

論文要旨

氏名 アクスト フローリアン

論文題目（外国語の場合は、和訳を併記すること。）

Actors of the Multicultural Co-existing Society: A Case Study of Kumamoto City

（多文化共生のアクター -熊本市を事例として-）

論文要旨（別様に記載すること。）

- (注) 1. 論文要旨は、A4版とする。
2. 和文の場合は、4000字から8000字程度、外国語の場合は、2000語から4000語程度とする。
3. 「論文要旨」は、CD等の電子媒体（1枚）を併せて提出すること。
（氏名及びソフト名を記入したラベルを張付すること。）

Actors of the Multicultural Co-existing Society: A Case Study of Kumamoto City

1. Introduction

This research attempts to answer why municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents struggle to progress with *tabunkakyōsei* by investigating the influence of structural elements on relevant actors in their efforts to shape the multicultural co-existence society in Kumamoto City.

In 2006, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) issued a policy plan on *tabunkakyōsei*, Japan's approach to a multicultural society, advising all local governments in Japan to develop and implement regional integration policies. In contrast to immigration policies, which fall under the Ministry of Justice's competence and are implemented nationwide by the Immigration Service Agency, the constitutive part of integration policies are the municipalities, which is emphasized in the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by the MIC (Kibe, 2011). Tarumoto (2012) argued in this respect that integration policies on the national level are close to non-existence. The "Plan for the Promotion of *tabunkakyōsei* in Local Communities" (*chīki niokeru tabunkakyōsei puran*) itself was a reaction to developments that have taken place in cities and areas with a high concentration of foreign residents (*gaikokujin shūjū toshi*). In these cities and areas, issues concerning foreign residents resulted in the proactive involvement of local authorities in integration matters. Consequently, the "size of the foreign population" and the "formation of high dense settlements" are considered to be crucial factors facilitating integration policies in Japan. Therefore, it is not surprising that some municipalities are more advanced in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* than others. The concept of *tabunkakyōsei*, in general, can be characterized as a cultural approach to integration policies defining "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.

2. Research Objectives:

This research argues that the reason why low concentration municipalities have difficulties in proceeding with the multicultural society cannot be explained just by the non-existing factor of foreign residents. Furthermore, relevant actors are influenced by social structure in their efforts to promote *tabunkakyōsei* on the local level. In this respect, it asks three questions. At first, how does social structure influence relevant actors to *tabunkakyōsei*? Second, what opportunities and possibilities do actors have to remake local *tabunkakyōsei*? Furthermore, related to the previous question, how can their agency be enabled? This research attempts to answer these questions at the case of Kumamoto City, analyzing relevant actors of *tabunkakyōsei* regarding their agency and the influence of the social structure that surrounds them.

3. Research Methods:

The empiric research is based on interview surveys conducted from July 2018 till January 2020. Data were collected using qualitative research methods, e.g., semi-structured interviews. In total, six samples (n=6) were gained: HY, office manager at the Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF); NS, president of Kumusutaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants; MS, director of the Kumamoto Islamic Center (KIC); AM, president of the Filipino Organization in Kumamoto (FOK); HM, representative of FOK; and JW, a Sri Lankan restaurant owner. Primary sources, such as guidelines, strategy papers, and other official documents published by Kumamoto City authorities, KIF, and the Ministry of Information and Communications (MIC), respectively, its predecessor, the Ministry of Home Affairs, alongside secondary literature were used. Further, the paper includes experiences the author has made as a participant of the Japanese Exchange and Teaching Program (JET) working as a Coordinator for International Relations (CIR) at the Kumamoto City International Affairs Section and the Kumamoto City International Center (KCIC) from 2008 till 2011.

4. Theoretical Reflections on Social Structure, Agency, and Social Capital

Giddens' notion of the dual character of structure, i.e., that it is constraining and enabling agency, and the dynamic component that incorporates the possibility of change, provides a useful basis for the attempt to investigate the mutual influence of structure and agency at the case of Kumamoto City's multicultural co-existence society. According to Giddens, human action occurs because individuals are capable of socially structured knowledge, which they are able to put into practice (Giddens, 1984). Sewell (1992) has drawn upon Giddens' notion by adding a relational property: "To be an agent means to be capable of exerting some degree of control over social relations in which one is enmeshed, which in turn implies the ability to transform those social relations to some degree" (Sewell, 1992: 20). Additional attributes to agency are, according to Sewell's argumentation the fact, that "agency arises from the actor's control over resources", that the "capacity for agency is inherent in all humans" (Sewell, 1992: 20), and lastly, that agency can be either individual or collective. Of particular interest here is the argument implying that agency occurs due to an actor's control over resources. Resources here can be understood as forms of human and social capital. The central and most significant aspect of social capital is, according to Robert D. Putnam (2000), that it has value and can enhance human action. Social capital can have spillover effects, referred to as externalities, and can be private or public. Further, the practice of reciprocity, and particularly generalized reciprocity, plays an essential role in the concept of social capital. In this sense, a well-connected society characterized by generalized reciprocity is considered more productive.

