熊本大学社会文化科学教育部
人間・社会科学専攻
フィールドリサーチ領域

アクスト　フローリアン
Florian Axt

博士論文

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–)

Contents

1. Introduction

Why do municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents struggle to progress in terms of *tabunkakyōsei*, Japan's approach to a multicultural society? This research attempts to answer the question 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 multicultural co-existing (*tabunkakyōsei*) society advising all local governments in Japan to develop and implement regional integration policies. Contrary to immigration policies, which fall under the competence of the Ministry of Justice and are carried out 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) even went further by stating 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 lead to a proactive engagement of local authorities and the implementation of integration policies. Consequently, the "size of the foreign population" and the "formation of highly dense settlements" are considered to be crucial factors facilitating integration policies in Japan. It is, therefore, no surprise that some municipalities are more advanced in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* than others. The spectrum ranges from agglomerations with large populations of foreign residents, like Osaka or Kawasaki City, and municipalities with a high concentration of foreign residents, especially Newcomer, immigrants who came to Japan since the 1970s, like Oizumi Town in Gunma Prefecture on the one side. These municipalities are ahead of national developments. On the other end of the spectrum, areas with a low concentration of foreign residents with little to no progress in the field of integration are to be found.

In municipalities of the latter type, foreign residents do not have much of an impact on integration policies. Tokuda (2016) considers the intergroup relations between the majority (Japanese) and the minority (foreign residents), which are, in the most literal sense, a minority in terms of numbers in these areas, to be the determining factor. The result is that local governments hesitate from taking action. Furthermore, if they do so, they tend to focus on the

so-called “3F”, which are food, fashion, and festival, and thereby reducing co-existing and integration policies to these fields. This is not, however, not the only reason the concept of *tabunkakyōsei* has been criticized. In general, it 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.

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 “foreign residents”. Moreover, actors are influenced by the social structure in their efforts to promote *tabunkakyōsei* on the local level.

The first argument concerns the administrative dimension of *tabunkakyōsei* and, in particular, the local government, which is responsible for framing integration policies. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005) have indicated that the framework of *tabunkakyōsei*, historically rooted in internationalization endeavors of local municipalities, is path-dependent. Pierson defines path dependency 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.

The second argument is based on what Pekkanen (2006) has termed “dual civil society”. The concept implies that the social environment shaped by the state due to regulations promotes small local 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 (Yamanaka, 2011).

Actors, however, have the capability to exercise their agency. In his "theory of structuration" Giddens (1984) argues that "structure" and "agency" are related to each other, and that "people actively make and remake social structure during the course of their everyday activities" (Giddens, 2017: 89). This is the third argument. Following Giddens' idea that actors are capable of remaking social structure raises a few questions in the context of this research. At first, how does social structure influence relevant actors of *tabunkakyōsei*? Second, what opportunities and possibilities do actors have to remaking local *tabunkakyōsei*? And lastly, connected with 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 the *tabunkakyōsei* regarding their agency and the influence of the social structure that surrounds them.

1.1 Objectives of this Research:

1. To explore the multicultural co-existence (*tabunkakyōsei*) society of Kumamoto City as a case of a municipality with a low concentration of foreign residents.
2. To investigate relevant actors of the multicultural co-existence society in Kumamoto City from the perspective of social structure and agency.
3. To examine the opportunities and possibilities, each actor potentially has to remake *tabunkakyōsei*.

1.2 Research Methods:

This research is based on interview surveys, the author conducted in three phases, in July 2018, in the period from May to June 2019, and in January 2020. In the first step, samples were selected via snowball sampling, starting with internet research, hearings with the staff of the Kumamoto International Foundation *(zaidan hōjin kumamotoshi kokusaikōryū shinkō jigyōdan)* (KIF), and an analysis of newsletter and other pamphlets at display at the Kumamoto City International Center *(kumamotoshi kokusaikōryū kaikan)* (KCIC). In the following phase, data were collected using qualitative research methods, e.g., semi-structured interviews, which were mainly conducted in Japanese except for one case, where the interviewee requested to be interviewed in English. The interviews, of which some were repeated multiple times, lasted from 30 minutes to more than two hours, were recorded and subsequently transcribed. In total,

six samples (n=6) were gained: HY, office manager at KIF, SN, president of Kumusutaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants *(kumusutaka gaikokujin to tomoni ikiru kai)*, 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, along secondary literature were also used. Further, the paper includes experiences the author 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 KCIC from 2008 till 2011.

1.3 Chapter Outline:

Subsequent to the introduction, chapter two investigates the concept of social structure and agency, which has significance for this research. Special attention will be paid to Anthony Gidden's notion of structure, i.e., that structure is both constraining and enabling agency. According to Giddens, human action occurs because individuals are capable of socially structured knowledge, which they are able to put into practice (Giddens, 2017). However, this view of things is criticized as not to exceed an emphasis on action and to be atomistic (Bakewell, 2010). Sewell 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). Social relations here can refer to social networks, i.e., social capital. 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 as a result of the control over resources by an actor. Resources here can be understood as forms of human and social capital. Subsequently, social capital with particular regard to Robert D. Putnam's understanding of the concept will also be briefly discussed in this chapter. It should be noted, though, that the relationship between structure and agency, one of the most fundamental ongoing issues in social science, cannot be concerned in its full complexity. The section

primarily attempts to examine the concept of structure and agency in order to find a suitable working base for the following discussion of this paper.

Chapter three takes a closer look at *tabunkakyōsei* in the context of low concentration municipalities with particular attention to the question of how research has approached these municipalities and how they are to be classified. This section also briefly discusses the development of *tabunkakyōsei* against the backdrop of reactions by municipalities to issues of growing numbers of foreign residents and their settlement.

Chapter four introduces the field of this research, Kumamoto City. It is the largest municipality in Kumamoto Prefecture, with about one-third of the prefecture's foreign population living in the city. The demographics of Kumamoto City's foreign residents show that New Comer from Asian countries, like China, Vietnam, South Korea, and the Philippines have a large share. In terms of legal status, permanent residents, participants of the technical intern training program, and students are quantitively most important. Especially the categories of permanent residents and students distinguish Kumamoto City from most municipalities in the prefecture, where these categories quantitatively do not play important roles. Kumamoto City can be located somewhere in between cities and areas with a high density of foreign residents and rural areas with very small populations. When looking at the total ratio of foreign residents in Kumamoto City, it does not surprise to consider the city as a low concentration municipality. However, if a closer look is taken to the inner-city micro-level, a tendency to concentrate settlements in certain areas of the city can be found.

Chapter five explores the administrative dimension of *tabunkakyōsei*. Two representatives of the local government, who are relevant to *tabunkakyōsei*, the International Affairs Section of Kumamoto City *(kumamotoshi kokusaika)* and the Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF), are analyzed regarding their role and function in terms of integration policies. KIF has been selected because it is affiliated with the local government and serves as the key actor in carrying out integration measures on behalf of the city. In the absence of "foreign residents" as a facilitating agent, the author concludes that the framework of integration policies and the administrative organization within the local government, which are both shaped by a historical path dependence in policies related to internationalization and foreign residents, to have a significant impact on integration policies.

Chapter six focuses on the civil society providing an in-depth view of a migrant support organization (MSO) at the case of Kumustaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants from the perspective of Pekannen's "dual civil society" concept. The organization has been selected because it is the oldest organization in Kumamoto City, with a history of 35 years. Besides providing a need on the ground support at the local level, which is their main field of activity, Kumustaka does incidentally advocate for immigrant's rights and occasionally attempts to influence policymaking on the local and national levels. These activities distinguish the organization from most MSO active in Kumamoto City, which tend to be involved in the field of supporting foreign residents in terms of daily problems but rarely advocate for their rights nor aim at influencing policymaking. The analysis concerns the founding process and transformation from a Christian into a civic group. It further addresses the issue of why Kumustaka chose to remain an informal group and does not apply for the status of a non-profit organization (NPO), as well as the futures prospects of the group against the background of an aging society.

Chapter seven explores the effects of social capital on human agency in the case of support activities of foreign residents in the wake of the Kumamoto Earthquakes in 2016. The analysis focuses on two cases of collective agency, activities by the Kumamoto Islamic Center (KIC) and the Filipin community, and one case of individual agency. 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 shows that foreign residents were able to exercise their agency in times of disaster despite issues of language skills 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.

Chapter eight reconsiders the results of the case analysis in the general context of *tabunkakyōsei* and the implication for "low concentration". Against the backdrop of the dual character of structure, which incorporates the possibility of change, it further considers each actor's opportunities and possibilities to remake *tabunkakyōsei*. Finally, it briefly estimates the future outlook of Kumamoto City.

2 Theoretical Reflections

The first part of this chapter provides a brief overview of social theory on structure and agency. The complex relationship between both can be considered one of the most fundamental ongoing issues in social science. Research has evolved around the question of how to conceptualize human action or agency and how it relates to structure. In the second part, the concept of social capital will be briefly introduced, as it can enhance and enable human action.

2.1 Social Structure and Agency

The discourse on structure in social science has ever been a contentious one, characterized by contradiction and disambiguation. In sociology, structure is typically contrasted to culture (Sewell, 1992). Structure is regarded as "hard" and, therefore, as primary and determining, whereas culture is thought of as "soft" and, subsequently, as secondary or derived. On the other hand, anthropology perceives culture as more important, and typically the term structure refers to the realm of culture. In the tradition of functionalist thinking from Comte onwards, a rather biological view on social science has been prominent. In this sense, a tendency to pay more attention to the idea of function than to that of structure can be identified. Structure is usually understood "as some kind of 'patterning' of social relations or social phenomena" (Giddens, 1984: 16). Contrary, structuralist thinking is free of biological analogies. Structure is "thought of not as a patterning of presence but as an intersection of presence and absence" (Giddens, 1984: 16). Such understanding can lead to a dualism of subject and the social object in a way that structure is external to agency and influence the free initiative of the independent agent (Giddens, 1984). Structure here can be imagined, for example, as the girders of a building. Social events or agency take only place on the surface and are therefore seen secondary and superficial. According to Sewell, the most fundamental problem is that the arguments proposed by structuralists "tend to assume a far too rigid causal determinism in social life" (Sewell, 1992: 2). With the focus on structural constraints, agency tends to get lost in research on structure. Although functionalism and structuralism are contrary and seem to have nothing in common, each relates to important aspects of structuring social relations. Furthermore, both share the view that "structure has primacy over action, and the constraining qualities of structure are strongly accentuated" (Giddens, 1984: 2).

One of the most sustained efforts in conceptualizing structure has been made by Anthony Giddens. In his book "The Constitution of Society" (1984), Giddens attempts to put an end to the structure-agency-dilemma by formulating his theory of structuration, which implies that structure and agency are not opposite but related to each other (Giddens, 2017; Sewell, 1992). Giddens' notion of structure promises an elegant solution to a long-lasting problem in terms of structure, that of change. For quite some time, structure has been regarded as how social life is shaped into consistent patterns, but not how these patterns change over time. Subsequently, change was located outside of structure. Sewell formulated very appropriately that "the metaphor of structure implies stability" (Sewell, 1992: 2). Giddens introduces dynamism to the discourse on structure by incorporating the possibility of change: "Due to their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible" (Giddens, 1984: 2). Structure has to be regarded not as a permanent status but as a process. The possibility of change and the accentuation on agency looks promising for this research. For this reason, Giddens' notion of structure shall be the starting point for theoretical reflections on structure and agency.

Before diving deeper into the topic, it should be noted here that the issue of structure and agency cannot be concerned it its full complexity. This would go beyond the scope of this paper. The primary objective is furthermore to provide the essential theoretical knowledge for a better understanding of the empirical part of this research against the backdrop of the relation between structure and agency and *tabunkakyōsei*. Of particular interest in this context are the questions of how structure does constraint actors in their activities and of how structure does enable them.

2.1.1 Structure

At first, the question will be examined of how Giddens conceptualizes structure and agency. While activities by human actors and this lies in the things of nature, are comparably easier to grasp for human beings because the output of these activities can be visible, social structure, in contrast, not and often remains vague. Giddens' definition of structure is no exception as some aspects need further explanation.

> "Rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action" (Giddens, 1984: 377).

Giddens starts his argumentation emphasizing the potential of human activities, i.e., that humans are purposeful actors. “To be a human being is to be a purposive agent, who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (including lying about them)” (Giddens, 1984: 3). He further raises the question of the relation of action and power, because “action logically involves power in the sense of transformative capacity” (Giddens, 1984: 15). Moving closer to the core idea of his theory, he indicates that a duality of structure in power relations does exist. “Resources (focused via significations and legitimation) are structured properties of social systems, drawn upon and reproduced by knowledgeable agents in the course of interaction” (Giddens, 1984: 15). Social systems here refer to society and means that subordinate resources can influence the activities of their superiors. Human action occurs because individuals are capable of socially structured knowledge, which they are able to put into practice (Giddens, 2017). Actors are, as already indicated, aware of their activities in the sense that they are able to explain them. Furthermore, they are aware of social rules. Giddens terms this “knowledgeability”. “As social actors, all human beings are highly ‘learned’ in respect of knowledge which they possess, and apply, in the production and reproduction of day-to-day social encounters; the vast bulk of such knowledge is practical rather than theoretical” (Giddens, 1984: 22). This conception, which he calls “theory of structuration”, implies that “people actively make and remake social structure during the course of their everyday activities” (Giddens, 2017: 89). A key point in this respect is the understanding of structure not only as social rules implicated in the production and reproduction of societies but also as resources. Rules and resources are, according to Giddens, the most important aspect of structure. Unfortunately, resources are not further specified and therefore need to be examined later.

The core question is how individual agents can reproduce the structural properties of larger collectives through their activities. Structured properties here refer to structured features of societies, in particular institutionalized features. Essential to Giddens’ idea of “structuration” is the theorem of the duality of structure. Structure and agents are not independent of each other. “The structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize. This means structure shapes human activities, but human activities also produce and reproduce social structure. Structure is not ‘external’ to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in certain senses more ‘internal’ than exterior to their activities in a Durkheim sense” (Giddens, 1984: 25). The idea that structure has a constraining influence over agency was, as already mentioned, widely shared among many

structural sociologists, from Durkheim onwards. Contrary to this view, Giddens' conceptualize structure as the "duality of agency and structure" indicating that "structure is always both enabling and constraining, in virtue of the inherent relation between structure and agency" (Giddens, 1984: 169). Structural constraints are defined as deriving from the contextuality of action and can be understood as "placing limits upon the range of options to an actor, or plurality of actors, in a given circumstance or type of circumstance" (Giddens, 1984: 177).

Since its publishing, many researchers have drawn upon Giddens' notion of the duality of structure. However, there has also been criticism, notably, from critical realists such as Margret Archer, who argues that Giddens' notion of duality fuses structure and agency. Instead, Margret Archer claims in her "theory of morphogenesis" that structure is the outcomes of agency and an emergent property (Bakewell, 2010). Henceforth, "social structure can exist at any time regardless of the agency of any social actor" (Bakewell, 2010: 1696). This implies that structure pre-exists the individual. Sewell remarks that Giddens' theory suffers from serious gaps and logical deficiencies, in particular, that the term structure "remains frustratingly underspecified" (Sewell, 1992: 5). Indeed, Giddens does not go very much into detail about what structure exactly is. He only speaks of rules and resources.

According to Sewell (1992), social systems can be regarded as what most social scientists mean in several ways by societies. These social systems or societies do not exist outside of the activities that constitute them. "Structures are not the patterned social practices that make up social systems, but the principles that pattern these practices" (Sewell, 1992: 6). Therefore, structure is considered to exist only in human minds, i.e., structure is virtual. This does not make it any easier to grasp. Sewell argues that Giddens's notion of structure has to be seen against the backdrop of deriving from French structuralism, e.g., Lévi-Strauss. On the other hand, he attempts to distance himself from such thinking. Throughout his theory, Giddens accentuated that agents are "knowledgeable". In that sense, it can be assumed that agents are capable of action because they have knowledge of social rules. Sewell (1992) indicates that such rules may be equated with culture and that such rules do exist at different levels. He further argues that "publicly fixed codifications of rules are actual rather than virtual and should be regarded as resources rather than as rules in Giddens' sense. Subsequently, he proposes to change "rules" for the term "schemas" concluding that rules or schemas have a virtual existence. Of much more interest for this research, however, is Sewell's view on structure as resources. Giddens' definition of resources is translated into "resources are anything that can serve as a

source of power in social interactions" (Sewell, 1992: 9), not without critically remarking the theoretically informative nature of this statement. Furthermore, resources must be distinguished into two types, human and non-human resources. Non-human resources refer to objects or tools that can be used to enhance or maintain power. Human resources refer to "physical strength, dexterity, knowledge, and emotional commitments that can be used to enhance or maintain power" (Sewell, 1992: 9). Of particular interest here is the argument implying that agency can occur as a result of the control over social relations by an actor. Social interactions or emotional commitments here can refer to social networks, i.e., social capital. As social capital has the ability to enhance or maintain power, which then can be transformed into agency, the concept deserves an in-depth discussion. This will be briefly done in section 2.2.

However, this raises a problem, i.e., it contradicts the assumption that structure is virtual. Rules or schemas may be of virtual nature, but resources, in particular, non-human resources, are, to the most extend real objects. Following the idea that structure is virtual, how can it include both rules and resources? Sewell (1992) attempts to solve this problem by claiming that structure has a dual character, i.e., that is composed of virtual schemas and actual resources. "If structures are dual in this sense, then it must be true that schemas are the effects of resources, just as resources are the effects of schemas" (Sewell, 1992: 13). Hence, structure is composed of both schemas and resources, but with the restriction that they have to imply and sustain each other over time mutually. Otherwise, if they are not reproduced, they get abandon. In other words, structure needs to be enacted by agents.

2.1.2 Agency

Giddens' proposition that structure constrains and enables agency underlines the necessity to specify the concept of agency in further detail. Again, Giddens remains rather vague in respect of agency. This view of things is further criticized as not to exceed an emphasis on action and to be atomistic (Bakewell, 2010). Drawn upon Giddens's notion, Sewell further developed the concept of agency 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).

Even though Sewell sees the capacity for agency in all humans, he indicates that humans are only equipped with a highly generalized capacity when born and that they have to develop these skills like they learn to use a language. Additional attributes to agency are, according to Sewell's argumentation, the fact that is culturally and historically determined, and that it can be individual or collective.

2.1.3 Conclusion

The brief overview of the debate of structure and agency has not only demonstrated the complexity of the issue but although that a comprehensive and generally accepted conceptualization of structure has not been found yet. It is, therefore, very assumable that the debate will go on. Although the author is aware of the criticism against the structuration theory, this research will mostly draw upon Giddens' notion of structure. 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 the multicultural co-existence society of Kumamoto City.

2.2 Social Capital

As mentioned earlier, social capital as a type of human resource can enable and enhance agency. For this reason, a proper understanding of the concept is essential. The origin of the term social capital cannot be traced back with certainty. According to Putnam (2000), the first known use was accredited to Lyda Judson Hanifan in 1916. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu did further research on the subject in the 1980s, defining "social capital as the resources that individuals or groups gain through their long-lasting networks or relationships with friends, mutual acquaintances, and other contacts" (Giddens, 2017: 506). In his widely acknowledged book *Bowling Alone*, published in 2000, American sociologist Robert D. Putnam substantially contributed to the conceptualizing of social capital. The background of this book goes back to research on local governments in Italy by concluding that democracy depends on social capital and that this has implications for American society. In *Bowling Alone,* Putnam investigates how civic and social life in American communities has changed over time. The central claim

is a decline of generalized reciprocity, which is supported by statistical evidence for the trends in social capital and civic engagement.

2.2.1 Forms of Social Capital

Social networks are an essential part of human life. They come in various forms and can have different purposes, such as finding a job, a helping hand, or mental support. “The core idea of the social capital theory is that social networks have value” (Putnam, 2000: 19). This implies that social capital, in addition to physical capital and human capital, can enhance the performance of the individual or collective action.

> “Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000: 19).

Putnam further indicates that social capital can have externalities. This means that not all of the costs and benefits occur to the individual that invests in social capital. Moreover, social capital can affect a wider community (Putnam, 2000). In his book, Putnam demonstrates that “a well-connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well-connected individual in a well-connected society” (Putnam, 2000: 20). In this sense, Putnam mentions the possibility of spillover effects, i.e., that a poorly connected individual may benefit from a well-connected community. Subsequently, social capital can simultaneously be a private good and a public good. “Some of the benefits from an investment in social capital goes to by-standers, while some of the benefit redounds to the immediate interest of the person making the investment” (Putnam, 2000: 20). Service clubs like the Lions Club or Rotary may serve as an example here. These associations sponsor scholarships and, at the same time, provide members occasions to make acquaintances and establish business connections that possibly pay off personally. A particular significance to the concept of social capital has the principle of reciprocity. Putnam considers social capital to be the most powerful “when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations” (Putnam, 2000: 19). The presumed logic behind this principle regards the expectation of gains as the driving force for investment in social relations by an individual. I will do that for you, and in return, I expect you to do

something for me. Although reciprocity is based on the idea of one hand washes the other, Putnam (2000) points out that generalized reciprocity has even more significance for a community or society. Generalized reciprocity implies the practice of helping others without expecting gains directly in return. “I’ll do this for you without expecting anything specific back from you, in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for me down the road” (Putnam, 2000: 21). For this reason, a society characterized by generalized reciprocity can be considered more effective in terms of social capital, simply because individuals will be more eager to help others.

As mentioned earlier, social capital can be distinguished in terms of type and purpose. Putnam considers the distinction between bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive) forms of social capital as most important. Forms of bonding social capital are either by choice or necessity inward-oriented and tend to reinforce the inner cohesion of exclusive identities and homogenous groups. Examples here are ethnic organizations, church-based groups, or country clubs. “Bonding social capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity. Dense networks in ethnic enclaves, for example, provide crucial social and psychological support for less fortunate members of the community” (Putnam, 2000: 22). On the other hand, bridging forms of social capital encompass people of different origin, gender, or social classes. Examples include social movements, youth service groups, and religious organizations across confession lines. In contrast to bonding networks bridging networks have their strength in the linkage to external assets and information diffusion. In metaphorical terms, bonding social capital functions as some kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital works as a sociological lubricant. In contrast to the proposed significance of the two categories, Putnam indicates that “bonding and bridging are not “either-or” categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but “more or less” dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital” (Putnam, 2000: 23).

2.2.2 Conclusion

In summary, the central and most significant aspect of social capital is that it has value and can enhance human action. Other features are as detailed above its various forms and purposes. Social capital can have spillover effects, here referred to as externalities, and it can be of either private or public nature. Further, the practice of reciprocity, and in particularly generalized

reciprocity, play essential roles in the concept of social capital. In this sense, a society that is characterized by generalized reciprocity and is well-connected is considered more productive. Lastly, Putnam proposes a distinction between bonding and bridging social capital while emphasizing that a precise determination is difficult. Bonding social capital has reinforcing features to exclusive individuals or homogenous groups, while bridging social capital benefits individuals across social lines. Putnam's understanding of social capital as social networks and associated norms of reciprocity, as well as the capacity of social capital to increase performances, shall serve the purpose of this research.

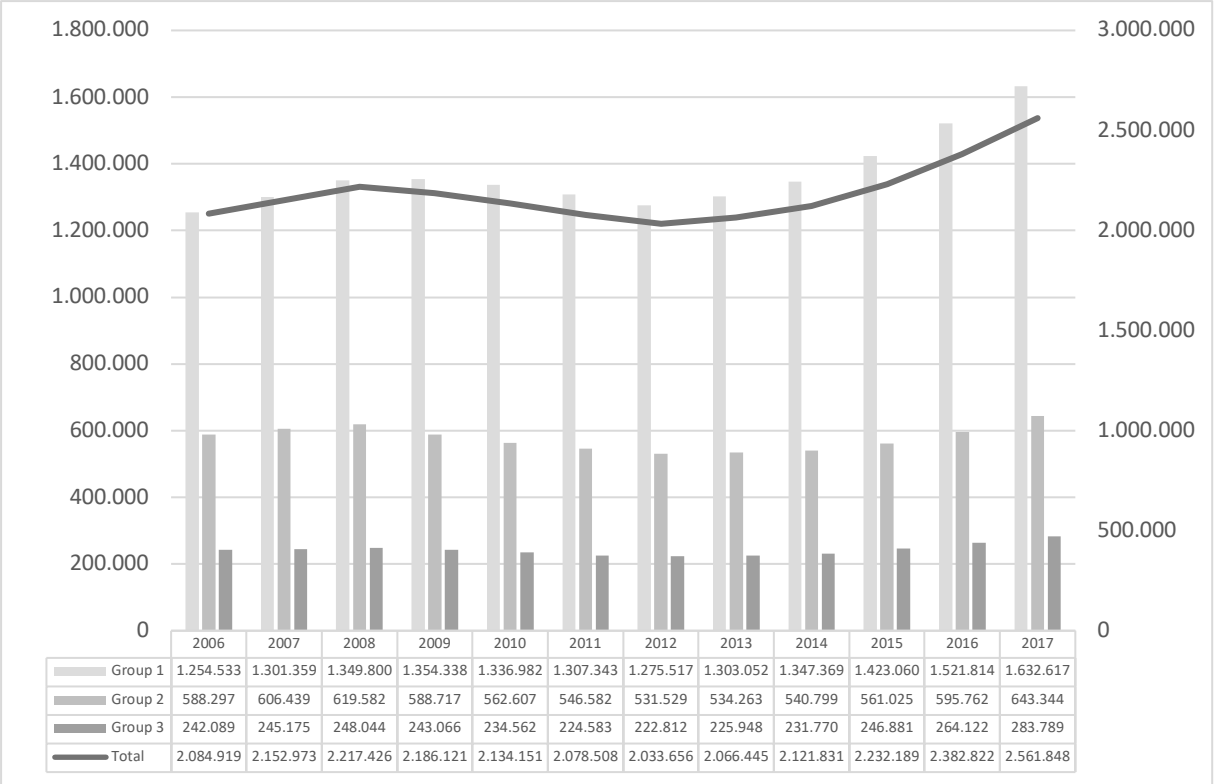
3 *Tabunkakyōsei* and Municipalities with a Low Concentration of Foreign Residents

To explore *tabunkakyōsei* in municipalities with a low concentration of foreign residents makes it necessary to clarify the concept of "low concentration" first. Therefore, this chapter investigates how research has addressed low concentration municipalities and how a possible categorization might look like. The second part of this chapter briefly investigates the development of *tabunkakyōsei* against the backdrop of initiatives by municipalities reacting to issues of growing numbers of foreign residents and their settlement.

