LOCAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE REALIZATION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS OF JAPANESE BRAZILIANS: COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF AICHI AND YAMANASHI PREFECTURES OF JAPAN

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Thesis
entitled

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Ayaka Kazama

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ABSTRACT

This thesis research aims at examining if and to what extent the Brazilian migrants in Japan enjoy the right to political participation in Japan. It also looks at the relationship between nationalism, internationalism, and local citizenship, which is an alternative approach to citizenship to separate membership in local communities from national affiliation. The study was conducted through documentary research, interviews, and participatory observations. Japan is among many countries which fail to accept migrants as equal participants in society. The issues of non-national residents are the concerns of local governments in the case of Japan, and some local governments are progressive in accepting a non-citizen population into local communities' while others remain conservative and fail to integrate migrants. Therefore, factors behind and influences of such regional differences are also explored through this investigation.

The study found that the political rights enjoyed by Brazilian migrants have not been realized in Japan despite the fact that some local governments acknowledge the concept of local citizenship. Regional differences in migrant administration are triggered by the difference in economy, population size, and historical experience. It was also found that, in the case of Japan, internationalism both limits and promotes the idea of local citizenship while nationalism hinders the realization of such a concept.

Today, an increasing number of people migrate internationally and reside in countries which are different from where they hold their nationalities. This thesis suggests that introducing local citizenship as a formal status could provide the solution to the injustice of political exclusion of migrants.

KEY WORDS: MIGRATION / CITIZENSHIP / LOCAL CITIZENSHIP/ POLITICAL RIGHTS / BRAZILIAN MIGRANTS/ JAPAN

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CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	**iii**
ABSTRACT	**iv**
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	**1**
1.1 Rational of study	1
1.2 Research scope	4
1.3 Research objectives	5
1.4 Research questions	5
1.5 Methodology	6
1.5.1 Documentary research	6
1.5.2 Interviews	7
1.5.3 Participatory observations	9
1.6 Ethical concerns and limitaions	10
1.7 Understading the research problem	11
1.7.1 Citizenship in conntention	11
1.7.2 Japan and migration	13
1.8 The structure of the thesis	20
CHAPTER II CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP	**22**
2.1 Rights and obligations	22
2.2 Citizenship as membership	26
2.3 Local citizenship	29
2.3.1 Challenges posed by globalization	29
2.3.2 Local citizenship	33
CHAPTER III CONTEXTUALIZATION OF JAPANESE CASE	**44**
3.1 Migration to Japan and immigration policies	44
3.2 Administrative issues	51
3.3 Factors influencing policy changes	55
CHAPTER IV THE ASSESSMENT OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF BRAZILIAN MIGRANTS IN AICHI AND YAMANASHI PREFECTURES	**66**
4.1 Identifying target groups	66
4.2 Aichi Prefecture	72
4.2.1 Enabling factors	73
4.2.2 Support for Brazilian migrants	78

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CONTENTS (cont.)

	Page
4.2.3 Political involvement	81
4.3 Yamanashi Prefecture	83
4.3.1 Inhibiting factors	83
4.3.2 Support for Brazilian migrants	87
4.3.3 Political involvement	89
4.4 Comparison of two locations	90
CHAPTER V TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY MIGRANTS	**95**
5.1 The political rights of migrants	95
5.1.1 The right to hold and express opinions	96
5.1.2 The right to be involved in public affairs	97
5.1.3 The right to vote and to be elected	102
5.1.4 The right to citizenship	108
5.2 Local citizenship and migrant political participation	111
5.2.1 Concept and practices	111
5.2.2 Prospects for the realization of local citizenship in Japan	113
5.3 Towards the realization of political participation by Brazilian migrants in Japan	119
REFERENCES	**123**
BIOGRAPHY	**133**

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rational of study

Japan has been experiencing a massive influx of migrant population since the 1980s, by virtue of its economic growth. However, as a country which closed its border for more than 200 years from the 17th century to the mid 19th century, and as a country of islands with a visible border, the division of insiders and outsiders has been quite static and clear-cut[1]. Japan as a country still persists with the maintenance of presumed cultural and ethnic homogeneity. The Japanese approach towards immigration has been one of either rejection or control. Restrictive immigration policies and lack of long-term integration policies are common features among recent countries of immigration, such as Japan, South Korea, Spain, and Italy (although South Korea has shifted its approach towards the issue of immigration by showing its willingness to accept and integrate migrants especially following 2004). Nonetheless, the situation for migrants in Japan is particularly precarious because integration policies have never been a serious concern for the Japanese government and access to long-term residency or Japanese nationality is severely restricted (Tsuda, 2006: 1-6, 12-20). Migrants in Japan, therefore, often find themselves in a situation of segregation without any recourse to change their conditions.

Despite adherence to cultural and ethnic homogeneity, it has become unrealistic for Japanese society to maintain its position with the prevalence of globalization and the flow of goods, services, and people increases and becomes more fluid. Inevitably, Japan will not be able to avoid the inflow of people from outside of its borders. In such circumstances, the continuous pursuit of its cultural and ethnic homogeneity through the rejection of people with different cultural and ethnic

[1] This does not mean, however, that Japan in reality had been ethnically homogeneous. Ethnic minorities, such as indigenous Ainus and Okinawans have resided in Japan together with ethnic Japanese. The myth of Japanese homogeneity was created and maintained through the negligence of such minorities in Japan.

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backgrounds becomes unsustainable. It is therefore necessary to look for a way to deal with the issue of migration which is suitable within the context of globalization and is acceptable to Japanese society as a whole.

Facing globalization and current population decrease, it is inevitable that Japan as a nation will need to become more open and accept non-Japanese members to its society. However, the strong belief in its cultural and ethnic homogeneity and endorsement of nationalism hinders the realization of a society in which all members of community, both nationals and non-nationals, can be responsible for the development of the communities they live in, since non-nationals are not accepted as equal participants in Japanese society regardless of the length of time they reside in Japan. The strong belief in cultural and ethnic homogeneity can be clearly observed in the recent history of Japanese immigration policies and the attitude towards non-Japanese residing in Japan. While rejecting unskilled migrant workers of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, Japan welcomes Japanese Brazilian migrants, who are ethnically Japanese, by granting them the privilege of easier access to visas without regulating the types of occupations they can perform (Kajita et al., 2005: 110-123, Kondo, 2001: 14); although Japanese Brazilian migrants do experience rejection from Japanese society due to the cultural difference and lack of language skills once they are admitted into Japanese territory (Tsuda, 1998: 331-337).

In recent history, Japan's immigration policies and practices of dealing with migrants have been quite interesting and unique when they are approached from the two distinct perspectives of nationalism and internationalism. Internationalization has been a key term utilized during Japan's rise as a major economic power in the international arena beginning in the 1980s. The policy of internationalization in Japan has three pillars: international exchange, internal internationalization, and international cooperation (Hatsuse, 1993). The issues of foreigners, who are accepted as a part of international exchange and cooperation principles, are dealt with under the principle of internal internationalization. Being dealt with within the framework of internationalization, non-Japanese including resident foreigners are treated as mere temporary guests rather than equal participants in society (Kajita et al., 2005: 292-294).

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The strong and persistent nationalism in Japan, which perceives Japanese society as culturally and ethnically homogeneous, leads the refusal by Japanese society to accept those who are not considered to be the same as its members. This logic accounts for the preference given to ethnic Japanese as migrant workers.

Among different kinds of rights, this research project will focus on the aspect of political rights and political participation by migrants in Japan. The right to be politically involved in society is indispensable for any individual. Such a right provides one with an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process which influences the future of communities they live in. However, as it will be demonstrated, political rights continue to be reserved only for nationals, even in the context of globalization which brings an increasing number of non-nationals to domestic society as long-term residents. This contrasts with other aspects of non-citizens rights including civil, social and economic, which are guaranteed despite people's national affiliation at least to some degree (Joppke, 2010: 28-30). This tendency is even stronger in recent countries of immigration. In these countries, migrants are viewed as temporal labourers so that their human needs and rights are often overlooked (Tsuda, 2006: 4-5). Therefore there is an acute need to identify hindrances to the realization of political integration of migrants as well as to seek the way to achieve such realization.

In Japan, the substantive rights exercised by foreign residents and their access to services differ significantly from locality to locality. Local authorities are primarily responsible for the provision of social services and the administration of policies which have a direct impact on the lives of foreign residents. While generally speaking, foreigners are not considered to be equal participants in local communities, there are some localities which officially acknowledge non-citizen residents as legitimate members. Different local governments have different policies towards resident foreigners and the extent of rights and the degree of participation in society enjoyed by non-citizen residents are quite uneven depending on where they live (Kashiwazaki, 2003, Takao, 2003: 541-550, Yamawaki, 2003: 5-12). There are huge discrepancies between progressive and less progressive local governments in regards to the integration of resident foreigners and the protection and promotion of their

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rights. An analysis of incentives and hindrances towards the development of more progressive policies is necessary, in order to provide the ground for the development of solutions. Through the reduction of these discrepancies, it becomes possible to achieve a society where the issues of resident foreigners are seen in a long-term perspective, and the issue of migration is addressed in a more sustainable way.

1.2 Research scope

This research will have a specific focus in terms of location and the area of rights enjoyed by non-Japanese nationals residing in Japan, as follows:

- Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures of Japan
- The rights of non-citizen residents, particularly Brazilian migrants, to politically participate in local communities

This research focuses on the level of prefectures because they are responsible for the administration of non-Japanese residents through the development and adoption of local policies, whereas municipalities deal with day-to-day issues related to foreign residents sometimes without establishing policies. Since the analysis of local policy differences is one of the research objectives, choosing prefectures over municipalities is suitable for this research project. In addition, the number and size of municipalities have greatly changed because of an amalgamation, while prefectural boundaries have remained the same since 1888. The stability of its size and borders makes a longer term analysis possible.

Among the 47 prefectures of Japan, Aichi and Yamanashi were selected because they have a higher concentration of non-Japanese residents, specifically Brazilians. These two prefectures also provide an interesting contrast in terms of characteristics. While Aichi is more open and with a higher awareness of internationalism, Yamanashi can be described as closed and holding a stronger sense of nationalism. Comparing these two therefore makes it possible to examine whether or not a sense of internationalism and nationalism have an influence on political rights and political participation enjoyed by migrants in Japan.

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Rights can be multifaceted. This thesis however focuses on the political dimension of migrant rights. Analyzing migrant political rights offers an opportunity to consider the limitation of the present administration of migrants because the enjoyment of political rights remains severely limited, whereas the socioeconomic aspects of the rights of migrants have gradually become provided. In other words, understanding the reasons for such limitations enables us to search for alternative ways to address the issue of migration.

Various groups of migrants exist in Japan, but Brazilians are the specific interest of this thesis research from amongst the different migrant groups with a substantial population, owing to their characteristics as legal, recent and long-term migrants. Moreover, as it will be further explored in chapter three and four, Brazilian migrants are legally preferred by the Japanese government by being granted an easier access to visas. This fact provides the ground for a stronger need and justification for the realization of political rights and political participation enjoyed by Brazilian migrants among different groups of migrants in Japan.

1.3 Research objectives

1) To examine political participation by Brazilian migrants in Japan

2) To analyze policy differences between two prefectures with different characteristics to determine whether policy differences impact political participation

3) To identify the determinants influencing certain prefectures to accept resident foreigners as active and equal members in local communities

4) To assess whether or not a sense of nationalism and internationalism play a role in the realization of local citizenship

1.4 Research questions

1) Do Brazilian migrants enjoy the right to political participation in Japan?

2) What are the differences in policies adopted in the two selected

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prefectures?

3) What are the determinants influencing the level of acceptance?

4) Is there any relationship between economic, educational and social inclusion of migrants and their political participation?

5) What is the relationship between nationalism, internationalism, and local citizenship?

1.5 Methodology

This thesis employs a combination of three research methods: documentary research, interviews, and participatory observations.

1.5.1 Documentary research

Documentary research includes an examination of scholarly articles, publications and reports produced by NGOs, newspaper articles and other media sources, laws, national and local level policy papers, and various reports and materials published by the Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures. Scholarly articles provide the foundation for the argument of this thesis by highlighting different perspectives on the issue of citizenship and migration. Such scholarly work, together with newspaper articles, is also indispensable in order to deepen an understanding of the situation in Japan regarding migration. On the other hand, an analysis of policies at different levels as well as the examination of publications produced by local governments and NGOs serves to determine the local differences in terms of policies and actual practices on the matter of non-citizen residents.

In course of documentary research, literature on the issue of nationalism, migration, and citizenship were studied. Moreover, background information related to Japanese immigration policies and Japanese Brazilian migrants have been examined as well as scholarly articles examining the local history and different local governments with progressive policies dealing with non-national residents. Reviewing these provides an understanding on influence of certain aspects of progressive policy

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development, such as historical or cultural determinants. The issue of decentralization in Japan is also studied through scholarly articles in order to gain an understanding of how the issue of resident foreigners is being addressed at different levels of governments in Japan.

1.5.2 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with 30 individuals, 15 from each prefecture. The interviewees include: local officials, local politicians, Japanese residents, Japanese teachers at public schools, a Japanese journalist, those who work for non-profit organizations[2] and Japanese Brazilian migrants. The aim of the interviews is to identify and examine the degree of the impact which the differences in local policies and practices have on the issue of migrant integration and resident foreigners' rights. The interviews with local officials also serve to identify the determinants affecting policy differences in the two selected prefectures. The interviews were conducted with open-ended questions. However, the following issues were pursued through the course of the interviews: individual perceptions on the strengths and weaknesses of the local policies on the issue of resident foreigners and the impact such strengths and weaknesses have on the rights of resident foreigners, respondents' understanding of the changes in foreigners' rights over the time, and interviewees' opinion on whether or not the rights of resident foreigners need to be further promoted and if so how they should be promoted.

The interviews were conducted with the following individuals:

	Date	Location	Description	Age
Mr. YA	2010/06/14	Yamanashi	Local politician	50
Mr. YB	2010/06/15	Yamanashi	Local official	51
Mr. AA	2010/06/23	Aichi	Local official	52
Ms. AB	2010/07/17	Aichi	International Association stuff	49
Ms. YC	2010/07/26	Yamanashi	Brazilian migrant	62

[2] In Japan, the term "non-profit organization (NPO)" is preferred and commonly used instead of non-governmental organization (NGO).

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Ms. AC	2010/08/17	Aichi	Brazilian migrant	46
Mr. AD	2010/08/17	Aichi	Local official	45
Ms. AE	2010/08/17	Aichi	Japanese teacher	57
Ms. AF	2010/08/20	Aichi	Brazilian migrant	32
Mr. YD	2010/08/20	Yamanashi	NPO member	31
Mr. YE	2010/08/30	Yamanashi	Local politician	65
Ms. YF	2010/09/23	Yamanashi	Japanese resident	67
Mr. YG	2010/10/03	Yamanashi	NPO member	59
Mr. AG	2010/10/08	Aichi	Local politician	35
Mr. YH	2010/10/11	Yamanashi	Japanese volunteer	28
Mr. AH	2010/10/26	Aichi	Japanese volunteer	50
Mr. AI	2010/10/26	Aichi	Brazilian migrant	45
Mr. AJ	2010/10/27	Aichi	Local politician	41
Mr. YI	2010/11/01	Yamanashi	Japanese teacher	64
Ms. YJ	2010/11/01	Yamanashi	Japanese teacher	51
Mr. YK	2010/11/03	Yamanashi	International Association staff	65
Ms. YL	2010/11/04	Yamanashi	Brazilian migrant	40
Mr. YM	2010/11/05	Yamanashi	Brazilian migrant	47
Mr. YN	2010/11/07	Yamanashi	NPO member	64
Ms. AK	2010/11/19	Aichi	Japanese volunteer	30s
Mr. AL	2010/11/19	Aichi	NPO member	27
Ms. AM	2010/11/19	Aichi	Japanese volunteer	30s
Mr. AN	2010/11/09	Aichi	Japanese volunteer	23
Ms. AO	2010/11/25	Aichi	Japanese resident	22
Mr. YO	2010/11/29	Yamanashi	Japanese journalist	25

In order to comprehend the perspectives of those who are involved in local policy formulation and implementation, interviews were conducted with local officials and local politicians. Local politicians were selected from two major political parties, namely the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Democratic Party of Japan.

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Staff members at the prefectural International Association[3] were also interviewed since these associations have both public and private characteristics equally. They coordinate between different stakeholders including the public and private sectors. Comprehension of their work allows for deeper understanding of the nature of local administration of foreigners as well as the relationship between different stakeholders. In order to understand the Japanese attitude towards Brazilian migrants, different Japanese nationals who maintain regular contact with Brazilian migrants were interviewed. They include: those who have Brazilian neighbours or co-workers, NPO members, volunteers at Japanese language classes, teachers at public schools, and a Japanese journalist. Brazilian migrants were selected based on the length of their stay in Japan. Since the concern of this thesis is political rights and political participation and political participation generally requires the passage of a certain amount of time following settlement, newly arrived migrants were excluded in the selection process. The shortest length of stay in Japan from among the interviewed Brazilian migrants was nine years.

The majority of interviewees are Japanese since one of the research objectives is policy analysis and the factors influencing regional policy differences are the concern of this study. In order to verify the above factors, more of those who are involved in policy making and implementation were interviewed.

1.5.3 Participatory observations

Participatory observation includes the observation of different activities held by prefectural governments, prefectural international associations, public schools and NGOs. Specifically, Japanese language classes, open days at public schools, cultural festivals held by schools and NPOs, a fire drill for foreign residents have been visited to examine the interaction between Japanese nationals and Brazilian migrants and the relationship between Brazilian migrants and the Japanese residents who they are in direct contact with. A seminar on the issue of a preschool program for Brazilian

[3] International Associations exist in every prefecture as well as at a municipal level. Although they are not public bodies, they have a nature as semi-public institutions. They play a role of coordination between public and private bodies.

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children held by Aichi Prefecture was also attended. This served to identify some of the challenges facing Brazilian migrants as well as public schools and NPOs working on the issue of Brazilian migrants.

In addition, a meeting with resident foreigners held by Aichi Prefecture which aimed to provide non-citizen residents with the opportunity to provide input into the development of local policy was observed. Through this, the role played by such a mechanism has been studied, and the meaning of such an opportunity has been examined. At the same time, by reviewing the proceedings of previous meetings and the implementation of actual services and policies, the influence of these meetings has been assessed.

1.6 Ethical concerns and limitations

Since interviews are included as one of the research methods, confidentiality is one of the most important ethical concerns for this research. The record of interviews and the personal information of interviewees will be kept separately in order to maintain confidentiality. In addition, all the records will be destroyed upon the completion of the thesis. Interviews were conducted only after the purpose of the research and the process of interviews was fully explained and understood by the interviewees. Consent forms were signed by all the interviewees.

One of the major obstacles in this research is the language barrier. All the interviews, including with Brazilian migrants, have been conducted in Japanese. This limits the number of interviewees, as not all of the Brazilian migrants possess proficiency in Japanese language. Even for those with a relatively high level of Japanese language ability, there were occasions that the interviewer and interviewees did not fully understand each other at first, and thus needed further explanation or clarification. Although mutual understanding was eventually attained, through further explanation, giving examples or rephrasing questions, the extent of such understanding might have been limited compared to a situation where interviews were conducted in the language of the migrants.

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Making contact with individuals to be interviewed was another difficulty experienced in this research. In Japanese culture, many are unwilling to freely express their personal opinions unless people have established a close relationship. Conducting the interviews as a researcher without a previous personal relationship might have limited the extent of information obtained through the interviews although contacts for some of the interviews were made through introduction by those who have an established personal relationship with the interviewees.

1.7 Understanding the research problem

1.7.1 Citizenship in contention

The concept of citizenship has been in existence for a long time, and has been dynamic in a sense that the concept has been always contested and changing together with societal changes. In essence, citizenship has two distinct aspects. It functions as the indication of individual's membership and status while it also has an implication for one's rights and obligations towards society he or she belongs to.

