abilities would profit from this development too. According to the interview with KIF, expectations by city authorities of a further increase in numbers of foreign visitors due to the opening of the new Kyūshū Shinkansen Line in 2011 as well as the expected appointment of a designated-ordinance city in 2011 played an important role in this context too. The latter is closely linked with greater financial independence. On the other hand, this may have put some pressure on the local government as in 2010 all 18 cities, which have been appointed so far, already had implement integration policy plans (MIC, 2009). Therefore, not having implemented integration policies probably would have been counterproductive to the image of “a vital city open to the world” Kumamoto City was striving for. The last section in the guideline aims at explaining why relations with the East Asian Region, here referring to South Korea, PR China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other ASEAN countries, shall be intensified, considering the economic growth potential of the region in general and China in particular. The argumentation follows the line, that the majority of foreign residents in Kumamoto City are from East Asian countries, with Chinese residents as the largest group followed by Koreans. Further, it is mentioned that more than 60% of foreign visitors in 2008 came from either South Korea, China or Taiwan and that this trend is expected to increase in the future. Another argument concerns the situation of exchange students by pointing out that roughly 90% of all exchange students in Kumamoto City are from Asia. And finally based on the results of the poll it is argued that citizens have positive views on the region and would support a strengthening of ties.

This leads to the question, what are the objectives of the guideline in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* and how are they supposed to be achieved? The guideline presents three objectives in the field of *tabunkakyōsei*, two aiming at foreign residents and one at Japanese citizens. The first objective highlights the importance of language ability and access to information and public services. Essentially for providing support to foreign residents are volunteers, therefore as a subgoal, the networking and training of volunteers are to be improved. The second goal aims at Japanese citizens in terms of cross-cultural understanding, which is perceived as a significant factor in reducing discrimination and prejudice against foreigners and contributes to promoting a multicultural co-existing society. Measures achieving this goal include lessons in schools concerning international understanding as well as providing citizens with occasions to interact with foreigners and experience or learn about foreign cultures. The third objective concerns participation by foreign residents in the sense foreign resident can in spite of their nationality easily participate in community activities such as regional events. Again, the key here is seen the distribution of information. All this suggests that the primary task of integration aims at removing language and cultural barriers in public service and information distribution. The objectives and measures primary follow the approach of the *tabunkakyōsei* plan in terms of content and design, which demonstrates the influence vertical administration had on the outcome of integration policies in Kumamoto City. According to KIF another reason for the influence MIC's *tabunkakyōsei* plan had is

a lack of specialized knowledge in responsible positions at the local government in the fields of integration policies. The local situation and viewpoints of foreign residents are taken into consideration by the authorities but due to the small size of the foreign community, they have little impact on the outcome of policies. Concerning the question how independent Kumamoto City's integration policies could be evaluated, if policies exist that were developed by the city itself, the answer was: "to put it in positive terms, the existence of KIC and the fact it is operated by KIF" can be regarded as those. Other objectives in the guideline deriving from motives concerning international tourism and city development address primary fields that on the first glance have little to do with foreign residents or integration. They aim at promoting tourism and products by local companies and producers, especially agricultural products, on the international level. On the second look, it reveals how internationalization in general and integration policies, in particular, can be used by the government for other purposes. To give an example, the guideline formulates a measure aiming to promote the city on the international level by deploying foreign residents, for example, exchange students supposed to have good networks with their home countries, as a kind of goodwill ambassador helping to spread information in Japan and abroad. This is made possible due to the fact that, integration policies and international exchange take place within the frame of internationalization, which is reinforced by the administrative organization of one section being responsible for international matters and integration policies. Further, it demonstrates how lines between both approaches are blurred.

At last, the questions what kind of integration measures are carried out in order to achieve the objectives set in the guideline on behalf of the city respectively KIF and how they are implemented shall be investigated. Due to the wide area KIF is engaged in this shall be limited to the most important activities in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* during the fiscal year 2017 (the period from April 2017 till March 2018), which are: *tabunkakyōsei* development support and Japanese language learning support. The main venue, where most of these measures are conducted is KIC. A key activity of KIF in terms of supporting foreign residents is providing consultation services, which are offered at a helpdesk on the 1st floor of KIC or by special demand on-site. The counseling is conducted by professionals or volunteers in several languages concerning a wide field ranging from matters of daily life in Japan, problems in the field of education to legal advice. Table 2 provides an overview of all consultation services offered in 2018.