3.1 Areas with a Low Concentration of Foreign Residents in *Tabunkakyōsei* Studies

Issues concerning *tabunkakyōsei* outside of areas characterized by densely populated settlements of foreign residents have been neglected by research for a long time. This trend, though, slowly seems to change, as the increasing number of publications with a focus on areas with a low concentration of foreign residents indicates. Two major developments can be assumed to foster this trend. The first is the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, which brought attention to the northeastern region of Japan and its foreign residents. The Tohoku region can be, in most parts, regarded as a low concentration area in terms of foreign residents. Issues concerning disaster and *tabunkakyōsei* and how they have been addressed in sociological literature will be briefly discussed in chapter seven, where activities by foreign residents in the aftermath of the Kumamoto Earthquakes will be analyzed.

The second factor facilitating the attention is the general increase of foreign residents in Japan, and in particular, in rural regions, as shown in Figure 1 below. Since 2006 their number has risen by about 500.000 persons. Only the financial crisis in 2008 caused by the Lehman Shock and the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 resulted in a temporary decline in numbers of foreign residents. In addition to total numbers, the figure provides an overview of the population change in specific areas, referred to as "group".



	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Group 1	1.254.533	1.301.359	1.349.800	1.354.338	1.336.982	1.307.343	1.275.517	1.303.052	1.347.369	1.423.060	1.521.814	1.632.617
Group 2	588.297	606.439	619.582	588.717	562.607	546.582	531.529	534.263	540.799	561.025	595.762	643.344
Group 3	242.089	245.175	248.044	243.066	234.562	224.583	222.812	225.948	231.770	246.881	264.122	283.789
Total	2.084.919	2.152.973	2.217.426	2.186.121	2.134.151	2.078.508	2.033.656	2.066.445	2.121.831	2.232.189	2.382.822	2.561.848

Figure 1: Population Change of Foreign Residents by “Groups”

Source: Tokuda (2019)

The definition of the three groups and the corresponding categorization of Japan’s prefectures are illustrated in Table 1 below. The first group is defined by a foreign population of more than 100,000 and consists of the three big agglomeration areas, Tokyo, Aichi Prefecture, and Osaka, among some of their neighboring prefectures. In the second group, with a foreign population of more than 10,000 up to 25,000 prefectures in the northern Kanto region, in the Chubu and Tokai region, among others are listed. The third group is defined by a foreign population of more than 5000 up to 20,000. It is of particular interest, as it is considered with a low concentration. According to the statistics, the development in group three is similar to the general trend, i.e., an increase of foreign residents. One reason behind this development is considered the relocation of industries to rural areas. From the year 2010 onwards, factories of the food processing industry, for example, have been relocated in order to reduce production costs. As a result of this relocation, securing the workforce, which is necessary to run the business, became a task for many companies. In regions characterized by a declining and aging population and emigration of young people into urban regions, this task has become even more severe. The labor deficit caused by demographic developments has been covered in large parts by participants of the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) and Nikkeijin (Tokuda, 2019).

TITP participants can be assumed to be one of the primary reasons for the increase of foreign residents in rural areas. In June 2019, the number of TITP participants increased to approximately 367,000, expanding their share among the total foreign population of up to 13% (Ministry of Justice 2019).

Table 1: Categorization of Prefectures based on Foreign Population (2017)

	Prefectures (in descending order of foreign population)
Group 1 (over 100,000 foreign residents)	Tokyo, Aichi, Osaka, Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba, Hyogo
Group 2 (10,000 – 25,000 foreign residents)	Shizuoka, Fukuoka, Ibaraki, Kyoto, Gunma, Gifu, Mie, Hiroshima, Tochigi, Nagano, Hokkaido, Shiga, Okayama
Group 3 (5000 – 20,000 foreign residents)	Miyagi, Toyama, Niigata, Okinawa, Yamanashi, Yamaguchi, Ishikawa, Fukui, Kumamoto, Fukushima, Oita, Nara, Ehime, Kagawa, Nagasaki, Kagoshima, Shimane, Yamagata, Iwate, Wakayama, Miyazaki, Saga, Tokushima, Aomori, Tottori, Kochi, Akita

Source: Tokuda (2019)

Moreover, this trend is not going to end very soon, as Japan's government has partially revised the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (hereafter referred to as Immigration Law) in December 2018 and further extended the Technical Intern Training Program. The amendment, which came into force in April 2019, has opened the doors for TITP participants in specific industrial sectors that have been restricted from hiring unskilled foreign workers. Eligible sectors include the care-giving business, food service, construction industry, building cleaning, among others. Governments officials expect up to 345,150 foreign workers in five years under the new visa statuses (The Japan Times, 2019). Issues concerning the program itself, as well as its participants, can only be covered peripherally in this paper, mainly for two reasons. One reason is the reinforced focus on permanent residents and the nature of issues concerning the multicultural society. Issues and problems in terms of integration faced by TITP participants assumingly differ from permanent residents, in the same way as their matters differ from those of Zainichi Koreans. The central assumption here is that social integration is

considered a process that stretches over a relatively long period, is influenced by variables, and has different possible outcomes. Nikaido (2017) gives an in-depth view on the situation and motives of Vietnamese TITP participants living and working in Japan. The research further analyzes support efforts of municipalities with a low concentration to Vietnamese TITP participants, particularly in the field of language learning.

Being aware of the risk a non-consideration of this group may cause, it should be noted that TITP participants have specific relevance in *tabunkakyōsei* studies, because of their sheer number, and because some of their concerns overlap with other groups. In this sense, they are pushing the boundaries for integration support by municipalities, in particular in low concentration areas. TITP participants have a share of about ten percent of the foreign population in Kumamoto City, in contrast to other municipalities in Kumamoto Prefecture, where they make up the majority of foreign residents. A detailed analysis of the city's foreign communities will be provided in the following chapter four. The second reason is technical. It would go beyond the scope of this paper to discuss issues concerning the Technical Intern Training Program on the national and municipality level in full detail.

3.2 Dimensions of Low Concentration Municipalities

What are the differences between municipalities of low and high concentrations in terms of *tabunkakyōsei*? What are the distinctive features qualifying for such a categorization? What seems to be relatively easy to answer at first glimpse is, as the following discussion will show, in its nature a little bit more complicated. In June 2019, Japan had a total population of about 126,230,000 persons. The total number of registered foreign residents was 2,829,416, with an equivalent ratio of 2.24%. In other words, nearly two persons out of 100 hold a foreign passport. The statistics demonstrate two dimensions of the issue: one is the total number and the other one the ratio against the Japanese population.

Before jumping into the topic of low concentration municipalities, it is best first to understand the term itself. "Low concentration areas" (*hishūjū chīki*) is a term that was constructed in *tabunkakyōsei* studies in order to distinguish such areas from areas with a high concentration of foreign residents. As already mentioned, these cities or areas referred to in Japanese as *gaikokujin shūjūtoshi*, meaning cities with a high concentration of foreign residents, have been the primary subject of research in terms of *tabunkakyōsei*. The term goes back to a conference

on integration issues held in Hamamatsu City in 2001. The 13 participants shared similar issues concerning the integration of primary New Comer from Latin America, who settled in large numbers in these municipalities. Among its members 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%. It is not difficult to see why the term "high concentration" was chosen, just by taking the numbers into account. This term was adopted by research, even though it is far away from being an academic definition. So, what are the benefits of such a categorization, then? It provides a useful frame for comparison. Issues related to *tabunkakyōsei* might be similar in municipalities that share specific characteristics, and good practices that work in one municipality may be applicable to others.

Tokuda, Nikaido, and Kaisho, who have published two books on issues concerning foreign residents living in areas of low concentration, propose a categorization of Japan's Prefectures into three groups according to their foreign population (Tokuda, 2019), as shown in Table 1 above. For the purpose of this research, this categorization, however, bears two problems. At first, it refers to the prefectural level and not to the municipal, which is the subject of this research. Despite the limitation, in terms of the reference level, the categorization, though, has value. First and foremost, because it is an attempt to precisely define the term quantitatively and can serve as a reference point for further considerations. Further, it can be assumed that the majority of low concentration municipalities are located in prefectures with a low concentration. The second problem of Tokuda's proposition, though, is more severe and concerns the core of the issue. That is, how to precisely define low concentration in terms of numbers? The sole focus on the total population of foreign residents bears the risk of limited validity, as the following example will demonstrate. In June 2020, Oizumi Town in Gunma Prefecture had a total foreign population of 8021 (Oizumi Town, 2020). What at first glimpse does not appear to be remarkably high shows a different picture if the total population of 41,988 is taken into account. The ratio of 19.1% is one of the highest, if not the highest, among all municipalities in Japan. Of course, the example itself has its limitation as Gunma Prefecture, where Oizumi Town is located, falls under category two and therefore is not considered with low concentration. However, it vividly demonstrates the problem with the total number as the only indicator.

Another dimension to the issues is contributed by research exploring relations between the Japanese mainstream society and ethnic minorities and relations within ethnic communities.

Tokuda (2017) has approached the difference between high and low concentration areas by analyzing relations between ethnic minorities and the Japanese mainstream society from the perspectives of international marriages in rural areas and disaster studies. The argumentation encompasses a difference in daily life relations within ethnic communities. In high concentrations areas, foreign residents, despite the fact being considered a minority when referring to the composition of the total population, are surrounded by a certain number of people from the same ethnic community. As detailed in chapter two, ethnic networks can have a crucial function in providing social and mental support to members of the community. In contrast, encounters and relations within ethnic communities in low concentration municipalities are assumingly relatively limited. As a result, foreign residents comparably face a lack of support from ethnic networks or other support organizations more easily. Kawabata (2012) examined in his study how everyday practices of Zainichi Koreans[i] living under individualized conditions in Okayama City differ from their counterparts living in high concentration areas by applying the framework of identity politics. The findings demonstrate that the subjects of his survey have developed strong tendencies to individualize due to the distance from ethnic enclaves and a change in values. Tawara (2013) investigated the lifestyle developments of Japanese-Brazilians in Komatsu City, Ishikawa Prefecture, by analyzing changes in lifestyle in comparison to 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 Returnees[ii] *(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 subjects of his study to feel more Japanese and distance themselves from China as their "homeland". The municipality where the research was conducted is not revealed. 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 at 1.5%. Chinese residents have a share of 2700 people, around 0.57% of the total population.

So far, the difficulties finding a suitable definition have been emphasized more than the question if any distinctive characteristics in terms of the structure and composition of foreign residents, which areas of low concentration may have in common, do exist. Table 2 provides an overview of the population distribution concerning the five largest nationalities in the three

groups. In general terms, the table shows that the majority of foreign residents (63.7%) live in areas here categorized as “group 1” followed by “group 2” (25.1%), and “group 3” (11.1%). Concerning nationalities, the statistics demonstrate that Chinese (70.8%) and Koreans (71.6%) have an above-average share in group one. In group two, Brazilians (48.5%) have a disproportional ratio, approximately two times higher than the average (25.1%) in this group. Vietnamese (17.1%) and Filipinos (13.8%), on the other hand, have an above-average share in group three (11.1%). In this sense, Tokuda (2019) argues that Koreans tend to concentrate in the Tokyo Metropolitan Region and the Kansai region with Osaka as its center. Concentrations of settlements by Brazilians are found in the Chubu and Tokai Region, with the automotive industry as a primary factor, and in the East Kanto Region. In areas that belong to group three, foreign residents of Southeast Asian origin, such as Filipinos and Vietnamese, have an above-average share.

Table 2: Total Number and Ratio of 5 Largest Nationalities (2017)

	Total Number	**China**	**Korea**	**Vietnam**	**Philippines**	**Brazil**
Group 1	1,632,617	517,834	344,545	142,866	141,124	82,552
	63.7%	70.8%	71.6%	54.4%	54.5%	43.1%
Group 2	643,344	137,557	94,356	74,502	83,123	92,894
	25.1%	18.8%	19.6%	28.4%	31.9%	48.5%
Group 3	283,789	75,272	42,372	44,927	36,008	15,822
	11.1%	10.3%	8.8%	17.1%	13.8%	8.3%
Unknown	2,098	227	249	110	208	94
Total	2,561,848	730,890	481,522	262,405	260,553	191,362
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Tokuda (2019)

Combining these findings with statistics on the resident status provides a more detailed picture. Table 3 shows that holders of the special permanent resident status (69.3%), generally associated with Zainichi Koreans, are concentrated in group one. Nikkeijin, who often have a long-term residence status (35.3%), are overrepresented in group two. These tendencies correlated with the findings from above. The table also shows that TITP participants, here the various visa status of this category are summarized as one, have an above-average ratio in group two (39.7%) and group three (27.5%). The statistics indicate that each of the “groups” features specific qualitative characteristics concerning the nationality and legal status of foreign residents. What are then the characteristics of group three, which is associated with low

concentration? According to the statistics and the discussion so far, it can be concluded that Zainichi Korean communities are less prominent as their counterparts in the other two groups. This has some significance, as social movements by Zainichi Koreans have essentially contributed to the development of *tabunkakyōsei*. This will be the subject of the following section. Generally speaking, the number of permanent residents and Nikkeijin is proportionally smaller. Foreign Residents of Southeast Asian origin, such as Vietnamese and Filipinos, on the other hand, have a proportionally higher ratio. In particular, the significant share of Vietnamese is directly linked with the Technical Intern Training Program. One of the most significant categories in low concentration areas.

Table 3: Foreign Population by Status of Residence (2017)

	Total Number	Special Permanent Resident	Permanent Resident	Long Term Resident	Student	Technical Training Intern
Group 1	1,632,617	228,975	481,849	101,924	216,560	89,835
	63.7%	69.4%	64.3%	56.7%	69.5%	32.8%
Group 2	643,344	72,764	194	63,441	62,764	108,934
	25.1%	22.1%	25.9%	35.3%	20.1%	39.7%
Group 3	283,789	28,059	73,015	14,365	32,055	75,342
	11.1%	8.5%	9.7%	8.0%	10.3%	27.5%
Unknown	2,098	24	58	104	126	142
Total	2,561,848	329,822	749,191	179,834	311,505	274,233
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Tokuda (2019)

In summary, the statistics indicate that low concentration municipalities feature the following characteristics: small-sized Zainichi and Nikkeijin communities, a large number of TITP participants, and permanent residents. Both are the most important two groups number wise. For further considerations on this subject, this particular type provisionally shall be called “Type A”. Concerning students, things seem to be more complicated. Although their ratio is not far from average and even higher than the ratio of permanent residents’ the total number shows a different picture. Their number of approximately 30,000 is about half the size of permanent residents and TITP participants on average. In some municipalities, though, international students play significant roles. In Beppu City, located in Oita Prefecture, for example, students enrolled at the Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University make up the vast majority (65.8%) of foreign residents (Ritsumeikan University, 2020; Beppu City, 2020). It

might be a rare and rather extreme example of a low concentration municipality; however, it proves what Tokuda (2019) has indicated, i.e., that variations and exceptions from the statistical archetype exist. This pattern, which features one dominant group, shall be provisionally named “Type B”.

3.3 Municipalities and the Development of *Tabunkakyōsei*

The following section provides a brief overview of how local governments have reacted to issues of growing numbers of foreign residents and their settlement in the past in order to understand their relevance for the development of *tabunkakyōsei.*

Matsumiya and Yamamoto (2009) argued that municipalities in which social movements of Old Comer, immigrants who came to Japan before the end of Second World War and who were predominantly of Korean origin, have been successful are more advanced in terms of integration policies than municipalities with a large population of New Comer. Subsequently, the facilitating factors in terms of integration policy are considered to be the “size of the foreign population” and the “formation of high dense settlements”. This has resulted in a big spread between municipalities ahead of nationwide developments in matters of integration policies and municipalities with no progress at all. Kibe (2011) points out that 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 that 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 tourists, or exchange students. In this regard, they argued, Japanese integration policies are path-dependent. Path dependence can be

understood as a process in which positive feedback or self-reinforcement makes a reversal more complicated, with each step taken in a particular direction of an established path.

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. Other municipalities in Japan soon followed the example. 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 these 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 Japanese-foreigner-dichotomy for a long time.

Sister city exchange activities were started by initiatives of municipalities. How did the national government react to the developments? In 1987 the Ministry of Home Affairs published a guideline on regional internationalization, emphasizing the possibilities of internationalization for the 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 enhance this development further. 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 *(chīki kokusaikōryū suishin taikō no sakutei nikansuru shishin)*. A measure to facilitate internationalization on the local level was the establishment of regional internationalization organizations. The guideline also concerned the question of 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 under the new guideline on the international exchange of municipalities *(jichitai kokusaikōryū suishin taikō no sakutei nikansuru shishin)*. The development detailed above demonstrates 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 granted 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 barrier distinguishing denizens, i.e., long-term foreign residents, from citizens are electoral rights, which were claimed by Zainichi Koreans in the 1990s. The Supreme Court, however, 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 issues 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 Comer, 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 issues 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 Osaka 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, which is reflected in the fields of action, including such as communications, multilingual information, language classes, improvement of public services, 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. The ministry advised all municipalities to implement a regional *tabunkakyōsei* plan. According to MIC, the situation in terms of implantation in April 2018 was: 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).

3.4 Conclusion

In summary, research has addressed issues of foreign residents living under individualized conditions from various perspectives, as the given examples have demonstrated. However, it has failed to propose a suitable definition of the term "low concentration". The statistics presented in this section indicate that the number and ratio of foreign residents are not the only distinguishing feature of low concentration areas. More importantly, the qualitative composition of foreign residents and ethnic communities can be considered a distinctive characteristic which has significance for *tabunkakyōsei*.

Second, the brief discourse on the historical development of *tabunkakyōsei* has emphasized the relevance of local governments in this process. Municipalities are not only the constitutive part

of *tabunkakyōsei* nowadays, furthermore they initially demanded the development of integration measures from the national government. The key point here is that *tabunkakyōsei* goes back to initiatives of municipalities, in particular of those with a high concentration of foreign residents. The *tabunkakyōsei* plan of 2006 was based on these experiences and practices. The discourse also demonstrated that, for most parts, "internationalization" provides the administrative frame for integration policies. And this framework constraints local governments in terms of policymaking.

4. Kumamoto City as a Low Concentration Municipality

Now it is time to introduce the field of this research, Kumamoto City. Against the backdrop of the discussion on low concentration areas in the previous chapter, Kumamoto City will be analyzed in terms of foreign residents in order to see if it matches the proposed criteria. To recapitulate, "low concentration" features two dominant groups, i.e., permanent residents and TITP participants, primary of Southeast Asian origin. Another characteristic is the absence of large Zainichi Korean and Nikkeijin communities. This type was provisionally termed "Type A". The discussion, however, demonstrated that variations from this type exist. The provisional "Type B" shows one dominant group, i.e., students. Large-sized Zainichi Korean and Nikkeijin communities are although absent. Subsequently, in the first part of this chapter, foreign residents living in Kumamoto City will be analyzed in terms of legal status, nationality, age, gender, and geographical distribution. The findings will then be discussed with the aim to categorize Kumamoto City within the realms of low concentration.

4.1 Foreign Minorities of Kumamoto City – A Data Analysis

The analysis of foreign residents is primarily based on a data set from September 2017, which was published by KIF in a leaflet named "Diversity Kumamoto" in February 2018 (KIF, 2018b). Unfortunately, it is the only data set that features a correlation between nationality and legal status. Other sources used for this analysis 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 larger intervals. This explains why numbers concerning the total foreign population and data on the legal status and nationality differ in time and sometimes in the actual number. City authorities have started to publish data on foreigners living in the city from 2012 onwards. In that year 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, statistics were collected and published by the Ministry of Justice and its regional Immigration Bureaus, the predecessor of the Immigration Service Agencies.

The foreign population of Kumamoto City has nearly doubled in 20 years since 1996, as illustrated in Figure 2 below. In 1996, foreign residents counted 2709 persons, and in 2017, 5030 persons. The overall population development is characterized by a constant increase without remarkable temporarily declines. The statistics here indicate that the general population development of foreign residents in Kumamoto City has neither been significantly influenced by the financial crisis of 2008 nor by the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. In this sense, population developments in Kumamoto City differ from the general development, which has been presented in chapter three and illustrated in Figure 1.

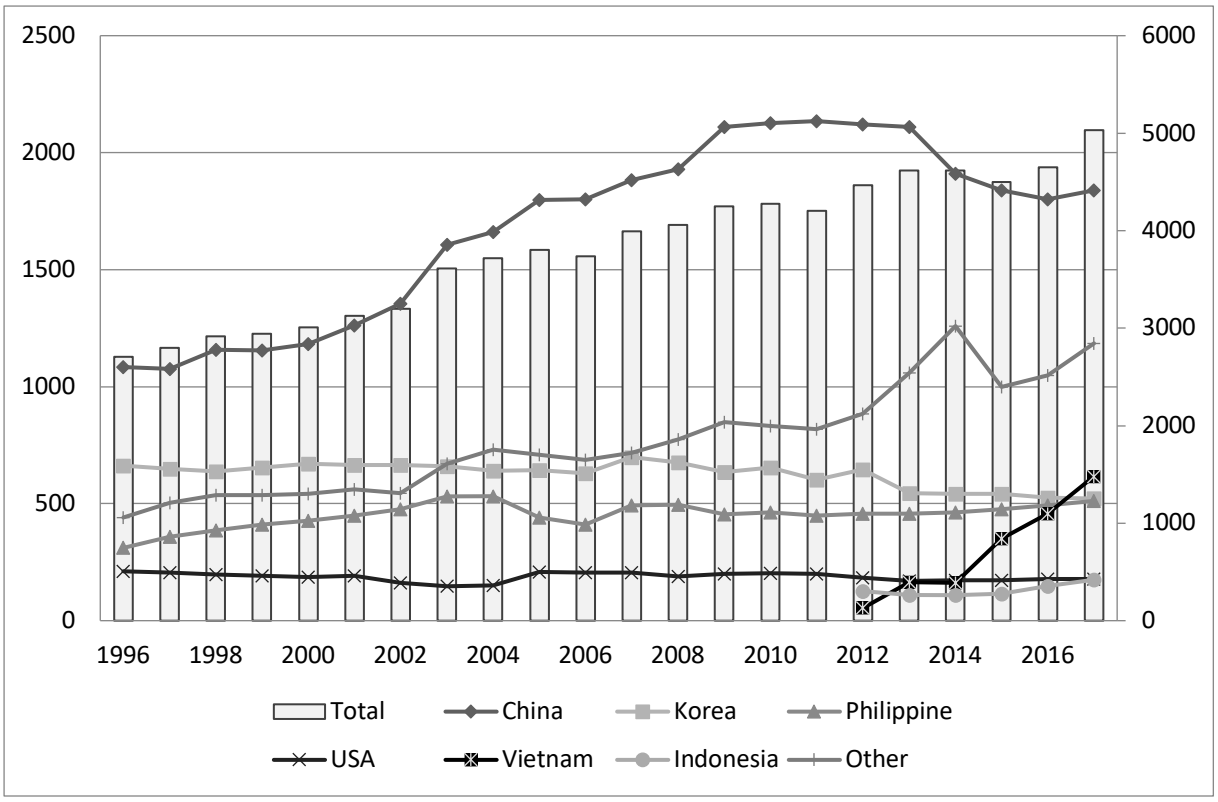


Figure 2: Population Development of Foreign Residents in Kumamoto City (1996-2017)

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

The population movement of foreign residents in Kumamoto City (Figure 2) shows different developments according to the nationality. Four patterns can be distinguished: rapid growth, growth, stagnation, and decline. In terms of nationality, four large groups can be identified in Kumamoto City. 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%). If added together, these four minorities have a share of more than half of the foreign population.