As a symbol of membership and status, citizenship has an important aspect as a source of individual identity. This is why citizenship is often associated with one's political commitment and loyalty to the state (Pierson, 2004: 107-126). Since citizenship is an important contributing factor to the creation of national identity and loyalty to the state, it is considered to be appropriate to limit it only to nationals. This association of one's nationality and loyalty is apparent in xenophobia expressed towards foreigners. In France, for example, the public holds negative perceptions towards immigrants as people fear the presence of immigrants poses a threat to national identity (Simon and Lynch, 1999: 462). The tendency to connect citizenship and national identity is more obvious in countries which attempt to sustain its homogeneity such as Germany, Japan, and Israel (Coleman and Harding, 1995: 31-34).

Citizenship also implies the rights and duties which individuals hold towards the society they are in. Coleman and Harding (1995: 25-30) enumerate

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different kinds of entitlements which foreign residents may enjoy once they are legally admitted. The list includes employment, emergency services and socioeconomic resources, political participation, the right to permanent access, immunity from expulsion, and citizenship. They acknowledge that generally speaking, citizens exclusively enjoy the privilege of political participation. At the same time, however, they give some examples of granting voting rights at a local level to non-citizens, especially in Europe. It seems that recognition of the need for political participation by non-citizens is growing in many countries.

Citizenship also has a close relationship with political participation. When considering the legitimacy of representative governments, the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of political membership need to be questioned. It is widely accepted that the legitimacy of political power requires the ability of states to reflect people's will and interests; therefore, the failure to reflect the will of those who are affected by their decisions jeopardizes the legitimacy of democratic governments. Indeed, democratic participation is a secular source of political legitimation (Calhoun, 1997: 69-79, Lara, 2002: 211). This idea is reflected in Article 21 paragraph three of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which reads "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

Political rights enable individuals to be influential in the environment they are in and shape the future of their surroundings. Political rights may take different forms and can be realized in various ways. Some of the ways to exercise one's political rights can be identified in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which include: the right to freedom of expression, the right of peaceful assembly, the right to freedom of association, the right to participate in public affairs, and the right to vote and to be elected.

As globalization proceeds and the scale of migration becomes greater, the contestation to the idea of citizenship shows a new dimension. There are some academics currently proposing a new concept of citizenship which is not based on

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one's nationality but on one's residency. In order to provide an alternative to the conventional concept of citizenship, Varsanyi (2006: 239-240) introduced the idea of "Liberal-democratic/Westphalian (LDW) citizenship" proposed by Mark Purcell. The core concept of LDW citizenship is detaching citizenship from formal membership in the national community and reattaching it to the residence and lived presence in the territory (*jus domicili*). There is growing acceptance of *jus domicili* especially in some of European countries. However, its application in those countries is usually for the facilitation of a naturalization process for those who have established their residence for an extended period of time. The idea of citizenship thus remains conventional, still connecting one's residence and formal membership in a *national* community. This adaptation comes from the realization that the exclusion of immigrants from formal membership in society often becomes a source of marginalization, political exclusion, conflict and racism (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 91-94).

Indeed, allowing people formal membership and the right to participate in a decision-making process based on their lived presence is important because each community has specific collective needs in terms of material infrastructure and public services and as regular participants of their communities, the will of all the resident members needs to be acknowledged (Bauböck, 2003a: 142, Varsanyi, 2006: 240). Since local citizenship does not accompany the legal duties specifically imposed on citizens, such as military or jury services to name a few, the deprivation of the rights of resident non-citizens, who also perform equal duties as citizens such as paying taxes, to participate in local politics is unjustifiable (Bauböck, 2003a: 152).

The issue of citizenship concept and its need for alteration in the context of massive and long-term migration will be further explored and discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

1.7.2 Japan and migration

There is a substantial number of existing studies of the policies related to the issue of migration; however, many focus on the experience of either traditional immigration countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia, or European

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countries which also have a long history of cross-border migration. The situation outside of these regions therefore is still insufficiently explored. Japan has attracted the attention of those who study immigration policies and some empirical studies on the history and development of Japanese policies related to non-Japanese, both at a national and local level, have been made. However, the number of studies, especially in English, are still quite limited and most studies remain descriptive. They tend to focus only on the socio-economic aspects of the issue. The question of why such changes have occurred is therefore inadequately answered and the hindrances to the development of more liberal policies regarding non-nationals are still unidentified.

Many studies dealing with the issue of migration to Japan provide a legal and economic explanation for the increase and changing patterns of labour migration to Japan since the 1980s. Japan, originally an emigrant country sending its people to the United States and Latin America, reversed its position and started attracting migration during its rise as a major economic power in the international arena since the late 1970s. The devaluation of the dollar decided by the Plaza Accord in 1985 further boosted the Japanese economy which led to a massive influx of male illegal migrant workers from South Asia, Southeast Asia, China, South Korea, and Iran (Kajita et al., 2005: 108-123, Kashiwazaki, 2000: 448-455, Gurowitz, 1999: 417-424, 433-435, Iguchi, 2001: 22-25).

In response to the rapid increase in the number of undocumented migrants, most of whom overstayed their visas, the Japanese government revised its immigration law. The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, amended in 1990, reorganized the categories under which non-nationals can apply for visas. Under the revised act, resident Koreans, resident Taiwanese, and the spouse or children of Japanese nationals or permanent residents are granted visas based on their status. As well, the second and third-generation of Japanese Chinese and Japanese Brazilians have easier access to visas by virtue of this revision (Gurowitz, 1999: 433-435, Kajita et al., 2005: 110-123). With this revision, they are allowed to apply for Japanese visas based on their status as ethnic Japanese in order to “re-establish the connection with their ancestral land.” The 1990 amendment therefore resulted in a rapid increase in the

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return migration of Japanese Brazilians. Indeed, the number of registered Brazilians[4] in Japan jumped from 4,000 in 1989 to 119,000 in 1991 (Kajita et al., 2005: 5).

Other foreigners are required to apply for visas based on the activities they will be engaged in, which are regulated under the Article 19 of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. These activities are listed in the Annexe Table 1 of the Act and include teaching, medical services, legal or accounting services, engineering, religious activities, entertainment, and pursuing education, for example, but excluded the so-called "unskilled" work. The law at the same time places sanctions on employers who hire illegal migrant workers. The amendment of immigration law, together with the suspension of bilateral agreements on visa exemptions with Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran, resulted in the decrease of migrant workers from these countries. On the other hand, those who apply for visas based on their status face little restriction in terms of employment (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 455, Kajita et al., 2005: 110-123). Therefore, an increased number of Japanese Brazilian migrants were substituted for illegal migrant workers engaged in unskilled work.

In addition to the economic and domestic legal factors which induced aforementioned changes in the demography and patterns of migration, Japan's changing role in the international arena also influenced the attitude of the government towards migration. As Japan has become economically strong and gained a more secure position in the international community, Japan has become aware of its image and international obligations. Growitz (1999) and Surak (2008) suggest that international norms have impacted the formulation of Japanese policies related to its non-citizen population. According to them, the ratification of international human rights standards since the end of 1970s has influenced the development of policies regarding foreigners in Japan. However, according to Growitz and Surak, such influence is realized only if there is domestic pressure to extend the rights of non-nationals. Moreover, as Surak (2008: 569-571) insists, changes in laws and policies remain cosmetic without domestic political pressure to push the government

[4] Although Japanese Brazilians are given easier access to enter Japan by virtue of their ethnicity as Japanese, no distinction is made between Japanese Brazilian migrants and other Brazilian migrants in terms of laws, policies and administrations once they are admitted to Japan. Therefore, two terms will be used interchangeably in this thesis.

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for reforms.

It is essential to recognize that there are two aspects to the development of Japanese national policies regarding immigration and the treatment of foreign nationals: historical and contemporary. The historical account is strongly associated with the policies toward resident Koreans and Taiwanese who have had ties with Japan since the Japanese imperial period before World War II and who were forcibly taken to Japan during the war, while contemporary development focuses more on the issue of migrant workers who increased in its number since the 1980s. In other words, Japanese policies toward foreigners have evolved based on two distinct grounds: in order to deal with its historical colonial past and in order to address emerging problems arising from the influx of recent migrants (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 437-463).

Another important element to be acknowledged in the discussion of Japan's immigration policies is the existing dichotomy within Japanese society (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 463). Two conflicting attitudes toward foreigners can be identified at present. One is co-existence which supports the extension of foreigners' rights, and the other is exclusion which stems from security concerns and advocates for the stricter control of foreigners. This explicitly shows that a clear division exists within Japanese society on the issue of long-term resident foreigners.

In order to understand the rights of foreigners in Japan, it is imperative to be familiar with the legal ground for these rights. Kondo (2001:13-25) provides the legal basis for the rights of non-nationals including an account of the development of foreigners' rights achieved through court decisions. Based on their residential status, Kondo classifies the population of Japan into three categories: nationals, settled aliens, and other aliens. The rights of non-nationals are then analyzed based on social, economic and political rights. In regards to residential rights, foreigners are granted visas to reside in Japan based either on the activities they perform in Japan or based on their status, as noted earlier. The second category of foreigners includes Korean and Taiwanese residents and spouses or children of Japanese nationals or permanent residents. This is also where the second and third-generation of Japanese Chinese and Japanese Brazilians fall under. If foreigners are granted visas based on their status,

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there is little restriction in terms of employment. The greater degree of social rights, including national health insurance and national pension, is enjoyed by non-nationals who are staying for longer than one year. In contrast, political rights of non-nationals are severely restricted in Japan and resident foreigners do not possess the right to vote nor to stand for office.

Many existing studies suggest that local governments, rather than the central government, play a significant role in social and cultural integration of migrants and the extension of foreigners' rights (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 462, Kashiwazaki, 2003, Takao, 2003: 541-550, Yamawaki, 2003: 5-12). This is partly because local governments bear primary responsibility for the provision and administration of policies and social services which have a direct impact on the lives of resident foreigners (Kashiwazaki, 2003: 63). Local governments are forced to address friction between the Japanese and non-Japanese population in local communities and various problems related to non-Japanese nationals, as their presence becomes a more permanent feature in their communities. The problems are manifold, ranging from housing and medical care to social security and human rights (Kashiwazaki, 2003: 69-70).

Since the 1970s, some progressive municipal governments, such as Kawasaki City of Kanagawa Prefecture, started extending services to cover resident foreigners in the area of health insurance and medical care. The rights of non-Japanese have also been extended in terms of employment in the public sector and the political participation by resident foreigners (Takao, 2003: 541-550). Yamawaki (2003: 5) categorizes different types of local governments with regard to their policies toward non-Japanese residents into three groups: the human rights model, the integration model, and the international model. According to him, which model progressive local governments adhere to is dependent on the historical experience with the non-Japanese population. More specifically, local governments with a long history of addressing issues related to Korean residents tend to uphold a human rights approach, while those with a substantial Korean resident population but also experiencing the rapid increase of newly migrated non-Japanese are more likely to employ an integrational approach.

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Local authorities without much experience in dealing with non-Japanese residents but having a large number of foreign populations due to the recent influx of migrants often develop and implement policies related to foreigners as a part of internationalization policies. In short, historical experience of dealing with resident foreigners partly accounts for how the issue of non-citizen residents is approached locally.

Most of the recent development of policies regarding foreigners has been made under the policy of "internationalization". Starting in 1986, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then the Ministry of Home Affairs[5] started discussing the need to internationalize the country. The internationalization in this context consists of three pillars: international exchange, internal internationalization, and international cooperation. The policies and services related to long-term resident foreigners are dealt with under the principle of internal internationalization. With such an approach, foreigners, no matter how long they live in Japan, tend to be regarded as temporal guests rather than long-term active participants in local communities. Because of this limited perspective on the issue, the policies for foreigners often mean the mere provision of short-term services and the issue of resident foreigners' rights is rarely called into question (Hatsuse, 1993, Kashiwazaki, 2003: 67-68, Yamawaki, 2003: 2-5, Kajita et al.:2005: 292-302).

While there is an acknowledgement of the accomplishment and contribution of progressive local authorities, which include Aichi Prefecture, in the area of foreigners' rights extension, it also needs to be noted that such prefectural governments are still exceptions and the vast majority of local governments are quite inactive in the extension and promotion of resident foreigners' rights (Kashiwazaki, 2003: 81, Yamawaki, 2003: 11-12). It is misleading to value the role played by progressive local authorities too highly in this area. This tendency to simply praise the achievements made by some exceptional local governments seems to stem partly from the lack of comparative studies of local policy formulation and implementation between progressive and less progressive local governments. In addition, the lack of a strong and unified policy at the national level needs to be emphasized.

[5] The Ministry of Home Affairs changed its name to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in 2001.

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The dominant discourse in Japan, especially at the national level, is still strongly influenced by the belief in cultural and ethnic homogeneity and nationalism. In the article for the members of the House of Councilors published by the House of Councilors, the issue of migration is still discussed from the perspective of security and control. Migrants are portrayed as a group to be rejected rather than integrated (Yamauchi, 2008: 140-143). There is therefore an urgent requirement to identify the determinants which influence progressive local governments to take up the current approach on the issue of resident foreigners and their rights. By identifying these, it is possible to explore a way to apply these to other local governments as well as at the national level.

In prefectures which adopt relatively progressive approaches towards the issue of foreigners, the idea of citizenship which is based on people's lived presence and not on their national affiliation is acknowledged. Kanagawa and Aichi Prefectures, for example, start accepting resident foreigners as legitimate and equal members of their communities by referring to them as "foreign prefectural citizens." Without negating the authority of state nationality itself, they became creative in a sense that they separate the local and national context and detach national level logics from the local context. This approach might provide alternatives to the conventional policies for dealing with non-nationals in Japan.

Among all the foreigners who reside in Japan, the case of Japanese Brazilians is of particular interest to this thesis research. Brazilian nationals are the third biggest group in terms of the number of alien registrations[6] after Chinese (including Taiwanese) and Koreans. Considering that the significant presence of Koreans in Japan is largely due to the historical colonial relationship and that Chinese nationals are registered with diverse visa categories such as trainee or student visas[7], Brazilians are one of the largest representations of recent and long-term immigration to Japan.

[6] According to the government statistics, the numbers of registered aliens for three biggest groups in 2007 are as follows: 606,889 Chinese, 593,489 Koreans, and 316,967 Brazilians. The statistics is available at <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?lid=000001031723> accessed May 3, 2010 (in Japanese).

[7] As it will be further explained in chapter three, these visas allows visa holders to stay in Japan for only limited period of time.

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Indeed, the case of Japanese Brazilian migrants has an interesting implication in relation to nationalism in Japan. By virtue of their status as ethnic Japanese, descendants of Japanese nationals who formally emigrated are given easier access to Japanese visas and almost all of the registered Brazilians[8] applied for visas based on their status. This means that most of them are Japanese Brazilians or their relatives. Apparently Japanese Brazilians are legally preferred by the Japanese government, being granted easier access to visas by virtue of their ethnicity, and this can be interpreted as an expression of Japanese nationalism. In addition to being legally preferred by the Japanese government, Japanese Brazilians are also ethnically preferred by many of the employers who hire non-Japanese because of the presumed cultural similarities between Japanese and Japanese Brazilians (Tsuda, 1999: 697-698). However once admitted, Japanese society perceives Japanese Brazilians as inferior to the domestic population despite the fact that they are given preference among different groups of potential migrants by virtue of their ethnic commonality. Such prejudice comes from beliefs held by most Japanese, such as Japanese-Brazilians' low familial background, their low social status in Brazil, and their unfavorable nature which is incompatible with Japanese culture (Tsuda, 1998: 321-337). In the case of Japanese Brazilians, it is possible to see two distinct expressions of Japanese nationalism. They are preferred as migrants because of their ethnicity as Japanese. However, they are rejected in Japanese society once admitted because they are no longer culturally homogeneous due to their Brazilian background.

1.8 The Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the research problem as well as the focus of the research. It also provides the underlying understanding to the issue. Chapter two analyzes the concept of citizenship and its meaning in the context of globalization and massive migration. In addition, the second

[8] Out of 316,967 registered Brazilians in 2007, 311,782 registered as visa holders based on their status, not activities. The statistics is available at <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?lid=000001031723> accessed May 3, 2010 (in Japanese).

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chapter provides the theoretical foundation for this present research. This is followed by the third chapter which explores the situation surrounding migration involving Japan. In the same chapter, the issue of how resident foreigners are administered in Japan is explained. The fourth chapter is based on the field research conducted in Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures of Japan. Chapter four examines the form and degree of integration of Brazilian migrants into local communities as well as their political participation in the two selected prefectures. Finally, the issue of political rights enjoyed by migrants in Japan is explored in chapter five. The changes that need to be made in order to realize the political rights of migrants are discussed in the same chapter as a conclusion.

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CHAPTER II
CONCEPT OF CITIZESHIP

The concept of citizenship is a longstanding one, and it is perhaps due to this length of existence which makes it very definition challenging. This unclarity in the concept of citizenship leaves some people in an unjust situation, where certain rights are denied regardless of their established presence in a particular society. It is therefore necessary to reconsider the meaning of citizenship, especially in the context of the globalizing world. The necessity for an enhanced understanding of the concept of citizenship is gaining importance as the application of conventional ideas of citizenship becomes problematic in the context of massive migration. There has been a strong connection between citizenship and nationality, and the incongruence between citizens and members of a society is expanding. As noncitizens, these members are not properly acknowledged, rendering society unjust and potentially unstable.

Chapter two will address the description of different but crucial aspects of the conceptualization of citizenship, which are specifically related to the issue of migration. Among various aspects, it is its function to distribute rights and obligations and citizenship as the determinants of membership which will be discussed, as these two have important implications for the present thesis. This discussion will lead to the introduction of an alternative approach to the conventional concept of citizenship, namely ‘local citizenship’, as a more sustainable approach in the context of globalization.

2.1 Rights and obligations

The notion of citizenship has been changing in tandem with societal changes. There is no single definition yielding an understanding of what it means and what it entails. Nonetheless, two distinct and significant implications contained within

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the concept of citizenship can be identified: the allocation of rights and obligation and the indication of membership. Before exploring the challenges facing the concept of citizenship in the context of globalization and alternative forms of such a concept, these two crucial aspects of citizenship need to be explored.

The idea of citizenship carries an implication of rights and obligations for citizens. Citizenship implies societal expectations on individuals as well as socially defining one's capacities and entitlements. While playing a role as a participant in society, an individual can exercise certain powers utilizing the capabilities and entitlements guaranteed by the state by virtue of status as a citizen (Barbalet, 1994: 227-229).

In the mid-17th century, the Treaty of Westphalia established the principle of state sovereignty, which is understood as noninterference in the internal affairs of a state by others. Since then, state sovereignty has been a core concept of modern international relations and still has significance in the accounts of state behaviours. State sovereignty remains widely recognized and well respected. This notion of sovereignty also grants each state the authority to control its border and to determine its entrance and membership requirements as an autonomous being (Hammar, 1990: 9). While state sovereignty also justifies its authority to regulate the life of its population, the state is obliged to provide what is necessary for those who reside within its territory (Zilbershats, 2002: 94). If the state has an obligation to provide basic necessities to its members, those who belong to the state can claim rights and entitlements against that state. Bauböck defines a right as "a resource provided by social institutions which protects and legitimates the existence, needs and interests, or the actions of the bearer of the rights" (Bauböck, 1994: 209).

So what is unique about citizenship rights? How are they different from other kinds of rights? Unlike some other rights which are based on a contract between stakeholders, citizenship rights derive not from an agreement between a claimant and a provider of rights, but from the collective decisions made by citizens and their representatives. Citizenship rights in today's understanding are formulated as a result of democratic processes and through the web of interactions among active citizens and

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their representatives and expressing citizens' political deliberations. In a liberal democracy, institutions and members of society are obliged to refrain from interference and to provide assistance through making collective decisions (Bauböck, 1994: 215). In other words, the provision of a citizen's liberty and entitlements is guaranteed through decisions that are collectively reached by fellow citizens. Moreover, citizenship rights are reserved exclusively for citizens, as the term itself expresses. This is because the justification for these rights stems out of social ties of membership which people have acquired through everyday life (Bauböck, 1994: 232).