Table 2: Consultation services provided at the *Tabunkakyōsei* Office (2018)

Type of consultation	Details of consultation	Consultant	Target	Frequency
Consultation service in Spanish	general	Volunteer	FR	weekly
Consultation service in Tagalog	general	Volunteer	FR	weekly
Consultation service in Korean	general	Volunteer	FR	weekly
Consultation service in Chinese concerning daily life and education	daily life, education, interpretation and translation service, on-site service	KIF	FR	3 times a week

Chinese regional support service	general	Volunteer	FR	on demand
Consultation service about China	China-related topics	CIR	JC	weekly
Consultation service about Germany	Germany-related topics	CIR	JC	weekly
Consultation service about South Korea	South Korea-related topics	CIR	JC	weekly
Consultation service about Canada	Canada-related topics	CIR	JC	weekly
JICA consultation service	Career & work-related topics	JICA participant	JC	weekly
Legal advice consultation service	General legal advice	Member of Kumamoto prefectural bar association	FR	monthly
Immigration consultation service	Advice concerning the status of residence	Member of Kumamoto prefectural administrative scrivener association	FR	monthly
Education service for children with foreign roots	Transfer to Japanese school, language instructions etc.	Volunteer	FR/JC	monthly
Student exchange advice	Information concerning student exchange	Professional	JC	monthly
Exchange student one-stop service	Information for exchange students	Professional	FR	3 times a week

Source: KIF, 2018c

Except the consultation service in Chinese concerning daily life and education, which is carried out by a KIF employee, all services are conducted either by hired professionals or volunteers, who often have a migration background. And as the table further demonstrates, not all consultation services which are subsumed under *tabunkakyōsei* by KIF actually deal with integration matters or address foreign residents. As mentioned earlier, KIF depends on volunteers as a result of the approach taken with the International Guideline and due to small personnel. In order to improve consultation services, KIF is engaged in expanding its network of volunteers and professionals and offers training and workshops aiming at enhancing individual skills. In other words, KIF provides volunteers the infrastructure to carry out their service by handling organizational matters like management tasks, time schedules, public relations and last but not least and most important by offering the location, where activities take place. Further KIF engages in the distribution of information assumed relevant to foreign residents in Chinese, Korean and English through KIF's webpage or a mailing list. Information is translated and compiled by registered volunteers at KIF. Topics include public announcements by city authorities, daily life matters, information on upcoming events, information about health and disaster prevention. On-site services, for example, include interpretation services and intercultural support provided to the staff member of public health centers or the Children's Section of Kumamoto City. Upon request by city authorities in cases of assumed communication problems KIF accompanies social workers or public health nurses when they visit households of foreign residents. The support ranges from home visits to households with newborns, physical and mental health care matters to matters of education,

explaining parents the Japanese school system, general activities, and yearly events at school. The second major field KIF engages in is language support. Two types of Japanese classes are offered at KIC, an intensive course teaching the basics of Japanese in a short time to foreigners who just arrived in Japan. Instructors teaching these courses have a certificate as Japanese as a foreign language instructor. The Japanese classes of the *Kurashi No Nihongo Club* follow a different approach, lessons are taught by volunteers usually in the form of one on one aiming at creating a familiar atmosphere and avoiding the typical teacher-student relationship. Certificates in teaching Japanese as a foreign language are welcome but not a precondition. Classes take place every Tuesday, Wednesday at three different times and Sunday at two different times. In addition, cultural experiences like Japanese tea ceremony, Japanese calligraphy or picnics in spring while watching blooming flowers are carried out together in order to provide students a better understanding of Japanese culture and occasions to apply the language in a familiar atmosphere and introduce them to local society.

KIF organizes and support events to foster intercultural understanding between Japanese citizens and foreign residents. To give a few examples, a Chinese New Year Festival was organized at KIF in cooperation with a Chinese resident organization, the Filipino Organization in Kumamoto (FOK) received subsidies to host a festival. Other activities that have taken place at KIC include a presentation about experiences made during the earthquake from the viewpoint of foreign residents by exchange student organizations and a photo exhibition on the same topic. Further, KIF hosts every year a symposium on *tabunkakyōsei*, where various issues concerning multicultural societies are discussed by invited guest speakers from different angles. To foster intercultural understandings a visit to the Islamic Center of Kumamoto City was organized. In accordance with the International Guideline and the general approach of *tabunkakyōsei* the majority of measures focus on language support and the distribution of information. To reduce KIF's activities to those two fields would not live up their engagement as they are involved in other areas, such as school education, which is widely regarded as crucial to integration. Without KIF's financial and organizational support the vast majority of NGOs and NPOs and volunteers would probably not be able to carry out their task at all or to a less extent. KIC plays an important role functioning as a locational factor, providing NGOs, NPOs, and volunteers the infrastructure necessary to carry out their tasks. On the other hand, the focus on KIC as the main facility where the majority of integration measures and support activities are offered also carries the risk that foreigner residents living outside the catchment area of KIC are not outreached.