The number of Chinese residents continuously increased until the year 2009. In the following year, the increase flattened, and since 2014 numbers are declining. The decline is considered to directly correlate with the rapid increase of Vietnamese during this time. It indicates that predominantly Chinese TITP participants left the city and were "replaced" by participants from Vietnam, as the number for TITP participants in total did not decline. The Chinese community is characterized by great diversity, which is indicated by the legal status, as illustrated in Table 4. Approximately half of the minority (45%) have obtained a permanent resident visa, making it the largest group. They are followed by students who represent the second-largest group. Notably is also a fair number in the category Technical Intern Training Program. According to a member of the Chinese minority and leader of the Chinese resident organization "Kumamoto Chinese Community" (*kumamoto chūgokujin komyuniti*), several informal organizations and networks exist within the community. These organizations and networks are often based on profession, business interests, educational matters, regional origin, ties with the home country China and other interests like sports. Due to the diversity in legal status, length of residence, interests, and regional backgrounds, these networks often remain isolated from other Chinese networks. In this sense, the minority struggle to connect and extend networks ties across the community in order to form large, strong ethnic networks.

Table 4: 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
Philippines		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

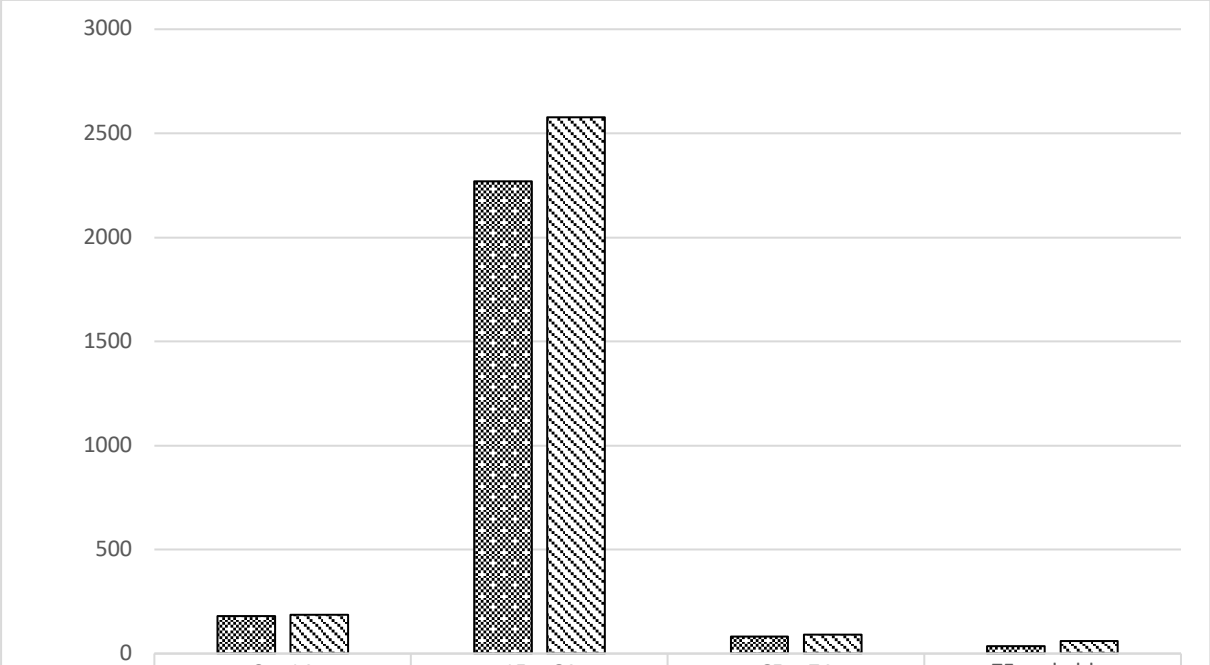
Source: KIF, 2018b; Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office

The most dynamic development can be seen among Vietnamese residents. While being a minor group with 54 persons in 2012, within just five years, numbers have increased more than tenfold. If taking a closer look at this group in terms of legal status, which can be an indicator of migration intentions, the statistics unveil 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, as the Technical Intern Training Program has been expanded to Vietnam at this time.

The Korean minority, the third-largest minority, is characterized by a slight decline over 20 years. The minority 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 the population when considering the general population development of Zainichi Koreans in Japan, who are declining through naturalization and natural population change. Despite the large share of Zainichi Koreas among the Korea residents in Japan, their ratio in Kumamoto City is relatively small (4.8%).

The fourth-largest group and the last one to picture in detail are Filipinos. Over the first half of the 20 years illustrated in Figure 2, numbers have slightly increased; however, they are stagnating over the last ten years. Among Filipinos, permanent residents are the largest category with an equivalent of 76,8%, followed by the category of spouse or child of Japanese national with 10,9%. Even though statistics featuring a correlation between nationality, legal status, and sex are not available, from several conversations with KIF, migrant support organization, and a representative of the Filipino Organization in Kumamoto (FOK), the author assumes 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 has been in the past in a marital relationship with Japanese men. Taking into further consideration that possible children of these relationships would obtain Japanese citizenship under certain circumstances and the fact that immigration from the Philippines stagnates on a low level, explain in parts the population development of this group. The number of Filipinos who have obtained Japanese citizenship either through the process of naturalization or by birth is specified by members of the community to be of up to 150.

The age structure and gender distribution of foreign residents in Kumamoto City are displayed in Figure 3. 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 TITP participants fall into this age category. Further, the majority of foreign residents, except for Zainichi Koreans, are assumingly first-generation New Comer, who came to Kumamoto City presumably as adults since the end of 1970. The migration from China to Japan in general and Kumamoto City, in particular, began with the 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.



	0〜14	15〜64	65〜74	75 and older
men	179	2268	81	36
women	187	2576	90	59

Figure 3: Age Structure and Gender Distribution of Foreign Residents (2018)

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

In terms of gender distribution, women outnumber men in every age cohort to a small extent. The statistic also indicates a possible issue that might occur in the future in the context of *tabunkakyōsei*, issues that are related to aging, and encompass fields such as healthcare. Taken the fact into consideration that half of the foreign population are permanent residents who will presumably continue to live in Kumamoto City with growing age, issues in this field can be

assumed to occur in the future. KIF stated in this regard that they are aware of these concerns and that staff members have attended workshops and information events related to these topics in other municipalities that already have to deal with these issues.

When looking at the geographical distribution of foreign residents within the city's five wards in Figure 4, one thing immediately catches the eye. Nearly half of the city's foreign residents live in the central ward, which has an equivalent ratio of 1.48%, two times higher than the average rate. In particular, noteworthy in this respect is the Kurokami district, where the Kumamoto University Kurokami Campus is located, and many exchange students are living. In contrast to the central ward, all other wards, east, west, south, and north ward show a ration of foreign residents below-average.

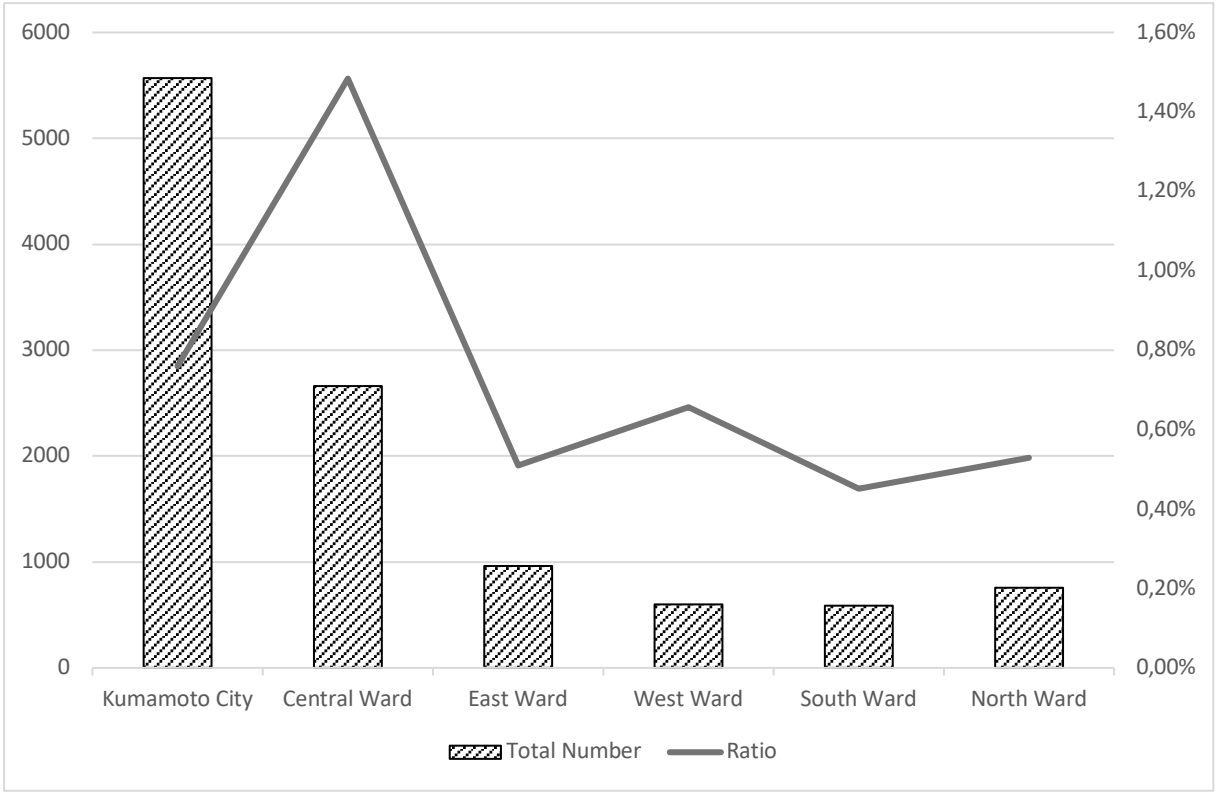


Figure 4: Geographical Distribution of Foreign Residents (2018)

Source: Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office

4.2 Conclusion

Summarizing the statistics on foreign residents of Kumamoto City, three large groups can be identified in terms of legal status: permanent residents (32,9%), students (21,7%), and

participants of the Technical Intern Training Program (11,2%). In this sense, Kumamoto City differs from what is statistically considered the basic type in low concentration areas and referred to as “Type A” in chapter three. This type consists of two dominating groups, which are permanent residents and TITP participants. In Kumamoto City, these are permanent residents and students. If both categories are added, they have a share of more than 50%. The significant role of students can be considered to be directly related to the city’s infrastructure, in particular in terms of education. Kumamoto City is the political and economic center of the prefecture and hosts several universities and other institutions of higher education. The central role is also reflected in the fact that about one-third of the prefecture’s foreign residents are living in Kumamoto City. TITP participants, although being the third-largest category, do not play the important role as assumed. Considering the latest extension of the program, as mentioned in chapter three, numbers can be expected to increase in the future further. In terms of nationality, the four largest groups are Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Koreans. The large number of Chinese residents is contrary to the assumption formulated in chapter three that most foreign residents are of Southeast Asian origin. The statistics also show that the majority of foreign residents can be considered New Comer. While a small community of Zainichi Koreans with a share of 4.8% of the total foreign population can be identified, a significant community of Nikkeijin is statistically not noticeable. In this sense, Kumamoto City is in accord with “Type A”.

How can Kumamoto City be categorized within the realms of “low concentration”? First, despite the existence of areas with a high concentration on the inner-city level, the findings suggest to considering the city as a low concentration municipality. It features typical characteristics of “low concentration” as demonstrated above. The basic scheme of two dominant groups of foreign residents in terms of legal status, which is considered with “Type A”, applies to Kumamoto City to a certain degree. The absence of large Zainichi and Nikkeijin communities further supports the assumption. On the other hand, Kumamoto City significantly differs regarding the origin of foreign residents and the fact that students play a more important role than TITP participants, who “only” represent the third-largest group. The reason for this disparity has to be seen in the context of the city’s role as a regional political and economic center. Based on these findings, this paper calls for continued efforts to conceptualize “low concentration” in order to further distinguish between various forms of low concentration municipalities. The analysis also indicated that existing statistics on foreign residents are not sufficient and lack correlations of essential factors concerning the socio-economic status,

length of residence, age, and sex. Further efforts need to be made to collect data that provides an adequate picture of foreign residents and their living conditions in low concentration areas.

5. Who makes *Tabunkakyōsei?* – An Analysis of the Local Government

This chapter explores the administrative dimension of *tabunkakyōsei*. Two actors of the local government of Kumamoto City, the International Affairs Section of Kumamoto City *(kumamotoshi kokusaika)* and the Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF), are analyzed in the context of social structure regarding their role and function in terms of *tabunkakyōsei*. This will be done with particular regard to the Kumamoto City's Internationalization Guideline *(kumamotoshi kokusaika shishin)* of 2010, which will be used as an example to demonstrate how structural constraints have influenced the decision-making and the outcome of the guideline. The main argument here is that the framework of *tabunkakyōsei* is path-dependent (Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi, 2005). 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.

5.1 Roles and Responsibilities within the Local Government

The section in charge of *tabunkakyōsei* within the local government of Kumamoto City is the International Affairs Section, which is part of the General Policy Division *(sōgō seisakubu)* belonging to the superior Policy Department *(seisakukyoku)* besides the Policy Planning Section and the Public Relations Section. The International Affairs Section has two main areas of responsibility: international exchange and integration policies. This vividly illustrates how the historical development of *tabunkakyōsei*, rooted in internationalization endeavors, is reflected in the fact that one section within the local government is responsible for both matters. Subsequently, international exchange and *tabunkakyōsei* policies both take place within the same framework of internationalization policies. On that note, KIF explains that international exchange and *tabunkakyōsei* are both parts of the same thing and, therefore, cannot be divided. At first glance, this may seem surprising as both approaches assumably address different target

groups and take place on different political levels. International exchange primarily refers to a relationship between Japan and foreign countries on the individual and institutional levels. In contrast, integration policies address individuals living in Japan, and in particular foreign residents. The latter refers to a state of affairs on the domestic level concerning municipalities and its residents. KIF underlines its perspective on *tabunkakyōsei* and international exchange: "If both approaches are broken down to the smallest common denominator, this would be the social interaction between individuals, namely, Japanese citizens and foreigners" (KIF). Thus, the social interaction between individuals with different cultural backgrounds provides the foundation of internationalization; consequently, this applies to both the outward-oriented international exchange and inward-oriented integration policies.

The main task of the International Affairs Section in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* is the framing, primary by issuing plans, guidelines, and strategy papers, which in most cases are not directly carried out by the International Affairs Section itself. KIF describes the roles within the local government as follows: "The International Affairs Section sets the frame and decides the direction of integration measures, and KIF, the Citizen's Affairs Division, the Children's Support Division, all the sections of the local government, which are frequently visited by foreign residents, implement the resulting measures" (KIF). 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 relatively passive. The small number of foreign residents and the fact that foreign residents do not have electoral rights are the assumed reasons why foreign residents have little significance for the council.

As mentioned earlier, KIF serves as a key-actor in implementing integration measures of the local government. The significance of KIF is highlighted in the first internationalization guideline, issued in 1999: "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 City International Center as the core facility" (Kumamoto City, 2010). This understanding was reaffirmed in the amendment of the Internationalization Guideline in 2010 with the newly introduced motto "aiming to become a vital city open to the world", by stating: "in order to meet the various demands of local

internationalization flexibly, the city takes several political measures in cooperation with KIF, which provides citizens in terms of international exchange / international cooperation and foreign residents support, and with Kumamoto City International Center as the core facility" (Kumamoto City, 2010). Although not legally binding, the guideline of 2010 marks a turning point in the history of policies on foreign residents in Kumamoto City. For the first time, the city committed itself in an official document to *tabunkakyōsei* and proclaimed foreign residents being members of local society.

So far, the relation between KIF and the International Affairs Section seems to be clearly defined as a top-down relationship. However, as the following example will show, relations can be more complex at times. In 2004 KIF launched integration programs at KCIC, including Japanese language classes, consultation services, and multilingual information on community life, six years before the city issued its first guideline on *tabunkakyōsei*. It is also remarkable because they were conducted two years before the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications advised local governments to do so. It can be assumed that KIF implemented the activities with approval from city authorities. The point here is that KIF was not advised via the structure of vertical administration. Moreover, KIF acted on their initiative. In the interview, KIF explained that the activities have to be regarded in the context of the discourse that evolved around the question of how to react to permanent settlement by foreign residents and resulting issues. Further, KIF stated that, although relatively small in numbers, the situation of foreign residents living in the city was not free of issues. KIF realized these issues and initiated support activities in response, which were carried out in cooperation with civic organizations and individual volunteers. This example indicates that KIF has or at least had some room for own initiatives, and it questions the understanding of "fixed" roles, at least to a certain degree.

Because of their essential roles, KIF as an actor and the Kumamoto City International Center (KCIC) as the revenue where most measures are implemented, 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 KCIC. 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 Internationalization Guideline of

2010. According to chapter three of the provision, the foundation aims at promoting internationalization, culture and arts, regional revitalization, and contributing to building and maintaining enduring peace and stability (KIF, 2018a). Chapter four goes into further detail, describing how the objectives defined in the previous chapter are to be achieved by specific activities:

1. Activities to promote building a multicultural co-existing society *(tabunkakyōsei)*
2. Activities to develop human resources capable of acting and understanding 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

Consequently, 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. They were added by a fifth field: foundation management, including personnel management. The fields of activity are reflected in the organization of the office, which is responsible for carrying out daily operations. In 2018 the foundation's personnel consisted of 11 regular employees, which are divided into three teams 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 other tasks, consists of four persons. The fact that this comparably small team is responsible for carrying out Kumamoto City's integration programs explains why KIF depend on voluntary groups, non-profit organizations (NPO) and individual volunteers when it comes to the implementation of these measures. How this cooperation works in detail will be discussed later at the example of consultation services and language classes at KCIC. Here a significant issue in terms of integration policies becomes evident, i.e., limited resources and personnel. KIF expressed in this regard that the situation is even worsening in the last few years as issues arise in terms of numbers and are becoming more complex while the size of personnel remains the same.

The Kumamoto City 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 for studying and language learning. A media area equipped with TVs where DVDs can be watched is also installed on this floor. Voluntary groups further use the first floor 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. Moreover, last but not least, the *Tabunkakyōsei Office*, a help desk, where KIF, NPOs, and individual volunteers provide foreign residents consultation services, is located here. The services provided at the *Tabunkakyōsei Office* and the *Kurashi No Nihongo Club*, especially in regard to the fact that language support plays a vital 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 tearoom, 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.

5.2 *Tabunkakyōsei* Policies in Kumamoto City

Kumamoto City entered the international stage in 1979 with the establishment of a sister city relationship 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 establishing KIF and KCIC in 1993, respectively 1994. The establishment of sister-city relations, as well as the foundation of KIF and KCIC, can be considered as a direct response to the guidelines on internationalization issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Especially the policy guideline on promoting international exchange on the regional level issued in 1989, 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 KCIC. Here a distinct feature of Japanese administration becomes evident, the so-called *tatewari gyōsei*, meaning vertical administration. The structure of vertical administration implicates a top-down hierarchy. In this sense, KIF expressed that: "International exchange in Japan and Kumamoto City has always been proceeded by the administration. And administration is vertical. It can be said that the curse of internationalization was changed due to vertical administration" (KIF). The last sentence especially refers to KIF's perception concerning a change in directions from international exchange to *tabunkakyōsei* within the frame of internationalization that occurred in 2006 and was initiated by "the MIC advising to implement *tabunkakyōsei* because foreign residents have increased" (KIF).

Despite the vertical structure of administration, the *tabunkakyōsei* plan by the MIC has not led immediately to a subsequent implementation on the local level. It was not until 2010 that the Internationalization Guideline was revised, and integration policies were included. According to the interview with KIF, the guideline has to be seen in context with Kumamoto City's situation in the years from 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 concerned citizens. The criticism aimed at cost-intensive exchange programs primarily in fields of cultural activities with regions located in great distances while the benefits for the local society and economy were considered as relatively small. In the search for new opportunities, the East Asian region, with stronger regional economic ties, came into the focus of a strategic reorientation. Furthermore, this reorientation 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 financial situation of 2005, the Kumamoto City International Center was put out for a public tender under the newly implemented designated manager system *(shitei kanrisha seido)* for a three years period beginning the following year. This step, which exposes KIF and their activities to market competition, is quite remarkable, especially when considering the statement in the guideline of 1999 that identifies KCIC as the core facility for international and foreign residents 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 evaluation committee appointing KIF as the designated manager of KIC (Kumamoto City, 2018b). According to the committee, the decision was justified for the following reasons. The importance of KCIC as the key facility in terms of building a multicultural co-existing society was emphasized. Also, KCIC has been placed as a shelter and support facility for foreign residents in the event of disasters. Moreover, the broad experience and unique 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 Kumamoto Earthquakes, which hit the Kumamoto region in April 2016, when KCIC has served as a shelter for foreign residents, has played an important role in the committee's decision. To the hypothetical question, how KIF would evaluate the impact on foreign communities in Kumamoto City in the case KIF would lose a tender and subsequently has to quit operating KCIC, KIF replied that, "in that case, they would be able to continue their activities elsewhere. However, it would be a significant loss to foreign residents of Kumamoto City" (KIF).

As mentioned earlier, with the International Guideline of 2010, integration measures officially found their way into a strategy paper. 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)*. The intentions behind the guideline can be partly derived from an analysis 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 despite the efforts the city puts into sister city exchange programs, large parts of the citizens are not able to participate in occasions providing interactions with foreigners and foreign cultures. This not only demonstrates who the main

beneficiaries of international relations policies are, Japanese citizens but also how slippery formulations and wordings sometimes are. The term "foreigner" in the sentence above could also refer to foreign residents in Japan, respectively, Kumamoto City. The second part concerns *tabunkakyōsei*. It is argued that against the backdrop of increasing numbers of foreign residents and their inclusion into the local society, the development of a society where Japanese and foreign residents can comfortably live together will be an upcoming issue. As the argumentation in the strategy paper is based on an opinion poll conducted before the guideline, it shall briefly be reviewed. The purpose of the opinion poll, which was conducted in October 2008, was to examine the opinions of Japanese citizens and foreign residents about specific issues related to culture and internationalization. This may raise questions about the survey design, i.e., why opinions of Japanese citizens concerning "culture" and "internationalization" and opinions of foreign residents on their "living conditions" are subject to the same survey. Well, the answer is quite simple, though, may be surprising. 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 fusion. One part was responsible for cultural and the other for 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 of 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 the 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 and 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. Moreover, 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, this assumingly had an impact on the results in certain categories of the poll, such as those related to living conditions, labor, education, language abilities, or giving birth and raising children. Students can be assumed to have a distinct set of features. They are highly educated and skilled in their field of expertise

and are assumed as eager to learn and to be open to new cultures. These features 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 in 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 that authorities have a problem with outreaching foreign residents. Exchange students usually have a Japanese contact person at their university, who is taking care of them. Additionally, their degree of networking is considered high. These features make them presumably relatively easy to approach by city authorities.

Coming back to the second part of the guideline. It identifies two key points relevant to foreign residents living in Japan. The first one is language learning precisely, the Japanese proficiency, 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 (Kumamoto City, 2010). In this context, issues foreign children face in school in terms of language instructions are remarked. Further, the fact that foreign parents have problems in understanding the Japanese school system and in communicating with school staff due to limited language skills are recognized as issues 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, in particular, the system of deposit and key money, and issues concerning the dispose of garbage. In terms of health care, the results show that foreign residents have difficulties understanding the Japanese health care system and fees in general and, in particular, the formalities required after giving birth, examinations, and immunization of newborns. Moreover, difficulties in finding a job due to the fact of being a foreigner indicate 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 evident 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 mutually recognizing cultural differences. The wording of the definition is in large parts borrowed from the "universal design town development" of MIC's *tabunkakyōsei* plan.