The rights of people against states can be classified into different categories. Although his argument has been criticized by many scholars for its limitation of theoretical application to other countries beyond the British experience, T.H. Marshall contributed greatly to the conceptualization of citizenship. Marshall analyzed the development of the rights discourse as evolution of rights from civil, political then to social rights. Describing civil, political, and social rights is an enormous task, so providing a comprehensive account is not attempted in this thesis. However, a brief explanation of each in order to understand the nature of such rights is still required to comprehend the relationship between citizenship and rights. Upon consideration of the civil, political, and social dimensions of rights and their relationship with citizenship, it needs to be acknowledged that political rights are primarily reserved for nationals, whereas the protection and provision of civil and social rights is not necessarily limited to nationals (Joppke: 2010, 29).

Civil rights prevent unlawful infringement on private property, personal liberty and justice especially by the state. Civil rights also guarantee equality before the law. In theory, civil rights are guaranteed for everyone present in the country regardless of their resident status. In contrast, some of important political rights, namely the right to vote and the right to stand for office, are normally reserved only for nationals. Freedom of assembly, association and information, however, is not necessarily restricted to nationals. Hammar (1985: 439) adds the right to take part in the political debates to the list of political rights. In essence, political rights are exercised by members in communities in order to influence their environment. The

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International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides a fundamental, though minimum, list of political rights: the right to freedom of expression, the right of peaceful assembly, the right to freedom of association, the right to participate in public affairs, and the right to vote and to be elected. Social rights aim at securing its members the minimum standard which is considered to be appropriate in that particular society. Social rights are multifaceted but generally include: the right to work, equality of opportunity in various situations including education and employment, an entitlement to health services, welfare benefits, certain social services and a certain standard of education. Social rights are continually contested and change in response to social changes (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 103-120). The degree to which non-nationals are allowed the entitlement of these rights depends on the policies of each country and people's resident status.

Although rights are significant features of citizenship, it is also important to remember that rights and duties are two sides of the same coin. Citizens are rights holders as well as obligation bearers. While rights are expansive, providing holders with more possibilities for their choice and action, obligations are restrictive in a sense they therefore require people to perform certain roles to determine their actions. As obligation bearers, people act according to expectations and rules given by states which they accept as binding while enjoying the rights provided by states. Citizens are held responsible to observe such rules because they are, in theory, entitled to the right to participate in the decision-making process (Barbalet, 2004: 229-230, Bauböck, 1994: 292-298). In short, balanced citizenship is one which entails both rights and duties (Pierson, 2004: 116).

Duties can derive from either laws or social relationships. Besides being obliged to comply with the law, members are influenced by duties stemming out of social ties regardless of their resident status[1] once grounded in communities (Pierson, 2004: 116-9, Bauböck, 1994: 301-304). It is important to pay attention to the fact that residents perform duties stemming out of their presence and relationship in society, not just as duties imposed by laws. Though often intangible, the performance of such

[1] However, Bauböck (1994: 302) analyzes that it is possible that members of society feel less moral obligations in the wider society of fellow citizens where people have less direct contact with each other.

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duties also sustains society.

The aspect of duties and obligations is crucial in the discussion of citizenship and nationhood since the performance of common obligations by citizens ensures the maintenance of the state's capacity to provide citizens with a bundle of rights (Bauböck, 1994: 306). In other words, members in society collectively sustain the institutional arrangements of states to provide a whole range of rights. This is why having a balanced form of citizenship which includes both aspects of rights and duties as citizens carries an importance. Nonetheless, the emergence and development of the welfare state has shifted the emphasis of citizenship rights, and the entitlement aspect of citizenship rights has come to be emphasized. Often, contributions by individuals to the maintenance of society are less acknowledged and taken for granted.

While an insistence in asserting that overemphasizing the relationship between entitlements and obligations further excludes some groups with fewer opportunities and resources since states are not voluntary associations and therefore containing individuals with different abilities to contribute (Bauböck, 1994: 298-301) is valid to a certain extent, ignoring the contributions made by certain groups of people is unjustifiable. Whether or not equality in both the rights and obligation aspect of each individual member of society should be pursued is still debatable; nevertheless, it is true that the understanding of citizenship today is imbalanced. It is therefore necessary to reconsider the citizenship concept in a holistic way. By doing so, the interrelationship between rights and duties of citizenship will be recognized and acknowledged again. There are groups of people who contribute to the state and society yet their contribution is not properly acknowledged. These people are often officially or unofficially excluded from society through the denial of the right to participate and thus marginalized in the society they live.

2.2 Citizenship as membership

The system of citizenship has been long utilized to determine members of a particular community although how to define members changes over time. In other

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words, the concept of citizenship results in the creation of a form of 'social closure' by establishing conceptual, legal and ideological boundaries between those who are included and excluded. While it is internally inclusive, guaranteeing formal equality among members, citizenship at the same time is externally exclusive, because it creates the boundaries between citizens and foreigners (Brubaker, 1992: 21-34, Pierson, 2004: 107-110). Defining citizenship, in short, is the act of declaring who is to be an insider and an outsider. This is unfortunately unavoidable since it is impossible for any community to accept all the individuals who want to be its members. Bauböck shows that a state with open admission in the end results in the self-destruction of the very country and thus some sort of entry control is indispensable for the existence of stable associations. If they are allowed to freely enter and leave, people would begin by taking benefits as citizens then leave without contributing to the state. This critically undermines the state's capacity to provide its members with entitlements (Bauböck, 1994: 71-73). It is also a strategy for the state to preserve its uniqueness as a value in the world of diversity (Zilbershats, 2002: 72). It is therefore a natural consequence and justifiable, to a certain extent, for a community to have a selection process for its members. The question to be asked is how to set the criteria for its membership. Setting appropriate and justifiable membership criteria is both required and indispensable.

While suggesting one's membership in a community, citizenship also implies one's status in society. In the past, the membership of individuals in society was associated with one's affiliation to a social organization, such as an estate or a guild, and individuals were accepted as a whole. However, a segmentation of society proceeded and the partial inclusion of individuals became more prevalent. In this process, social and political membership became separated from each other. Different social organizations define own criteria for their membership. Individuals play different roles in different social organizations; as workers, students, parents and other participants, and their affiliation in such organizations is recognized accordingly. There appears to be a situation in which an individual person is recognized and needed as an economic or other being but ignored as a political being (Bauböck, 1994:

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172-177, Halfmann, 1998: 515-518).

There can be people who are members of a certain segment of society but not yet citizens. Women and slaves were examples of such cases in history. Certain other groups of people, for example certain ethnic minorities in some countries, may have full citizenship yet not being accepted as legitimate members of society (Lara, 2002: 210). Migrants in many situations still experience difficulties because of such discrepancy between citizenship and membership. The most problematic aspect of this issue is the predominance of political membership over the affiliation to other sorts of social organizations. As Halfmann points out, exclusion from a political system often creates the risk of exclusion from other social systems. This contradicts with the reality of today because other social systems, such as economic and educational, are becoming global while the political system remains strictly territorial-bounded (Halfmann, 1998: 518-523). This means that an increasing number of people are at the risk of exclusion because of their inability to meet criteria for political membership.

The French Revolution was a remarkable event because it invented modern national citizenship. While it created the concept of nation-state and nationalism, it also forged the idea of national citizens, foreigners, and legal homogeneity. In other words, the idea of citizenship and membership in nation-states became to be closely associated with this event. The Revolution at the same time institutionalized the political rights of citizens by establishing a new relationship between a ruler and the ruled (Brubaker, 1992: 35-49). This strong association between state membership and citizenship continues to be quite influential today, putting an increasing number of migrants at the risk of exclusion due to their inability to meet criteria for political membership in communities they reside.

It is important to note that membership criteria are not predetermined. In his famous work *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson demonstrated that the sense of community and its membership is something imagined and constructed out of people's belief in sameness. Anderson describes, "nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (Anderson, 1983: 4). States, especially modern states, are based on the shared experience of a people such as their history and

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struggles. It is this shared experience which creates the deep sense of belonging within citizens. (Zilbershats, 2002: 113-153). In other words, state membership has a strong influence on the formation of individual identity. Indeed, membership in modern states is based on the past. Putting it differently, there is a possibility to have distinct membership criteria independent from those adopted in modern states if people reconcepturalize membership based on the present and future, rather than the past. This is indeed what is necessary in the age of massive migration. In the following, the possibility for such a new concept will be explored.

2.3 Local citizenship

The previous section demonstrated that citizenship defines membership in a community, especially the state in a contemporary context. Citizenship also provides the foundation for rights and duties assigned to members of a society. The conventional understanding of citizenship has been increasingly contested as globalization proceeds. Citizenship and nationality have been closely associated with each other in history. However, an increasing number of people today live in places where they do not hold their nationalities. In such a situation, their rights and entitlements are restricted while some obligations are still imposed as members in a society. This is problematic since the imbalance between rights and obligations renders society unjust and potentially unstable.

If the conventional concept of citizenship is becoming increasingly unjust and problematic, this notion needs to be adapted. The following section will illustrate how the concept of citizenship became to be challenged in the context of globalization. This will be followed by a proposition for a new form of citizenship, namely local citizenship, which is based on one's residency and not national affiliation, as one of the possible alternative forms of citizenship.

2.3.1 Challenges posed by globalization

One of the most significant aspects of globalization which has impacted

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the issue of citizenship is the increased mobility of people. Today, the scale of migration has become much greater and the impact of such migration is becoming larger. The number of people who migrate has become greater, the scale of migration bigger and the nature of migration more long-term. It is not surprising, then, that immigration and migration policies in many countries have become more restrictive although such attempts never succeed in controlling the migration completely (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 54-59).

Another important aspect of globalization is the growing discrepancy between the boundaries of political and other systems. As an increased number of people reside outside of the country they were born, the number of people involved in economic, social, and political activities beyond state boundaries also grows. Nonetheless, the political system remains strictly and rigidly tied to national boundaries while social and economic systems become globalized. There is a mismatch between political communities and nonpolitical aspects of territorial boundaries of states. This mismatch causes the risk of political exclusion of those who are economically and socially active in a particular community. As it has been already discussed, in modern states, the inclusion in a political system precedes the inclusion in other systems. If so, migration generates the risk of exclusion of a large segment of population from membership in different social systems (Halfmann, 1998: 518-523). Obviously such a situation seems unjust to the eyes of many, and raises the question over the criteria for inclusion in social systems and the idea of citizenship and membership in a community becomes to be challenged.

Globalization challenges the concept of citizenship in another way by discarding the idea of state sovereignty as definite and ultimate. Some argue that socioeconomic and political transformation in the era of globalization disables a state's ability to control its border (Castles and Miller, 2009: 296). Unavoidably, globalization has transformed the previous political and economic order based on the system of nation-states. Economic activities and social connections between people become "glocalized" and focal points for such activities are increasingly dispersed. Many issues, such as the environment and economy, are no longer discussed and handled at

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the level of a single state. It is quite natural, therefore, that people might begin to think the authority to administer those activities needs to be redistributed accordingly. The idea of the state's sole and ultimate supremacy over other types of systems is put under question. In fact, international political and economic arrangements are becoming prevalent and the number of trans- or supra-national agreements is growing. The United Nations, the number of international conventions and the World Trade Organization, to name only a few, are the examples. At the same time, there is a tendency to transfer some of the authority of the state to sub-national scales (Zilbershats, 2002: 167-170, Purcell, 2003: 566-571). All these are shaking the traditionally recognized political authority of states although it is important to understand the world is still based on a system of nation-states so we cannot completely overlook national politics (Bauböck, 2003b: 701). As it has been already discussed, the conventional notion of citizenship is deeply related to the principle of state sovereignty. Thus, the erosion of state sovereignty destabilizes the validity of the conventional citizenship concept.

Not only the increased mobility of people and the neoliberal economic and social order, but also the development of supra-national and international community comparatively erodes the authority of states. Although the validity of the extent of her argument is questionable, Yasemin Soysal is correct to highlight the relationship between international pressure on states and the development of human rights. However, unlike Soysal's arguement, national citizenship still holds its importance and nation-states remain a crucial component of world order. Nonetheless, the development of the international human rights regime, which is embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments or in the system of international criminal law, contributes to the expansion of rights of people (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 15-24, Surak, 2008: 552-553, Zilbershats, 2002: 168-169). In the course of the development of international regime overlooking various issues including rights of people, the language of human rights has become influential. The discourse on human rights undoubtedly raised the awareness of people who had been previously denied certain rights. An increasing

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number of people now recognize what they are or they should be entitled to. As a consequence, they start demanding a wider range of rights and this challenges the previous understanding of citizenship and entitlements associated with citizenship.

In addition to the changing recognition of the entitlement to rights due to the expansion of human rights, the advancement of technologies and increased opportunities to encounter people with different cultures and backgrounds enable people to be more aware of different values and alternative forms of affiliations. Nowadays, ideas, images, products, values and concerns go beyond borders, and many start to have multiple identities (Zilbershats, 2002: 170-171, Isin and Turner, 2007: 14). As society becomes culturally diverse, the importance of acknowledging similarities and differences, rather than simply pursuing uniformity, becomes to be recognized and the sensitivity to differences increases (Parekh, 20000: 239-243). Then, the adherence to national uniformity seems to become irrelevant. Indeed, the recognition of "new" values and identities, such as gender, race and ethnicity, has contested and eventually transformed the previous notion of and categories within citizenship in the past (Lara, 2002: 213-216). In fact, many seek alternative forms of identity rather than national affiliations as globalization advances. They feel that globalization accelerates homogenization and "(T)o escape such abstract universalism, people increasingly seek meaning through particularistic identities based on ethnicity, religion, regionalism, or nationalism" (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 6). Globalization also escalates inequality both domestically and internationally. An expanding gap between the privileged and the poor gives those who are less privileged the motivation to look for alternatives (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 5-6).

As examined, globalization increases the chance of the exclusion of people from society in which they live. At the same time, it generates contact and interaction between different parts of the world and people have more opportunities to encounter different values and perspectives. Moreover, globalization eradicates state authority and erodes the supremacy of previously believed state sovereignty. All these lead to the inquiry about and the revision of the traditional understanding of citizenship. The diversification of population within states, too, contributes to the contestation of the

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citizenship concept since the previously believed ‘national society’ comes under question in a culturally diverse society (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 6-7).

All these queries about the conventional citizenship regime in fact altered the concept of citizenship in reality. In some countries, especially in Europe, a liberal trend can be observed. An increasing number of settled non-citizens, lessened nation-building concerns due to the consolidation of borders and the permeation of liberal-democratic values have lead to a situation where the *jus soli* principle has been applied to the second and third generation of migrants, migrants have easier access to naturalization, and dual nationality is tolerated. Although such movement has faced a backlash in recent years due to a perceived failure in integration, cultural conservatism and concerns over the fragmentation of society, especially in the context of post-2001 terrorism fears; new restrictions take place still within the context of liberalization. Today, the view that integration does not happen only because of informal socialization is generally supported and requirements for naturalization have become stricter. Naturalization is now considered the last stage of integration whereas it was previously perceived as a process of integration. Still, such restrictions are imposed on an individual level and there no longer exist racist and nationalist group-level exclusions (Joppke, 2008, 2010: 34-72, Brubaker, 2001: 531-533).

2.3.2 Local citizenship

The traditional concept of citizenship has been increasingly challenged and the conventional way of dealing with membership seems to be unrealistic in a globalized world order. There is a need for a new way to conceptualize citizenship which is distinct from how it has been understood. What, then, can be a possible alternative? Among different accounts for alternative forms of citizenship theories, local, or urban, citizenship which urges the detachment of citizenship status from national affiliation seems to be one of realistic possibilities.

Some may consider global or cosmopolitan citizenship, first proposed by Immanuel Kant, is an appropriate alternative form of citizenship to respond to the need for a new citizenship concept. Kant’s thesis is based on the recognition of a

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community of humankind which weighs the universal value of individuals and has strong belief in a politically unified global order which thus opposes national citizenship, although he also recognizes the limitation in his insistence and suggests a federation of free states rather than a single universal state. People, to Kant's eye, should consider themselves as members of the human race thus be prepared to bear a moral obligation to the human species (Zolo, 2007: 79-80, Slaughter, 2007: 85-86, Patapan, 2007: 100-102, Hindess, 2004: 312-313).

While the concept offers a different approach to the conventional concept of citizenship, the cosmopolitan approach has limitations and cannot be a realistic alternative to the conventional citizenship concept. In fact, though some acknowledge the significance of his assertion, many academics reject Kant's argument for different reasons. Zolo (2007: 80-83) insists, from a realist perspective, that globalization does not bring cultural homogenization nor the realization of global harmony. This is because globalization widens the disparity between states and regions and that makes global unification impossible. In addition, he understands globalization as the Westernization, rather than integration, of the world. If so, it is difficult to achieve real cultural universalism and shared values. Rather, he suggests, political pluralism which embraces cultural differences should be promoted. Slaughter's insistence echoes such an argument as he too considers political cosmopolitanism as impossible. He accepts that the sovereign authority of states persists and globally unified institutions upholding political cosmopolitanism have not been realized despite the revival of political cosmopolitanism from the late 20th to early 21st century. He is against the idea of cosmopolitanism also because a highly centralized system of international institutions is too distant from individuals. However, Slaughter recognizes the importance of a moral aspect in cosmopolitanism. If people foster a sense of transnational solidarity and commit to shared goals and concerns for peace and cooperation, it gives the ground for states to address global problems (Slaughter, 2007: 85-98). Similarly, Patapan (2007: 100-104) rejects the idea of cosmopolitan citizenship based on the belief that such a notion lessens already weak communal existence further. Although cosmopolitanism carries a significance as it reevaluates regimes and

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state sovereignty as well as providing the framework to deal with transnational issues, extending the community to a global level does not provide a solution to the concerns of declining social capital, societal disintegration, or erosion of cultural diversity. Rather, it seems to result in a loss in the sense of belonging to a community, as the meaning of membership becomes too stretched and thin. Hindess (2004: 312-313) has a different contention to object to the cosmopolitan idea of citizenship. He asserts that a simple extension of existing democratic principles to the global scale reinforces the domination of Western social and political thought. This further strengthens the global hierarchical order since the world will be divided into those who can manage the Western way and those who cannot. In short, the realization of cosmopolitan order is, for Hindess, the reinforcement of Western imperial domination. As it is clear from different arguments above, cosmopolitan citizenship as a whole cannot be an alternative approach to challenge the traditional conception of citizenship although some basics within it contribute to the development of a new citizenship idea.

Various arguments challenging the conventional citizenship idea, especially in the context of migration, indicate the importance of integrating non-citizens into a polity. As Favel describes (1999), integration is about how states deal with the consequences of immigration. Many scholars agree that not giving political rights to resident non-nationals is in the long run harmful to the state. But why is it important to integrate non-citizens? The strongest argument to support such inclusion is that excluding a large number of residents of the state is against democratic principles. Since a state means the collective self-government of people, people thus possess the authority to participate in shaping the form of control regulating the lives of the members of a polity. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 21 paragraph three reads “(T)he will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.” In this light, it is the basic requirement for legitimate governments to listen to and reflect the will of the people in its administration. Similarly, the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man

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states: “everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country.” Although the ambiguity of the term “his country” might raise debates, both explicitly express everyone is entitled to the opportunities to shape and design the future of the communities they belong to through participation in a decision-making process. Put differently, the failure to reflect the will of constituent members who are affected by the decisions jeopardizes the legitimacy and the authority of democratic governments. It is democratically unjust to impose decisions made by the bodies in which people are not represented. Indeed, democratic participation is a secular source of political legitimation in modern states. It is crucial to ascertain a system in which all the members of society are included and therefore held accountable for the decisions made within such a system (Hammar,, 1985: 438, 1990: 26-33, Bauböck, 1994: 227-230, Lara, 2002: 211, Zilbershats, 2002: 59).