5. *Tabunkakyōsei* and Municipalities with a Low Concentration of Foreign Residents

Tokuda, Nikaido, and Kaisho (2017, 2019) have made sustained efforts in investigating *tabunkakyōsei* of low concentration areas contributing to an improved understanding of the specific issues concerning foreign minorities living in these areas. Furthermore, Tokuda (2019) significantly contributed to conceptualizing "low concentration" by adding qualitative properties to the discourse that exceeds the so far quantitative approach focusing on total numbers and ratio

of foreign residents. The new approach attempts to identify shared characteristics of low concentration areas regarding foreign residents' legal status and ethnicity, based on demographic statistics analysis. Tokuda (2019) identifies two characteristics that low concentration areas have statistically in common. The first one is the absence of large-sized Zainichi and Nikkeijin communities. The second characteristic are large numbers of TITP participants and permanent residents, primarily from Southeast Asian countries. These qualitative characteristics have significance insofar as foreign minorities are assumed to differ in their impact on *tabunkakyōsei*. Matsumiya and Yamamoto (2009) argued in this respect that municipalities with large-sized Zainichi Korean communities have been more successful than municipalities with large-sized communities of New Comer. Despite the efforts made by research, "low concentration" is far away from being a rigid concept. The case analysis of Kumamoto City shows that low concentration municipalities can differ in specific characteristics concerning foreign residents, with different possible results for *tabunkakyōsei*. The current concept of "low concentration" goes not far enough considering municipalities' diversity and does not distinguish between specific types of "low concentration". This research indicates that at least two types of "low concentration" can be distinguished: "regional municipalities" and "regional core cities". Regional core city refers to municipalities where economic, administrative, and educational functions of a specific region accumulate. Prefectural capitals, for instance, fall under this category. Such a distinction becomes even more reasonable considering that core cities often have improved infrastructures in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* compared to small rural municipalities. The case study of Kumamoto City has demonstrated the significance of public institutions, facilities, and civic organizations, particularly MSOs, for the local *tabunkakyōsei*. Besides providing foreign residents with valuable assistance, KIF and Kumustaka are essential suppliers of social capital that can be transformed into agency by foreign residents, as the support activities of foreign residents have demonstrated.

6. Kumamoto City as a Low Concentration Municipality

In 2017 Kumamoto City had a total foreign population of 5030 people, equivalent to 0.75%. The majority of foreign residents are New Comer from Asian countries, with Chinese having the largest share, followed by Koreans, Filipinos, and Vietnamese. In terms of legal status three large groups can be identified: permanent residents (32,9%), students (21,7%), and TITP participants (11,2%).

The city has no large-sized Zainichi Korean or Nikkeijin communities. Kumamoto City has quantitative features that are consistent with the current concept of “low concentration”. However, it differs in terms of nationality and legal status of foreign residents. The role of Kumamoto City as a regional core city with political, economic, and educational functions is considered to be the reason. The city’s central role is also reflected in the fact that about one-third of the prefecture’s foreign residents live in Kumamoto City.

7. Administrative Dimension: The Local Government of Kumamoto City

The analysis of the administrative dimension concerns two actors of the local government: The International Affairs Section of Kumamoto City and the Kumamoto City International Foundation (KIF). The main argument that the framework of *tabunkakyōsei* is path-dependent was confirmed. Integration policies in Kumamoto City are implemented within the realm of “internationalization”. This perception is further reflected in the administrative organization of Kumamoto City, with the International Affairs Section being responsible for international exchange and integration policies. Considering that positive feedback or self-reinforcement makes a reversal more difficult with each step taken in a particular direction of an established path (Pierson 2004), the path-dependence constraints the local government’s possibilities to remake *tabunkakyōsei*. The content and design of integration policies in Kumamoto City included in the Internationalization Guideline of 2010 were significantly based on the model of the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by MIC due to the structure of vertical administration. The implementation of integration programs is coordinated by KIF and carried out to a high degree by NPOs and individual volunteers due to a lack of KIF’s personnel. Social capital and non-human resources such as KCIC provided by KIF play crucial roles in this respect. The lack of personnel and, to some extent, specialized knowledge in responsible positions at the local government in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* can be identified as major challenges to Kumamoto City as a low concentration municipality.