The following part of the guideline concerns tourism and its promotion highlighting the fact that foreign visitors have increased in a period of five years by more than two times, from 177.000 (2003) to 379.000 (2008), as shown in Figure 5. The figure also shows that social and economic events, such as the financial crisis of 2008 and the Great Eastern Japan Earthquake of 2011, had a significant impact on tourism in Kumamoto City, contrary to foreign residents, on whom these events had no significant impact, as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

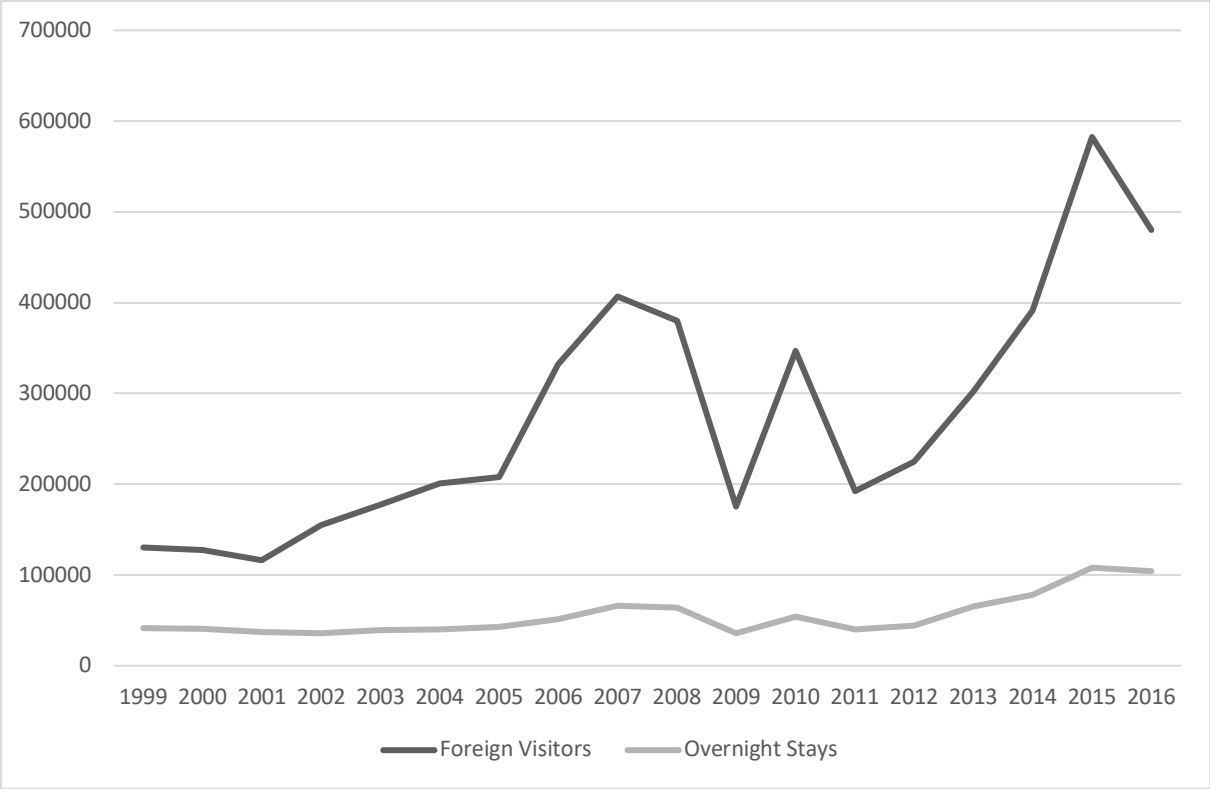


Figure 5: Foreign Visitors and Overnight Stays in Kumamoto City

Source: KIF, 2018a

International tourism is perceived as an essential economic factor contributing to local revitalization. To make Kumamoto City more attractive as a destination for overseas tourists, the guideline presents two initiatives. One is a joint cooperation with several municipalities of Kumamoto Prefecture and cities in the Kyushu 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 also profit from this development. 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 Kyushu Shinkansen Line in 2011 as well as the expected appointment of a designated-ordinance city in 2011 played an important role in this context. The latter is closely linked with greater financial independence. On the other hand, it may have put some pressure on the local government as in 2010, all 18 cities, which have been appointed so far, successfully implemented 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 potential of economic growth in this region. 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. Furthermore, 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. Essential for providing support to foreign residents are volunteers, therefore as a subgoal, networks with possible volunteers shall be expanded, and volunteers' training 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 promoting a multicultural co-existing society. Measures achieving this goal encompass 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 the participation of foreign residents in community activities and regional events. Again, the key here is seen in 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 primarily follow the approach of the *tabunkakyōsei* plan in terms of content and design, which

demonstrates the influence of vertical administration 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. However, due to the small size of the foreign community, they have little impact on the outcome of policies. To the question of how independent Kumamoto City's integration policies can be considered, if policies exist that were developed on the initiative by the city itself, KIF explained that: "to put it in positive terms, the existence of KCIC and the fact KIF operates it" can be regarded as such measures.

Other objectives in the guideline, which derive from motives concerning international tourism and city development, primarily address fields that, at first glance, do not directly concern foreign residents or integration. They aim at promoting tourism and products of 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. As a example can serve exchange students, who are supposed to have good networks with their home countries, and could be deployed as a kind of goodwill ambassador, helping to spread information in Japan and abroad. This is made possible because integration policies and international exchange occur 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 KCIC. An essential activity of KIF in supporting foreign residents is providing consultation services, which are offered at a helpdesk on the 1st floor of KCIC or by particular demand on-site. Professionals and volunteers conduct the counseling services 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 5 provides an overview of consultation services offered in 2018.

Table 5: Consultation Services at the *Tabunkakyōsei* Office (2018)

Type of consultation	Details of consultation	Consultant	Target	Frequency
Consultation Service in Spanish	General	Volunteer	FR[iii]	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 on China	China-related topics	CIR	JC[iv]	Weekly
Consultation Service on Germany	Germany-related topics	CIR	JC	Weekly
Consultation Service on South Korea	South Korea related topics	CIR	JC	Weekly
Consultation Service on Canada	Canada-related topics	CIR	JC	Weekly
JICA[v] 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 schools, 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 for the consultation service in Chinese on 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. The table also reveals that not all consultation services

subsumed under the category of *tabunkakyōsei* by KIF actually deal with integration matters or address foreign residents. Instead, Japanese citizens are in accordance with the objectives of the guideline the aim. 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 engages in networking with volunteers and professionals and offers training and workshops aiming at enhancing individual skills. Further, KIF supports volunteers by handling organizational matters like management tasks, time schedules, public relations, and by offering the location where activities take place. In other words, KIF provides social capital that enables the activities of volunteers.

Another field of engagement is the distribution of information which are assumed to have relevance to foreign residents in multiple languages, e.g., 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. In cases, city authorities expect communication problems, KIF accompanies social workers or public health nurses when visiting 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 covering the basics of Japanese in a short time to foreigners who just arrived in Japan. Instructors teaching these courses have a certificate in Japanese as a foreign language. 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 the Japanese tea ceremony, Japanese calligraphy, or picnics in spring while watching blooming flowers are carried out together 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 supports 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 KCIC include a presentation about experiences made during the earthquakes from the viewpoint of foreign residents by exchange student organizations and a photo exhibition on the same topic. Further, KIF hosts annually a symposium on *tabunkakyōsei*, were various issues concerning multicultural societies are discussed by guest speakers from different perspectives and points of view. 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 these 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 the social capital provided by KIF and their financial and organizational support, the vast majority of NPOs and volunteers would not be able to carry out their activities at all or at least to a less extent. KCIC plays an essential role in this concept. However, the focus on KCIC as the primary facility where the majority of integration measures and support activities are offered also carries the risk that foreign residents living outside the catchment area of KCIC are not outreached.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter examined the administrative dimension of *tabunkakyōsei* in the context of social structure by analyzing two actors of the local government, the International Affairs Section of Kumamoto City and the Kumamoto 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), this path-dependence constraint the possibilities for the local government to remake *tabunkakyōsei*. 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 to pursue their interests with the result that the approach for internationalization was shifted from a culture oriented one towards an approach based on economic interests and thereby also setting the tone for *tabunkakyōsei*. The analysis further detailed how roles in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* are defined within the local government. The International Affairs Section is responsible for planning and drafting integration policies, which are, to a great extent, implemented by KIF. It should be noted here, though, that exception from this pattern exists. The example of integration programs before the Internationalization Guideline of 2010 demonstrates three things. First, contrary to the assumption that KIF as an actor is strictly constrained by a top-down relation, the example showed that this is not always the case and that KIF has or at least had room for initiative. Second, the example also demonstrated that even a relatively small number of foreign residents can have an impact on the local government, which resulted in the provision of support services at KCIC. However, foreign residents failed to have an impact on policymaking, which is the third finding in this sense. The *tabunkakyōsei* policy plan of 2010 was adopted top-down via "vertical administration". The implementation of integration programs is coordinated by KIF and carried out to a high degree by NPOs and individual volunteers. The primary reason behind this is the lack of personnel. In this process, social capital and non-human resources such as KCIC, the key site where most activities occur, provided by KIF play crucial roles. 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.

6. Perspectives of a Migrant Support Organization – The Case of Kumustaka

This chapter examines *Kumustaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants* (in the following, the abbreviation Kumusutaka will be used), a migrant support organization (MSO) in Kumamoto City, in the context of what Pekkanen has termed "dual civil society". The analysis begins with the founding process of Kumustaka, in which the Tetori Catholic Church, located in Kumamoto City's central ward, has played an important role. It will then detail the transformation from a Christian group into a civic group, before the question of why Kumustaka hesitates from applying for the status of a non-profit organization (NPO) and choses to remain an informal group is examined. Finally, the organization's prospects against the backdrop of an aging society and the effects of the Kumamoto Earthquakes in terms of social capital will also be briefly considered.

Kumusutaka has been selected for this research for the following reasons. It is the oldest active MSO in Kumamoto City, with a history of 35 years. That means, Kumustaka was aware of social problems concerning foreign residents and provided them support long before local authorities were involved in the field of *tabunkakyōsei*. Second, Kumustaka incidentally advocates for immigrant's rights and attempts to influence policymaking on the local and national level. This distinguishes the organization from most MSOs active in Kumamoto City, which tend to be involved in supporting foreign residents but rarely advocate for their rights nor aim to influence policymaking.

The analysis starts with a brief outline of the group in terms of organization type, mission, action repertoire, and membership. On their website, Kumustaka describes itself as:

> "Kumusutaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants is a non-government organization to support international residents (immigrants, migrant workers, and refugees) living in Japan."

Kumustaka uses the term "non-governmental organization" as a distinction emphasizing that the group has no affiliation with authorities. The status is thus a non-registered informal group.

In addition, the purposefully selected wording indicates a critical position against authorities. The mission of Kumustaka encompasses the following fields and objectives:

> "We strive to solve on a wide range of issues facing international residents, including immigration, employment and labor conditions, domestic violence and divorce, and children's education, together with international residents. We promote a multicultural society where human rights are protected, and people live in peace regardless of nationality or other social status. We strive to bring awareness to the public that many of the issues facing immigrants and refugees are our own social issues" (Kumustaka Webpage)

As detailed above, Kumustaka is involved in a variety of issues related to foreigners. The general objectives of the group can be divided into three categories: to provide assistance to foreigners, to advocate for their rights, and to educate the public on social issues concerning foreigners. The group's action repertoire that is applied to achieve the objectives encompasses several means. The primary means are consultation services and assistance on daily life matters. One of Kumustaka's basic principles is that Kumustaka refrains from acting on behalf of the person seeking help. Ideally, the person should be provided with the necessary assistance to be able to fight for his or her claims or rights by him- or herself. In other words, Kumustaka's principle in this sense is to enable a person's agency. In reality, however, this is not always possible. For example, if the person seeking help is endangered, in the case of fleeing from domestic violence or committing visa violations, for example, which puts the person in danger of an arrest. In such exceptional cases, Kumustaka does act on behalf of a person.

In terms of membership, Kumustaka can be considered a small-sized group. The vast majority of the office work and assistance is conducted by one person, the current president NS. He is supported by approximately three core members, who regularly participate in activities and help with office work. The board meetings held at regular intervals are usually attended by 10 to 15 persons. These people occasionally participate in activities. The circle of supporters contributing primarily in financial terms is, however, larger. Their number is estimated at approximately 80 persons. NS stated that Kumustaka has difficulties mobilizing members for activities scheduled for weekdays during the daytime. Most members only have time to participate in the evening on weekdays or weekends due to responsibilities at work or home. Considering the nature of volunteering, which is usually done in free time, it can be assumed

that this kind of problem is faced by many voluntary groups. NS is self-employed, and subsequently has more freedom to adapt his work schedule to voluntary activities. His motivation and understanding of volunteering will be the subject of the third subchapter.

6.1 Japan's Dual Structure of Civil Society

Before diving into Kumustaka's founding, Pekkanen's notion of "dual civil society" shall be clarified as it has weight for the argumentation, which shall be developed in the following. Pekkanen defines civil society as the "organized, nonstate, nonmarket sector. This definition encompasses voluntary groups of all kinds, such as non-profit foundations, charities, think tanks, and choral societies. It includes non-profit organizations (NPO), non-governmental organizations (NGO), and other voluntary or tertiary organizations" (Pekkanen, 2006: 3). On the other hand, labor unions, trade associations, professional associations, companies, and market sector groups are excluded. Further, civil society does not include government actors, parastatal organizations, political parties, and the family. The main argument Pekkanen makes is that the Japanese government shapes the organization of civil society through legal, regulatory, and financial instruments. The result is that one type of civil group is promoted while others are constrained by the actions of the state. "Specifically, small groups, such as neighborhood associations, have been promoted by the state, while large, independent, professionalized groups, such as Greenpeace, have faced a much more hostile legal environment" (Pekkanen, 2006: 7). Pekkanen calls this pattern Japan's "dual civil society". Of interest here are the implications of this concept for MSO in general and particularly in the context of low concentration municipalities. According to Pekkanen, Japan's civil society is characterized by "networks and associations that support social capital and effective government without sustaining a professionalized advocacy community that can contribute new policy ideas or challenge current ones" (Pekkanen, 2006: 8). The example of Japanese old people's clubs (*rōjinkai*) emphasize this argument, as they provide members opportunities to socialize, but neither have professional staff nor an impact on policymaking. An interesting finding in this sense is the reference to social capital. As detailed in chapter two, social capital can have bonding or bridging features. Assuming that the social capital that civil groups promote benefits not only their members but also the community, i.e., that the social capital is bridging, what are the implications in the context of structure and agency? The assumption indicates that the structure of civil society does not only constrain action, however, it can also enable action if social capital is understood as a form or resource.

Coming back to the argument that the states powerfully shapes civil society, how does the state do this? What are according to Pekkanen the regulations and instruments that the state uses to influence the structure of civil society? Pekkanen distinguishes between "direct" and "indirect" influences. Regulations, for instance, have a direct influence. That means the impact on civil society organization's viability is immediate and clear. The regulatory framework encompasses primary regulations on the group's legal status, activities, funding, and tax benefits. In this context, particular significance has the Law to Promote Specified Non-Profit Activities (NPO Law), which came into force in 1998. The law can be regarded as a response to a rise in volunteerism and NPO activities after the Great Hanshin Earthquake, which struck the Kansai region in 1995. In the aftermath of the Great Hanshin Earthquake, volunteers and NPOs were crucial in providing quick and effective relief support in stark contrast to authorities whose relief efforts were less effective. On the other hand, indirect influences refer to institutional structures that are not directly related to regulations on civil society. Pekkanen remarks in this sense that they are not necessarily weaker than direct impacts.

The regulatory framework can be considered the core element in shaping civil society. "Japan has managed its non-governmental organizations (hereafter, NPO, the conventional Japanese term for domestically active groups) with perhaps the most severe regulatory environments in the developed world" (Pekkanen, 2006: 16). Contrary to other countries where powers are dispersed, Japanese law grants authorities a monopoly on deciding which group can acquire a legal status as an NPO and the power of continuing supervision and administrative guidance. The permitting system and screening mechanism result in a situation that makes it difficult for groups whose objectives differ from the permitting authority to gain approval. Subsequently, it is challenging for NPOs to grow large while remaining independent. This is further complicated by the fact that without legal status, it is more difficult to acquire donations. "The mechanics of this rest primarily in an institutional arrangement that places significant monitoring (reporting and investigating) and sanctioning (various punishments, including dissolution of the group) powers in the hand of a single bureaucratic ministry or agency" (Pekkanen, 2006: 18). In a nutshell, this means that the responsible agency has significant power over a group. In this respect, it should be further noted that NPOs in Japan are obliged with a reporting duty to the competent authority, which has the power to investigate the group or even revoke the legal status. Due to the fear of state interference, many groups chose not to apply for legal NPO status and thus remain an informal group (Yamanaka, 2001). According to Pekkanen, an example of indirect influence is the political opportunity structure of Japan

and its bureaucratic dominance. Indirect here means "unintentional influences on the civil society's organization that are, in a way, bi-products" (Pekkanen, 2006: 19). Pekkanen argues that the political opportunity structure does not provide an adequate ground for civil society organizations attempting to influence bureaucracy or politicians. Other indirect influences are conflict management and postal rates.

Voigt and Lersch (2007) used the "dual civil society" concept as the theoretical background for a survey conducted on MSOs in Japan. The survey's research design encompasses two main questions to test Pekkanen's concept: How successful are MSOs in improving foreigners' living and working conditions? Furthermore, how successful are MSOs in terms of political advocacy for foreign residents? MSO here refers to a definition drawn upon Apichai Shipper (2006), who distinguishes six groups of MSOs in Japan: Christian Non-governmental Organizations (NGO), community workers' union, women's support groups, medical NGOs, lawyers' NGOs, and concerned citizen groups. The study by Voigt and Lersch finds evidence that confirms the dual structure of Japan's civil society for the case of MSOs. According to the results, the majority of MSOs is involved in the following three fields: "helping migrants with everyday life issues", "the internationalization of Japanese society," and "change the way foreigners are treated in Japan" (Voigt, Lersch, 2007). On the other hand, MSOs put less effort into attempts to change legal frameworks or enforce human rights., i.e., they rarely act as political advocates. To achieve their goal, most MSOs provide "counseling services" and "language classes". According to the authors of the study, this demonstrates, "that migrant support organizations in Japan are much more concerned with the day-to-day needs of migrants that with the actual policy formation process shaping the living and working conditions the migrants face" (Voigt, Lersch, 2007: 27). Concerning the area of networking, i.e., how groups seek help and cooperation from other organizations and institutions, the study argues that MSOs tend to choose small, local organizations that are "ideologically close-by". A nationwide or even transnational engagement in larger or more abstract activism is therefore rare. The means applied to pursue their goals and networking patterns indicate that the majority of MSOs perceive themselves primarily as service providing. The study also shows that an increase in the number of volunteers correlates with an increase in contacts with local government. Two facts are considered to explain this correlation. First, an increase in members means an increase in resources, in particular financially, as most MSOs finance through membership fees and in terms of workforce. Second, local governments are more interested in cooperating with larger groups because they are perceived as more credible and reliable. Contrary, an increase in

salaried staff has not the same effects, i.e., increased contacts with local authorities or ministries. The authors consider the political opportunity structure as the primary constraint in this context.

6.2 The Asian Women's Association

Kumustaka – Association for living together with Migrants – was founded in 1985 at the Tetori Catholic Church in Kumamoto City. In this sense, according to Yamanaka (2011), the group features some characteristics typical for MSOs founded at this time. As mentioned earlier, the background is the arrival of large and diverse groups of New Comer in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Some of them entered the country with a tourist visa, worked illegal, and overstayed their visa. Few spoke Japanese or were familiar with Japanese ways of life. Subsequently, New Comer frequently faced problems beyond their control. However, they did not find sufficient assistance and legal protection from authorities. The Immigration Law, which was revised in 1989 with the primary intention to solve the issue of third-generation Zainichi Koreans, did not address the rights of these new immigrants as responsible authorities, in particular, the Ministry of Justice, was more concerned with enforcing visa violations. Instead, foreign residents found support by Japanese citizens, who formed informal groups filling the gap that local authorities did not serve. "Socially conscientious Japanese citizens such as religious leaders, labor unionists, social workers, and other professionals became aware of the urgency and gravity of the problems facing immigrants" (Yamanaka, 2011: 100). Many of them brought in relevant experience, knowledge, and networks from previous grassroots activities as volunteers. However, the range of activities was often limited due to the small number of members and shortage of funding and other resources. Subsequently, they gravitated towards providing support services in fields such as language learning, legal advice, and other assistance aiming at solving individual problems in daily life. To expand activities, MSOs began to coordinate activities and increased their networking efforts for systematic strategies and lobbying. Some groups also began to cooperate with local governments. One of the results of these intensified networking efforts was the establishment of the Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan (SMJ) *(Ijū rōdosha to rentai suru zenkoku nettowāku)* in 1997, intending to increase the exchange of knowledge concerning good practices and to influence politics on the national level.

Against this backdrop, the founding of Kumustaka is examined considering the intention and the persons involved. Kumustaka was, as mentioned above, founded at the Tetori Catholic

Church in 1985. The founding was significantly influenced by an event that occurred one year before. In 1984 Paul McCartin, an Australian national of Irish descent and member of the Missionary Society of St. Columban was appointed as assistant priest at the Tetori Church. On their webpage, the society describes itself and their values as "an international Catholic missionary organization, centered on the Eucharist, that crosses boundaries of culture and religion to help the poor and exploited peoples" (The Missionary Society of the St. Columban). He was followed one year later by main priest Joe Broderick, from the same society. Besides the fact that Father Broderick represented the Columban Society's values, he was also described as a priest in favor of a church with open doors for everyone. A church that does not look away from problems in the society. The story of Kumustaka begins with Father McCartin becoming concerned about the situation of female foreigners, predominantly Filipinas, working in the sex and entertainment industry in the city. Some Filipinas came to the church desperately seeking help, probably because the church is a familiar institution that they knew from their home country, which is, in most parts, catholic. Realizing that authorities and civil society do not provide the suffering women assistance, McCartin called for action. Considering the ideological background of the Columban Society, this step appears somewhat logical. However, it can be assumed that McCartin's personal beliefs and understanding of volunteering significantly contributed to the initiation process. To McCartin the issue of Filipina entertainer was an issue of Japanese society. Subsequently, Japanese citizens should be involved. At first, McCartin reached out to Amnesty International, an NPO that has been active in Kumamoto City in the 1980s. Unfortunately, the request was rejected for the reason that Amnesty International could not involve in activities contradictory to viewpoints of the Japanese government. Unable to contribute as an organization, the representative of Amnesty International in Kumamoto City offered his hand as a private person instead. Other members involved in the founding of Kumusutaka were the secretary-general of the Tetori Church, the president of the congregation of the Tetori Church, a protestant priest, and NS, a grassroots activist. In total, the founding member consisted of six persons, three of them related to the Tetori Church, one from a Protestant Church, and two members from civic organizations.

Reflecting on the first encounter with McCartin, NS, the current president of Kumustaka, said, "he was tall, maybe 185cm, I opened the door, and he approached me, I was shocked" (NS). At that time, NS, who has been an activist in the student movement, was involved in the environmental protest movement against nuclear power and the construction of a coal-fired power plant on Amakusa, an island off the coast of Kumamoto Prefecture. "Kyushu Electric

Power Company *(kyūshū denryoku kabushiki gaisha)* was given me hard times, but I continued with my activities. At the time, energy development was not a very popular issue among civic groups, but I became a famous activist in the Kyushu region. I was so busy with my activities that I did not consider engaging in issues concerning foreign residents" (NS). McCartin became aware of NS due to a befriended activist in Tokyo. He then successfully approached NS at a meeting in the Tetori Church, "These women are suffering from Japanese men. It is your responsibility as a Japanese man to help them" (NS). The impact McCartin had on NS and his life can be considered substantial. "If I had not met McCartin, I would not do what I am doing today" (NS). During the months of April and May, in 1985, meetings were held at the Tetori Church to consider how to provide assistance and proceed as a group. Even though some of the founding members, particularly NS, had experience from former activities in civic organizations or social movements, the group was faced with operational and organizational challenges. One was the search for a room or office where activities could be coordinated and a postal address, crucial to provide the newly founded group credibility. A solution for both problems was offered by the president of the congregation Suzuki, a professor of biology at the Kumamoto University. Professor Suzuki can be considered not only a key person in the process of the founding. Moreover, he significantly influenced the group in the following years until his withdrawal for health reasons in 2007. The group was offered a room at the parish house and to use the church's address as their postal address.

The founding members also reached out to other activists involved in supporting foreign residents and invited them to their meetings, which were held in preparation for the group's founding. Until the 80s, the vast majority of foreign residents in Japan were Old Comer, i.e., Zainichi Koreans. Subsequently, MSOs concentrated on issues concerning Zainichi Koreans, such as the anti-fingerprinting movement. NS remarked that the talks with other volunteers were not fruitful and ended up in disputes concerning the group's ideological orientation: "We talked to labor unionists and activists from Zainichi Korean support groups. They told us to study the history of foreign residents in Japan first, before starting our activities. Other people told us that we should ask people from the buraku liberation movement for civil rights matters. Some said, if you want to help these women, you have to deal with their employer, who are in some cases affiliated with organized crime. Therefore, you need a rigid and streamlined organization. In the end, all these people did not remain, and we started our activities only with people who were not concerned with such considerations" (NS). Looking back on the situation in these days, NS said that "women were fleeing, and we had to do something, provide them

shelter, we had no time to prepare the founding properly" (NS). The quotes demonstrate that ideological contentions initially prevented the founding member from cooperating with other MSOs and labor unions. In that sense, Kumustaka decided to include only the member who share their ideological views. This has characterized the group's attitude towards cooperation with other organizations and institutions for a long time. It also shows that the group considered assistance for solving individual problems of foreigners as an action repertoire that promised more success than efforts aiming at influencing policymaking. Approximately four months later, in September 1985, the group was officially founded and named "The Asian Women's Association" *(tainichi ajia jōsei wo kangaeru kai)* in a ceremony, which was attended by up to 150 persons. The majority of them were members of the Tetori Church, however, citizens with no affiliation to the church also joined the event, as reports of a local newspaper have raised their attention.