Providing all the members of a society with the opportunity to be a part of the public sphere is meaningful in a sense that it creates the space for them to present the issues they face. Problems and concerns existing in society will therefore be represented and discussed in a democratic process. By doing so, more desirable solutions to those problems and concerns will be sought through negotiations involving all the concerned parties. This process leads to a social transformation and the transformed society has a higher chance of meeting individuals’ needs to a higher degree as all are involved in the process of such transformation. In addition, the institutionalization of communication to form public will and opinions also generates opportunities for dialogue among different groups, and the dialogue eventually builds solidarity between strangers (Lara, 2002: 210-213). Solidarity within society enhances its ability to provide members with rights and entitlements. The willingness of each member to support others, which is supported through solidarity, is especially important today as society functions to redistribute resources and includes individuals with different abilities to contribute. Therefore, people’s life in society with increased solidarity becomes enriched.

The other aspect to the illegitimacy of exclusion of non-citizens can be found in its potential to deteriorate societal members’ commitment to comply with

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their obligations. In the understanding of liberal democrats, the assurance of basic negative liberties[2], substantial welfare rights and political rights of participation creates a foundation for the motivation to comply with the obligations imposed by the state. In other words, lacking one of these endangers people's willingness to comply with these obligations (Bauböck, 1994: 310-311). As has been discussed in the previous section, the performance of obligations and duties by societal members is indispensable for the realization of a sustainable society which meets appropriate needs and entitlements for its members. It is therefore important to ensure that individuals comply with obligations and perform their duties.

Moreover, there is an acute and realistic need to include long-term resident foreigners because the exclusion and segregation of a particular group in society deteriorates social stability. The divisive nature of citizenship obviously creates the categories of Us and Others, and such a notion, together with the visible separation of different groups with widening disparities, triggers hostility towards different groups (Hindess, 2004: 309-311, Castles and Miller, 2009: 291-297). While diversity provides the possibility for social progress, the failure to integrate increases intolerance and xenophobia, causing a loss of 'moral social order' (Favel, 2001: 4). As Hammar describes, "a lengthy exclusion of certain groups may have increased the risks of ethno-cultural conflicts" (1990: 217). In this sense, the inclusion of all the segments of society is also meaningful and beneficial to the well-being of that society (Halfmann, 1998: 523-526).

Overcoming the detachment of social membership and political membership in the state and communities seems to be challenging. As it has been already stated, long-term migrants are in most cases social insiders but political outsiders. While they are participants in communities and enmeshed in the social relationships of those communities, they are excluded from the political process determining the will and future of such communities. Although a growing number of academic works today question these practices of the exclusion of long-term resident

[2] By using the expression of "freedom from" and "freedom to," Bauböck describes having negative liberty as being free from interference and having positive liberty as being enabled to control one's own actions and choices (Bauböck, 1994: 221-230).

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foreigners, there persists a contradiction to the contention that resident non-citizens should be actively and holistically integrated into host society as equal members.

The first reasoning behind such opposition stems from the question about migrants' loyalty. As it has been already discussed, citizenship today is grounded in the shared experience of a population such as history, culture and struggles. It is believed that people foster loyalty and a sense of belonging because of this shared past (Zilbershats, 2002: 142-146). It is not surprising, then, if those who do not share these experiences rooted in the past are considered to be unable to possess the same degree of loyalty as other members in society. The lack of loyalty possibly puts society at risk because such members in society might act against the benefits of communities. Therefore, accepting migrants as equal and legitimate members in communities might face resistance by some existing members.

The associated image of the nation-state and homogeneity which persists in some countries also fuels the argument against the acceptance of migrants. Migrants become distinct in the countries they reside because of a combination of the followings: not sharing nation's descent and history, not mastering the language and culture, not adhering to the same religion and having different physical traits (Hammar, 1990: 37-39). In the society where all the members are expected to be homogeneous, such migrants with differences are unlikely to be acknowledged as legitimate members.

Others are against the equal treatment and the inclusion of non-citizens as members of society based on the fact that non-citizens do not perform the same duties as nationals. Granting them a status equal to citizens seems inappropriate because such a status provides those non-citizen residents with the entitlement to rights without bearing accompanying obligations. However, when membership in a community is considered purely in a local context separated from national affiliation, some of the obligations such as military or jury service become irrelevant (Bauböck, 2003a: 151-152). Moreover, it is incorrect to say that non-citizens do not perform duties. They too contribute to the host society by meeting obligations which include payment of taxes. With such a contribution, migrants assist with the increase of the state's capacity

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to maintain its existence and provide its members with entitlements.

No matter how difficult it seems, the exclusion of a specific long-term resident group from equal membership in a polity is harmful and unjustifiable. What, then, are the possible solutions to the discrepancy between the actual resident population and formal membership? How can non-citizen residents participate in the political process? It has been already discussed that the cosmopolitan approach to the reform of the citizenship concept cannot be the answer.

One way to approach to this problem is by naturalizing immigrants. Some perceive the relaxation of the requirements for naturalization as the key to lessen the exclusion of non-citizens because after naturalization immigrants become national citizens and therefore they are entitled to equal membership, as with other fellow citizens. However, this approach in reality does not provide an outcome as desirable as expected. National affiliation not only implies rights and obligations but also helps to define an individual's identity (Pierson, 2004: 107-111). Hence, changing nationality can be a serious decision which is deeply related to the issue of one's identity rather than a simple calculation of costs and benefits. In fact, many countries require some historical, ethnic or cultural connections or some familiarity with the culture in addition to residential requirements upon naturalization. Others demand the applicants' commitment to be assimilated into the host society by accepting its values and cultures (Bauböck, 1994: 75-86, Zilbershats, 2002: 74-93).

Even if such obstacles regarding the issue of identity are overcome by relaxing the criteria for naturalization, the rate may remain low. In addition to the preservation of identity, the loss of a previous nationality largely influences the decision migrants make regarding naturalization. Many are unwilling to be naturalized because the renunciation of a previous nationality results in the loss of rights in the country of origin. It also makes it more difficult for them to settle back if migrants still hold hope for a future return (Hammar, 1985: 441-443, 1990: 196-198).

There also remains an issue of the acceptance by the host society. Even where migrants commit themselves to the countries where they live and decide to be naturalized, they may not be fully accepted by other citizens due to the identity and

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emotional aspects of citizenship. Some believe identity cannot be acquired later in life, therefore switching national affiliation does not enable those who became naturalized to be a 'genuine' member of society, sharing the same national identity. What becomes clear from this observation is that it is important to create a sense of fellowship and belonging which is based on the present and the future, but not on the past.

An alternative approach to the inclusion of non-citizen residents is the introduction of a new form of citizenship which is based on inhabitance and the lived presence of individuals but not on one's nationality. Thomas Hammar (1990: 12-18) challenged the traditional dichotomy of citizens and foreigners by reintroducing the idea of "denizenship". Hammar defines denizens[3] as foreign citizens with a legal and permanent resident status. Denizens are a population who meets the requirements for immigration and domicile status and therefore obtain full residential rights but are not yet being naturalized into full citizenship, although some are qualified for naturalization. The presence of denizens calls for special attention since they are "not regular and plain foreign citizens anymore, but not naturalized citizens of the receiving country" (Hammar, 1990: 13). Although limiting the category of denizenship only to those who are with a legal and permanent resident status seems too restrictive, Hammar's argument is significant as it draws attention to the existence of non-citizens who have stronger ties and relationships with the host society than mere temporary migrants by virtue of residence for an extended period of time.

With the proliferation of nation-states, the idea of citizenship became closely linked to nationality. However, many scholars suggest, employing different terminologies such as "external" citizenship and "internal" citizenship (Hammar, 1990: 191-192), and nominal and substantial citizenship (Bauböck, 1994: 23-28)[4], that separating national affiliation and membership in a community is necessary. If an individual resides in a community for an extended period of time, such a person becomes a member of that community by being involved in a dense network of social

[3] The term "denizen" is adopted from an old English word which used to describe an alien with special permit to hold public office or obtain a grant of land from the Crown. Hammar describes them as "privileged aliens who were not full citizens" (Hammar, 1990: 14-15).

[4] Nominal or external citizenship refers to formal citizenship status which usually means nationality. External or substantial citizenship, on the other hand, is used to express one's *de facto* membership in a particular community without having formal membership status.

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associations and participating in social interactions in forms of employment, education or other social activities. With their presence and involvement in communities, non-residents gradually become social members of those communities. Their ongoing engagement and future stake in communities legitimatizes their participation in the process of making binding decisions collectively (Hammar, 1990: 34-37, Bauböck, 1994: 172-177, 2003b: 713, Zilbershats, 2002: 94-95, Varsanyi, 2006: 236-240).

Detaching citizenship from national affiliation and reattaching it to membership in local communities is justifiable since residents in these communities share specific collective needs in terms of material infrastructure and public services. Decisions regarding these matters should be made collectively by those who will be affected by such decisions (Bauböck, 2003a: 142-144). In addition, many of the rights and responsibilities today are associated with membership in a community, which is not necessarily a nation-state. To borrow the words of Lefebvre, it is important to reconceptualize membership rights as "the rights of citizen as an urban dweller (*citadin*) and user of multiple services" (Purcell, 2003: 577). As users of urban space, their ability to design their life in urban space should be strengthened (Purcell, 2003: 565-566, 576-579).

Grounding the idea of citizenship in local communities also enables its members to have a stronger sense of community. This is because cities are less fragmented and smaller in scale as opposed to national communities (Tsuda, 2006: 12). If society is maintained with the contribution that each individual makes, the individual willingness to contribute determines the extent and the opportunity for further development of communities. Strengthening one's sense of belonging enhances his or her commitment to the community and therefore society has a higher chance to provide individuals with more resources to be redistributed.

There is a counterargument against the expansion of the rights for long-term foreign residents stating it results in the creation of "second-class" citizens (Castle and Davidson, 2000: 94-97). Introducing urban citizenship, which is based on inhabitance, as a formal status independent from nationality is meaningful in a way that it prevents the creation of "second-class" citizens. It is because achieving such

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status establishes the equality between national members and non-national members within the border of local communities.

With the development of modern statehood and market economy, cities became subordinated to the nation and are thus considered to be mere administrative subdivisions within the national territories, but not autonomous political communities (Bauböck, 2003a: 140-142). However, globalization transforms sociopolitical structures of global order and local and regional communities, and it is not only state governments that face global and transnational issues today. Conferring to local political units the autonomy to determine membership provides greater authority to them and these political communities will be empowered to make collective decisions which are important to the development and well-being of communities. Then, migrants who "are not only members of national polities, but also of local and regional ones" (Bauböck, 2003b: 707) will be accepted as legitimate members in respective communities. In addition, by ending the domination of the state in immigration and foreign policy, local and regional governments become to be empowered to deal with transnational interests and activities of their residents (Bauböck, 2003b: 706-708).

The formalization of urban citizenship is not only desirable but also indispensable for the full integration of all the resident populations in communities. Although in the form of a substantial citizenship, migrants today have increased access to rights provided by local governments or non-governmental organizations (Tsuda, 2006: 7-12). However, such enjoyment is mostly limited to socioeconomic aspects of rights and the political rights enjoyed by non-citizens have changed the least (Joppke, 2010: 145-152) because exercising most of the political rights still requires formal membership. In order to achieve full integration and participation of all the existing community members including social, economic, and political aspects, it is necessary to establish local citizenship as a formal status.

Making local citizenship a formal status is also meaningful because it opens the possibility to overcome resistance to the inclusion of non-citizens into communities based on the question of loyalty. Urban citizenship has a strong emphasis on the interests and concerns shared by community members. In other words, its

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foundation is based on the present and the future rather than the past. As the Commission on Integration and Cohesion in England suggests, “the concept of a shared future will be what binds local communities together whatever their histories” (Joppke, 2010: 132), if individuals conceptualize the meaning of communities based on the future, not on the past. With such understanding, the rejection of foreigners based on the fact that they do not share history becomes irrelevant. Both nationals and non-nationals can share a new identity independent from national identification and attain the same loyalty to where they belong based on ongoing involvement and their prospective commitment to the future. With the formalization of equal citizenship as urban dwellers, people realize there can be alternative political identities which do not depend on common past or cultures. At the same time, they start fostering a sense of fellowship based on the present and the future. The wide and formal acceptance of urban citizenship therefore can be the first step to achieve this transformation of identity and to resolve the issue of loyalty in regards to the inclusion of non-nationals.

As examined, the traditional concept of citizenship needs to be adapted since it excludes certain groups of members in society. Being restricted in the exercise of certain rights, migrants are placed in unjust conditions while they too perform duties as members of local communities, and therefore supporting the capacity of the community to provide to its members. Introducing an unconventional concept of citizenship called local citizenship which is connected to people’s lived presence in local communities and formalizing such a status, is one way to correct this unjust situation. The possibility to actualize this new concept will be explored through case studies in Japan. The following chapters will provide the background for the issue of migration in Japan and the actual situations experienced by Brazilian migrants in two Japanese localities will be presented. An examination of the possibility for the realization of urban citizenship will be made in the last chapter.

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CHAPTER III
CONTEXTUALIZATION OF JAPANESE CASE

The participation of non-nationals in communities is the primary concern of this thesis. It is not only politically unjust and against democratic principles but also harmful for the host society to deny the participation of a migrant population. Such participation, however, is in reality not allowed or extremely limited in most countries. In the following chapters, how such limitation actually characterizes the life of migrants and their relationship with host society will be sought through the examination of the situations in two selected prefectures of Japan. Chapter three will provide the background of the situation of migration in Japan, and this will be followed by case studies from two selected locations which will be presented in chapter four.

3.1 Migration to Japan and immigration policies

Over the past 30 years, Japan has been one of the countries which has attracted high numbers of international migrant workers, either legally or illegally. As a small country which was historically considered to be less significant, it suddenly became one of the major actors in international relations by virtue of its rapid economic development starting in the mid-1950s, and began attracting international migrant workers[1] especially after the devaluation of dollar in 1985. Such a sudden shift in its position forced the Japanese government to accept international standards, at least on the surface, to keep up with other "advanced" countries, as well as to amend its rules and regulations regarding immigration in order to deal with a sharp increase in the inflow of non-Japanese. Such amendments were indispensable also because of the

[1] Even before this, there existed the substantial number of Korean nationals residing in Japan. However, migrants arriving during this period were quite different in nature thus the Japanese government was pushed to address the migrant issue differently.

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desperate domestic need for increased labour force. The changes in policy and immigration law have been made in a relatively short period of time, lacking any active and profound discussions involving the general public, and made from the need to pursue economic benefits and save face; rather than out of the concerns over the long-term well-being of the migrant population or Japanese society. This fact, together with the lack of historical experience dealing with incoming migration, unfortunately resulted in a series of immigration policies which merely treat migrant workers as commodities rather than as valid and active members of the Japanese economy and society.

Interestingly, Japan has a longer history as a country of emigration, despite its current image as a destination country attracting many migrant workers. Historically, Japan sent many of its nationals out to different countries, such as the United States, Canada and Brazil. The first official emigration took place in 1885: based on a bilateral agreement between the two governments, 945 Japanese migrated to Hawaii. Many others followed these first Japanese immigrants, and the United States was the most popular destination country until early 1900s. Starting in the early 1920s, the Japanese government began to more actively encourage emigration in order to deal with an economic crisis triggered by the depression, a rising unemployment rate, and Japan's population problem; although in reality emigration did not provide an effective solution to any of these problems. The sudden increase of Japanese immigrants in the Unites States resulted in a ban on Japanese migrants, based on anti-Japanese sentiment, and so many migrants instead chose Latin American countries, in particular Brazil, as their destination. About 190,000 Japanese migrated to Brazil between 1908 and 1942, and peaking between 1958 and 1962[2], and most of them moved as family units (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1985, Smith, 1979: 53-56, Ninomiya, 2002: 116-118). The descendants of the Japanese who migrated during this period compose a substantial portion of the current Japanese population in Brazilian society.

[2] Brazil stopped accepting Japanese migrants from 1941 to 1953 due to the suspension of diplomatic relations between the two governments. With different support programs to promote the migration to Brazil, the greater number of Japanese migrated after 1953.

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Japan's rapid economic development and sudden rise in international society changed the picture of the migration pattern involving Japan. From mid-1950s to early 1970s, Japan experienced a rapid and extensive economic expansion which created a greater demand for human resources, caused through intensive industrialization which took place after the surrender in World War II. The Korean War and the Vietnam War accelerated this industrialization. The demand for the supplies needed for the wars expanded Japanese industry and thus developed the Japanese economy. The necessity for human resources and subsequent labor shortage, called for the employment of Japanese nationals who had formerly emigrated in search of job opportunities, those who were previously excluded from the job market such as women and the elderly, and then attracted migrant workers from less developed countries. The devaluation of the dollar decided by the Plaza Accord in 1985 further boosted the Japanese economy, and the appreciation of yen caused by the Accord brought a large number of male undocumented migrant workers from South Asia, Southeast Asia, China, South Korea, and Iran. Starting mid-1980s, female workers, who were mostly from Southeast Asia and worked in bars, arrived to search for employment, and they were followed by male migrants from South Asia and the Middle East (Kajita et al., 2005: 108-123, Kashiwazaki, 2000: 448-455, 461-462, Gurowitz, 1999: 417-424, Iguchi, 2001: 22-25).

Although Japan shifted its position from a minor participant to a major actor in the international arena especially in economic aspects, an awareness of people's rights and Japanese national responsibility did not keep up with this sudden shift. Although it is true that the Japanese government ratified a number of International Human Rights Instruments, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in 1979, this was due to the increased expectation to comply with international human rights standards, and not out of genuine interest or concern with human rights. While ratifying international conventions, Japan amended the immigration law in order to tighten up the immigration control and to reduce the number of illegal migrant workers because, with the then immigration law and bilateral arrangements with other

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countries concerning immigration, many simply overstayed their visa and became illegal and undocumented (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 448-455).

Since the changes were not made owing to concerns over human rights nor after open debate involving the public, the focus of this amendment was to merely control immigration for the convenience of the Japanese government, and serving to benefit the Japanese government and Japanese industry. Behind this amendment was xenophobia towards those with different ethnic backgrounds, which was reinforced by a strong belief in homogeneity, and serious concerns about an increasing number of illegal migrant workers. The amendment to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990 was designed to regulate the number of foreign nationals entering Japan in search of job opportunities by limiting the number of activities allowed to be performed by non-nationals. The Annexe Table I of the act enumerates the activities which can be performed by non-nationals which include diplomat, public services, professor, artist, religious activities, press, investors/business, legal/accounting, medical services, researcher, teacher, engineer, humanities/international services, intra-company transferee, entertainer, skilled labour, cultural activities, temporary visitor, college student, pre-college student, trainee, family stay, and designated activities but excludes the so-called "unskilled[3]" work. Unless a non-Japanese will be engaged in any of aforementioned activities, they are not allowed to apply for a working visa. The amended act at the same time poses sanctions on employers who hire illegal migrant workers thus discouraging this hiring practice. The government also suspended bilateral agreements with Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Iran, where many of illegal migrant workers originate from, on visa exemption so that it became difficult for many from these countries to enter Japan at all. After these changes, it became difficult for many of those who were previously engaged in "unskilled" sectors to continue to do so (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 448-455, 459-463).

If simply limiting the number of foreign workers entering Japan for

[3] The author acknowledges that there is an argument to oppose the use of the term "unskilled" on account of the understanding there is no work not requiring any skills. However, the term "unskilled" is still employed here since it is commonly used in the discussion of import of foreign migrant labour forces.

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employment, the amendment could not accommodate Japan's need for manpower to sustain its growing economy. In addition to xenophobia, there was a desperate need for migrant workers to supplement the insufficient domestic labour force during the time of this amendment. The estimation of Japan's population decrease further created the feeling of a need to import migrant workers in order to supplement the decrease in human resources. Iguchi (2001: 40-45) points out that the report published by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research in 1997 had a further impact on the change in the immigration policy as it predicted a rapid drop in the Japanese population. In the report, it was estimated that the Japanese population would be reduced to half by 2050. The decrease in Japanese population in fact began in 2004 (Nakamoto, 2009: 28).