8. Perspectives of a Migrant Support Organization: The Case of Kumustaka

Kumustaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants (in the following, the abbreviation Kumusutaka is used), a migrant support organization, is analyzed in the context of Pekkanen’s

notion of “dual civil society”. Kumustaka is an informal civic group founded at the Tetori Catholic Church in Kumamoto City in 1985. The group’s primary means are consultation services. However, they attempt to influence policymaking via court decisions. The concept of the dual structure of civil society implies that the social environment shaped by the state due to regulations promotes small local civil society groups that provide citizens help and thus contribute to the development of social capital. On the other hand, it constrains organizations from becoming independent, from professionalizing, and influencing policymaking in their interests (Pekkanen, 2006). The case analysis concludes that the fear of state interference strongly influences Kumustaka’s decision to remain an informal group and not apply for legal NPO status. The regulatory framework, particularly the reporting duty to the supervising authority, significantly contributes to this decision. Additionally, Kumustaka does not intend to grow large or professionalize in order to expand its influence. The results confirm the impact of the dual structure of civil society and illustrate how structural constraints influence the group in their choice of means and status. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates the significant influence of individual members on the group’s ideological orientation. The group was founded as a Christian group and then transformed into a civic group separating from the church. During the transformation process, Kumustaka lost valuable resources, e.g., members and social capital, provided by the church. As a result, the group faced a crisis of existence. The loss has been compensated by individual efforts, particularly NS, who entirely dedicated himself to the course of Kumustaka, and in consequence, contributes in large parts to the group’s agency. The source of motivation transformed into agency is considered to derive from social constraints.

9. Foreign Residents and Communities: How Social Capital can enable Agency in Times of Disaster

The last part of the empirical research explores the effects of social capital on human agency at the case of support activities by foreign residents in the wake of the Kumamoto Earthquakes in 2016. Highlighting the capability of foreign residents as agents shall also stimulate a debate about the perception of foreign residents as “victims” in times of disaster. The analysis focuses on two cases of collective agency, activities by the Kumamoto Islamic Center (KIC) and the Filipino community, and one case of individual agency, JW, a Sri Lankan restaurant owner. The author argues that two

functions of social capital can be identified; effects on the initiation and effects on the performance. As a result of the activities, social capital has increased in pre-existing network structures. The case of KIC further shows that foreign residents were able to exercise their agency in times of disaster despite issues in language competence and lacking relations with the local community because of powerful social networks. New social capital can emerge and link pre-existing networks, subsequently enriching the society with bridging social capital.

10. Conclusion

The results of this case analysis suggest that the number and ratio of foreign residents are not the only distinguishing features of low concentration areas. Qualitative components concerning foreign residents and ethnic communities are considered to be significant. Furthermore, evidence was found indicating that the infrastructure of *tabunkakyōsei* encompassing public institutions and civil society organizations plays an important role. The results of the case study suggest that the current understanding of “low concentration” needs to be reconsidered and extended by a “qualitative component” concerning foreign residents and the factor “*tabunkakyōsei* infrastructure”. This would also allow further diversifying the typology and distinguishing between different types of municipalities within the “low concentration” realm.

The analysis of the local government showed that the framework of *tabunkakyōsei* in Kumamoto City is path-dependent. Furthermore, the content and design of integration policies in Kumamoto City are significantly based on the model of the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by MIC, exemplifying the impact of vertical administration. The analysis concludes that the main constraints are the path-dependence and, in the case of KIF, additionally, the designated manager system of public facilities.

The civil society was analyzed at the case of the migrant support organization Kumustaka. The results conclude that the dual structure of civil society constrains Kumustaka in the choice of means and status. Kumustaka’s decision to remain as an informal group and to not apply for legal NPO status results from the fear of state interference. The regulatory framework, mainly the reporting duty to the supervising authority, significantly contribute to this decision. Furthermore,

Kumustaka does not intend to grow large or professionalize in order to expand its influence on policymaking.

The analysis of support activities in the aftermath of the Kumamoto Earthquakes demonstrates that foreign residents were able to exercise their agency in times of disaster. It further indicates that the role of New Comer in times of disasters is changing, i.e., from the receiving side of support to the providing side. The results further conclude that social capital played significant roles in each of the activities. This supports Sewell's notion of agency, which implies that agency can be enabled by exerting control over social relations. As a result of the support activities, social capital in existing networks and the local community was increased.