Recapitulating Shipper's categorization of MSOs, encompassing the six types of Christian Non-governmental Organizations (NGO), community workers' union, women's support groups, medical NGOs, lawyers' NGOs, and concerned citizen groups, which category does apply to Kumustaka respectively, its predecessor, the Asian Women's Association? NS emphasized that the group was founded with the intention to help foreign women from the perspective of civil society and not as a church's group. On the other hand, he stated that "the activities were perceived as intra-church activities by the Catholic Church" (NS). Depending on the aspect which shall be emphasized, several categorizations for the group are possible. The objective to "support women" would make a classification as "women's support group" as comprehensible as a classification as a "concerned citizen group" due to the intention to help as civil society. Despite these considerations, the author argues to classify early Kumustaka in principal as a Christian organization. The reason is the significant role of the church and church-affiliated members for the group. This needs to be further detailed. Concerning the founding member, four out of six members were associated with the Catholic, respectively Protestant Church. Furthermore, these members have held powerful positions shaping the group for nearly 20 years. The parish house, which was used as a base for activities, and the church's address, which was used as postal address, are just two visible signs of this influence. Other impacts remain under the surface, such as the fact that most "normal" members were affiliated with the church and joined the group by invitation from the congregation president, Suzuki. Despite the fact that McCartin initiated the networking activities resulting in the group's founding and, therefore, can be regarded as the group's founding father, Suzuki

significantly shaped the group and its activities in the following years. As a professor at Kumamoto University and president of the congregation, he ruled over resources and social capital, which significantly enhanced the group's performance. He provided the group a room, an address, and, last but not least, members, a crucial factor. More members mean more workforce and more funds, as most members usually financially contribute to the group. Both factors can be considered to have increased the range and capacity the group's activities significantly. A postal address is maybe one of the most underrated assets for a group, as it provides the group credibility. Moreover, credibility is crucial to acquire new members and donations from non-members and to get news coverage, which then again contributes to an increase in credibility. There is probably not much that can be assumed to provide a newly formed MSO more credibility than a Catholic Church's postal address, at least in the western world.

An assumption which has to remain of hypothetical nature; McCartin probably would not have been as successful in his efforts as he has been with Suzuki and the resources, he provided the group. Despite Suzuki's standing, he did not become the first president of the group. Instead, Mori was appointed as the first president and has been in this position from 1985 until 1998. Mori has worked at the information desk of the Tetori Church, where she became aware of the problematic situation of Filipina women working as dancers and entertainers in the city. Some of them came to the church seeking help, and in the case the priests were absent or occupied with other duties, they came to the information desk. In an interview with Mori, which was published in Kumustaka's newsletter in 2019 on the occasion of her passing away in that year earlier, she was quoted that she was appointed president because "she was female and worked at the information desk of the church during daytime" (Kumustaka, 2019). NS pictured Mori's appointment as an intentional decision as a woman as representative would give the group a "softer" image, especially when dealing with people involved in the sex industry, who are often affiliated with organized crime, or journalists. He describes the roles within group at the time as follows: "The first president was Mori because a woman was perceived to suit better for this position. The actual leader, though, was Professor Suzuki, who was secretary-general at that time. He ran the organization like his own business. My role was to assist him" (NS).

A question that might come into one's mind at this point is, did the group benefit from the relation with the church, for example, in the case dealing with the opponents of their "clients"? In other words, what impact did the church had on brokers, managers, and bar owners who

employed the women Kumustaka provided assistance. A brief description of the group's activities shall provide a better understanding of these matters. According to Kumustaka, many Filipinas were lured to Japan with false promises. Some were not told the truth about the actual contents of their employment. Others were promised a payment which they never received. Many women, who came to Kumusutaka seeking assistance, had issues with payments, which were often not in accordance with their contract. Some were taken away the passport in order to prevent them from fleeing. Usually, in such a case, Kumustaka did two things. First, they provided the woman shelter, and second, they talked to the employer in order to solve the problem. On that note, NS explained that "We were afraid. However, when we talked to them, we could understand their situation. And surprisingly, they were afraid of us, too. Because they did not know what kind of group we were, only that we shelter the women who ran away from them" (NS). According to NS, most employer were only interested in running their business. Negotiating with opponents interested in business would have been more comfortable for them than dealing with a non-profit organization interested in human rights and therefore has nothing to lose in an economic sense. The main concern of employers was that their business would stop. Many cases, therefore, could be settled for the mutual benefit of both parties. The woman got her money or her passport back, and the employer could continue with his business. In the case a settlement could not be achieved, the group threaten to take the case to the Bureau of Immigration, the predecessor of the current Immigration Service Agency. "Not, that the Bureau of Immigration would do anything for us, but they (the opponents) knew that the contracts were illegal, and in most cases, this worked" (NS). In cases it did not work, the group collected money among their members to compensate for the woman's open claims. "We were afraid when dealing with these people. Of course, it depends on the person you are dealing with, but knowing the church in your back, did not provide a feeling of security or protection. That is because the reputation of the church in Japan is low" (NS). Concerning the church's role in Japan, NS further expressed, "I have no affiliation with the Catholic or Protestant Church. I know that they exist, but they have no impact on Japan's civil society. If I drop the name of the church, that does not intimidate anyone. On the other hand, it was helpful because it proved that we were not profit-oriented or linked with organized crime. I am thankful that the church was so cooperative to provide a room and the postal address, but our group is a civic group from an objective point of view. Furthermore, not everyone at the church agreed with our activities" (NS). Of course, this reflects NS's subjective view of things. Other group members, in particular those affiliated with the church, assumingly have different views. They would probably agree that the church provided them protection, mental and spiritual backing, making

it easier to deal with brokers, bar owners, and other persons related to the sex industry. The question, though, how to estimate the influence of the church on the group's activities, has to remain open. To properly answer this question, further research is necessary as available data are not sufficient enough. Unfortunately, NS is the only still-active founding member. Other members either have moved away, are in bad health conditions, or have passed away.

In conclusion, the classification of the Asian Women's Association as a Christian non-governmental organization stands in contrast to NS statements and emphasis on the viewpoint classifying the group as a civic group. The reasons why the author argues for this classification are the strong influence of persons affiliated with the church on the group and the recognition as an inner-church activity. However, this reflects only a snapshot, and Kumustaka has changed in terms of personnel and strategic orientation since then. This change will be subject to the next section.

6.3 Renaming and Strategical Reorientation

In 1993, the group's name was changed to the current "Kumusutaka – Association for Living Together with Migrants". The renaming was the first change in a series of changes the group faced in the following years. According to NS, the name was changed because foreign residents seeking assistance and the contents of assistance diversified. Additionally, the old name in its Japanese transliteration was perceived as too long and "boxy". Kumustaka, which means "how are you?" in Tagalog, was chosen because it reflects the historical ties with the Filipino community. "Association for Living Together with Migrants" was added with the purpose to make the objectives of the group clear, which otherwise in the case of using only "Kumustaka" was not assumed to be the case. In the beginning, most people seeking assistance were Filipina women who came to Japan, respectively Kumamoto, to temporally work as so-called entertainers. Most of them came to Japan intending to earn some money and then go back to the Philippines. Therefore, the majority of issues concerned human rights violations and the working conditions of these women. Many women expressed the desire to leave Japan, and Kumustaka assisted them. Compared with the issues that were coming up, returning home was a comparatively easy task, a valid passport, and travel expenses given. However, in the early 90s, things started to change and become more complicated. One reason was the amendment of Immigration Law, which resulted in an influx and diversification of foreign residents in

Kumamoto City. Now people from other parts of the world, e.g., people from Peru, Thai, and Poland, came to seek assistance from Kumustaka. Additionally, “clients” became diverse in terms of gender, the group now faced also issues concerning men and children. The name “Asian Women’s Association” has become outdated and did not reflect what the group was standing for. Filipina women still made up the majority of “clients”, however, as mentioned above, the content of issues became more diverse. In the early years, issues revolved around human rights violations, working conditions, and the desire to leave Japan. In the 90s, things became more complex, as issues shifted towards problems related to a residence in Japan, such as marriage, paternal recognition, divorce, and education of children. The new name expresses the change in strategic orientation while emphasizing the historical roots of the group.

Two years later, in 1995, Father Broderick was replaced by Father Curry, who was sent from the same Missionary Society of St. Columban. Although this replacement had no direct implications for Kumustaka, tensions with church members started to rise. During the ten years of Father Broderick’s assignment as a priest at the Tetori Church, many groups involved in social issues were founded at the church, such as the homeless assistance or the assistance for persons with special needs. All these groups used the parish house for their activities. The most prominent example of these groups is probably “Kumamoto Lifeline” (*kumamoto inochi no denwa)*, a suicide prevention organization offering a 24h operated helpline founded in 1985, the same year as Kumustaka. Kumamoto Lifeline can be considered an exemption as it is the only civic group founded at the Tetori Church that grew large and professionalized. Today the organization is registered as a social welfare corporation operating a four-story building in the city. Returning to the issue of rising tensions among church members, NS expressed in this respect that he realized a change of the atmosphere at the parish house, which he puts in context with the change at the church's head. “We started our activities together with socially conscious church members. However, people like me, who have no affiliation with the church, went in and out of the parish house. It was a messy place. And many church members did not like that, that is a fact” (NS). The change of atmosphere did not only affect Kumustaka, moreover all groups that were active at the church. Kumamoto Lifeline, for example, moved out of the church in 1999. Other groups followed or quit their activities. For Kumustaka, the arrival of the new Father Masayama in 2005 brought dramatic changes. The doors at the church and the parish house, which used to be open 24 hours for everyone, were closed at 18:00. The new regulation soon became an obstacle to volunteers who used to gather for meetings in the evening after work. Kumustaka, despite the difficulties of the new regulations, remained at the

church. The primary reason was Suzuki's influence, who managed to get the activities of Kumustaka recognized as inner-church activities. In retrospect, NS said that Father Broderick's dismissal marked a huge turning point. "If the ten years of Father Broderick's time as the main priest would have been prolonged to twenty or thirty years, the impact of the church on the civil society would have been enormous" (NS).

In 2006 Suzuki suffered from a stroke and had to withdraw from his positions at the church and Kumusutaka the following year as he did not recover, and his health was deteriorating. During that time, plans to reconstruct the old parish house were put into practice by the church. For approximately two years until completion Kumustaka and all other groups were not able to use the facility. When the new parish house was opened, regulations on its use for non-church members became so strict that Kumustaka considered themselves unable to further use the facility and finally decided to move out. The mailbox was left at the parish house. However, the actual use became more and more complicated. After more than 20 years, the relationship with the church came to an end. The separation from the church had a significant impact on the group. Not only as the group lost valuable social capital and other resources that the church has provided but also in terms of membership.

Catholic activists who have been members for more than ten years left the group, primarily as it was no longer considered an inner-church activity. The loss of longstanding members drove the group into an existential crisis, in which the existence of the group was questioned. In the end, six members decided to continue. Among them was not only one with an affiliation to the Tetori Church. The reason for continuing the activities was the fact that the remaining member had the impression that their service is still demanded. With the withdrawal of longstanding members, Kumustaka lost experiences, workforce, and financial contributions. The group went through a organizational and strategical reorientation process transforming from a Christian group to a civic group in the following time. The only remaining relation with the church was, as mentioned above, the letterbox. The group relocated its office to a conference room that was temporarily rented at YMCA Kumamoto.

How did the separation from the church and transformation to a civic group affect the group's activities? Did it affect the relationship with the Filipino community, which can be considered catholic for most parts and, to some extent, active members of the church? NS explained in this respect that the group was concerned it would affect the relationship; however, it did not. "We

realized that people who come to us seeking assistance, come because they want their problem solved and not because we are affiliated with the church" (NS). Additionally, it can be assumed that trust that has been built up due to personal relationships over the years between members of Kumustaka and members of the Filipino community played an important role. Kumustaka has achieved a reputation among the Filipino community as a reliable and trustful partner and this reputation seemed to be not affected by the transformation. However, the transformation resulted in changes, primarily concerning the degree of activism. "With the separation from the church, without their members, as a civic group, we became more mobile, flexible, and our external activities increased" (NS). The loss of resources and workforce was compensated by individual endeavors, particularly by NS, whose influence on the group rapidly increased. In 2006 he lost his job and began volunteering fulltime for the group. He saw the assistance he provided foreign residents, especially Filipinos, as an investment in his future career as an administrative scrivener, for which he was studying at that time. In 2009 he acquired the administrative scrivener's license and opened an office, which also became the new office for Kumustaka. The same year he became the fourth president of Kumustaka. "When I became president, I applied my methods. As a result, confrontations increased. And in my case, I rarely lose" (NS). The statement illustrates how significant the individual influence of a leader on a group in terms of strategic orientation and degree of activity can be. Finally, in 2013 Kumustaka removed at the request of the Tetori Church the postal address from the church to the new office, cutting off the last remaining tie with the church. The movement was preceded by an incident of telephone disturbance from a person who was rejected assistance by Kumustaka.

6.4 Changing Relationships with Authorities and Civic Groups

The next paragraph investigates why Kumustaka decided to remain an informal group and does not apply for the status of a non-profit organization (NPO). In the interview, NS named two reasons for the decision not to apply. However, he also stated that there had been demands for an application from group members in the past. This indicates that the decision is contentious, and among its members' opposite views to the issue exist. The first reason concerns the balance of power between authorities, e.g., the local government, and civic groups, e.g., Kumustaka. The main point is that receiving funds result in an unequal relationship, in which civil groups become unable to argue with authorities. In other words, the activities of the group are

constraint by financial dependency. The advantage of an NPO registration is usually considered with increased credibility, which is regarded as necessary to collect donations. Other benefits encompass the use of public facilities for activities. In several statements, NS made it clear that Kumustaka does not intend to receive any financial support from authorities or ask financial institutes for a loan. “Kumustaka continues to exist because we are not like that. We only can exert our influence because we are not like that” (NS). Subsequently, social credibility related to the status of an NPO is not considered an advantage by Kumustaka. Contrary, the disadvantages related to NPO registration are perceived to have more weight. In particular, this applies to the establishment of a legal corporate association (*hōjinkai*), which is a necessary step in the process of application. According to the NPO regulations, the organization is obliged to report to the supervising agency in regular terms. NS said in this regard: “I do not want the authorities to know about our office work. I do not want to spend more time with office work, time I could spend assisting people in need” (NS). That is the second reason and a clear sign of the fear of interference by authorities, mentioned by Pekkanen. It also implies that Kumustaka has difficulties in handling office work. The current workforce would not be sufficient to handle additional office work resulting from an NPO registration. NS mentioned that he had noticed that groups, particularly those involved in Japanese language support, cooperating with authorities, have changed over time. “What is important is to solve the problems of the people coming to us. To think about the relationship with the local government or funds received from them only makes this task more complicated” (NS). There is, however, another perspective for the hesitation, one that is of more pragmatic nature. NS is, as already mentioned, self-employed as an administrative scrivener. In this function, he offers his “clients” a compensated service. On the other hand, the service he offers on behalf of Kumustaka is free of charge. In this regard, NS said: “From the beginning, I wanted to divide both, but in reality, it does not work” (NS). This would, however, be necessary for a successful application.

These are, in conclusion, the two reasons for not applying for NPO status. However, two more aspects deserve further consideration. One concerns NS’s understanding and motivation for volunteering. As detailed in the previous subchapter, the impact of individual members on the vitality and the group’s ideological and strategic orientation is significant. Moreover, the current president, NS can be considered to have such an influence. Second, Kumustaka’s relationship with authorities, i.e., the local government and other civil organizations, needs to be investigated as it has significance for the formulated purpose. The nature of the relationship can serve as an indicator of the willingness to apply for NPO status. According to Pekkanen,

one reason for not applying for NPO status is the fear of interference by authorities. Subsequently, a tense relationship with authorities can be interpreted as a sign. Apart from that, relationships with authorities and other civil groups are also of interest from the perspective of social capital. Pekkanen argued that civil groups provide their member social capital. Kumustaka differs in this regard, as the group primarily provides social capital to foreign residents, who are in principal not members of Kumustaka. However, to increase the range of their activities and achieve its objectives, Kumustaka collaborates with other organizations and institutions. Further, Kumustaka is embedded in a superregional network. The question of how the cooperation is characterized and how it has changed over the years will be analyzed before turning to the last issue, which is related to the future prospects of Kumusutaka.

The following paragraph will give an insight into NS's understanding of volunteering and his motivation for it. "Usually people, attorneys or academic scriveners, for example, do their job, and in their free time, they do something else. I am the opposite, I volunteer for Kumustaka, and in my free time I work, to make a living" (NS). This statement remarkably illustrates NS's understanding and passion for volunteering. In the beginning, Kumustaka was considered by the founding member more of a temporarily limited "project" that was started with the purpose to help people suffering. And activities would stop anytime they are not be required anymore. Subsequently, it can be assumed that the group initially had no intention to grow big or professionalize. This is emphasized in several statements by NS: "We are no firm organization. What holds the group together are the members and their voluntary and financial contributions. People are seeking assistance and people providing assistance; if either one side disappears, everything ends. Based on that premise, Kumustaka was started. I did not expect that it would go on for so long, 35 years actually. When I began, I was 31 years old. I am an activist for more than half of my life" (NS). A side note, which has some importance to the group's prospects, here is the age of NS. Asked for his motivation, NS explained: "Maybe it is a sense of values. For me, it is about solving issues of foreign residents. McCartin has been the impetus, but the reason why I continued was not that I felt the necessity to take all the sins of Japanese men on my shoulders. The excitement when a problem can be solved, a social issue that can lead to a change in society. When a successful example triggers change, that is my excitement" (NS). Concerning the means, Kumusutaka applies to achieve their objectives, NS said: "Kumustaka's way is to win a court trial which then has an impact on the local government" (NS). As detailed earlier, Kumustaka's main principle in this regard is to support the person seeking assistance, so he or she is able to stand up for his or her claims. Foreigners in general, and, in particular,

in the case the person stays illegally in Japan, can be considered weak in terms of legal protection. Further barriers are the Japanese language and the legal system, which are unknown and unfamiliar to most foreigners. Kumustaka aims to provide "clients" with the necessary support that they can overcome these barriers. In other words, Kumustaka provides social capital enabling the agency of foreigners. For NS, the transformation of a desperate and broken person into one that becomes able to act for his or her purpose is another source of personal motivation: "At first, someone seeking our assistance, may not have a strong will. However, when the person becomes aware of the potential to achieve their objectives, he grows in confidence. And then people realize that they are able to confront their employer or their husband, a perpetrator of domestic violence, without fear. This change in people excites me. This is my motivation" (NS).

Concerning Kumustaka's ambitions, NS said that the group does not strive for fame. Fame is not considered to have any value or be helpful to achieve the group's mission. "There are many famous and influential people in this world. However, they do nothing to solve the issues of "entertainers", TITP participants, and of domestic violence" (NS). The relationship with mass media can be described as ambivalent. On one side, mass media is considered a necessary tool that can be used to enhance activities' performance. On the other hand, Kumustaka does not want to adjust to media standards in order to achieve publicity and therefore take a critical stance towards most media representatives. This critical view of things does not only apply to media, but also to authorities, which will be concerned in detail later, and academics. "Concerning Japan's society, I noticed one thing: there are few people, who engage in support activities on sight, few people create a "story"[vi]. This story then, may it be an example of success or a good practice, is picked up and discussed by many people. However, these many people do very little to support those, who create the story" (NS). The picture drawn by NS is characterized by a general rejection of authorities, which is considered rooted in the values and experiences he has made during his time in the student movement.

Having the motivation and understanding of volunteering out of the way, now it is time to look at Kumustaka's relationship with authorities, particularly the local government of Kumamoto City and other civic groups. Kumustaka's general attitude towards the local government is based on the perception that authorities show almost no interest in issues concerning foreign residents. Subsequently, the relation can be described as tense. The perception that the local

government is part of a system that causes social issues faced by foreigners, e.g., due to visa regulations or the Technical Intern Training Program, is rooted in the group's experiences with assisting Filipina entertainers. Issues used to be solved directly between the concerned parties, on one side, Filipinas, and on the other, employers, partners, and husbands. "The local government did nothing for us. We made claims and requests. However, we never had the intention to cooperate with the local government" (NS). Today Kumustaka does cooperate with the local government in specific fields, and the relationship has improved over the last years. However, Kumustaka's critical sentiment against authorities has not vanished entirely and, in parts, still influences the relationship with the local government, respectively, KIF.

A successful example of cooperation with authorities is the assignment of Kumustaka by the prefectural government in the field of domestic violence. The prefectural government provided Kumustaka with a budget in order to carry out tasks on their behalf. The cooperation was perceived so successful by the prefectural government that it became a role model for future cooperation with civic groups. The results found their way into a guideline on domestic violence issued by the prefectural government. Although both parties considered the cooperation a success, the cooperation ended after the contract was completed. The primary reason for discontinuing the cooperation was according to Kumustaka bureaucratic obligations and, in particular, the filing of reports, which had to be done in accordance with the instructions of the prefectural government. Kumustaka stated that the procedure of failing reports was too time-consuming. Again, this indicates an issue with insufficient staff available to carry out additional duties such as office work. Concerning the current relationship and possible cooperation with the local government, NS said: "The local government often asks for our cooperation in terms of interpreting or providing consultation. However, Kumustaka does not work as some kind of "subcontractor" for authorities. That is our principle. We do not mind being introduced by authorities, but we only take up cases if we are granted all responsibilities and competencies" (NS). And exempted from reporting duties, one might want to add. The relationship with KIF is described as: "KIF knows what we (Kumustaka) do. And when they do not want to get their hands dirty, they call us. That is our relationship, not in a bad sense. If we need each other, we cooperate" (NS). The statement partially refers to a recent case of Kumustaka, which illustrates the kind of cooperation between both parties. A pregnant Vietnamese TITP participant came to KCIC seeking for assistance. According to TITP regulations, the pregnancy of a participant is sanctioned with the termination of the contract. Consequently, the person loses their visa status, which is directly linked to the contract, and

thus has to return to the country of origin. The women, however, already in the ninth month of pregnancy, expressed the desire to give birth in Japan. KIF, probably aware of the risk providing the woman assistance could result in a confrontation with JITCO, the supervising agency of the Technical Intern Training Program, and the Immigration Service Agency, introduced her to Kumustaka. Kumustaka took the woman in shelter, and in March 2020, she successfully gave birth to a child at a hospital in Japan. In the following, the case has been taken to a hearing at the National Diet to clarify open issues concerning the newborn's visa status and the refunding of medical costs. It is the first time a TITP participant gave birth in Japan. Subsequently, this case is without precedent and has, according to Kumustaka, the potential that existing regulations are revised, in the case the government gives in. Again, the case emphasizes Kumustaka's endeavors to influence policymaking and bring change to society.

The relationship with other civic groups has also not been free of issues in the past. In the beginning, few voluntary groups and organizations have been willing to corporate, primarily because the issues Kumustaka addressed were related to the so-called *mizu shōbai*, literally meaning water trade, the Japanese euphemism for the sex industry. Kumustaka's critical stance against authorities and Japanese society's norms can be assumed to have further contributed to the sentiment of refusal. Even among members of the Tetori Church, Kumustaka's activities have been criticized, demanding that both organizations' names shall not appear together in the media. However, since early 2000, relationships and perceptions have started to change. The reason for this change is multi-faceted. Put into general context, the influx of foreigners in the 90s and their settlement resulted in raising awareness on matters related to foreigners by local authorities, which resulted in the implementation of *tabunkakyōsei*. In Kumamoto City, the change on the local government level became visible with the start of integration programs at KCIC in 2004, as detailed in chapter five. Furthermore, the change also affected Kumustaka. The means and methods, Kumustaka applies in order to achieve their goals may not have changed much over time, but foreign residents and the nature of their issues did. As mentioned earlier, in the late 80s and early 90s, Kumustaka was primarily involved with issues of Filipinas working in the sex industry, a legal grey zone in Japan. In addition, Kumustaka activities, which occasionally involved dealing with opponents affiliated with organized crime, further contributed to the fact that the activities did not gain a wide acceptance or were even perceived as issues by Japan's mainstream society. With the increase of New Comer in the 90s, foreigners became more diverse and more visible. The settlement of Filipinos resulted in a shift of issues

away from the legal grey zone into areas that can be considered more acceptable to the general public. Issues concerning marriage, divorce, recognition of children, and their education are less disreputable and can be perceived to gain a broader understanding and acceptance by society.

The National Solidarity Forum with Migrants Japan in Kumamoto 2020, a conference on issues concerning disasters and the multicultural co-existing society, can be considered another sign of this development. The conference, organized by the Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan (SMJ) and co-hosted by Kumustaka, was planned to be held in June 2020 in Kumamoto City. Unfortunately, the conference was canceled due to the outbreak of the new coronavirus Covid-19. In total, 23 primarily local organizations have ensured their participation, some of them for the first time. NS said in this regard, that "the participation shows how times have changed and reflects the increase of interest by volunteers in matters of *tabunkakyōsei*" (NS). However, another aspect has contributed to this development, one that is related to the Kumamoto Earthquakes of 2016. In the aftermath of the earthquakes, Kumustaka actively provided foreign residents with relief support. Generally, in low concentration municipalities, issues of foreign residents do not gain much attention from the public. However, the earthquakes brought foreigners and their issues in times of disaster temporarily to the public eye's focus. The increased attention and the positive perception of their activities in the aftermath of the earthquakes allowed Kumustaka to expand their networking activities and create new linkages with other groups. In other words, Kumustaka was able to build up social capital. The conference and the possibilities for networking can be considered to have been a significant occasion to reinforce existing relations and build new linkages.