The need for human resources was even stronger in the so-called "unskilled" sectors of Japanese industry. As domestic job opportunities became abundant for Japanese, many started to avoid unskilled work, which provides workers with a lower level of income. In order to supplement the need for workers, especially in unskilled sectors which no longer attract Japanese workers, it was necessary to create a system which enables Japan to import migrant workers into these sectors. Instead of migrants from South Asia, Southeast Asia and Iran, ethnic Japanese were chosen in order to meet this need. The amendment thus allowed ethnic Japanese to return "to seek their cultural heritage." It imposes no restrictions on the activities they can perform in Japan. The logic used is that this allows second and third generation of ethnic Japanese whose ancestors had emigrated to other countries to move back to Japan in order to re-establish their connection with their ancestral land. For these return migrants to sustain their livelihood during their stay, it should be permitted for them to engage in any kind of work including so-called "unskilled" work (Kajita et al., 2005: 112-113).

While the Annexe Table I provides a list of the work which can be performed by non-nationals, the Annexe Table II of the revised act lists visa categories which are based on people's status, and those who enter Japan with visas based on their status have little restrictions in terms of employment. The categories included in

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the Annexe Table II are permanent resident, long-term resident[4], spouse or child of Japanese national, and spouse or child of permanent or long-term resident. Most Brazilian migrants enter Japan with the status of long-term resident or their spouse or child, but there are many Brazilians recently switching to a permanent resident status after staying in Japan for long enough to apply for such a status. As a result of the amendment, many ethnic Japanese, mostly from Brazil and Peru, return to Japan seeking job opportunities especially at factories. Indeed, the number of registered Brazilian migrants jumped from 4,000 in 1988 to 119,000 in 1991 (Kajita et al., 2005: 5, 114-115), and their existence starts to show a tendency for long-term residence.

It is interesting that a preference was given to those who are ethnically Japanese. Ethnic Japanese, regardless of their birthplaces, are preferred as migrant workers on account of Japanese society's strong desire to maintain its cultural and ethnic homogeneity. It is true that any human organization, to a degree, has a fear towards those who are different. Nonetheless, in the case of Japan, such fear and xenophobia seem to be particularly strong. This is partly because of its historical background and geographical factors. Its closure of the border for more than 200 years from the 17th century to the mid 19th century and the relative clarity and stability of its border as a country of islands drive Japan to persist with the maintenance of its presumed cultural and ethnic homogeneity. While Japan in reality is ethnically diverse, having Koreans, Chinese, indigenous Ainu and Okinawans residing in Japan, it still upholds the belief in its ethnic and cultural homogeneity. The myth of common culture and ethnicity shared by the entire population still remains very powerful among its dominant ethnic Japanese population, and Japan considers homogeneity an important aspect of the country and strives for the preservation of such uniqueness. The maintenance of social status quo is thus prioritized (Spencer, 1992: 772-773). This partly explains Japan's approach toward immigration to limit most of the incoming non-Japanese for settlement, and the motivation behind the revision of the Immigration Act.

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[4] This category is sometimes translated as quasi-permanent resident. Most of Indochinese refugees and second and third generation of ethnic Japanese apply for visas under this category.

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Ethnic Japanese are preferred based on the strong desire for the maintenance of believed ethnic and cultural homogeneity. It is obvious that Japanese Brazilians are legally preferred, at least as long as the immigration law is concerned, by being granted easier access to visas by virtue of their Japanese blood. In addition, many of the Japanese employers prefer to hire Japanese Brazilians from among the different groups of potential migrant employees on account of the presumed cultural sameness between Japanese and Japanese Brazilians although such belief often turns out to be just imaginative. There is an undeniable disappointment on both sides of the Japanese and Japanese Brazilians. Japanese find disappointment in Japanese Brazilians at the realization that they are, as people growing up in a different country, culturally different. Japanese Brazilians also feel betrayed by the rejection of Japanese society, as many actually felt proud of their Japanese ancestry prior to their arrival to Japan (Tsuda, 1999; 697-698). This disappointment and frustration on both sides create a tension between the two groups and sometimes trigger conflicts in local communities.

Japan has experience both as an emigration country and a destination country. Just like some other countries, it is unavoidable not to be affected by the increasing flow of international migration. Undoubtedly, Japan was unable to further boost its economic prosperity without the existence of migrant workers. Whether from Asia, the Middle East or Latin America, migrants greatly contributed to Japan's economic success. Their contribution was surely one of the key factors behind the "bubble" economy from late 1980s to early 1990s which further strengthened Japan's economy. The combination of different factors, such as rapid economic growth, Japan's sudden rise in the international arena, and the preference to maintain its believed ethnic homogeneity, contributed to the shift to the priority given to ethnic Japanese migrants. Indeed, Japanese Brazilian and Peruvian migrants replaced ethnic non-Japanese migrants in so-called "unskilled" sectors since early 1990s.

Japan is a country with a relatively short history as a destination country for migrants who move beyond borders as a part of globalization. It is not like European countries or traditional immigration countries such as the Unites States, Canada or Australia, which have a longer history of addressing the issue of migration.

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This difference in experience and with a sudden and visible increase of a non-Japanese population in a previously less multiethnic society are the major factors behind why the Japanese government has adopted more restrictive immigration policies.

3.2 Administrative issues

Upon considering the issue of foreigners' rights in Japan, it is indispensable to understand different functions of the central and local governments and their relationship to each other. While immigration is a matter dealt with by the central government, the provision of various services and the actual implementation of various policies related to non-Japanese residents are left in the hands of local governments. That is, various day-to-day issues related to non-Japanese residents are the concerns of local governments. The lack of coordination among different levels of governments and the lack of coherent direction as a country in regards to foreigner-related issues seems to have created an inconsistency in local policies dealing with foreign residents as well as an unevenness in the lives of resident foreigners in different areas.

The relationship between the central and local governments has been historically very hierarchical in the case of Japan. The modern structure of a central and local government[5] was created as early as 1890 when the prefectural system was installed by the Meiji government. Considering that it was the time when the democracy movement had its momentum, during the reign of the authoritarian Emperor Meiji, it is not surprising that the system was created in order to maintain control by the central government. This is why prefectures were given the role as subordinate institutions to the central government and their focus was administration rather than legislation. With the defeat in World War II, however, the structure of central and local politics was transformed. Provisions regarding local self-governance were incorporated into the new Constitution and the choice of governors for prefectures changed to be through election rather than appointment by the central

[5] There are two levels of local governments in Japan, namely prefectures (*todōfuken*) and municipalities (*shichōson*). The difference and relationship between two will be explained in chapter four.

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government. Despite the fact that the system of local self-governance became modernized, the psychology of the people in the system remained the same and the superiority of the central government over local governments persisted. In addition, local governments played a role as administrative bodies of the central government rather than autonomous and independent political institutions with discretion even with the change made after the war. It was the Omnibus Decentralization Law enacted in 2000 that altered the central and local government relationship. The Law abolished the system which left the execution and administration of national projects to local governments. Local governments, rather than being directed what and how to do by the central government, came to possess a greater authority to determine and administer matters involving themselves. The relationship between the central and local governments was thus equalized, at least on paper (Shindo and Abe, 2006: 3-8, 19-20, 22-26).

It is in this context that local governments, rather than the central government, can play an active role in the development and administration of policies related to the issues concerning non-Japanese residents. Indeed, it is generally accepted today that some local governments are leading the way in the area of foreigners' rights expansion. Under the present political structure, local governments bear primary responsibility for the provision and administration of policies and social services which have direct impact on the lives of resident foreigners. As the presence of resident non-Japanese nationals becomes more permanent in local communities, various problems related to them, such as garbage disposal and noise levels in neighbourhoods, emerged and the friction between the Japanese and non-Japanese populations in local communities became a serious issue. Local governments, as entities having immediate responsibility towards non-Japanese residents, are therefore pushed to address such problems. The problems are manifold, ranging from housing and medical care to social security and human rights (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 462, Kashiwazaki, 2003: 63-70, Takao, 2003: 541-550, Yamawaki, 2003: 5-12).

Different local governments attempt to address issues related to resident foreigners utilizing different methods. Among these is the enactment of specific rules.

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As local governing bodies, local governments have the authority to establish rules in order to address specific issues in the local context and respond to the needs of their residents. The earnestness of each government can be interpreted in the types of rules adopted in each locality. There are three kinds of rules adopted by local governments in Japan: *jōurei*, *kisoku*, and *yōkō*, suggesting different levels of seriousness shown by the governments because the commitment required by each kind of local rule differs significantly[6]. In short, the commitment made by local governments is stronger if the matter is determined by *jōrei* and that matter is more likely to be implemented whereas *yōkō* only serves as guidelines therefore the implementation of what is included largely depends on individuals handling the issue.

Some local governments, utilizing the authority to enact their own rules, in fact adopt a progressive approach towards the issue of resident foreigners and take initiative in this matter. The City of Kawasaki, in Kanagawa Prefecture, is the most famous with regard to progressive policies related to resident foreigners. For example, it started, together with Sapporo and Yokohama City, the application of National Health Insurance to all registered foreigners in 1971, against the will of the central government. This led to a revision of the National Health Insurance Law in 1986 which extended its eligibility to all the registered foreigners who stay in Japan for at least one year. Kawasaki also established the Kawasaki City Representative Assembly of Foreign Residents in 1995 and the assembly has submitted a series of suggestions in regard to different community problems such as discrimination in housing against non-Japanese nationals and restricted welfare provisions for the foreign elderly. The commitment of Kawasaki City to the issue of resident foreigners can be identified in

[6] *Jōrei* is adopted by the local council. While some provide the details about how to deal with the affairs delegated by national laws to its jurisdiction, other *jōrei* also allow establishing legislations in order to deal with issues specific to its localities. Although *jōrei* cannot conflict with national laws and excessive inequality among different localities can be considered as unconstitutional, local governments still possess the authority to have its own interpretation of national laws or to give details to national laws. Some local governments in reality interpret rather vague national laws progressively and advances national policies as a result. *Kisoku* is determined by local governors or local administrative committees. *Kisoku* often provides practical details regarding how to implement national laws or *jōrei*. When *jōrei* and *kisoku* become incompatible, *jōrei* precedes *kisoku*. Among three, *yōkō*, sometimes referred as *shishin* (guideline), has the least power as it has no legal ground. Some of *yōkō* merely function as the guideline of local administration and local governments are not obliged to publicize *yōkō*. Therefore, contents included in *yōkō* are not necessarily implemented in reality (Yamaguchi, 2009: 29-35, 51-63, Takashima, 2009: 146-155).

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the adoption of *jōrei* to establish the assembly (Takao, 2003: 541-548). Moreover, Kawasaki became the second city, after Hiroshima, to pass *jōrei* in 2008 to establish a referendum system which allows all the residents including non-Japanese nationals to participate.

Some other local governments, on the other hand, advance the issue of resident foreigners even without establishing *jōrei*. In 2007 and 2008, a number of prefectural governments adopted *shishin* on the issue of *tabunka-kyōsei*, or multicultural co-existence. This is commonly understood as a response to the report issued in 2006 by the Japanese government to encourage multiculturalization. This report, named as "the plan to promote multicultural co-existence," suggests arranging a supporting system for foreigners in the areas of communication and different aspects of daily life such as education and housing. It was novel in a sense that the report incorporated the perspective of foreigners as residents, not visitors, for the first time, although Suzuki (2005b: 120) points out that the long-term nature of migration was already recognized in immigration planning in 2000. In the 2000 plan, however, the aspect of labour migrants was highlighted and little consideration was given to migrants' day-to-day life in local communities (Watado, 2009: 181-182, Asaka, 2009: 26-29). Aichi, for example, issued two plans: one to promote the multiculturalization and another to encourage its internationalization. Although they only serve as guidelines, as *shishin*, both policies include details and a specific timeframe in order to achieve the objectives of each policy. It is quite unique since *shishin* adopted by other prefectures often remain rather vague thus immeasurable. It can be said, then, that the commitment of Aichi Prefecture is much stronger than other prefectures although its policies take the form of *shishin*, not *jōrei*. It is therefore possible to address the issue of resident foreigners progressively even without adopting *jōrei*. The policy of Aichi is also significant because it acknowledges the need to encourage the equal membership and participation of both Japanese and non-Japanese residents.

Whereas some prefectural governments are willing to acknowledge the presence of non-Japanese members and are active in the realization of broadened rights for non-Japanese residents in their communities, these local governments

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remain rather exceptional. The awareness level of the great majority of local governments towards the issue of non-Japanese residents is still low and their idea about non-Japanese residents' rights remains quite old-fashioned. In these local communities, the issue of resident foreigners is given lower priority and the disparity in the quality of life experienced by non-Japanese residents can be quite high depending on where they reside.

Such a disparity in attitudes and policies between different local governments is caused partly due to the lack of unified direction concerning the issue of migration envisioned by Japanese society as a whole. It is therefore necessary for the central government to take the initiative to adopt a coherent direction regarding the administration of foreigner-related issues and the acceptance of a non-national population in consultation with local governments with accumulated experience in this matter. In this way, the rights of resident foreigners will be evenly protected and advanced in different locations. This will eventually lead to the situation where Japanese and non-Japanese members coexist in same communities as equal members. However, achieving such a goal seems challenging due to different reasons. In the following section, factors hindering the fair acknowledgement of foreigners' rights in Japan will be examined.

3.3 Factors influencing policy changes

The environment for non-nationals in Japan has surely been altered with the changes in national and local policies, and there are several factors behind such policy changes: the composition of non-Japanese populations and the historical background of their presence, the influence of the political situation and an aspect as political maneuver, the increased contact between Japanese and non-Japanese populations, and a dominant understanding in Japan of rights, nationality, and Japanese society.

Although the issue of migration and the presence of non-Japanese nationals started to show different sides beginning in the 1980s, the issue of

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non-Japanese residents is not at all new in Japan. It is well known that there has been a significant presence of a Korean population in Japan. The great majority of these people were the descendants of those who were forcibly taken to Japan during the Second World War. Prior to the 1980s, the rights of non-Japanese were considered almost equal to the rights of resident Koreans. Even today, especially in political dialogue, the term "foreigner" often implies "permanent foreign residents" who are mostly Korean. A recent agitated discussion over the provision of local voting rights for foreigners was initiated based on political interests concerning Korean residents, for example.

The expansion of Japanese imperialism, symbolized by Japan's acquisition of Taiwan from China in 1895 and the annexation of Korea in 1910, was accompanied by the extension of Japanese membership. Taiwanese and Koreans were given status as Japanese imperial subjects, although such status did not entail the equal rights and duties of Japanese citizens. As imperial subjects, they were involuntarily transplanted from their home countries to Japan in order to serve Japanese national interests and supplement the needed manpower triggered by an expansion of the military forces and the war economy[7]. The state interests of Japan were given first priority, if not only, and no considerations for the human rights of Taiwanese and Koreans were made in course of policy developments during this period. The lack of recognition for the human rights of Koreans and Taiwanese by the Japanese government can also be observed in the arbitrary deprivation of their nationality. The Japanese nationality of the Koreans and Taiwanese was stripped in 1952 and former Korean and Taiwanese colonial subjects uniformly became foreigners even if they had remained to reside in Japan after World War II. Despite the fact that they no longer hold Japanese nationality, around 500,000 to 600,000 Korean residents out of 2.3 million remained in Japan after Japan lost WWII (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 438-439, Takao, 2003: 535).

Since the presence of Korean residents in Japan stems from this colonial past, it is not surprising that the issues related to them often involve emotional

[7] Under the colonial rule, more than 800,000 Koreans were forcibly taken to Japan in order to serve as labourers and military personnel between 1939 and 1945. They were placed in the sectors where Japanese population was unwilling to work such as coal mining (Min, 1992: 9-11).

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arguments. In the past, the high ratio of Korean residents to the total non-Japanese population residing in Japan resulted in a concentration of attention on them when discussions regarding non-Japanese residents took place. The term foreigner was used equally to mean Korean permanent residents and such discussions tended to involve an aspect of nationalism and Japan's responsibility for its colonial past. There has been a clear division between the Korean and Japanese populations, and hostility, hatred and discrimination can be observed which has influenced the course of discussion regarding the issue of non-Japanese nationals. Some Japanese equalize the unwillingness to be naturalized as disloyalty to the state, rather than one's desire to retain his or her identity and to maintain the connection with their origins. It is hence unacceptable for many Japanese to grant one the status as a proper member in society unless such a person becomes naturalized. It is ironic, however, that the naturalization process in fact is very restricted in Japan and many applicants face difficulties in the preparation of documents or simply decide not to be naturalized due to the complicated and lengthy process (Coleman and Harding, 1995: 33-34, Tsuda, 2006: 17, Asakawa, 2003: 37-61). This is a part of the reasons why the naturalization rate remains quite low in Japan.

In addition, the rights of resident Koreans have been largely influenced by the political relationship between the two governments. The issues related to them are often dealt within the context of political dialogues between the two countries. It was only after the normalization of diplomatic relationship between Japan and South Korea in 1964 that Korean residents became eligible for a permanent resident status. Although it has not been realized, the 1991 Korea-Japan Memorandum demanded that Japan extend voting rights to South Korean residents at the local level. The same issue was brought up when then South Korean President Kim Dea Jung visited Japan in 1998 (Takao, 2003: 535-541). Such pressure, to a degree, created an opportunity to bring about discussions over the issue among Japanese politicians.

Domestic politics also have an impact on the issue related to resident foreigners. After the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) assumed the reins of the government in 2009, replacing the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP) which

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had been in power for 50 years, the discussion over granting resident foreigners the right to vote became highlighted. The DPJ in fact stipulated the realization of local suffrage for permanent residents as the keynote message of the party when it was formed in 1998, because it was considered important to press this issue in order to establish support from the Korean population within Japan. In fact, the draft proposal submitted to the parliament regarding the provision of local voting rights for non-Japanese nationals limited its application only to special permanent residents (*tokubetu-eijūsha*), most of whom are Koreans. The official insistence evolves from a historical perspective, not because of any reason based on rights, human needs, or democracy.

Such a change in the political structure at a national level triggered different reactions from local governments. Prior to the regime change, several local governments were vocal in their support for the local voting rights for resident foreigners. In 1993, the Kishiwada city assembly of Osaka Prefecture adopted a petition demanding the local suffrage for permanent resident foreigners. This movement toward the relaxation of restriction on foreigners' voting rights gained momentum with the Supreme Court decision in 1995. The decision itself announced that the right to elect and dismiss public servants is limited to Japanese nationals only; nonetheless, in the *obiter dictum,* it is suggested that it is not unconstitutional to grant permanent resident foreigners voting rights at a local level. This left the issue for a decision by a legislative body. In 1990s, several city assemblies adopted petitions similar to the Kishiwada one. With the rise of the DPJ, however, an increasing number of local assemblies started adopting the objections against the local suffrage for resident foreigners as they were afraid such a right would be realized and implemented (Suzuki, 2005a: 100-102, Kawakami, 2010: 13, Yomiuri Shinbun, 2010a: 4, Fukui et al., 2010). Thus the rise of the DPJ in political arena, which supports foreigners' voting rights, actually retrograded the issue.

The power relationship among politicians also affects the direction of the argument. Some of the leading politicians from the DPJ have been strong proponents of local suffrage for foreigners. Ichiro Ozawa is one politician who is strongly

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advocating for the voting rights of permanent foreign residents. As one of the most influential politicians in the DPJ, Ozawa attempted to pass the bill on this matter. However, with the weakening power of Ozawa due to his involvement in a financial scandal, the direction of the argument has been twisted. Originally not being monolithic on this matter, the fall of Ozawa's authority within the party revived opponents within the government on this issue and counterarguments against local suffrage for resident foreigners have been actively made inside and outside of the government (Kawakami, 2010: 13, Yomiuri Shinbun, 2010: 4). The achievement of local suffrage has therefore faced a setback and is negatively influenced by the shift in power structure in domestic politics. It is obvious that the argument to enfranchise resident foreigners, at least at a local level, has been raised and discussed out of political interests rather than the genuine concerns over the rights of foreigners.