Conclusion

Relevant actors on the local level facilitating integration policies in Kumamoto City are as demonstrated primary the local government, respectively the International Affairs Section and to a lesser extent KIF. The International Affairs Section is responsible for planning and drafting integration policies which are to a great extent implemented by KIF. In order to fulfill this role, KIF depends to a high degree on NGOs and volunteers when it comes to carrying out integration programs primarily due to a lack of personnel. The lack of personnel and to some extent specialized knowledge in terms of integration matters in responsible positions at the local

government are identified as major challenges Kumamoto City as a municipality with a low concentration of foreigners is confronted with.

In absence of [foreign residents] as the determining factor, the framework in which integration policies take place and the administrative organization within the local government of Kumamoto City become important factors in shaping integration policies. As detailed in the discussion the framework for *tabunkakyōsei* was significantly shaped by a path dependence in internationalization policies in general. This has also influenced the administrative organization in the way that the International Affairs Section is dealing with international exchange and integration policies. The content and design of integration policies included in the Internationalization Guideline of 2010 were significantly based on the model of the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by MIC due to the impact of vertical administration. On the local level stakeholders used these structures pursuing their interests with the result that the approach in terms of internationalization was shifted from a culture oriented one towards an approach based on economic interests and thereby setting the tone for *tabunkakyōsei*.

The investigation concerning the situation of foreign residents in Kumamoto City has revealed that even in an area considered of low concentration in terms of foreign residents on the inner-city scale areas of higher concentration do exist. As the example of integration programs provided at KIC prior to the Internationalization Guideline of 2010 demonstrate small numbers of foreign residents may cause the local government to offer them support services. In contrast, [foreign residents] in Kumamoto City fail to have an impact on the local government in terms of policy making due to their size.

The last finding concerns KIC under its current operational manager KIF. The center functions as a locational factor facilitating the implementation of integration programs and support services by providing NGOs and NPOs the necessary infrastructure to carry out their tasks. Again, the effect is limited to the implementation level. On the other hand, the center serves foreign residents as a first contact point, the place to go when in need of assistance or trouble.

The paper concludes by arguing that in a municipality with a low concentration of foreign residents the administrative organization of the authority in charge of integration policies and path dependence in internationalization policies are the dominating factors shaping integration policies, as the example of Kumamoto City has demonstrated. In this regard, future investigations on other municipalities are necessary to validate the results of this study. Further research might also address the question of how foreign residents in such a setting could be empowered to become a more relevant factor in terms of integration policies.

Notes

¹ Zainichi literally means “living in Japan”, in a narrow sense it refers to ethnic Koreans who migrated to Japan before 1945 and their descendants.

² The term “returnees” here refers to Japanese nationals and their families, who came back to Japan from China, where they went during or before the Second World War after diplomatic relations with China have been restored.

³ The name here is written in the order given name and then family name

⁴ FR = foreign resident

⁵ JC = Japanese citizen

⁶ Japan International Cooperation Agency

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外国人非集住地自治体の事例として熊本市の多文化共生

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総務省は2006年に、各地方自治体による外国人住民への統合政策進展に鑑み、「地域における多文化共生推進プラン」を施行し、地域の多文化共生の施策を全ての地方自治体へ策定するように指示した。外国人住民における統合政策を促進する最も重要な要因は、「外国人住民の数の多さ」と「集住の形成」の二つが挙げられていることから、地方自治体間における統合政策の進展には、大きな格差が生じている。

本論文では、熊本市を例として外国人非集住自治体における多文化共生に関連するアクターと重要な要因を示し、どのような進展がなされてきたか分析することを目的とする。「外国人住民」という要因がない中で、日本の国際化政策における歴史的経路依存性によって形成された多文化共生の枠組みと行政組織の在り方が、多文化共生の施策に影響を及ぼすことを論じている。