Furthermore, it would have been a chance to address an issue that is named by NS as the most significant issue for the future: the search for a successor of his position. Reminding the fact that NS is 65 years old, in the next few years, the question of who will take the groups' lead in order to ensure its continuance will become urgent. "People like me, who share the values and behaviors of the student movement turning 70 soon. It is not just Kumustaka, the aging society affects all civic groups" (NS). Japan is one of the fastest aging societies in the world, with a wide range of implications for society. According to NS, the situation of groups involved in the fields of LGBT and foreign residents is comparatively good, as many young people show interest in these fields. However, the legacy that NS will leave behind for a possible successor is enormous. Kumustaka's activities have been the primary objective in the life of NS, to which

everything else has been subordinated. It is hard to imagine that someone is willing to take on this task alone. A solution would be to distribute responsibilities among several members. NS said it is difficult to find someone competent, as the younger generation has different values. Further, he cautiously indicated that the time might even be ready for a non-Japanese as president. It is not the first time that the existence of Kumusutaka is endangered. However, this time, it is probably more severe than before. A loss of Kumustaka would have far-reaching consequences for the multicultural co-existing society in Kumamoto City. The city would lose an independent MSO, critical vis-à-vis authorities advocating for migrant rights. In addition, Kumustaka is a significant supplier of bridging social capital to the foreign community. Particularly affected would be the Filipino community, which would lose its most effective support network. The gap that Kumustaka would leave behind would be enormous.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at analyzing Kumusutaka in the context of Pekkanen's notion of "dual civil society". Kumustaka is characterized as an informal civic group. The group's primary means are consultation services. Furthermore, the group attempts to influence policymaking via court decisions, which have the capacity to bring change to society. The fear of state interference strongly influences Kumustaka's decision to remain as an informal group and to not apply for legal NPO status. The regulatory framework, here, in particular, the reporting duty to the supervising authority, can be considered to significantly contribute to this decision. Additionally, Kumustaka does not intend to grow large or professionalize in order to expand its influence. The results confirm the dual structure of civil society and illustrate how structural constraints influence the group in their choice of means and status.

However, the discussion has also revealed the impact of individual members on the group's ideological orientation. In this sense, personal views and sentiments of the current president NS that are based on a general rejection of authorities play a role. The group was founded as a Christian NGO and then transformed into a civic group separating from the Tetori Church. During the transformation process, Kumustaka lost valuable 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 can be considered to come in parts from social constraints.

The last finding concerns the changing relationship with the local government and other civil groups. Evidence has been found that the tense relations of the past are changing. Social changes concerning *tabunkakyōsei* and the increased reputation of Kumusutaka due to support activities in the aftermath of the Kumamoto Earthquakes can be considered to have contributed to this development. For the future, it can be assumed that an increase and deepening of cooperation with the local government and other civic groups are within the realms of possibility. A remaining task closely linked with the vitality of the group is the search for a successor. Against the background of an aging society, this task becomes even more severe.

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

This chapter investigates the effects of social capital on human agency at the case of support activities by foreign residents of Kumamoto City in the wake of the Kumamoto Earthquakes 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 primary objective is to examine the question of how social capital can enable support activities. Therefore, cases of support activities will be analyzed with particular attention to the function of social networks involved. Note, for reasons of a better understanding, network structures will be simplified in the following discussion. Each of the selected cases will be reviewed with regard to language proficiency as a form of human capital and the degree of interaction with members of the local community as a form of social capital. Finally, the implications of the activities for the relationship with the local community will be examined.

Subject to the empirical research are support activities by foreign residents of Kumamoto City who were "directly affected" by the Kumamoto Earthquakes. With regard to the research objectives, the focus on "directly affected" intends to ensure that the subjects possess inherently the hybrid set of features, being eligible to "receive" and "provide" assistance. Hence, being a "victim" and an "agent". Support activities are limited to cases in which foreign residents of Kumamoto City were actively involved, which had a duration of not more than one month following the earthquakes, which went beyond ethnic borders aiming at all people regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, or religion. Thus, support activities were excluded in the case primarily "indirectly affected" foreign residents were involved. The activities were started later than one month after the earthquakes, or they primarily targeted at foreign residents, ethnic or religious peer groups. Therefore, activities concerning the distribution of multilingual information, activities of the Non-Resident Nepali Association (NRNA) in Japan (Sankei West News, 2016; Yahoo Japan News, 2016), and the Kumamoto Earthquake Experience Project (KEEP) are not subject to this research (KEEP, 2017).

In April 2016, Kumamoto was hit by a series of severe earthquakes. The foreshock occurred on April 14th with a Magnitude of 6.5 in Kumamoto City and the maximum seismic intensity of 7 in Mashiki Town. On April 16th, the mainshock occurred with a Magnitude of 7 and a

maximum intensity of 7.3 in Mashiki Town. Since the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, referred to as 3.11, named after the date it has occurred: March 11th, it was the biggest earthquake in Japan. According to official statistics, 87 people died, and 770 people were injured in Kumamoto City (KIF 2019). Even though casualties of foreigners are not reported, natural disasters and foreign residents have their relevance in sociology and, in particular, in disaster studies. An Earthquake of the size of the Kumamoto Earthquakes causes massive damage to the economy and infrastructure and, hence, affects the lives and living conditions of people in the region. In other words, it affects society, causing a social disaster. Foreign residents are a part of this society, as they are considered members of the local community under the concept of *tabunkakyōsei*.

7.1. Foreign Residents and Disasters: From Victims to Agents? – A Literature Review

In Japan's history, numerous natural disasters have occurred, many of them with severe impacts on the society and economy. With increasing numbers of foreign residents in Japan and developments towards a multicultural co-existence society, issues concerning foreign residents in times of natural disaster have not only gained awareness among local governments and NPOs but also been subject to academic research.

Eriko Suzuki (2012) argues that the relationship between foreign residents and the host society has changed over time. The discourse focuses on developments that have taken place until the events of the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami of 2011. The central claim made by Suzuki, which is supported by Tokuda (2016), is that the roles of foreign residents in times of earthquakes have shifted from the "receiving side" of support to the "providing side". The historical review starts with the events of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 by stating that foreign residents, who were predominantly Koreans at that time, were confronted with emotional barriers rooted in discrimination and prejudice against Koreans by the Japanese society. As a result, Japanese citizens refrained from providing support. In 1995, at the case of the Great Hanshin Earthquake, emotional barriers did not play a significant role anymore. Instead, language barriers have become obstacles. Local authorities, NPOs, and concerned Japanese citizens were eager to provide foreign residents, especially Nikkeijin, with information and relief support. However, they failed in many cases due to language problems. Sixteen years later, when the Great East Japan Earthquake occurred in 2011, things were different. According to Suzuki, the reason for the development are multi-dimensional. At first,

foreign residents living in Japan's northeastern (Tohoku) region, which was particularly affected by the disaster, differ in size and composition compared to the Kansai region. This agglomeration area encompassing the cities of Osaka, Kobe, and Kyoto is the second most populated area following the Tokyo metropolitan area and is considered an area with a high concentration of foreign residents. In 1995 Old Comer, i.e., Zainichi Koreans, made up the majority of foreign residents. Comparably smaller in numbers were New Comer, such as Nikkeijin, who have arrived in Japan after the Immigration Law was amended in 1989. Kajita (2005) argues that the pattern of employment characterized by frequent relocations within Japan resulted in the fact that Nikkeijin, particularly those of Brazilian descent, have been considered "invisible foreigners". A combination of these lifestyle patterns and the short term of residence in Japan until the outbreak of the disaster can be identified as the primary factor not allowing Nikkeijin to pick up sufficient Japanese skills and establish relationships with the local community. This has significantly contributed to the perception of New Comer as "victims". On the other hand, Zainichi Koreans were actively involved in support activities during the Great Hanshin Earthquake (Suzuki, 2012). Ethnic networks, in particular, the two organizations of the Korean minority, i.e., Mindan (*zainihon daikanminkoku mindan*) and Chongryon (*zainihon chōsenjin sōrengōkai*), played essential roles in these activities (Matsuda, 2019).

Contrary to the Kansai region, the Tohoku region can be characterized as a region with a low concentration of foreign residents. The majority of foreign residents are New Comer, particularly females from Asian countries like China, South Korea, and the Philippines. In terms of legal status, permanent residents, spouses, students, and participants of the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) make up the largest share. The long-term residence and the established relationships with local communities have fostered social integration and language proficiency (Suzuki, 2012). Tokuda (2016) refers to these relationships as "visible relations". Furthermore, the knowledge about natural disasters and disaster response measures among foreign residents has increased due to information campaigns and disaster drills by local governments and NPOs. Support systems provided by local authorities and NPO aiming at foreign residents in times of emergency, particularly in the area of multilingual information distribution, have been significantly enhanced based on the experiences made at previous events (Suzuki, 2012). Remarkable in this regard is the community broadcasting station "FM Waiwai", which was established in the aftermath of the Great Hanshin Earthquake by Zainichi Koreans in Kobe City (Kim, 2012), and had a pioneering role for following media activities.

Suzuki (2012) considers all these elements to have significantly contributed to the fact that New Comer have, contrary to prior events, actively participated in support activities in the case of the Great East Japan Earthquake.

Research on "foreign residents and disaster" or, in a broader sense, "*tabunkakyōsei* and disaster" tends to approach foreign residents from perspectives emphasizing the passiveness of their existence, i.e., a receiver of support. Hence, the focus lies on the host society, respectively, issues that the host society is confronted with in its effort to assist foreign residents. A typical example could be an issue related to the operational management of evacuation sites sheltering foreign residents (Ito, Asama, 2015) or language-related problems, such as difficulties in distributing information to foreign residents. Again, the legitimacy of this discourse shall not be denied, as it contributes to improving the situation of foreign residents in the case of disaster and enhancing the quality of assistance by the host society.

A different perspective is provided by studies investigating foreign minorities and giving an insight into the experiences, fears, and issues of specific individuals and groups made in the case of disaster (Kawamura, 2012; Komai, 2012). With the shift of the perspective, the agency of foreign residents receives attention. As an example, here serves the discourse that came up in the wake of 3.11 and evolved around the question of whether foreign residents shall stay in Japan or leave. (Kawamura, 2012; Komai, 2012). Support activities are another field emphasizing the agency of foreign residents. In the aftermath of 3.11, the Zainichi Korean community and their organizations engaged in various activities in the Tohoku region, including distributing food at evacuation sites and fund-raising activities by utilizing ethnic networks (Matsuda, 2019; Sasaki 2012). New Comer were also involved in support activities after 3.11. As an example can serve the cooperation between the Filipino community and Catholic churches, in particular, the Catholic Tokyo International Center (CTIC) (Matsuda, 2019). Tokuda (2016) provides a detailed analysis of the activities conducted by CTIC and Filipino volunteers in Tokyo. Research by Kobayashi (2012) has investigated support activities of New Comer at the cases of Tongans and Pakistanis. Analyzing both cases, Kobayashi (2012) identifies four common elements that have affected the activities: 1. The existence of a nationwide network linked with local people; 2. Consciousness rooted in religion; 3. The sentiment of giving the Japanese society something back; and 4. The wish to be accepted and participate in Japanese society as an equal member. Kobayashi (2012) further emphasizes the role of social networks in the activities.

In summary, the review of previous research has demonstrated that foreign residents are capable of providing support in times of disaster, emphasizing their role as agents. The experiences of the Great Hanshin Earthquake and the Great East Japan Earthquake imply that social integration into local society facilitates the participation of foreign residents in support activities. Social networks, as mentioned earlier, are recognized as an essential factor fostering these activities. However, the function of social capital in this context has not been sufficiently addressed by research. Therefore, the question of how social networks can enable support activities remains open. The author concludes that social integration facilitates engagement in support activities, with social capital being the determining factor.

7.2 The Case of the Kumamoto Islamic Center – A Case of Collective Agency

Before examining the support activities carried out by the Kumamoto Islamic Center (KIC), a glance at KIC's history shall provide a better understanding of the organization itself. Further, it shall demonstrate the capacity Muslim communities in Japan have in mobilizing their members for activities or acquiring resources.

KIC was started in the year 2000 as a project of Muslim international students. They gathered for Friday prayers at Kumamoto University's Honjo Campus, where they were provided a small prayer room. As gatherings became more and more regularly, the members organized themselves and formed the Muslim Society at Kumamoto. With increasing numbers of Muslim students due to an extension of exchange programs with universities overseas, the prayer room soon became too small. In 2003 "there were around 40 to 60 Muslims in Kumamoto City. Nowadays, in this area, 150 to 200 Muslims live" (MS). This does not only indicate the increasing numbers of Muslims but also a local concentration in terms of the settlement. The area referred to in the statement is the Kurokami district, located close to Kumamoto University's Kurokami Campus. In 2007 the Masjid Project was started, and the search for a place suitable for the growing community began. It ended in 2012 with the successful bid at a public auction for an apartment building located in the Kurokami district, whose owner went bankrupt. In order to acquire the sum necessary to pay off the bid, a fund-raising campaign was started. In two months, 16 million Yen were collected, with donations coming from Muslims all over Japan and overseas. "Donations were very fast. A few months before, we collected money, maybe the same amount or more, for the Masjid in Hiroshima. So, we built one Masjid

in Hiroshima and a few months later, the Kumamoto Masjid" (MS). The successful fund-raising campaign remarkably demonstrates the capacity of Muslim communities in Japan mobilizing resources. After one year of reconstruction, the Kumamoto Masjid opened its doors in March 2013.

KIC today has approximately 150 members, coming from various Muslim countries. The majority, though, is from Asian countries such as Indonesia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Smaller in numbers are people from Malaysia or Arabian and Middle-Eastern countries. Sometimes the culturally diverse background causes problems among the community, particularly in terms of communications as the common language at KIC is English, which is not spoken by everyone proficiently. Other issues concern religious views and practices, which differ regionally. Most members today are international students. Many of them arrived in Japan without prior knowledge of the Japanese language. Due to their comparably short period of stay and the fact that their studies and research are primarily conducted in English, the degree of Japanese proficiency acquired during their stay does, in most cases, not exceed a level necessary to master matters of daily life. MS describes the language abilities of KIC members by saying: "Our teacher and most people that come to pray do not speak Japanese" (MS). This statement emphasizes the language proficiency of KIC members. It further shows that except for the Imam, here referred to as a teacher, and five students to whom KIC rents apartments in the center, most members do not live at KIC or its direct neighborhood. Hence, they only come to pray or participate in events at KIC. This partially explains why interactions with the local community are not very pronounced. Without further saying, Japanese proficiency can differ individually, and people with profound language proficiency within the Muslim community do exist. For example, some Pakistanis, especially those involved in the used car business, are assumed to have a good command of Japanese. The two directors of KIC, both long term residents with Japanese spouses as well. The majority, though, can be regarded as less fluent in Japanese. The same can be assumed regarding the interactions with the local community. As mentioned above, the majority of members consists of students with a short to medium length of residence in Kumamoto City. Consequently, interactions and relations with the local community are not very pronounced. Other members, especially long-term residents like the two directors and those with Japanese family members, can be considered to have developed a higher degree of interaction with local society.

KIC at the state before the earthquakes could be described as an organization composed of culturally diverse members with Islam as a strong connecting element. The example of the fund-raising campaign demonstrated that KIC has intensive linkages with other Muslim organizations, which have a high capacity of mobilizing their members. On the other hand, KIC failed to build relationships with the local community. This issue, in particular, the question of how it has affected support activities, will be further discussed in the following part.

Two days after the mainshock on April 16th KIC received food and other relief goods from the Indonesian Embassy in Tōkyō intending to help Indonesian people living in Kumamoto City. At the time, the situation of the Muslim community was the following: Around 80 Indonesians took shelter at the Kumamoto University's Campus, while other Muslim communities have left the city. KIC attempted distributing the food to the Indonesians at the campus and another shelter at a community center. However, their efforts were refused by the authorities. Reflecting on the situation, MS said: "We got upset. We are Muslims, and we cannot eat Japanese food. However, after they explained, I could understand why. They have rules. If you want to donate food, you have to give everybody. Make it equal" (MS). The reason behind the rejection may be the fact that local authorities have a responsibility for their citizens, particularly in times of disaster, to secure that everyone is treated equally. Additionally, authorities' capacities verifying "unknown" non-governmental organizations offering support and coordinating these activities in an exceptional situation like in the aftermaths of the earthquakes may reach their limits. Failing to distribute donations, KIC decided to stock the food at the center, which was opened as a shelter itself as more and more Muslims came back from other evacuation sites.

In the following days, KIC received many phone calls from Muslim organizations offering their help. Soon the center became the destination for donations, which were brought by car from neighboring prefectures like Miyazaki and Fukuoka. After one-week, representatives from several Muslim organizations visited the shelter and discussed further activities with representatives of KIC. The intentional plan made at this occasion was to collect donations and help Muslims suffering from the earthquakes. "But suddenly we received huge amounts of food. So, we decided to open an emergency shelter and a public kitchen for everybody" (MS). The question of whether this development can be regarded as an unintended consequence or as a purposeful action is contentious. Based on MS's statement, "the priority is to help Muslims, then you should help others," the author argues that the development has to be considered an

order of priority and, therefore, as a purposeful action. To help closely related persons, such as family or friends, in times of disaster before other people, is considering the human perspective, undoubtedly comprehensible. In order to provide support, a provisional area was established in front of KIC, offering food and bottles with water. Signs written in Japanese should make it clear that the food and water are free to be taken. Members of KIC began walking around the area, asking people to take the food and water. Again, success was limited. A few exchange students, who took shelter at the nearby campus, were happy to take the offer. However, most Japanese were hesitant to accept relief supplies. Only when KIC staff hide inside the building people started to take bottles of water. MS commented on this issue: "Since we have opened KIC, the people surrounding us were not friendly to us. They were afraid of us because we are Muslims" (MS). The statement opens up another perspective on the argumentation that KIC was not able to establish relationships with the local community because of their members' short period of residence. It indicates that emotional barriers between Muslims and Japanese citizens could have played a role as well.

How did KIC overcome this problem? When they realized that they have the capacity to help more people, they increased their efforts and contacted the Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF) and the police, both pre-existing inter-organizational linkages. KIF has been a partner in matters of multicultural dialogue. Joint efforts have been made to provide citizens with a more in-depth understanding of cultural and religious differences by holding cross-cultural seminars and offering visits to the Masjid. Concerning the relations with the police, MS explained: "After establishing the Masjid, we started to collaborate with the police and joined many events. We wanted a good relationship with them. We wanted to let them know that we are not terrorists, not the Islamic State" (MS). Provided with a list of existing shelters in Kumamoto by KIF, KIC began preparations for the operation. The first step concerned organizational matters; members were divided into two teams, one in charge of logistics, being responsible for keeping track of incoming and outgoing donations. The other one, called the "expedition team", mainly consisting of Pakistanis, "because most of the Pakistani people are involved in the car business. They have cars, which students do not have" (MS), was in charge of distribution. To illustrate the range of KIC's activities shall serve the distribution of 1000 bottles of water to a public shelter at a school located in the northward of Kumamoto City. Essential roles, in this case, were played by the police introducing KIC to authorities responsible for the shelter, KIF accompanying KIC to the evacuation site, and the Indonesian Embassy renting the truck that was used to transport the water. In the following, KIC began to

adapt its strategy after noticing the fact that many people, whom they have met on the way to the evacuation sites, actually stayed in their broken houses or slept in their cars, parked nearby shelters, or huge parking spaces. Without constraints by authorities, these people became the primary target of relief support. To MS, this was a win-win situation: “Some old people we gave diapers and toothbrush cried. We were happy too because we could deliver more food. We stopped on the streets, and they came to us. They did not care, and they were not afraid of the Pakistani dress” (MS).

An essential role in terms of logistics in acquiring relief supplies played the Masjid in Fukuoka, functioning as a hub. Money that Muslim organizations collected among their member was transferred to the bank account of the Fukuoka Masjid. Representatives of the Masjid then organized the purchase of goods and the distribution to KIC. In the first days after the mainshock, most victims suffered from a shortage of water and food. However, increasing aid supplies arriving in Kumamoto covered most of the shortage, and the demand for other goods such as sanitary goods increased. Realizing the changing demand, KIC started to ask people about their needs, compiling a list of necessary goods, sending it to Fukuoka requesting these goods to be sent to Kumamoto. This system allowed KIC to react to the changing needs of victims flexibly.

In total, KIC’s activities lasted for about one month. The remaining relief goods and food that could not be distributed and several 100.000 yen collected by the Fukuoka Masjid, were donated to Kumamoto City. In summary, support activities by KIC had a reasonably broad range due to the operational and organizational capacity of the organization itself and the vast amount of aid supplies provided by their networks.

How were KIC’s support activities initiated, and what role did social capital play in this process? The agency of KIC can be considered to have been initiated by the Indonesian Embassy, at first with the intention to help compatriots, particularly Indonesian students at Kumamoto University. When Muslim organizations offered their assistance intentionally to help Muslim victims, the process further developed. KIC showed a high level of initiative from the point, realizing that the number of donations would exceed the needs of the Muslim community and consciously decided to change orientations and expanded their activities to the general public. Religious beliefs may as well have played a role as MS explained that being a good Muslim means to help when you see Muslims suffering. Hence, KIC’s agency can be

classified as unintentional. Unintentional agency here means that a third party, e.g., a social network, significantly influenced the initiation of agency. In the case of KIC, their networks and linkages can be considered to have contributed to the initiation of agency.

The next paragraph concerns the social networks involved in KIC's activities:

1. Indonesian Embassy: The relation between KIC and the Indonesian Embassy can be classified as a pre-existing ethnic transnational linkage because it reaches beyond Japanese borders. The primary function was influencing KIC's intention to act by supplying relief goods; the secondary was assisting the implementation of activities.

2. Muslim organizations: This pre-existing religious nationwide linkage, here summarized as one, was significantly involved in fund-raising and providing KIC with food and other aid supplies and enhancing the activities, which can be identified as its primary function. Further, it influenced KIC's decision to expand activities from peer groups to the general public.

3. Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF) and the police: Despite being equipped with robust networks providing aid supplies, the distribution was not free of issues, as mentioned earlier. In this respect, KIF and the police, both pre-existing local inter-organizational linkages, contributed to removing language and emotional barriers, which can be identified as its function.

4. Local community: As a result of the activities and an emergent property, a new social network linking KIC with the local community emerged. In other words, new social capital was created. Hence, it can be classified as an emergent local network. The function was to enable KIC to approach Japanese citizens and significantly improve the overall performance of support activities.

In summary, KIC's activities were significantly influenced by social capital. In this respect, noteworthy are bonding social capital supplied by ethnic and religious linkages and bridging social capital of local networks. The efforts resulted in the emergence of a new social network. Putnam (2000) stated in this context that a society consisting of individuals rich in social capital does not necessarily make the society rich in social capital if they are isolated. Connecting KIC

with members of the local community has enriched the local society in terms of social capital by enabling access to resources. Changes in the relationship between KIC and the local community can be considered quite substantial and presumably lasting. To MS, it was God's own will that brought his people and the local community together. His statement "Alhamdulillah[vii], thank god he gave earthquake to Kumamoto" also shows a positive view of an event, which is broadly associated with a predominantly negative event. KIC is now taking part in local community activities, and the resulting dialogue between both parties is little by little, removing existing emotional barriers and contributes to improving mutual understandings. MS provides the following example to illustrate the kind of misunderstandings. He became aware of rumors that spread among the Masjid neighbors why men dressed up in traditional middle eastern clothing, resembling the Taliban seen on television, gather in the building at night. MS could not believe when he was told in a conversation after the earthquakes that residents thought Muslims would gather to drink alcohol inside the building and hence were afraid of them once drunk starting to make troubles. People were not aware of the fact that Muslims are not allowed to drink alcohol for religious reasons. The question of how achievements can be evaluated reminds of a glass, which can be perceived as half full or half empty. Critically could be remarked that the increase of social capital can be considered limited to the local community in KIC's direct neighborhood, with presumably little to no effects on a larger scale in the city. On the other hand, to put it in a positive term, the necessary first step in order to establish good relationships with the host society has been made. On this basis, further achievements are within the realms of possibility if both sides continue efforts.