Although the issue of foreigners' rights has been closely associated with the issue of Korean residents in Japan, who are often referred as "old comers", and has been strongly advocated for by Korean activists in Japan, non-Japanese residents in local communities who are not Koreans, or "new comers", have started attracting attention in recent years. With the rapid change in the composition of non-Japanese nationals in Japan beginning in the 1980s, and with the increased contact between the Japanese and foreigners with little experience of living in Japanese society, different issues have started to emerge. Amongst others, friction in the local communities and school absenteeism of non-Japanese children are issues often covered by the media, drawing the attention of the general public.

The education problem of non-Japanese children has probably been attracting the most public attention. It is believed that a quite high percentage of non-Japanese children of school age are not enrolled in any kind of education systems. There are many researches done on this issue and local governments and groups in local communities try to reach out to these non-Japanese children who are facing difficulties in continuing education. Even the Japanese government took an initiative to deal with the issue of school absenteeism of non-Japanese children. These efforts, especially those made by officials, however, were done on account of the public

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concern over security issues. Many believe that an increased number of foreign children not attending school raise security concerns because they might commit crimes (Kajita et al., 2005: 240-257). In general, the problem has been approached from the desire to prevent public disturbance, not to protect the rights of non-Japanese children to education.

The Kobe Earthquake, which occurred on January 17, 1995, also contributed to drawing attention to the issue of resident foreigners in local communities to the wider Japanese population. The affected region is historically known as an area with a large number of non-Japanese in the population. Almost 100,000 foreigners were registered in Hyogo Prefecture[8] then with more than 80 percent being either Korean or Chinese nationals. The Earthquake, which caused 6,434 deaths including 199 foreigners, seriously affected the lives of both Japanese and non-Japanese nationals. However, non-Japanese residents experienced more serious difficulties when compared to their Japanese counterparts due to language barriers. Prior to the disaster, there were not in existence any well-established organizations supporting foreign residents, especially those who arrived after the 1980s. After the incident, various efforts to assist non-Japanese were made including the distribution of emergency relief and the dissemination of information in foreign languages. An increased number of people were staffed at NGOs and other supporting organizations in order to handle various questions and demands from affected non-Japanese residents. These efforts were later developed into a more progressive supporting system, which is more than mere emergency support. Such systems were developed in order to effectively address the changing needs made by non-Japanese residents in the area. These include the establishment of a consultation meeting in 1999 with non-Japanese residents in Kobe which aimed to incorporate the perspectives of foreign community members into the prefectural policy formulation and administration process (Morita, 1998: 127-143, Takezawa, 2005: 282-303).

The earthquake galvanized different prefectural governments, not just Hyogo, to realize the need for support systems for foreigners. Following the case of

[8] Kobe is the capital city of Hyogo Prefecture.

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Hyogo Prefecture, a number of local governments became more active in policy development on the issue of foreigners. Nonetheless, as such attempts originated from the disaster experience, the majority of new measures are often associated with the issue of disaster. Disaster prevention, together with education, has now become one of the major themes in the area of foreigner-related policies and administration.

In addition to the above factors hindering the comprehensive advancement of foreigners' rights, an understanding of foreigners' existence in society which usually treats them as temporal visitors, the notion of rights itself held by many Japanese, and shortsighted policy making and planning, also influence the lack of acknowledgement of foreigners' rights.

"Internationalization" is another important keyword when comprehending the issues of resident foreigners in Japan although its usage is different from how it is used in other context. Coinciding with its increasing presence within the international community, the Japanese government became aware of a necessity to internationalize the country. Starting in 1986, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then the Ministry of Home Affairs[9] initiated a discussion on internationalization and adopted three pillars: international exchange, internal internationalization, and international cooperation. Under this new initiative, the exchange of cultures and human resources were encouraged, various systems and services targeted at non-Japanese populations were introduced in order to deal with changing needs in local communities, and assistance for developing countries were increased through the provision of funding or technologies. With this scheme, the policies and services related to non-Japanese nationals, including long-term residents, came to fall under the principle of internal internationalization. By being addressed as a part of internationalization policies, those who do not possess Japanese nationality, no matter how long they live in Japan, are conceptualized as mere outsiders who are just temporal guests rather than long-term participants in local communities. In this sense, the idea of internationalization in Japan shares some commonality with nationalism since both ideas reject non-nationals. Due to such a narrow perspective, foreigner-related policies and

[9] After the Central Government Reform in 2001, it changed its name and is currently called the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

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administration are often equal to the mere provision of short-term services and the issue of foreigners' rights is rarely called into question (Hatsuse, 1993, Kashiwazaki, 2003: 67-68, Yamawaki, 2003: 2-5, Kajita et al., 2005: 292-302). A new perspective which admits the existence of foreigners who are long-term or settled residents in Japanese society was introduced in 2006 with the publication of a report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. However, the previous conceptualization of foreigners as temporal outsiders still persists partly due to the lack of national level commitments to accept foreigners for settlement.

Two conflicting attitudes in Japanese society toward foreigners, which are co-existence and exclusion, give another account for how the issues of foreign residents are treated in Japan. This dichotomy illustrates that a clear division exists within Japanese society on the issue of foreign long-term residents (Kashiwazaki, 2000: 463). Even the approach of co-existence is problematic as it generally remains a mere appreciation of or tolerance for cultural differences. *Tabunka-kyōsei* (multicultural co-existence)[10] is the term often used in the formulation and implementation of foreigner-related policies in recent years. As the terminology itself suggests, such policies, at least in the past, often involve cultural exchanges for the purpose of fostering mutual understanding and tolerance toward each other. Various festivals and seminars were held in order to achieve that goal. Needless to say, fostering a deeper understanding for different cultures is important, but too much emphasis on the differences might strengthen a perception that treats foreigners as outsiders, not equal members in communities. This can eventually lead to the further segregation and exclusion of resident foreigners.

A very unique understanding of "right", which is quite different from the western one, also influences the rights discourse in Japan. In the preamble to the current Japanese Constitution, it is stated that fundamental human rights are guaranteed as a natural right deriving from human dignity, not conferred by the Constitution. Thus, all human beings, including non-Japanese nationals, are believed

[10] Kyosei, usually translated as co-existence in the context of multiculturalization in Japan, originates from a biological term "Symbiosis." However, since 1980s it became to be used as metaphor meaning co-existence and mutual support of different kinds (Suzuki, 2005b: 123).

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to be entitled to these fundamental human rights as far as the Constitution is concerned[11]. Nevertheless, the protection and extension of human rights are not actively discussed and such an issue is often distant from the majority of a population. It is partly because most Japanese give group harmony priority over the individualism which is often associated with the idea of human rights (Matsui, 2006: 123-127, 150). The other possible reason for the uniqueness of the Japanese understanding of human rights is its approach to the notion of rights. In Japan, the idea of rights is often associated with sympathy. Rather than entitlement, rights are given as mercy for those who are unfortunate. In fact, the slogan upheld by the Ministry of Justice in 2009, which is responsible for human rights issues in Japanese governmental structures, states that it is important to consider the feeling of others and nurture the spirit of sympathy. Under such interpretations, people's entitlement to certain rights is never considered valid or indispensable and it is unlikely that those who have fewer rights will be regarded as equal.

In addition, it needs to be highlighted that most of the attempts made by some local governments to actively deal with the issue of resident foreigners is approached from a problem-solving perspective, and lacking a long-term viewpoint. When addressing day-to-day problems involving foreign residents, local communities or local authorities often concentrate on solving immediate issues. Rather than being regarded as permanent or long-term participants, especially in the case of recent migrants, non-Japanese members in communities tend to be considered as mere temporal members. It is thus not necessary, to the eyes of many Japanese in local communities, to make efforts to alter the existing structure. It is sufficient if the problems in the present are somehow handled. This partly explains why most of the efforts made by local governments dealing with foreigners' issues concentrate on the issue of education, disaster prevention, medical care, and language education rather than social and political integration of migrants.

Lastly, like some other countries, Japanese society adheres to the interconnection between one's nationality, the loyalty to society, and the right to be

[11] However, under the articles 11 and 14 of the Constitution, the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and the equality of human beings is guaranteed only for nationals.

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acknowledged as political members in society. It is not surprising, therefore, that many insist that one must relinquish previous nationality in order to be fully admitted into Japanese society, and thus granted political membership. Many politicians openly insist that no voting rights at any level should be permitted to non-nationals and those who desire to have such rights must be naturalized. Such a view is shared by a substantial segment of the public and there is a split existing in Japanese society on this matter.

A persisting aspiration for the maintenance of homogeneity in Japan also plays a significant role in the strong counterargument against the extension of foreigners' rights. Xenophobia seems to be escalating as the economic situation becomes more difficult. Foreigners are often regarded as competitors in a tough job market or those who disturb Japanese society by raising a wide range of issues which did not exist previously, such as friction in local communities and school absenteeism, or simply committing crimes.

By virtue of the efforts and progressive attempts initiated by some local governments, and with the increased awareness in the general public on the issue of foreign residents brought by increased contact, the issue of resident foreigners now attracts more attention. The rights of foreigners have come to be more highly publicly debated when compared to the past. Nonetheless, this does not mean that the extension of rights for resident foreigners is on the way.

Having enumerated the limitations and challenges with regard to the extension of foreigners' rights in Japan, it is necessary to explore the possibility to overcome such difficulties. It seems unlikely that the migration flow involving Japan will soon come to cessation. If so, it is important to consider how to accept non-national residents into local communities, and not only on the surface. Examining actual case studies will be helpful in order to understand real hindrances to migrant integration and to look for alternative ways to integrate non-national members. By doing so, some strong points of local policies and administration related to foreign long-term residents will be highlighted and the significance of accepting resident foreigners as equal members in communities will be attested. At the same time, the

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limitations of the existing approach will be revealed. This examination of the actual prefectural administration will be made in chapter four.

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CHAPTER IV
THE ASSESSMENT OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF BRAZILIAN MIGRANTS IN AICHI AND YAMANASHI PREFECTURES

Chapter three suggested that regional differences exist in the life experienced by non-Japanese residents. The degree of such differences will be verified in chapter four through case studies from two selected localities. At the same time, whether or not such differences influence migrant political participation in local communities will be examined through this exploration. Specifically, whether or not Brazilian migrants in Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures are able to influence their environment and shape the future of communities they reside in together with fellow Japanese residents is the concern of this chapter.

Among different migrant groups, Brazilian migrants were selected as the group to analyze. In particular, the quality of life experienced by Brazilians in two localities, namely Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures, will be compared. Since different local governments have different policies related to the issue of foreign residents, life for Brazilian migrants differs depending on where they happen to reside. Chapter four will illustrate how the life experienced by Brazilian migrants is different in the two selected localities. While doing so, the comparison of two areas will highlight the factors triggering the differential treatments of migrants. Both enabling and inhibiting factors to the integration of migrants will be identified through the examination of positive and negative aspects of practices in the two selected locations.

4.1 Identifying target groups

With the acceleration of globalization and the proliferation of international migration, Japan is experiencing a growing inflow of foreign nationals. The presence

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of non-Japanese populations has become more visible, and contact between Japanese and non-Japanese is increasing. In 2008, 2,217,426 were registered as resident aliens[1], accounting for 1.74 percent of Japan's overall population. The non-Japanese population in Japan is diverse and people from 190 countries were registered with the Ministry of Justice[2]. However, its composition is quite uneven and almost 80 percent is comprised of people of Chinese, Korean, Brazilian or Filipino origin. Among these groups, Brazilians were chosen as a target group for this thesis owing to their characteristics as recent, legal, and long-term migrants.

The Korean, Chinese and Filipino migrant groups were not considered suitable for this research. Due to the historical background of their presence, the relationship between Korean and Japanese populations and the participation by Koreans in Japanese society requires special consideration. Their presence in Japan is quite unique by nature and they cannot be considered equal to other migrant groups who migrate as a part of the process of globalization. In regards to the registered Chinese population, aside from the Chinese nationals who were taken to Japan during the colonial period, almost 23 percent of registered Chinese are on a trainee or designated activity visa which allows them to stay in Japan for a period not exceeding three years in total[3], and more than 17 percent are registered as students. Chinese on either visa are not expected to stay in Japan for an extended period of time, as far as their visa status is concerned. Registered Chinese are very diverse indeed in terms of visa categories they are registered with[4]. Since the aim of this research is to examine

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[1] Despite its negative connotation, "alien" is the term commonly used by governments in many countries to describe non-nationals in discussions concerning immigration, and Japan as well follows such an example. This thesis adopts this term especially when it is related to government statistics, since it is the official terminology adopted by the Japanese government.

[2] Ministry of Justice, *Heisei 20 nen matsu ni okeru gaikokujin-tōrokusha tōkei ni tsuite* (Regarding the statistics of registered aliens at the end of year 2008), available < http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/press_090710-1_090710-1.html > (accessed May 3, 2010) (in Japanese)

[3] Trainee visa is granted for those who come to learn occupational skills in Japan and those who are on this visa are not allowed to receive wages. After completion of training period, which cannot exceed one year, many switch their visa to designated activities which permits two year of stay for former trainees however unrenewable. This system has recently been reconsidered and new category called "Technical Intern Training" is created as of July 1, 2010 which includes all the trainees who stay in Japan in order to acquire occupational skills. The length of permitted stay is for three years, but labour laws are applied from the beginning of their internship.

[4] Out of 655,377 registered Chinese in 2008, 142,469 hold permanent resident visa, 57,336 are

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the inclusion and participation of long-term migrants who migrate as a part of the globalization of local polities, dealing with the Chinese population in Japan, who reside in Japan due to Japan's colonial past or stay only for a limited period of time, does not serve the purpose. Those who are from the Philippines compose the fourth biggest migrant group in Japan; however, it is generally accepted that most of the Filipino migrants are in a familial relationship with Japanese thus they are assumed to have mediators for communicating with Japanese society. This fact gives them distinct characteristics from other migrant groups. The situation of Brazilian migrants are different from Filipino migrants since the majority of Brazilians in reality have little contact with their Japanese relatives while in Japan, although Japanese Brazilians are granted visas for the sake of visiting their ancestral land.

Brazilian migrants are the particular interest of present investigation. As it has been already described, Japanese Brazilians are given easier access to Japanese visas by virtue of their Japanese blood thus legally preferred by the Japanese government. This provides the stronger justification for the need of political participation compared to other migrant groups. If they are welcomed and invited to meet Japanese demand for human resources, they should be granted the rights accordingly.

By virtue of the revision to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990, the population of registered Brazilian migrants increased dramatically, as explained in chapter three. This suggests the majority of Brazilians are recent migrants and require no special historical consideration, unlike their Korean or some of their Chinese counterparts. In reality, the great majority of Brazilian migrants stay in Japan for an extended period of time. Indeed, permanent residents, long-term residents[5], and spouses and children of either a Japanese national or a permanent resident accounted for more than 98 percent of the registered Brazilians in 2008 and

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registered as spouse or child of a Japanese national. 113,855 are registered as students and 150,194 enter Japan as trainees.

[5] Long-term resident visa is granted on different groups such as Indochinese refugees and second and third generation of ethnic Japanese. The visa needs to be renewed every three years, but renewal can be applied as many times as wanted, and there is no restriction in terms of occupational activities performed by the visa holders.

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this implies almost all of the Brazilians in Japan are Japanese Brazilians and their families. Their visas are granted based on their status as ethnically Japanese, and there are little restrictions in regards to the activities they are permitted to be engaged in, allowing them to change jobs if necessary. Having easier access to employment when compared to non-nationals with other categories of visa enables the Japanese Brazilians and their families to stay longer in Japan. The majority enter Japan with a long-term resident visa, but some apply for a permanent resident visa after meeting the application criteria. In 2008, 110,267 permanent resident visa holders[6] out of 492,056 were Brazilians. A permanent resident visa requires no renewal of the visa, meaning they can legally stay in Japan as long as they wish[7].

For the above reasons, Japanese Brazilians were selected as the target group of this thesis so that the observations made will be generally applicable to situations in other areas experiencing an inflow of long-term migration triggered by globalization.

Determining the level of analysis is another important issue for this research. In Japan, two levels of local governments exist: prefectures[8] (*todōfuken*) and municipalities (*shichōson*). In this research, prefectures are chosen as the target of analysis owing to the consistency of their borders and size. Prefectures contain cities, towns and villages which are grouped as municipalities; although prefectures and municipalities are legally equal, especially after the Omnibus Decentralization Law in 2000. Municipalities are considered to be the primary autonomy for administering the matters affecting the residents' everyday life and thus responsible for the provision of day-to-day services. Prefectures, on the other hand, have been given the form to act as

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[6] The figure excludes the number of special permanent resident visa holders who are mostly Koreans and Chinese who were taken to Japan during Japan's colonial period.

[7] Those who already hold long-term resident visa are permitted to apply for permanent resident visa only after 5 years of stay whereas other foreigners in principle are required to reside in Japan at least 10 years in order to apply for a permanent resident visa. In case of a spouse of a Japanese national can apply for permanent resident status if such a person stays in Japan for three years after their marriage.

[8] In the strict sense of the word, prefectures are usually used to refer *ken* in Japanese. In Japan, there are four terms employed to mean the largest administrative local divisions: *to*, *dō*, *fu*, and *ken*. *To* is only used for Tokyo and *dō* only for *Hokkaidō*. There are only two *fu* which are Kyoto and Osaka. However, in this thesis, the term prefecture is used to include all these four different names as to express the largest local divisions.

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the bodies in charge of coordination and communication. This translates to playing a role as the mediator between the central government and local municipalities, or between different local municipalities. Prefectures also assume the primary authority when matters are about a wider area, or they are beyond the capacity of local municipalities. In fact, prefectures have been functioning to make long-term plans affecting wider prefectural territories and to negotiate with the central government in order to obtain governmental support (Yoshikawa, 2004: 240-251, Yamaguchi, 2009: 105-116). While the issues influencing residents' everyday life are dealt with at a municipal level, prefectures take responsibility for the implementation of administrative work at a larger scale as well as the coordination between different levels of government.

Upon considering the issue of the everyday life experienced by Japanese and non-Japanese residents, municipalities might seem more appropriate for the subject of analysis. Indeed, municipal governments are the ones providing day-to-day services as well as dealing with the immediate needs of community members. Nevertheless, prefectures are selected in this research due to the changing numbers and size of municipalities. Many municipalities have been consolidated, with the governmental encouragement for municipal amalgamation. The number of municipalities nationwide was reduced to 1727 in 2010, from 3229 in 1999[9]. Since many municipalities have disappeared or changed in its size, it is difficult to make a comparative analysis. In contrast, numbers and borders of prefectures were established as long ago as 1888, although their roles and characteristics have been changed since this time (Yoshikawa, 2004: 238-244).

Although the provision of services for residents is at the hands of municipal governments, prefectures as well are expected to play a role in the administration of non-Japanese residents. Most prefectures have longer-term planning on the issue of cultural co-existence or internationalization while municipalities deal with the day-to-day reality, sometimes even without having codified or established

[9] The data is available on the website of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Commuynications <http://www.soumu.go.jp/gapei/gapei.html> accessed May 6, 2010 (in Japanese).

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perspectives. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 94 percent of local governments at the prefectural level have adopted plans or guidelines on the issue of cultural co-existence whereas only 21 percent of municipalities have done so as of April 1st, 2008[10]. Since an analysis of established local policies addressing foreigner-related issues is one of the research objectives and provides one of the most important aspects for the present investigation, choosing prefectures over municipalities can be justified.

Among 47 prefectures, Aichi and Yamanashi, prefectures with a high concentration of registered Brazilian population, are chosen as the locations of inquiry. In terms of the proportion of registered aliens to the total prefectural population, Aichi has the second biggest number and Yamanashi has the tenth biggest. These two prefectures are chosen because both have a high concentration of Brazilian migrants. Different prefectures have their own characteristics in terms of migrant composition. For example, the concentration of migrants of Asian origin, especially Korean nationals, can be observed in Osaka while Tokyo's registered aliens are from diverse regions. When specifically talking about Brazilian registered migrants, Aichi and Yamanashi have the third and eighth biggest proportions. Considering that this thesis is particularly focused on migrants from Brazil, choosing Aichi and Yamanashi as the locations of the study is explicable.

In regard to the actual numbers of registered non-nationals, the figure in Yamanashi Prefecture is not significant. In 2008, 17,281 foreign nationals were registered in Yamanashi and it is only the 21st biggest population among all the prefectures. However, when the ratio of foreign population to Japanese population is taken into consideration, the position of Yamanashi sharply rises to the 10th, due to the small size of its overall population. As it has been discussed, the substantial presence of a migrant population partly accords the necessity for their inclusion into local

[10] Based on the statistics released by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, available <http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000043850.pdf> accessed May 6, 2010 (in Japanese).
Two prefectures, Shizuoka and Shimane have adopted policy or official planning which include the issue of cultural co-existence in 2008 after the survey was conducted by the Ministry. This means all the prefectures except for one have incorporated the issue of cultural co-existence into their planning although this does not mean foreign resident related issues are directly addressed in them. Some, Tokyo for example, merely deal with issues related to non-Japanese tourists and not residents.

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communities. Therefore, giving importance to the proportion of non-national population to the Japanese population is justifiable. In addition, unlike other prefectures with high foreign populations in number, Yamanashi ironically draws less public attention owing to the small number of registered aliens. The prefectural government is thus less pressured to deal with foreigner related issues. This makes an interesting contrast with Aichi Prefecture, which has been known for the significant presence of its non-Japanese population and progressiveness in dealing with the non-Japanese residents. Based on the reasons above, Aichi and Yamanashi are chosen as the locations of inquiry.

Comparing Yamanashi and Aichi present an interesting contrast in terms of the characteristics of each prefecture. As it will be discussed, a sense of internationalism is more present in Aichi whereas a sense of nationalism in Yamanashi is stronger than in other areas. Since one of the research objectives is about the assessment of the roles played by the sense of nationalism and internationalism in the realization of local citizenship, studying two prefectures of such distinctive characteristics serves the purpose for the present investigation.

In the following section, local policies and actual practices in Aichi and Yamanashi Prefectures will be examined to comprehend some reality of migrant integration in Japan. Demographic information, foreigner-related local policies and services, and resident foreigners' actual life experiences in local communities will be presented and compared in order to highlight the factors triggering such differences.

4.2 Aichi Prefecture

Although its dealings with the migrant population are far from perfect and there is still room for improvement, Aichi Prefecture can be described as progressive with regards to its dealings with non-Japanese residents. Resident foreigners in the area generally have better access to various services compared to other locations in Japan. Whether public or private, different stakeholders provide various services for foreign residents, particularly the Brazilians. Living conditions for Brazilians are

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therefore much more favorable in Aichi Prefecture. In addition to the average services for foreigners available in many localities, such as language classes and translation of some official documents, Aichi has been making attempts to integrate the migrant population into local communities. These efforts include the establishment of a meeting to listen to its foreign residents and the provision of assistance to migrant children to adapt to the public school system. Factors behind such progressiveness are identified as: strong prefectural economic power, the substantial number of registered non-nationals, the embodiment of local governmental commitment in the form of policies and governmental structures, the availability of various support provided by both public and private sectors, and the relatively higher interest of the general public in social issues and internationalization.

4.2.1 Enabling factors

Two of the facilitating factors, the economic prosperity and the stronger awareness of people about different social issues, can be traced back in history. Aichi was originally known for its light industries but changed its focus to heavy industries, especially aircraft production, when World War I took place[11]. The automotive industry, which is represented by Toyota, further strengthened its economy especially following the 1950s[12]. As the economy in the area grew, more factories were built and an increasing number of domestic migrants were attracted to Aichi Prefecture. Indeed, the prefectural population was increased by 1.5 times from 1945 to 1960[13]. The rapid industrialization and urbanization entailed various problems such as pollution which increased people's awareness in social issues. This provided Aichi with the foundation for citizen's activism and the general public mobilized themselves to respond to various social problems. For example, labour rights and women's rights were actively pursued after the Second World War and universities provided a forum for discussions

[11] The procurement boom from WWI actually pushed up the Japanese economy transforming it from a mere peripheral country to a major participant in international relations.
[12] The wars in Korea and Vietnam created the huge demand for supplies including trucks, and the automobile industry in the area benefited from this special procurement boom.
[13] Population increase is more obvious in Toyota City. Its population became more than doubled during the same period of time.

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against the U.S. –Japan Security Treaty (Shiozawa et al., 1993: 207-217, 286-340, Tsuda, 2001: 312-320). This economic power and higher interest of people in social problems partly accounts for how foreigner-related issues are dealt with in Aichi.

The economic prosperity of Aichi continues into the present day and today Aichi is one of the economically strongest in Japan. Among all the prefectures in Japan, its financial capability index ranks the second after Tokyo. Tokyo and Aichi are the only prefectures not receiving tax revenue allocated to local governments by the Japanese government. The automobile industry provides a solid basis for a strong economy which allows the prefecture to undertake policies and services on a bigger scale. The strong economy also enables Aichi to host international events which include an international exhibition in 2005. These international events allowed the general public to align themselves with the international community and thus contributed to their raised awareness on the issue of internationalization.

The presence of large corporations is another factor contributing to the economic strength of the area. Their existence is significant not only in terms of tax revenue and employment but also because they include a global corporation which is well aware of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Toyota is not only the biggest corporation in Aichi, but also an internationally recognized company. As Shibasaki points out (2009: 188-191), CSR is not yet a grounded concept in Japan. However, several companies in Aichi directly or indirectly hiring migrant workers have started taking responsibility towards the workers and their families, and Toyota is one of these such companies. In fact, Toyota funds some of the Japanese language classes for Brazilians. Toyota also donates money to the City of Toyota and the city utilizes a part of it to conduct projects for resident foreigners.

Needless to say, the actual number of registered aliens also contributes to the progressive dealings of the prefecture in the matters regarding resident foreigners. In 2008, there are 228,432 non-Japanese aliens registered in Aichi Prefecture consisting of slightly more than three percent of the total population. The foreign population in Aichi is quite diverse and about 35 percent are from Brazil. Still, the Brazilians are the biggest group among the non-Japanese residents in Aichi, and Aichi

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has the biggest number of Brazilian migrants among from 47 prefectures in Japan[14]. Various support programs are initiated to respond to the increasing social problems caused by the sharp and rapid increase of the Brazilian population. In Toyota City, for example, the dissatisfaction of Japanese residents with the lifestyle of Japanese Brazilian residents in the same apartment complex brought about a huge political debate involving the local community and municipal council. In the public space, the Japanese community blamed Japanese Brazilians, their employers, and the auto industry itself which hires the greatest number of Japanese Brazilians for the worsening living conditions in the area (Kajita et al., 2005: 187-189). The visibility of problems caused by the substantial presence of resident foreigners compelled the prefectural government to search for sustainable alternatives.

Strong commitment made by the prefectural government also fuels the efforts to integrate migrant populations into local communities. This commitment is explicitly expressed and embodied in the form of policies and governmental structures. In 2008, Aichi adopted two policies concerning internationalization and multicultural co-existence (*tabunka-kyōsei*). These are based on a policy to accelerate the internationalization of Aichi adopted in 2003. In the 2003 policy, Aichi already accepted its non-Japanese residents as fellow citizens in local communities by referring to them as prefectural citizens (*kenmin*) rather than merely calling them *jūmin* (residents)[15]. Considering this predates the report published by the then Ministry of Home Affairs in 2006[16], which encourages multiculturalization as well as transforming the concept of foreign residents from temporal guests to long-term residents, Aichi obviously has a higher awareness in this matter than the central government.

The local policies of Aichi seem more feasible since they include a timeframe and detailed steps towards the achievement of each objective. This makes

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[14] The number has been dropped after the economic crisis in 2008 as many returned to Brazil; however, Aichi still hosts the biggest Brazilian population in Japan.

[15] Different prefectures employ the term *gaikokujin- jūmin* (foreign residents) but rarely refer foreigners as *kenmin* (prefectural citizen).

[16] This report is noteworthy also because it officially defined the term *tabunka-kyōsei*, multicultural co-existence, for the first time.

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the policies more measureable and indeed an evaluation has been periodically conducted in order to check the progress[17]. The policy on multiculturalization also articulates the assumption of the prefectural role to lead other stakeholders. This is quite unique as other prefectures just accept the responsibility to coordinate between the central and local governments. Moreover, the foreigner-related local policies in Aichi are significant in a way that they are more comprehensive, whereas local policies in other locations tend to focus on safer issues such as education and disaster prevention. The attempt to promote labour rights and the community level participation of foreigners is particularly unique and is not an issue commonly dealt with in other locations[18].

In terms of governmental structures, Aichi has an independent unit called the Multicultural Society Section under the Department of Regional Development and Internal Affairs, which solely deals with multicultural co-existence. This unit, having 12 staff, is responsible for the execution of foreigner-related prefectural policies and services. It also works together with different stakeholders such as municipal governments, academics and NPOs in order to provide foreigner-related services, conduct surveys, and further develop plans. The fact that the person who is in charge of this section has been in the position since its establishment in 2006 makes it possible for the unit to undertake coherent programs and have better coordination with other stakeholders.

As it will be examined in the next part, various support is provided in Aichi for non-Japanese residents both by the private and public sector. In addition to local governments and private companies, academics, NPOs and interested individuals play a significant role in the provision of these advanced services. The level of individual interest in the issue of resident foreigners is relatively higher in Aichi when

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[17] The progress report published in March, 2011 acknowledges certain achievements have been attained by carrying out the plan. The need for further assistance related to medical care has been pointed out while enhancing the awareness of Japanese general public was not really touched in the report. The report is available at < http://www.pref.aichi.jp/cmsfiles/contents/0000013/13532/chukanhyoka.pdf> accessed June 9, 2011 (in Japanese).

[18] Aichi, for example, adopted the charter in order to promote fair treatment of foreign workers in 2008 together with Gifu Prefecture, Mie Prefecture, and Nagoya City. After the adoption, workshops have been conducted with local employers hiring non-Japanese workers.

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compared to other areas of Japan. This is due to a higher willingness to be involved in volunteerism and people's familiarization with internationalization. The international exposition in 2005, for example, provided Japanese residents in Aichi with opportunities to participate as volunteers and this contributed to an enhanced interest in volunteerism among Japanese citizens. With abundant opportunities to volunteer, people begin to realize that they can be involved in volunteering without specialized knowledge or skills.

> Then I realized that… even if I don't speak English, there is something I can do[19].

The expo also provided the general public with opportunities to interact with different cultures[20] and thus reduced their discomfort with those who are culturally different. With the expo, some Japanese residents started to see the positive aspects of internationalization as well. Although people previously formed a negative attitude toward internationalization mainly based on media coverage and stories heard from friends, some now consider the possibility that internationalization can be beneficial for them. This leads to the higher chance of transformed understanding held by people with which the issue of foreigners at a local level is dealt with more positively.

It is true that the general awareness is relatively higher and elevated in Aichi compared to other localities. Nonetheless, it is misleading to assume that such advanced awareness is shared by the wider general public. In general, this progressive consciousness is shared only by those who are involved in various foreigner-related support programs, and the awareness of the general public towards matters of domestic multiculturalization remains quite low. In 2007, 57.2 percent of Japanese residents in Aichi who participated in a survey conducted by the prefectural government responded that they have never heard of the term *tabunka-kyōsei*, or multicultural co-existence. In 2009 the number increased and more than 70 percent of respondents were not familiar with the term. In both surveys, almost half of the

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[19] From the interview with Mr. AH on October 26, 2010.

[20] The program named Friendship Project was conducted as a part of the expo. In this program, each municipalities is paired up with different countries and the interaction between two was promoted.

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respondents expressed a negative opinion[21] about the increase of non-Japanese residents in the area[22]. Under such circumstances, more efforts to change the perception and attitudes of the general public need to be made; however, most of the attempts made by the prefectural office concentrate on the services for foreign residents. It seems unlikely that a general awareness on the issue will increase and that public opinion about non-Japanese residents will change in near future, unless more efforts to work with Japanese residents are made.

4.2.2 Support for Brazilian migrants

There is basic support available for non-Japanese residents in different locations of Japan. The content and extent of such services largely differs and is dependent on the area, but generally are provided in the area of Japanese language education, translation services into migrant languages and disaster prevention. Some prefectures with a higher number of resident foreigners also provide some additional services for them, such as legal consultation and publication of selected documents in migrant languages. Aichi Prefecture not only provides these basic and minimum services for resident foreigners but also is creative in the development of unique programs which are designed to meet specific needs of resident foreigners.

The progressiveness of Aichi in terms of service provision for foreigners is the most apparent in the area of education. Numerous Japanese language classes, mostly conducted by local NPOs, are available in different locations for both migrant adults and children. The large number of classes enhances the possibility of actual participation. As is the case in most areas of Japan, the limited number of Japanese language class and inconvenient time and location for such classes to be held severely restricts the attendance by resident foreigners. In Aichi Prefecture, language classes are offered in different locations including small local communities enabling migrants from different occupations to join the classes.

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[21] These for example include concerns for worsening security and increasing frictions caused by cultural differences and language barriers.

[22] The reports of the surveys are available on <http://www.pref.aichi.jp/0000014461.html> and <http://www.pref.aichi.jp/0000031057.html> (accessed February 8, 2011, in Japanese)

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The issue of education for migrant children is also a serious concern in Aichi Prefecture. Some of the public schools in areas with a concentrated population of foreign residents are staffed with an added number of teachers who specifically deal with various issues related to non-Japanese students. Translators are also placed in these schools and this allows not only non-Japanese students but also their parents to interact with teachers more freely.

One example illustrating the increased interest in the issue of education for non-Japanese children in Aichi is the development and implementation of a preschool program. In order for non-Japanese children to enter Japanese public schools without having serious problems, Aichi Prefecture funded some preschool programs in different municipalities. Through these programs, non-Japanese children who are going to enter Japanese public schools the following year acquire basic Japanese vocabulary which is necessary in everyday life at school as well as certain customs specific to Japanese schools. Based on the accumulated experiences of precedent preschool programs, the Prefecture together with academics developed a manual for the preschool program for non-Japanese children, and seminars are held targeting teachers who are interested in utilizing the manual and implementing such programs in their localities.

Providing consultation services in migrant languages is a common practice across Japan. However, Aichi tries to provide more efficient services to its resident foreigners. The system called *tabunka-kyōsei* social worker was created in Aichi in order to handle various problems faced by non-Japanese residents in the area. Beyond mere consultation, clients can receive a one-stop service and these social workers assist in the entire process until the resolution. This system in Aichi is unique since social workers attend the entire process and actually assist towards the resolution of problems, not merely providing knowledge about how the issue should be addressed.

The cooperation between different stakeholders, such as prefectural and municipal offices, NPOs, academics, International Associations and private corporations, enables the provision of such enriched services for non-Japanese residents. For example, a fund to support Japanese language classes for non-Japanese

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children was created under the initiative of the prefectural office, managed by the Aichi International Association, and funded by local corporations. Many of such Japanese classes are conducted by local groups with the assistance of interested individuals. The involvement of academics also has a significant meaning in the case of Aichi. Academics with different specialties, such as education or social work, greatly contribute to the development of progressive services and policies for resident foreigners as is the case of the *tabunka-kyōsei* social workers and the preschool program.

Although it is apparent that services for resident foreigners are better planned and provided in Aichi Prefecture as a whole, the unevenness of service distribution casts a problem. Just like efforts towards dealing with foreigner-related issues are more concentrated in the prefectures with a higher population of non-Japanese residents, Aichi domestically experiences the same problem. More services are available for those who live in the localities with a higher population of Brazilian migrants. For example, more support for Brazilian children attending public schools is available in the areas with a concentrated Brazilian population such as Homi district of Toyota city[23]. In those areas, children have better opportunities to have access to an appropriate level of education, according to their Japanese language skills. The public schools in the areas are staffed with translators who provide both students and their parents with more opportunities to express their problems and concerns freely (Shirayama, 2008: 139-143).

> Especially in terms of education, Homi area is advanced… well, some move to the area because their children can proceed to high school if they send their children to juniour high schools in Homi[24].

The above shows Brazilian students do not necessarily have as much support unless they live in an area with a concentrated Brazilian population even though they live in the same prefecture.

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[23] The public apartment complex in Homi district is well-known for the high concentration of Brazilian residents. It attracted public attention nationwide due to the friction between Japanese and non-Japanese residents in 1990s.

[24] From the interview with Mr. AL on November 19, 2010.

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In addition, the extent of efforts made by different stakeholders in order to assist a migrant population and to integrate them into local communities needs to be carefully examined. There are different examples for the limited outcome of such efforts. A cultural event, which was hosted by a local NPO aiming to increase the interaction and foster mutual understanding between Japanese and non-Japanese residents in an apartment complex was mostly attended by Brazilian residents excluding Japanese residents, who also live in the same area, for example[25]. Due to the lack of interest or inconvenience of time and locations, some Japanese classes have only a small number of participants[26].

4.2.3 Political involvement

In Aichi, the necessity for political integration of non-Japanese residents is recognized and attempts are made in order to realize the political participation of migrants. The Opinion Exchange Meeting for Foreign Residents in Aichi (OEM) was created in order to incorporate the opinion of non-Japanese residents into local policy formulation and administration. Starting in 2002, Aichi became one of a few localities having regular official consultation meetings with its non-Japanese residents. Around ten members are selected to discuss a specific topic each year, such as information distribution and education.

Creating such an opportunity is an important attempt to include non-Japanese residents into local administration and reflect their perspectives into local policies. However, OEM does not seem to function as a proper political space providing the occasion for the migrants' will to be truly incorporated into local administration. First of all, its members cannot be considered as representatives of the prefectural migrant population. Members are selected by prefectural officials, not reflecting the will of the migrants themselves. In addition, the existence of such a

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[25] The event held on July 18, 2010 was co-hosted by a NPO and a group of Brazilian migrants. Most of the Japanese attendants were those who are involved in NPO activities and not the residents who actually live in the area.

[26] At the Japanese class observed by the author on June 20, 2010, Japanese volunteers actually outnumbered Brazilian participants. Only three Brazilian migrants participated while there were around 20 Japanese volunteers.

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meeting is not well-known and only a limited number of migrants apply to be members. According to a prefectural official, almost everyone who applied for the position was selected in the past[27]. Secondly, the selected members are not representative of the migrant population in Aichi in terms of their profile. Many of the participants in 2010 work at schools and municipal offices and none are engaged in the occupations which the majority of non-Japanese workers are engaged in, such as factory work. The meetings are usually held on Saturday afternoons in the prefectural capital city, which is far from the workplaces where many migrant workers are employed. This prevents many from participation even if they are aware of such an opportunity and would like to be involved. The representational issue also stems from the language ability of participants. Since the meetings are conducted in Japanese[28] and all the documents are prepared in Japanese, though they are written in a less formal format, the participants are expected to have a certain level of proficiency in Japanese language. This excludes many of those whose Japanese language ability is weak from participation.

Moreover, the extent of the influence that OEM has on actual prefectural administration is quite questionable. What was discussed has been compiled in a sheet of paper[29] and then sent to the corresponding sections within prefectural offices; however, no follow-ups are made[30] and they are merely used as references. In 2009, the discussion was organized into the form of proposal[31], but the proposal unfortunately has not been utilized to mobilize prefectural administration or to influence public opinions.

Overall, the living conditions for Brazilian migrants are far more favorable compared to other areas in Japan. The concept of local citizenship, which accepts all

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[27] From the interview with Mr. AA on June 23, 2010.
[28] Participants are allowed to bring an interpreter to meetings, but they have to arrange by themselves as no interpreters are prepared by the prefectural office.
[29] This document is open to public and can be accessed on Aichi Prefectural website.
[30] From the interview with Mr. AA on June 23, 2010.
[31] The proposal covers the issues of information dissemination, cooperation in local communities, mutual understanding between Japanese and non-Japanese residents, and education for non-Japanese children. The proposal is available at: < http://www.pref.aichi.jp/0000008604.html> accessed May 28, 2011 (in Japanese).