7.3 The Case of the Filipino Community – A Case of Collective Agency

In this section, support activities carried out by members of the Filipino community of Kumamoto City will be analyzed. In December 2015, at the time before the earthquakes, 466 Filipinos lived in Kumamoto City, making them the third-largest group of foreign residents at that time following Chinese and Korean residents. Not recorded in the statistics are, as already mentioned, up to 150 Japanese citizens of Filipino descent, who have acquired citizenship through the process of naturalization or by birth if being born from a relationship with a Japanese parent. What probably sets the Filipinos apart from other foreign residents in Kumamoto City is the fact that first-generation Filipinos are predominantly female. Many Filipinas immigrated in the mid-80s as so-called "entertainers" intending to work in hostess

bars or night clubs, as detailed in the previous chapter. A length of residence of more than 20 years is therefore not uncommon. However, according to AM, who is living in Kumamoto City for more than 30 years, this is not always the case, as some Filipinas arrived in Japan recently, three to five years ago. Many Filipinas entered a relationship with Japanese men, often leading to marriage. Due to relationships with members of the host society, Filipinas are considered to be broadly involved in the local community. The question of how to evaluate language abilities is challenging to answer. Both representatives of the community interviewed for this paper are fluent in Japanese. However, they stated that many Filipinos have limited Japanese proficiencies. In general, abilities in speaking are more advanced than skills in reading and writing. AM said in this respect, that most Filipinos "cannot read Kanji" (AM). This has caused some problems in the aftermath of the earthquakes, such as written information and instructions at public shelters that could not be read and hence not appropriately understood.

Filipinos living in Kumamoto Prefecture have organized themselves and founded the Filipino Organization in Kumamoto (FOK) more than ten years ago. The organization consists of 5 regional subdivisions, one of them in Kumamoto City. FOK estimates the number of its members as 350 persons. However, this is a vague estimation as membership registration was abolished in 2017. FOK's primary purpose is to organize passport renewals for community members in collaboration with the Philippine Consulate in Osaka. Preparations for the event, held at the Kumamoto City International Center (KCIC), took up to one year due to the large number of participants. Nowadays, they are carried out bi-annual in Fukuoka City for all Filipinos living in Kyushu. Other FOK activities include organizing parties on special occasions like Christmas and an information distribution system via social media. The Catholic Church is another relevant element, as religion plays an essential role in many Filipinos' lives. Gatherings at churches have a relatively informal character. Notably, in this respect are the Tetori Catholic Church and the Musashigaoka Catholic Church. The latter is the only Catholic Church in Kumamoto City were service is conducted in English once a month. Further, the community has deep ties with Kumustaka, which provides a wide range of support services to all foreign residents of Kumamoto City. However, it still has a special relation to the Filipino community due to its roots, as detailed in chapter six.

The Filipino community was involved in two support activities; both concerned the distribution of emergency food at KCIC. The first activity, on April 24th, one week after the mainshock, was organized by Kumustaka. Five Filipinas living in Kumamoto City voluntarily participated

in the event, where Philippine food was cooked and distributed to evacuees at KCIC. The center was opened by Kumamoto City authorities as an emergency shelter for foreigners, including tourists, in the night after the foreshock on April 15th. It was operated 24h until the end of the month. The utilization peaked the day after the mainshock on April 16th, with 147 persons in total, of which 109 were Japanese citizens and 38 of foreign nationality (KIF, 2018). Despite being designated as the official evacuation site for foreign residents and tourists by the city, the statistics demonstrate that it was frequently used by Japanese citizens. Kumustaka supplied almost daily warm and nutritious food to KCIC until the center was closed. According to the statistics for April 24th, 23 Japanese citizens and 16 foreigners stayed at KCIC. Kumustaka reported in a newsletter on its activities in the aftermath of the earthquakes that the group prepared 80 servings. However, only 60 were eaten (Kumustaka, 2016). Declining numbers of evacuees were assumed as the reason as the situation slowly normalized.

The second activity, a joint event organized by FOK and the Filipinos and Friends in Fukuoka Association (*firipinjin to yūjin no kōryūkai*), abbreviation: FFF, was conducted a few days after the first activity at KCIC. Gravely concerned about the Filipinos' well-being in Kumamoto City, FFF's leader contacted its counterpart at FOK. Both organizations have previously worked together, particularly in two fields. One concerns the events of passport renewals, which take place in Fukuoka City. The other field concerns organizational matters. The Fukuoka side, having not yet established regional subdivisions, was interested in an exchange of information and experiences concerning the organization structures in Kumamoto in order to apply good practices in the event of opening branches in Fukuoka Prefecture. Many Filipinos in Kumamoto were in an unstable mental condition after the earthquakes, and hence they gratefully accepted the assistance promising some distraction. FFF members and volunteers gathered in the early morning in Fukuoka and prepared Philippine food, delivered by car to Kumamoto. On the other side, FOK made the necessary preparations at KCIC, where the event was planned. According to AM, gathering their member was problematic primary due to the broken transport infrastructure and the fact that many Filipinas felt the obligation to stay at home and take care of their families. MH further mentioned that personal tensions within the community might have played a role in the decision not to participate. In the end, about 20 Filipinas of FOK were able to join the event at KCIC. The primary intention of the joint activity of both Filipino organizations was obviously to serve Filipinos in Kumamoto suffering from the earthquakes. At least FOK must have been aware of the fact that the site where the event took place has served Japanese and foreign evacuees as a shelter. Consequently, it can be

assumed that their presence and possible participation in the activity were taken into consideration by the Filipino leaders. In this respect, MH stated, that "they (FFF) brought so much Philippine food. Everyone was invited to eat food" (MH). AM further explained that she "was happy to see smiling faces, not only Filipinos but Japanese too" (AM).

The first activity was initiated and organized by Kumustaka. Members of the Filipino community voluntarily assisted Kumusutaka in the implementation of cooking and distribution of the food. Although Filipinos were involved in this activity, it can be regarded primarily as an activity by Kumustaka. FFF initiated the second activity; however, FOK was actively involved in the planning process and the implementation at KCIC. The Filipino's agency can, for the reasons mentioned above, be classified as unintentional.

Social networks involved in the activities are:

1. Filipinos and Friends in Fukuoka Association (FFF): This pre-existing ethnic, regional inter-organizational linkage influenced the initiation of the second activity, which can be regarded as its primary function. Further, the group provided food necessary to carry out the activity.

2. Kumustaka: The Filipino community in Kumamoto and Kumustaka have developed a long-standing deep relationship, which can be considered the community's primary social network resource. It is identified as a pre-existing local network.

3. Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF): The relation with KIF can be classified as a pre-existing local network. KIF is the operational manager of KCIC, the facility where many mutual and community activities have taken place, including inter-cultural events aiming at fostering the mutual understanding between Japanese citizens and foreign residents, community parties, counseling services in Tagalog, and the passport renewal events. In both cases, KIF's role concerning the support activities was to provide with KCIC the facility to implement emergency food distributions.

In summary, the primary function of social capital involved in the support activities by members of the Filipino community concerned the initiation of action. Hence, the agency can be identified as unintentional. Social capital has also significantly influenced the performance

of support activities. The effects on relations with the local community as a direct result of the support activities are assumed to be relatively small. Firstly, due to the size of activities and secondly, activities took place at KCIC and not in community members' direct neighborhood. Consequently, evidence for an increase in social capital within the local community was not found. On the other hand, existing relations with organizations like Kumustaka, FFF, and KIF have been intensified as a consequence of the support activities. Hence, bonding social capital has increased in these pre-existing network structures. AM explained that the information distribution system of FOK has improved as a result of the earthquakes. Further, the recognition of the importance of Kumustaka and KIF has increased among the community.

7.4 The Case of Sri Lankan Restaurant Owner JW – A Case of Individual Agency

JW, who is originally from Sri Lanka, is living in Japan for about 15 years. He is the owner of a Sri Lankan restaurant located in the west ward of Kumamoto City, close to the city center. The long-term residence, remarkable Japanese proficiency, occasions at work to interact with Japanese customers, and familial ties due to his Japanese spouse may all have contributed to establishing pronounced relationships with the local community. The day the foreshock has struck Kumamoto on April 14th, JW was celebrating Sri Lankan New Year with Japanese friends at the restaurant. As the earthquake has caused only a few damages to the restaurant, it was opened the next day after spending hours cleaning up broken dishes. Two days later, the mainshock occurred at a time JW was at home. The next day he went to see the restaurant, which was severely damaged by the quake, so he decided to suspend business until reconstruction would be possible. Fortunately, JW's house has not been severely damaged, and his family decided not to evacuate. Being afraid of aftershocks, though, they decided to sleep in the car during the night. As in most areas of Kumamoto City, the broken water supply in JW house and restaurant made him go to the nearest evacuation site at an elementary school in order to get water. "Because of my wife and children, we needed water. Especially, flushing the toilet became a problem" (JW). At the evacuation site, he witnessed the distribution of emergency food: "Evacuees received only one salted rice ball and a cup of instant noodles, even though small children were there" (JW). That was the point he decided to act: "I had large amounts of food at my restaurant. Also, I could not see the day I will be able to open again, water was cut off, so I decided to cook food for evacuees" (JW).

JW was involved in cooking and distributing emergency food at four evacuation sites in Kumamoto City: KCIC, two elementary schools, and a local community center. Both elementary schools and the community center are located in the direct neighborhood of JW's house. KCIC is in 10 minutes foot walk distance to the restaurant and is known to JW from several joint events with KIF in the past that took place at this venue. Restaurant personnel and Sri Lankan acquaintances, some of them taking shelter at one of the elementary schools in JW's neighborhood, voluntarily supported the activities. As detailed above, JW was in possession of the ingredients to make food at his restaurant. However, in preparation for his activities, he faced a problem. He could not use his kitchen as the restaurant was severely damaged. For this reason, he contacted KIF offering his assistance as he heard that many foreigners took shelter at KCIC. KIF gladly accepted and offered him in return to use the kitchen at KCIC, which had a functioning water supply. Additionally, he was supplied with rice by KIF, which was used for the majority of his activities. In detail, JW and his acquaintances made Sri Lankan curry at KCIC three times, which they distributed to evacuees at KCIC, an elementary school, and a local community center. Exceptional to this pattern was the case of one elementary school, were curry was cooked at the site by using portable gas cookers. Rice was supplied by the Japanese Self Defense Forces, who were present at the site. Concerning the question, how he has managed to obtain the permission for his activities at the evacuation sites, in particular at the schools, JW explained: "I went to the school and talked to people responsible about what I intended to do. They told me: OK. That will be helpful" (JW).

JW intentionally started the activities by himself, i.e., the activities' initiation was not significantly influenced by social capital. Hence this case is classified as intentional agency.

Social networks involved in the activities and their function are:

1. Personal ethnic local network: This pre-existing network consisting of Sri Lankan compatriots contributed to the implementation of cooking and its distribution, which otherwise would probably have been difficult alone.

2. Personal local network: As mentioned earlier, JW has established a network of social contacts within the local community. This pre-existing network can be regarded as the key to permission for activities at local evacuation sites such as the elementary schools or the

community center. In other words, it contributed to the fast and smooth performance of his activities.

3. KIF: KIF, here being identified as a pre-existing local network, significantly enhanced the activities by providing a functional kitchen and rice.

In summary, all social networks involved were pre-existing. What separated this case from the other two cases discussed in this section is the fact that it can be assumed that JW had control over all recourses necessary to exercise his agency. Applying Putnam's (2000) idea that individual productivity can be enhanced by physical capital, human capital, and social capital, this case can be interpreted as follows. JW possessed physical capital, e.g., ingredients for cooking food. He further had the skills to cook food, and his language proficiency allowed him to articulate his concerns and demands against members of the local community. Both properties here refer to human capital. Moreover, social capital, i.e., the pre-existing social networks, further improved the activities. Asked if he felt any changes in the relationship with the local community as a result of his activities, JW replied: "Not much has changed. A few people came to eat at my restaurant afterward. Also, some people are greeting me now" (JW). Assuming that JW had established good relations with members of the local community before the earthquakes and his subsequent support activities may explain that he did not feel much of a change. If social capital has increased, then within existing networks.

7.5 Conclusion

The cases demonstrate that each individual has exercised its agency engaging in support activities. However, the effects of social capital on agency were different. In the case of JW, agency can be identified as intentional. This means JW started his activities without being sufficiently determined by social capital. KIC and the Filipino community, on the other hand, are identified as forms of unintentional agency. In both cases, social capital has significantly influenced the initiation process of agency. The function of social capital, therefore, can be subsumed under two categories: 1. Effects on the initiation of action 2. Effects on the performance of the action.

The analysis shows that the activities have differed in range and outcome. Why did KIC develop a high degree of activity, whereas, on the other hand, the Filipinos were less active? What is the distinctive element resulting in the different outcomes? In order to answer this question, it is useful to recapitulate the main features and social capital of both groups. KIC is a religious group of culturally diverse members. Their regular activity can be considered high, as they meet up every Friday for prayer and practice religious events together, Ramadan, for example. To keep a strictly "halal[viii]" diet alone is a significant challenge in a society like Japan. For this purpose, they have strong relations with other Muslims and Muslim organizations in Japan, who can be considered to have a high degree of activity themselves. The reason why Muslims and their organizations are highly active may be the fact that Islam as a religion and the associated practices and habits are not entirely accepted by the host society yet. As a result, Muslims need to put more effort into practicing their religious life. Negative experiences made due to interactions with the host society and pressure to adapt strengthen the inner cohesion of Muslim communities and the linkages between organizations. In other words, bonding social capital is built up. Before the earthquakes, KIC failed to build relations with the local community; they lacked bridging social capital in this respect. The case of KIC indicates that it was not the control over resources made accessible by social integration, which allowed the engagement in support activities but the Muslim network. KIC was able to exercise their agency despite the lack of relations with the local community and problematic language competences, predominantly because of rich social capital in a religious network. As a result of the activities, social capital has increased in pre-existing relations. Further, new social capital was created by an emergent property, enriching the local community.

The Filipino community, on the other hand, has a lower degree of organization. Regular activities of FOK are limited to annual events, such as the passport renewal or parties. Members of FOK do not assemble regularly. However, Filipinos involved in religious activities, like MH, gather every Sunday at churches throughout the city. In this respect, a difference to KIC is that Filipinos are at the church one group among other believers, of whom the Japanese are the majority. Additionally, Christianity and associated practices are perceived to be widely accepted by the host society. Living out Christian practices does not require the same degree of effort as Muslims. Analyzing the case of FOK shows that relations with FFF, Kumustaka, and KIF were more important than those with the local community. The later can be considered less powerful. Further, the Filipinos' case raises questions concerning the evaluation of the minority in terms of social integration. Despite the assumed long-term residence and personal

relations with Japanese, the problematic language abilities suggest that reconsidering their situation may be necessary. Another possible explanation for the comparatively low degree of activities and the difficulty in gathering members may be related to gender. While JW and members of KIC involved in support activities were predominantly male, members of the Filipino community involved in activities were exclusively female. A conservative perception of the roles of men and women in society may have affected the activities. The question if gender has been a factor may be addressed by future research.

This research has also revealed that social capital has increased as a result of the involvement in activities. The degree may vary; however, it is assumed that social capital in pre-existing network structures improved in all three cases. In the case of KIC, new social capital was created additionally to the raise in pre-existing relations. As detailed above, the cases of KIC and the Filipino community have proved that foreign residents were able to exercise their agency despite problems in fields of language abilities and lacking relations with the local community. Their activities were enabled by social capital, which had the power to overcome these obstacles.

8. The Multicultural Co-existing Society of Kumamoto City Reconsidered

The starting point for this research was the assumption that social structure influences actors in their efforts to promote *tabunkakyōsei*. In low-concentration municipalities, where the impact of foreign residents on *tabunkakyōsei* is considered low, structural constraints gain more importance. By examining relevant actors of the multicultural co-existing society of Kumamoto City, the author analyzed the extend of this influence. This chapter discusses the results in a bigger picture. What are the implications of this case study in the general context of *tabunkakyōsei* and, in particular, for "low concentration"? Against the backdrop of the dual character of structure, which incorporates the possibility of change, it further considers each actor's opportunities and possibilities of remaking *tabunkakyōsei*.

Tabunkakyōsei of low concentration areas has, for a long time, received little attention from research. However, this trend is changing, as the increase of foreign residents in rural areas, primarily due to the Technical Intern Training Program, sheds some light on these long-neglected areas. The Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011 further contributed to this development resulting in an increase of interests in issues of foreign residents in general and in particular from disaster study perspectives.

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 importance 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, as discussed in chapter three. The central assumption is that social integration is a process that stretches over a relatively long period of time and is influenced by specific variables, e.g., education, socioeconomic status, with different possible outcomes. To paraphrase this, foreigners, who have just arrived, usually struggle with issues concerning their new host society's language and culture. It takes time to overcome these barriers, adapt to the new society, and achieve a certain amount of economic freedom, allowing them to participate in social and political activities.

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 resulting in different implications for *tabunkakyōsei*. In Kumamoto City, permanent residents and students are the two largest groups in terms of legal status. Furthermore, Chinese represent the majority of foreign residents. This contrasts the typical characteristics considered with "low concentration," implying that TITP participants and permanent residents are the two largest groups, and the majority of foreign residents coming from Southeast Asian countries. 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 different infrastructures in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* due to their economic and administrative function 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 resident have demonstrated. Apart from quantitative and qualitative aspects concerning foreign residents, the infrastructure is a third feature that deserves consideration in order to further diversify the typology of "low concentration". It would contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the issue. However, the aspect of infrastructure could not be examined appropriately within the realms of this research. Thus, it needs further efforts to validate this claim. Also, how

infrastructure as a distinctive feature can be incorporated into a suitable and logical typology of "low concentration" remains an open question and, consequently, a subject of future research.

The next paragraph reconsiders the possibilities of the analyzed actors for remaking *tabunkakyōsei* and discusses the significance of the findings in a bigger picture. What findings are distinctive for Kumamoto City, what can be generalized for low concentration municipalities, and what has significance in the general context of *tabunkakyōsei*? The analysis of the local government in Kumamoto City confirmed what Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005) have indicated, namely, that a path-dependence has constraining effects on *tabunkakyōsei* in terms of policymaking and implementation. The Internationalization Guideline of 2010 exemplifies this path dependence. Furthermore, higher-ranking authorities, such as the Ministry of Information and Communications (MIC), had a significant impact on the guideline's outcome due to the vertical structure of administration. Consequently, the content and design of *tabunkakyōsei* policies included in the Internationalization Guideline of 2010 were significantly based on the model of the culture-oriented *tabunkakyōsei* plan by MIC. Considering the effect of positive feedback and the difficulties to make a reversal with each step taken in a particular direction of an established path (Pierson 2004), possibilities for the local government to remake *tabunkakyōsei* can be considered relatively limited. In other words, the probability that the International Affairs Section drafts *tabunkakyōsei* policies contrary to the path dependence, i.e., that would be independent of the "internationalization" framework, and the impact of the vertical structure of administration is assumingly low. As mentioned above, the constraining effects of the path dependence can be considered a general feature of local governments in Japan in the context of *tabunkakyōsei*. Consequently, it is neither a distinctive feature for Kumamoto City nor low concentration municipalities.

KIF, the second relevant actor of the local government in Kumamoto City, is limited in its endeavors to promote *tabunkakyōsei* primary by the perception of *tabunkakyōsei* as a part of "internationalization" and the management system. To KIF, the core idea of international exchange and *tabunkakyōsei* is the social interaction of individuals, or, more precisely, Japanese citizens and foreigners. Implementing integration programs within the realm of "internationalization" ties up KIF's personnel and resources that otherwise could exclusively be used for *tabunkakyōsei*. Limited personnel and resources are identified as one of KIF's main challenges in implementing integration programs. Also, the system of designated managers of

public facilities can be considered to constraint the foundation in its endeavors to promote *tabunkakyōsei*. Based on the assumption that the exposure to market competition and the pressure to increase management efficiency of KCIC result in the fact that KIF deploys more resources for achieving these objects, with fewer resources available for *tabunkakyōsei*. Constraining effects due to the path dependence can, as already mentioned, be assumed to be a general feature that applies to the majority of municipalities. The designated manager system, however, would only have an impact on municipalities with public facilities like the Kumamoto City International Center. In other words, rural low concentration areas without public facilities designated for *tabunkakyōsei* activities would not be affected. Hence, it might be a distinctive feature of larger cities, i.e., high concentration cities, and so-called regional core cities in low concentration areas. This again underlines the importance of a far-reaching diversification of "low concentration". However, it needs further research to validate this assumption.

What opportunities do organizations of the civil society have remaking *tabunkakyōsei*? In Kumamoto City, two forms of volunteerism related to *tabunkakyōsei* can be distinguished. At first, individual or collective voluntary activities cooperating with the local government and, in particular, with KIF. The majority of these activities focus on solving foreign residents' daily issues, primarily by providing consultation service and language support. They are further characterized by the fact that they barely advocate for migrant's rights nor attempt to influence policymaking. Volunteers often receive organizationally and, in some cases, financial support from KIF. The support can be considered crucial for the implementation of activities. However, it bears the risk of creating a relationship of dependence. This could have far-reaching implications for groups whose activities are considered contradictive to official viewpoints and could be sanctioned by authorities as a result. On the other hand, Kumustaka has been identified as an MSO refraining from cooperation with the local government. The case analysis showed that the dual structure of Japan's civil society constrains Kumustaka and its opportunities to influence policymaking. The decision of Kumustaka not to apply for NPO status because of the fear of state interference and the loss of independence exemplifies the influence of the regulatory framework, particularly the reporting duty to the supervising authority on civil groups. As detailed in chapter six, Kumustaka also refrains from cooperating with other civic groups, mainly for ideological reasons. There is, however, another perspective on this issue. Until now, "low concentration" has been primarily discussed in the context of foreign residents. It has, though, significance for civic groups in the sense that a low concentration of foreign residents generally implies a low concentration of MSOs. Consequently, the chance for MSOs

to find ideological close-by groups can be considered limited. Hence, opportunities for cooperation are reduced, resulting in a reinforcement of the dual structure of civil society. Reduced opportunities for cooperation with other civic groups and the resulting implications can be assumed to be characteristic features of low concentration areas. A finding specific to Kumamoto City might be the fact that an organization like Kumustaka exists in a low concentration municipality and has remained independent over its 30 years of existence.

What contributions can foreign residents make to influence *tabunkakyōsei* in low concentration municipalities? This question foremost concerns how foreign residents, and here, in particular, New Comer, who make up the majority of foreign residents in low concentration areas, can be empowered to engage in social activities. Recapitulating Sewell's notion of agency, implying that the control over social relations can enable agency, social capital could be a solution. The case analysis showed that New Comer were capable of exercising their agency in a state of emergency. It has also emphasized the important role of social capital in this respect. What conclusions can be drawn regarding the possibilities of foreign residents in low concentration municipalities?

If New Comer were able to exercise their agency in a state of emergency, it could be assumed that they are also capable in normal times. The assumption has to remain hypothetical at this point. However, with the increasing length of residence, improved language abilities, and rising social capital in foreign communities, New Comer, particularly in the case that organizations are founded, can be expected to exercise their agency in normal times, in the same way as Old Comer did before. The efforts and achievements made by KIC indicate that future activities with an impact on *tabunkakyōsei* are within the realm of possibility. This prospect, however, does not apply to all foreign residents to the same extent. Individuals and specific groups of foreign residents are assumed to have different opportunities and incentives to involve in activities aiming to influence *tabunkakyōsei*. Furthermore, foreign residents differ in their socioeconomic status, educational and professional backgrounds, and differ in access to resources, such as social networks. In other words, they are equipped with different types and amounts of human and social capital. Both can be considered a crucial factor for the capability of agency. In that sense, TITP participants, for example, can be assumed to have fewer opportunities to engage in social matters than permanent residents. TITP participants and permanent residents are, in terms of quantity, the two most relevant groups of foreign residents in low concentration areas, as the discussion in chapter three has shown. The findings, therefore,

can be generalized to other low concentration municipalities. The cases of foreign residents participating in relief activities in the aftermath of the earthquakes, discussed in the previous chapter, support the assumption as the majority of them were permanent residents. Despite the large share of TITP participants among the foreign population of Kumamoto City and the expected increase in the future, their contribution to *tabunkakyōsei* can be assumed to remain relatively small for the reasons just mentioned. Being aware of the risk of generalization, TITP participants have relevance, simply because some of their concerns and issues overlap with other groups of foreign residents. In this sense, they can push the local government to increase efforts for integration support. However, support measures presumably would not go beyond language support and address other issues that newly arrived foreigners face. The results of the case study emphasize that the qualitative dimension of foreign residents in low concentration areas has significance and once again stresses the need to further diversify the concept of "low concentration". Moreover, it suggests that municipalities with a higher ratio of permanent residents have better the preconditions to proceed with *tabunkakyōsei*.

Finally, how can Kumamoto City's future prospects in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* be estimated? The results of this research indicate a positive outlook for future developments. At first, the relatively large share of permanent residents among the foreign population can be considered one factor. Some foreigners have made experiences in volunteering, e.g., in the aftermath of the earthquakes, on which future voluntary activities can be built. Second, Kumamoto City has a solid infrastructure with institutions like KIF, KCIC, and voluntary organizations like Kumustaka. They contribute to improving the living conditions of foreign residents and providing social capital to foreign communities. In conclusion, the prospects to overcome social constraints preventing actors, particularly foreign residents, from remaking *tabunkakyōsei* can be considered positive. What might be needed is an impetus. The Kumamoto Earthquakes can be considered such an impetus. The cases of support activities have shown that foreign residents are able to exercise their agency. This could be the basis for future activities with an impact on *tabunkakyōsei*. However, there are a few negative prospects. The most prominent issues are, as already mentioned, the unclear status of KIF as the operational manager of KCIC and the future existence of Kumustaka. A loss of either one of the two would be a massive backlash for the efforts to proceed with the multicultural society. Concluding this chapter with negative prospects would not suit the overall optimistic viewpoint the author aims to outline. Therefore, the fact shall be recalled that it was a foreigner who initiated the founding of Kumamoto City's first and oldest MSO, i.e., Kumustaka.

9. Conclusion

The first objective of this research was to explore the multicultural co-existence society of Kumamoto City as a case of a low concentration municipality. The discourse concerning low concentration municipalities showed that research had addressed issues of foreign residents living under individualized conditions. It has, however, failed to propose a suitable definition of the term "low concentration". The analysis found evidence indicating that the number and ratio of foreign residents are not the only distinguishing feature of low concentration areas. Qualitative components concerning foreign residents and ethnic communities can be considered to have a significance. Furthermore, the results indicate the infrastructure in terms of *tabunkakyōsei* encompassing public institutions and civil society organizations to play an important role. Both aspects deserve further consideration to confirm the assumption. Kumamoto City can be categorized as "low concentration" when referring to the statistics, and particularly taking the ratio of foreign residents into account. However, the analysis showed that on the inner-city level, high concentration areas exist. Kumamoto City features some of the typical characteristics considered with "low concentration", which is primarily the scheme of two dominant groups in terms of legal status. The absence of large-sized Zainichi and Nikkeijin communities in the city further supports the assumption of "low concentration". However, Kumamoto City differs significantly in terms of nationality, respectively ethnicity, and the fact that students have a larger share than TITP participants. The majority of foreign residents are Chinese, followed by Vietnamese, Korean, and Filipinos. The reason for the disparity has to be seen in the context of the city's function as a regional core city in terms of politics, economy, and education. 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 second objective was to investigate relevant actors of the multicultural co-existence society in Kumamoto City from the perspective of social structure and agency. The influence of social structure on actors involved in *tabunkakyōsei* was analyzed at three cases: the local government, i.e., the International Affairs Section of Kumamoto City and the Kumamoto International

Foundation (KIF), the civil society at the case of Kumustaka, and foreign residents, at cases of support activities in the aftermath of the Kumamoto Earthquakes in 2016.

The main argument concerning the local government that the framework of *tabunkakyōsei* is path-dependent could be 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. 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, 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.

The civil society was analyzed at the case of the migrant support organization (MSO) Kumustaka. The assumption in this context was that the dual structure of civil society promotes small local groups that provide citizens, or in the case of Kumustaka, foreign residents, help and contribute to the development of social capital. On the other hand, organizations are constrained to becoming independent, professionalize, and influence policymaking in their interests. The results confirm the assumption, illustrating how the dual structure of civil society constraints 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. Kumustaka does not intend to grow large or professionalize in order to expand its influence. The case analysis also showed that individual efforts significantly contribute to the agency of the group. The motivation which is transformed into agency derives to a large extend from social constraints. Concerning the relationship with the local government and other civic groups, evidence has been found that indicates a change increasing the possibilities for future cooperation.

Foreign residents were analyzed at cases of support activities in the aftermath of the Kumamoto Earthquakes. The analysis demonstrates that foreign residents were able to exercise their agency in times of disaster. Earthquakes and other natural disasters are an exceptional situation for everyone, particularly for New Comer, who often struggle with their new host society's language and cultural habits. It further showed that the role of New Comer in times of disasters

is changing, i.e., from the receiving side of support to the providing side. Social capital played a significant role in the support activities by foreign residents in Kumamoto City. This supports Sewell's notion of agency, which implies that agency can be enabled by exerting control over social relations. As a result of all support activities analyzed, bonding social capital has been improved, strengthening inter-organizational linkages. The case of KIC further demonstrates that foreign residents were able to exercise their agency despite language issues and a lack of relations with the local community. As a result of the activities, a new network emerged, enriching society with bridging social capital.

The third objective concerned the opportunities and possibilities of actors remaking *tabunkakyōsei*. Gidden's notion of structure, which incorporates the possibility of change, provides the considerations' theoretical background. Opportunities for the local government to remake *tabunkakyōsei* are limited, considering the effect of positive feedback and the difficulties to make a reversal with each step taken in a particular direction of an established path. The vertical structure of administration has further constraining effects. KIF, the primary implementing institution of *tabunkakyōsei* activities in Kumamoto City, is additionally influenced in its endeavors to promote *tabunkakyōsei* by the system of designated manager of public facilities. On the other hand, the case analysis demonstrated that KIF has a significant function contributing to social capital due to networking and community-building activities, which can enable the agency of foreign residents as the earthquake support activities of foreign residents have illustrated.

Kumustaka has made substantial contributions to the multicultural co-existence society of Kumamoto City since its founding approximately 30 years ago. In particular, Kumustaka's efforts for foreigners, who are barely legally protected, such as the "entertainer" in the 80s or currently TITP participants, are exceptional. However, Kumustaka's opportunities to influence *tabunkakyōsei* in terms of policymaking can be considered relatively low. Constraints of the dual structure of Japan's civil society are considered to be the primary reason. Further, evidence was found that relations with other civic groups and the willingness for cooperation are changing. The rise of the group's reputation as a result of support activities in the aftermath of the earthquakes is identified as the main reason. The analysis further indicates that ideological issues, which have been an obstacle to cooperation in the past, lose importance. Kumustaka's experience and achievements in *tabunkakyōsei* provide a valuable legacy that can inspire civic

groups or foreign residents' future voluntary activities. The continuing existence of Kumustaka, therefore, is of vital importance for Kumamoto City's *tabunkakyōsei*.

Foreign residents have the capability to act, even in times of disaster. This is the most important finding in this respect. Following Gidden's concept of the duality of structure, which incorporates the possibility of change, foreign residents, even in low concentration municipalities, have the capability to exercise their agency and influence the social structure that enmeshes them. However, the case analysis indicates that this does not apply to all foreign residents to the same extent. Further efforts need to be made to investigate the situation and opportunities of foreign residents and communities that could not have been considered within the realms of this research. The Chinese community is just one example of a quantitatively important group in Kumamoto City who presumably also has significance in a general context of "low concentration".

References:

Bakewell, Oliver. 2010. "Some Reflections on Structure and Agency in Migration Theory. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies." Vol. 36. Issue 10: 1689-1708. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489382 (13.06.2019).

Beppu City. 2020. Populations Statistics. https://www.city.beppu.oita.jp/sisei/sinogaiyou/detail11.html (09.07.2020).

Gaikokujin jishin jōhō sentā eds. 1996. *Hanshin daishinsai to gaikokujin – "tabunkakyōsei shakai* no genjō to kanōsei" (The Hanshin Earthquake and Foreigners – Present Situation and Chances of the Multicultural Society). Akashi Shoten.

Gaikokujin shūjūtoshi kaigi. 2018. *Heisei 30 nendo kaiintoshi dēta* (Member Cities' Data 2018). http://www.shujutoshi.jp/member/pdf/2018member.pdf (11.10.2018).

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. University of California Press.* Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Giddens, Anthony and Sutton, Philip W. 2017. "Sociology 8th Edition". Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hammar, Tomas. 1990. *Democracy and the nation state: aliens, denizens, and citizens in a world of international migration.* Avebury.

Ito, Yoshiro and Asama, Yasuko. 2015. "Gaikokujin hinansha to hisaiji tabunkakyōsei" (Foreign Evacuees and Disaster Multicultural Coexistence). Miyagi University of Education Center for Disaster Education & Recovery Assistance. Bulletin Vol. 3: 87-97. http://fukkou.miyakyo-u.ac.jp/report/pdf/no3/11.ito.pdf (29.11.2018).

Kajita, Takamichi, Tanno, Kiyoto and Higuchi, Naoto. 2005. *Kao no mienai teijūka – nikkei burajirujin to kokka, shijō, imin nettowāku* (Invisible Residents: Japanese Brazilians vis-à-vis the State, the Market and the Immigrant Network). The University of Nagoya Press.

Kashiwazaki, Chikako. 2011. "Internationalism and Transnationalism: Responses to Immigration in Japan." *Migration and Integration – Japan in Comparative Perspective*. edited by Vogt, Gabriele and Roberts, Glenda S. Munich: Iudicum Verlag: 41-57.

Kawabata, Kohei. 2012. "Nijū no fukashika to nichijōtekijissen – hishūjūteki kankyō de seikatsu suru zainichi korian no fīrudowāku kara" (Double Invisibleness and Everyday Practice: A Case Study of Zainichi Koreans Living under Individualized Conditions). *Japanese Sociological Review Vol. 63 Issue 2*: 203-219.

Kawamura, Shizuko ed. 2012. *3.11 go no tabunka kazoku – mirai wo hiraku hitobito* (Multi-cultural Families after 3.11 – People who Create the Future). Akashi Shoten.

Kibe, Takashi. 2011. "Immigration and Integration Policies in Japan: At the crossroads of the welfare state and labour market." *Migration and Integration – Japan in Comparative Perspective*. edited by Vogt, Gabriele and Roberts, Glenda S. Munich: Iudicum Verlag: 58-71.

Kim, Chiaki. 2012. "Hanshin - Awaji daishinsai kara higashinihon daishinsai he tabunkakyōsei no keiken wo tsunagu – chīki ni okeru tagengo hōsō ga tabunkakyōsei shakai kōchiku ni hataseru kanōsei –" (Connecting the experiences of the Multicultural Society from the Great Hanshin Earthquake to the Great East Japan Earthquake – the Possibilities of Regional Multilingual Broadcasting in terms of Building a Multicultural Society). *GEMC Journal* No.7: 36-47, http://www.law.tohoku.ac.jp/gcoe/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/gemc_07_ cate2 _4.pdf (29.11.2018).

Kobayashi, Masao. 2012. "Gaikokujin ni yoru hisaichi shien katsudō" (Support Activities at Disaster Areas of Foreigners). Pp. 88-98 in *Imin, diasupora kenkyū 2: Higashi nihon daishinsai to gaikokujin ijūshatachi.* (Great East Japan Earthquake and Migrants; Migrants and Dispora Studies 2), edited by Komai, Hiroshi and Suzuki, Eriko. Akashi Shoten.

Komai, Hiroshi and Watado, Ichiro eds. 1997. *Jichitai no gaikokujinseisaku: uchinaru kokusaika heno torikumi* (Policies of Local Governments on Foreigners: An Approach on inward-oriented Internationalization). Akashishoten.

Komai, Hiroshi (eds.). 2004. *Imin wo meguru jichitai no seisaku to shakaiundō* (Policies of Local Governments on Immigrants and Social Movements). Akashi Shoten.

Komai, Hiroshi and Suzuki, Eriko eds. 2012. *Imin, diasupora kenkyū 2: Higashi nihon daishinsai to gaikokujin ijūshatachi* (Great East Japan Earthquake and Migrants; Migrants and Dispora Studies 2). Akashi Shoten.

Kumamoto City Cultural and International Affairs Section. 2009. *Bunka oyobi kokusaika nikansuru shimin ishikichōsa hōkoku* (Survey Report on Citizen's Awareness concerning Culture and Internationalization).

Kumamoto City Cultural and International Affairs Section. 2010 *Kumamotoshi kokusaika hōshin* (Kumamoto City Internationalization Guideline).

Kumamoto City International Affairs Section. 2018a. *Kumamotoshi kokusaisenryaku* (Kumamoto City International Strategy). https://www.city.kumamoto.jp/hpKiji/pub/detail.aspx?c_id=5&id=19273&class_set_id=3&class_id=616 (04.11.2018).

Kumamoto City International Affairs Section. 2018b *Kumamotoshi kokusaikōryūkaikan niokeru shiteikanrisha no sentei nitsuite* (Decision concerning the Operational Manager of the Kumamoto City International Center).

Kumamoto City Disaster Prevention Council. 2018. *Kumamotoshi chīki bōsai keikaku (heisei 30 nendohan) jishin – tsunami saigai taisaku hen* (Kumamoto City Regional Disaster Prevention Plan (Fiscal Year 2018) Disaster Measures for Earthquakes and Tsunamis). http://www.city.kumamoto.jp/common/UploadFileDsp.aspx?c_id=5&id=1368&sub_id=14&flid=149846 (29.11.2018).

Kumamoto City Statistics and Information Office. http://tokei.city.kumamot o.jp/content/ASP/Jinkou/default.asp (16.07.2019).

Kumamoto City. 2019. *Kumamotoshi tōkeisho heisei 30 nen* (Kumamoto Statistical Yearbook Fiscal Year 2018). http://www.city.kumamoto.jp/hpKiji/pub/detail.aspx?c_id=5&id=24629&class_set_id=2&class_id=2515 (13.07.2019).

Kumamoto Earthquake Experience Project. 2017. "Let's keep together – Official Booklet –". https://kumadaiquake.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/keep-booklet3.pdf (22. 11.2018).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2016. *2016 Kumamoto jishin gaikokujin hisaisha shienkatsudō hōkokusho (dai'ippan) tabunkakyōseishakai no arikata – mirai he, tsunagari no taisetsusa –* (Report on Assistance for Foreign Sufferers of the Kumamoto Earthquakes of 2016 (First Edition) – The state of the Multicultural Society, The Importance of ties in the Future –). http://www.kumamotoif.or.jp/topics/topics_detail.asp?PageID=6&ID=8887&pg=3&sort=0&LC=j (22.11.2018).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2017. *2016 Kumamoto jishin gaikokujin hisaisha shienkatsudō hōkokusho (dainihan) tabunkakyōseishakai no arikata – hasshin kara hantoshi, ugokidashitakoto* – (Report on Assistance for Foreign Sufferers of the Kumamoto Earthquakes of 2016 (First Edition) – The state of the Multicultural Society, six months after the shocks, what has been done –). http://www.kumamoto-if.or.jp/topics/topics_detail.asp? PageID=6&ID =8887&pg=3&sort=0&LC=j (22.11.2018).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2018a. Annual Report 2017. http://www.kumamoto-if.or.jp/topics/topics_detail.asp?PageID=6&ID=10059&pg=1&sort=0&LC=j (23.10.2018).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2018b. *Diversity Kumamoto – ironna hitotachi ga kurasu yutakana Kumamoto* (Diversity Kumamoto – Wealthy Kumamoto, where many different People are living).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2018c. *Tabunkakyōsei ofisu tagengo sōdan madoguchi unei* (Multilingual Consultation Services at the Tabunkakyōsei Office). http://www.kumamoto-if.or.jp/outline/pdf/schedule.pdf (29.10.2018).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2018d. *Report on Assistance for Foreign Sufferers of the Kumamoto Earthquakes of 2016 (English Edition) – For Creation of Diversity in the Future – Further Challenges to leave NO ONE behind –.* http://www.kumamoto-if. or.jp/topics/ topics_ detail.asp?PageID=6&ID=8887&LC=e&type=1 (22.11.2018).

Kumamoto International Foundation. 2019. *2016 Kumamoto jishin gaikokujin hisaisha shienkatsudō hōkokusho (daisanpan) tabunkakyōseishakai no arikata – hasshin kara sannen, manabi wo mirai he –* (Report on Assistance for Foreign Sufferers of the Kumamoto Earthquakes of 2016 (First Edition) – The state of the Multicultural Society, three years after the shocks, learning for the future –).

Kumustaka. 2016. Activity Report: Report on Earthquake activities. http://www.kumustaka.org/earthquake/2016earthquake20160425.html (15.06.2019).

Kumustaka. 2019. Newsletter Nr. 102.

Kumustaka. Webpage. http://www.kumustaka.org/English/index.html (23.09.2020).

Liu, Hao. 2016. "Hishūjūchiiki niokeru zainichi chūgokujin nyūkamā no hōmuishiki – chūgoku tono kankeisei no fuzai ni chakumokushite" (Homes of Chinese Newcomers in a Less Concentrated Area of Chinese Residents: With a Focus on the Absence of the Relationships with China) *East Asian Sociology of the 21 Century Vol. 2016 Issue 8.*

Matsuda, Toshihiko. 2019. "Shinsai to gaikokujin mainoritī – hanshin awaji daishinsai to higashi nihon daishinsai wo hikaku shite–" (Earthquakes and Foreign Minorities – A Comparison of the Great Hanshin Earthquake and the Great East Japan Earthquake): 121-138 in *Sekai no naka no posuto 3.11 – yōroppa to nihon no taiwa* (The World post 3.11 – A Dialogue between Europe and Japan) edited by Tsuboi, Hideto, Richter, Steffi and Roth, Martin. Shinyosha.

Matsumiya, Ashita and Yamamoto, Kahori. 2009. *Chihōjichitai niokeru gaikokusekijūmin tōgōseisaku: tōkaichiiki no jichitai chōsa kara* (Integration Policies on Foreign Residents of Local Governments: An Investigation of Local Governments in the Tokai Region). Nagoya Association for Multicultural Studies.

Menju, Toshihiro. 2016. *Jichitai ga hiraku nihon no iminseisaku – jinkōgenshō jidai no tabunkakyōsei he no chōsen* (Local Governments open the door for Japan's Immigration Policies: An Attempt on Multicultural Co-existence in times of Population Decline). Akashi Shoten.

Ministry of Justice. 2012. Start of a new residency management system. http://www.immi-moj.go.jp/newimmiact_1/en/index.html (22.10.2018).

Ministry of Justice. 2019. *zairyūgaikokujin tōkei* (Foreign Residents Statistics). http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html (17.06.2020).

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. 2006. *Chīki niokeru tabunkakyōsei suishin puran* (Promotion Plan for Regional Multicultural Co-existence). http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000400764.pdf (18.10.2018)

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. 2009. *Chīki kōkyōdantai niokeru tabunkakyōsei no suishin nikakaru shishin – keikaku no sakutei jōkyō heisei 21 nen* (Promotion Guideline for Multicultural Co-existence of Regional Public Bodies: State of Policy Implementation in 2009). http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000400991.pdf (29.10.2018).

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. 2018. *Chīki kōkyōdantai niokeru tabunkakyōsei no suishin nikakaru shishin – keikaku no sakutei jōkyō heisei 30 nen* (Promotion Guideline for Multicultural Co-existence of Regional Public Bodies: State of Policy Implementation in 2018). http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000555350.pdf (29.10.2018).

Nikaido, Yuko. 2019. "Hishūjūchīki niokeru nihongogakushū shienkatsudō wo tōshita gaikokujinjūmin no shien to hōsetsu – betonamujin ginōjisshūsei no jirei kara –" (Support and Subsumption of foreign residents through Japanese Learning Support Activities in Low Concentration Regions: The Case of Vietnamese Technical Intern Training Program participants): 81-102 in *Chihōhatsu gaikokujinjūmin to no chīkidukuri – tabunkakyōsei no genba kara –* (Foreign Residents and Regional Community Development: From Tabunkakyōsei on site), edited by Tokuda, Tsuyoshi, Nikaido, Yuko and Kaisho, Yumiko. Soufusha Press.

Oizumi Town Resident Affairs Section. https://www.town.oizumi.gunma.jp/01soshiki/06jyumin/01jyumin/1468367193-30.html (24.06.2020).

Pekkanen, Robert. 2006. *Japan's Dual Civil Society: Members without Advocates*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pierson, Paul. 2004. *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.

Ristumeikan Asia Pacific University. 2020. Student Enrollement by Country, Region (as of May 1st, 2020). http://en.apu.ac.jp/home/uploads/fckeditor/aboutAPU/factsAndFigures/20200501_ Student_Enrollment.pdf (09.07.2020).

Sasaki, Teru. 2012. "Higashi nihon daishinsai to zainichi korian" (The Great East Japan Earthquake and Zanichi Koreans): 123-137 in *Imin, diasupora kenkyū 2: Higashi nihon daishinsai to gaikokujin ijūshatachi.* (Great East Japan Earthquake and Migrants; Migrants and Dispora Studies 2), edited by Komai, Hiroshi and Suzuki, Eriko. Akashi Shoten.

Sankei West News. 2016. *Kumamoto jishin nepārujin ga karē de "ongaeshi" hisaisha ha "totemo oishikatta".* (Kumamoto Earthquakes: Nepalese made curry as a "return", the victim said it was "very delicious"). https://www.sankei.com/west/news/160420/wst1604200102-n1.html.

Sewell, William H. 1992. "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation." *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 98. Nr.1: 1-29.

Shipper, Apichai W. 2006. "Foreigners and Civil Society in Japan." Pacific Affairs 79,2 (Summer): 269-289.

Suzuki, Eriko. 2012. "Higashi nihon daishinsai ga tou tabunkakyōsei – nihon" (The Great East Japan Earthquake challenges the Multicultural society and Japan): 9-32 in *Imin, diasupora kenkyū 2: Higashi nihon daishinsai to gaikokujin ijūshatachi.* (Great East Japan Earthquake and Migrants; Migrants and Dispora Studies 2), edited by Komai, Hiroshi and Suzuki, Eriko. Akashi Shoten.

Tanaka, Hiraki. 2010. "Administrative Reform in Japanese Local Governments." *Papers on the Local Governance System and its Implementation in Selected Fields in Japan No.18*. http://www.clair.or.jp/j/forum/honyaku/hikaku/pdf/BunyabetsuNo18en.pdf (25.10.2018).

Tarumoto, Hideki. 2012. *Kokusaiimin to shiminken gabanansu: nichiei hikaku no kokusaishakaigaku* (International Immigration and Citizen's Rights Governance: Japan and Great Britain in an International Sociological Comparison). Minvervashobo.

Tawara, Kimi. 2013. "Hishūjūchiiki ni kyojū suru nikkei burajirujin no seikatsu tenkai: ishikawaken komatsushi wo jirei toshite" (Japanese-Brazilian Residents' Lifestyle Development in Japan: A Case-study in Komatsu City as an Area with a lower Concentration of Japanese-Brazilian). *Bulletin of Hokuriku University Vol. 6:* 149-160.

The Japan Times. 2014. *Debate on foreigner voting rights reignites ahead of 2020 Olympics*. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/08/20/national/politics-diplomacy/debate-foreigner-voting-rights-reignites-ahead-2020-olympics/#.W8g4Gi_5zBJ (18.10.2018).

The Japan Times. 2019. *Is Japan becoming a country of immigration?* https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2019/06/26/commentary/japan-commentary/japan-becoming-country-immigration/#.XuArcC337u0 (10.06.2020).

The Missionary Society of St. Columban. Webpage. https://www.columbanmission.org (01.08.2020).

Tokuda, Tsuyoshi, Nikaido, Yuko and Kaisho, Yumiko eds. 2016. *Gaikokujinjūmin no hishūjūchīki no chīkitokusei to seikatsukadai – kessetsuten toshiteno kattorikku kyōkai, nihongo kyōshitu, minzoku gakkō no shiten kara* – (Regional Characteristics and Daily-life Issues of Foreign Residents in Low-concentration Areas: From the perspective of Catholic Curch, Japanese Classes and Ethnic Schools as a Hub). Soufusha Press.

Tokuda, Tsuyoshi, Nikaido, Yuko and Kaisho, Yumiko eds. 2019. *Chihōhatsu gaikokujinjūmin to no chīkidukuri – tabunkakyōsei no genba kara* – (Foreign Residents and Regional Community Development: From Tabunkakyōsei on site). Soufusha Press.

Yahoo Japan News. 2016. *Zainichi nepārujin ga "nepāru jishinshien ni ongaeshi" 29nichi ni seremonī* (Nepalese living in Japan hold a ceremony on 29th "Payback for Earthquake Support in Nepal"). https://headlines.yahoo.co.jp/hl?a=20160527-00000006-wordleaf-soci (15.06.2019).

Voigt, Garbiele and Lersch, Philipp. 2007. Migrant Support Organizations in Japan – A Survey. German Institute for Japanese Studies. *Working Paper 07/1*. Tokyo.

Yamanaka, Keiko. 2011. "Policies, Civil Society and Social Movements for Immigrant Rights in Japan and South Korea: Convergence and Divergence." *Migration and Integration – Japan in Comparative Perspective*. edited by Vogt, Gabriele and Roberts, Glenda S. Munich: Iudicum Verlag: 89-108.

Yamawaki, Keizo. 2003. *Chihōjichitai no gaikokujin seisaku ni kansuru hihanteki kōsatsu* (A critical Examination of Foreigner related Policies of Local Governments). Meiji University Institute of Social Science Discussion Papers Series No. J-2003-10.

Appendix I: List of Figures and Tables

Notes

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

[ii] 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.

[iii] FR = foreign resident

[iv] JC = Japanese citizen

[v] Japan International Cooperation Agency

[vi] NS uses the Japanese word “*neta*”, which is here translated as story

[vii] Alhamdulillah is Arabic meaning "praise to God" or "thank God"

[viii] Halal is Arabic, meaning lawful or permitted. In reference to food, it is the diet allowed by the Quran (the holy book of Islam)