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the residents as equal participants in local communities despite their national affiliations, also exists in Aichi, at least in the local policies. Nonetheless, the real integration of the migrant population is yet to be achieved and their real political participation in local communities still remains quite limited. In this sense, the availability of various services has no relationship with the political rights exercised by migrants.

4.3 Yamanashi Prefecture

Despite its higher concentration of foreign population, Yamanashi has followed a quite distinct path from Aichi in regard to the administration of non-Japanese residents. As a prefecture, it does not have progressive policies nor does it provide extensive services. Compared to Aichi, only basic support, which is usually offered in other average prefectures, is available for foreign residents at a prefectural level and this makes the life of Brazilian migrant more difficult than migrants' life in other localities with more extensive services. This minimum support for example includes consultation services in migrant languages and Japanese language classes. Several factors can be identified as the source of such a limited approach to the issue of resident foreigners which include: limited economic resources, the smaller number of registered foreign residents, the lack of initiative taken by the prefectural government, insufficient coordination among different stakeholders, and lack of interest of the general public. However, there are scattered efforts made by interested individuals which improve the life of some of Brazilian migrants.

4.3.1 Inhibiting Factors

Unlike Aichi Prefecture, Yamanashi has not been economically vibrant. Once prospering from a sericultural industry, Yamanashi lost its economic competition due to geographic disadvantages. Being surrounded by mountains and having neither a railroad nor paved roads to Japan's economic centers until relatively later, Yamanashi economically fell behind other prefectures. The reliance on a single industry also

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limited its economic success and made it more vulnerable to changing market demands. Yamanashi in fact sent its population out to other areas of Japan, and some even emigrated to different countries owing to the economic difficulties. Some migrated to Brazil, and there currently exists an association of people who are from Yamanashi. Both of the local politicians interviewed, Mr. YB and Mr. YE, identified the existence of such an association as one of the pulling factors of Yamanashi to attract migrant workers from Brazil. It is only after World War II that Yamanashi revived its economy by bringing in factories and expanding fruit farms. This was made possible by virtue of the installation of a highway and a railroad. The plan to develop industrial areas in order to accommodate factories from outside of the prefecture was put into the place in 1968 and the number of factories has increased since then (Iida et al., 1999: 246-299). Still, these changes are not sufficient enough to boost the prefectural economy to a full extent and Yamanashi does not have strong presence in the national economy. Its financial capability index was 28th among all the prefectures in 2010[32]. The smaller scale of the prefectural economic basis inevitably limits the amount of budget which can be allocated for the projects and services related to resident foreigners.

The actual number of registered aliens also negatively affects how their issues are administered. In Yamanashi, only 17,281 non-Japanese were registered as residents in 2008. Brazilians represent the biggest group among the different nationalities and the majority are employed as factory workers[33] producing either electronic equipment or food products. Although some electronic device-related factories left the area due to an economic downturn, the food processing factories continue to be the major provider of employment for non-Japanese in Yamanashi[34].

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[32] Based on the statistics released by Statistics Bureau, Director-General for Policy Planning and Statistical Research and Training Institute, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

[33] According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare , 65 percent of foreign workers in Yamanashi is engaged in manufacturing in 2010. The report on the employment of non-Japanese workers for 2010 is available at <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/houdou/2r985200000117eu-img/2r985200000117gb.pdf> accessed February 15, 2011 (in Japanese).

[34] According to Mr. YK interviewed on November 3, 2010, many of those who have lost jobs after 2008 are recently rehired in food processing industry.

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The concentration of registered non-Japanese residents in Yamanashi is quite high in comparison to the rest of Japan and ranks 10th; nevertheless, the small actual number of registered aliens prevents the prefectural government from taking their issues more seriously. In fact, the staff at the Yamanashi International Association expressed the difficulty to mobilize the prefectural government since the actual number of registered foreigners in Yamanashi remains smaller than other prefectures with a concentrated foreign population[35].

The lack of interest at the level of prefectural government is another major source of less progressive administration regarding the issue of resident foreigners. The lower priority given to this issue in prefectural administration is apparent in the prefectural policy and administrative structures. In 2007, Yamanashi adopted the guideline for multicultural co-existence just like other prefectures in response to the report published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in 2006. Nevertheless, the content of this guideline merely localizes some of the content from the ministry report and provides neither specific timeframes nor detailed steps to achieve what is mentioned in the plan. The guideline therefore becomes immeasurable and there is little pressure on stakeholders to comply with what is included in the guideline. Even the prefectural official admits that the policy merely provides a direction for how the issue should be approached, although he recognizes the need for more specific measures and timeframes to be included[36]. Moreover, the guideline imposes only a coordination role onto the prefecture. This is quite a contrast to the position of Aichi Prefecture which assumes a leading role in dealing with foreigner-related issues.

In terms of the local governmental structure, the International Affairs Division, which is under the Tourism Department, is in charge of the issue of registered non-Japanese residents within the prefectural government. This implies that the view of foreigners as tourists and temporal guests is more emphasized in Yamanashi. The mandate of the International Affairs Division includes the issue of

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[35] From the informal conversation with the staff at Yamanashi International Association on May 20, 2010.

[36] From the interview with Mr. YB on June 15, 2010.

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resident foreigners; however, their work has a stronger focus on inviting foreign tourists and enhancing their communication with sister cities. Since the issues of foreigners as tourists and as residents are distinct, it is desirable to have a separate unit which solely deals with the issue of foreign residents.

A conservative understanding of the matter of non-Japanese residents also hinders a more progressive approach from being taken in Yamanashi, and such attitude is observed in its assimilationist approach. Even where any programs for non-Japanese residents exist, their objective is generally to teach foreigners Japanese language and Japanese ways.

> We believe it is a matter of course to provide the same service for Japanese and non-Japanese residents. Well… for that to happen, almost all the problems will be solved if they can speak Japanese. If they can speak Japanese and have access to the information, then they can exercise their rights equally as their Japanese counterparts[37].

It is believed that teaching non-Japanese residents Japanese language skills and Japanese culture is the only solution to ongoing problems. It is therefore the mandate of the prefectural government to ensure their assimilation in order to enable adaptation. In other words, providing Japanese language classes is the most important assistance to be provided and other services such as consultation in migrant languages are provided only as a transitional measure.

The lack of coordination among different stakeholders working on the issue of non-Japanese residents prevents services for non-Japanese residents to be implemented efficiently even where such efforts exist. As it will be further described in the following part, there exist dispersed efforts to respond to the needs of foreign residents which rely on the commitment of interested individuals. However, the influence of such attempts is limited as those individuals work independently and not sharing their knowledge, resources, experience or concerns. For example, there are some academic surveys done on the issues related to resident foreigners; nevertheless,

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[37] From the interview with Mr. YB on June 15, 2010. On the other hand, the local official from Aichi, Mr. AA, expressed his personal opinion against assimilationistic approach to the issue in the interview conducted on June 23, 2010.

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the outcome is not widely shared. Different groups and individuals work on the issue of foreign residents, but their activities are mostly sporadic and remain isolated. Resources and accumulated knowledge can be better utilized if there is better communication and coordination among these bodies. This lack of coordination also creates a problem since the well-being of migrants depends on whether or not such a key person exists in the area they reside and whether they have a contact with such individuals. There is a chance for such cooperation since some NPOs start networking among themselves and the prefectural office also shows an interest in coordinating with different groups including NPOs[38].

In contrast to Aichi, the interest of the general public in volunteerism and the issue of resident foreigners is generally low in Yamanashi. Many of the Japanese classes, both for adults and children, lack the Japanese volunteers who maintain such classes. Even where there are some individuals who are interested in volunteering, their concern is usually directed at other issues since the majority of Japanese residents do not consider foreigner-related issues as significant in Yamanashi. Indeed, many are unaware of the fact that Yamanashi has a higher concentration of foreign residents unless people happen to live in an area with a concentrated non-Japanese population.

The above factors restrict the implementation of more progressive policies and create a barrier to the administration of the issue of non-Japanese residents in Yamanashi Prefecture.

4.3.2 Support for Brazilian migrants

As it is shown above, the interest of the prefectural government in the issue of resident foreigners and their integration is scant in the case of Yamanashi. It is therefore not surprising that the policies and services provided by the prefectural government for resident foreigners remain at a minimum. Average services which can be found in many other localities, such as consultation services in migrant languages and Japanese language classes, are available. However, the lack of enthusiasm to

[38] From the interview with Mr. YB on June 15, 2010. However, he also admits that it is difficult to network different bodies due to differences in interests and objectives of organizations.

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actively deal with the issue of foreign residents prevents these policies and services from being further developed or improved, and many of such services are insufficiently utilized. For example, the Yamanashi Prefecture arranged language classes for the Brazilians who lost their employment after 2008; however, only a few attended as the location was inconvenient for many Brazilians. Yamanashi International Association also provides a weekly Japanese class; however, not many Brazilians attend this class as it is far from where many Brazilians live and the time is inconvenient for most factory workers.

In the case of Yamanashi, most of the services for non-Japanese residents are provided at a non-prefectural level supported by the commitment of interested individuals. For instance, Chuo City, which has the highest number of registered Brazilians in Yamanashi, has several individuals who are in local administrative bodies and interested in the issue of resident foreigners, including the head of the local Board of Education and a Brazilian interpreter at a public school. This fact enables Chuo City to provide needed services for Brazilians such as the publication of monthly bulletin in Portuguese and the allocation of translators at municipal offices and some public schools. Various events are also hosted by the city in order to enhance a mutual understanding between Japanese and non-Japanese residents.

Aside from the bureaucratic sector, there are others who are also actively involved in efforts to improve the living conditions of non-Japanese residents. A couple of NPOs and some academics provide different services such as Japanese language classes, health check-ups and consultation in foreign languages. Some of the Japanese classes provided by these bodies are designed to prepare Brazilians for specific occupations, such as caretakers or legal interpreters. The locations and time for such service provision are usually arranged for the convenience of non-Japanese workers to gather, therefore the attendance is generally higher than the ones provided by local public bodies.

Despite the fact that these interested individuals attempt to provide support for resident foreigners, the extent of such efforts remains limited due to the lack of coordination between these individuals.

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4.3.3 Political involvement

Considering the various factors surrounding non-Japanese residents in Yamanashi and the lower interest of prefectural government, it is not surprising that the political involvement of Brazilian migrants in Yamanashi is quite limited. Migrant groups are generally distant from Japanese society and little interaction between two groups is taking place. Yamanashi refers to non-citizen residents as *gaikokujin jūmin* (foreign residents). As it is apparent from the fact that the issue of foreign residents is administered under the Tourism Department, non-Japanese residents are conceptualized as temporal guests; therefore, attention to the need for their political integration is rarely given by the prefectural government.

In terms of attempts made by the prefectural government, the prefectural government in Yamanashi also holds meetings on the matter of non-Japanese residents twice a year. However, how the meeting is organized is quite different from the system in Aichi. The meeting is attended mainly by Japanese officials from a national, prefectural, and municipal level and members of Japanese NPOs, aside from one Brazilian individual who runs a Brazilian school. Participants are selected by the International Affairs Division based on their consideration of which organization is the most appropriate to discuss the issue of resident foreigners and the main objective is information sharing among the different organizations that have some contact with non-Japanese residents. The aim of this meeting is therefore for better coordination of the foreigner administration, rather than listening to the voices of non-Japanese residents.

In sum, the lack of the initiative of the prefectural government and the insufficient coordination between those who are involved in the issue of non-Japanese residents negatively characterizes the nature of the environment surrounding Brazilian migrants. It is true that the municipalities bear primary responsibility towards their residents, including non-Japanese, and play an important role in promoting the social inclusion of resident foreigners. Nevertheless, as it is apparent in the case of Aichi, the progressive attitude and commitment of a prefectural government accelerates the effort to improve the living conditions of resident foreigners. It also promotes coordination

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among different stakeholders, both public and private. It is thus expected that the situation surrounding non-Japanese residents will be better if the prefectural government becomes more involved in the issue of resident foreigners because there currently exist dispersed efforts towards working on the issue of foreign residents made by interested individuals. Without recognition as equal and long-term participants in local communities, Brazilian migrants in Yamanashi are rarely involved in local communities not only in a political sense, but they are segregated from host society and often invisible to most Japanese residents.

4.4 Comparison of two locations

The previous section has suggested how the life of non-Japanese residents can be different depending on the locality. In the following part, factors which influence the course of foreigner-related policy development and administration and the reasons behind these differences between the two prefectures will be highlighted.

One of the biggest differences between Aichi and Yamanashi is their fiscal scale. As already pointed out, Aichi as a prefecture has the second strongest economy in Japan whereas Yamanashi ranks lower than the mean. This indicates that the tax revenue of each prefecture is quite different, which of course influences their budget. This allows Aichi to carry out various projects and services on a larger scale. Yamanashi, on the other hand, is left with limited economic resources to administer its region. If the budget itself is already limited and the need felt for addressing the issue of resident foreigners is scarce, the money allocated for the projects and services related to such issues becomes inevitably limited.

Difference in populational size is another factor triggering different responses to the issue of resident foreigners in each prefecture. In both prefectures, interested and committed individuals provide various services for non-Japanese, accelerate their social inclusion, and advance the issues related to resident foreigners. It is not a leap in logic to assume that the bigger the population, the larger the number of such individuals. Having succeeded in networking such individuals, Aichi provides

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more favorable living conditions for Brazilian migrants. In addition, as it was already noted, the limited number of registered aliens in Yamanashi, despite the high ratio to overall population, decreases the incentive on the side of the prefectural government to actively address the issues concerning them.

The bigger size of Aichi also allows it to have more universities. As described, a number of academics work closely with the prefectural government in Aichi through conducting surveys and providing advice. This enables Aichi to have more information on the matter and become more creative in dealing with its non-Japanese population. The interaction and cooperation with academics facilitates progressive perspectives to be incorporated into policy formulation and service provision. For example, the importance of native tongue education[39] is well recognized in Aichi both by public and private actors. This is articulated in the manual for the preschool program for non-Japanese children. Moreover, more books in migrant languages are available at libraries in Aichi[40].

The awareness of and sensitivity to international standards are identifiable in Aichi. Indeed, increasing the recognition of Aichi in the international arena is one of the goals articulated in its internationalization policy as adopted by the prefectural government. This realization has made Aichi more sensitive to international standards and Aichi has increased its efforts towards the social inclusion of migrants. In Aichi, the rights of foreigners are acknowledged and such recognition is in part directed to the formulation of local policies and administration. Not only the local government but also private corporations are sensitive to international standards in Aichi. As mentioned, Toyota as a global corporation assumes a role in the improvement of living conditions for migrants since they are aware of their corporate social responsibility as an employer, for example. These private companies sustain some of the projects for

[39] Whereas more opportunities for learning Japanese are now available in different areas in Japan, the education of migrants' mother tongue is barely considered important nor provided unless migrant children attend private ethnic schools. However, many scholars suggest strengthening native tongue is crucial in developing one's identity and lacking such ability negatively influences the acquisition of other languages (Okada, 2009: 19-21, Nakajima, 2009: 68-71).

[40] For example, the library at one of the public elementary school where 20 percent of its students is non-Japanese, has a large selection of books in non-Japanese languages such as Portuguese, Spanish and Tagalog.

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foreigners by providing funds. Unfortunately, this is not the case for Yamanashi and there is not much involvement by the companies hiring foreign workers.

It is interesting that internationalization actually functions both as an obstacle and as an accelerator of migrant integration. As discussed in the third chapter, framing the issue of migration within the context of internationalization limits the extent of governmental responses to the issue of resident foreigners since migrants are conceptualized as temporal guests rather than long-term residents. Nevertheless, the very same concept of internationalization broadens people's perspectives and increases the acceptance of foreign residents as is apparent in the experience of Aichi Prefecture.

The attitude of prefectural officials toward the foreigner-related issues is quite different in Aichi and Yamanashi. The policies and services in Aichi are developed based on the consideration of the rights of foreign residents.

> (It is well recognized that the migrant children also have) the right to education. And we also have developed the charter on the rights of migrant workers. They have rights as workers[41].

On the other hand, Yamanashi approaches the issue basically from a problem-solving perspective.

> Well, what we do is solving the problems we face in a normal way… we just think and respond to the situation[42].

Since policies and services in Yamanashi are formulated to deal with immediate concerns, they tend to be limited to only certain aspects of foreigner-related issues such as education, health and disaster prevention. This is a contrast to Aichi, where different aspects such as labor rights and the political participation of migrants are taken into consideration. This comprehensive approach of Aichi allows it to conceptualize migrants as a whole person and an equal participant in society.

The reason for the differences between the two prefectures can also be found in the interest of the general public in volunteerism. If the expo provided people in Aichi with the opportunity to experience volunteering, Yamanashi lacks chances

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[41] From the interview with Mr. AA on June 23, 2010.
[42] From the interview with Mr. YB on June 15, 2010.

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such as this one to involve many of its residents in volunteering. In Yamanashi, volunteerism is not as common as in Aichi. The interviewee who has lived both in Aichi and Yamanashi compared the attitude of Japanese people in both areas toward volunteering as follows:

> When we advertised for volunteers (in Yamanashi), there were some people who were interested in. But then they actually came to see, and they thought this was not for them. On the contrary, if it was in Aichi, we don't have to advertise. We just talk to neighbors and they come to help[43].

Since more people in Aichi are familiar with volunteering, they possibly participate in some activities to assist Brazilian migrants. This larger population who does not hesitate to volunteer sustains various support programs for non-Japanese residents such as Japanese language classes.

Lastly, the historical experience of each prefecture provides some accounts for the difference in awareness at a local level. As a bigger prefecture with a strong economy, Aichi also attracts domestic migrants. Some of the Japanese residents are migrants themselves. One of the officials at a municipal office in Aichi mentioned that some local residents ask for advice on how to include resident foreigners in their local activities. These residents told the official that they understand migrants' situation as they themselves had domestically migrated to Aichi[44]. By contrast, the nature of Japanese residents in Yamanashi can be described as exclusive.

> I think people in Yamanashi are exclusive. Not only toward foreigners, but in general[45].

Not having incoming domestic migrants, communities have little experience of accepting outsiders. Even those who are from other areas of Japan are sometimes viewed as outsiders who do not understand local contexts and culture in Yamanashi. It is not surprising then if such a society does not know how to deal with those who are from different countries.

As examined, several factors such as the differences in economic and

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[43] From the interview with Mr. YM on November 5, 2010.
[44] From the interview with Mr. AD on August 17, 2010.
[45] From the interview with Mr. YH on October 11, 2010.

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population size, the gap in the awareness of public and private sectors, and the history of accepting domestic migrants, have triggered different reactions to the issues of foreign residents in Aichi and Yamanashi. Such differences influence the level of acceptance therefore creating a huge disparity in the quality of life experienced by Brazilian migrants in the respective prefectures.

In regards to the integration of migrants, especially in a political sense, however, neither of the selected prefectures has yet achieved this. Although Aichi seems to embrace the idea of local citizenship by accepting non-national residents as fellow prefectural citizens and some attempts are actually made for their political inclusion, a real political participation by migrants is not taking place. There is no causal relationship between the provision of social services and political participation. It becomes apparent that ensuring migrant political participation and achieving local citizenship requires more than having progressive local policies or establishing consultation meetings with the migrant population. The last chapter will be spent on the exploration of the relationship between the concept of local citizenship and migrant political participation. It will also examine the possibility for achieving local citizenship in the context of Japanese society.

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CHAPTER V
TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY MIGRANTS

The previous chapter illustrated how the life of Brazilian migrants in Japan can be different depending on localities. It was also suggested that the concept of local citizenship is acknowledged in Aichi Prefecture, although not installed as a formal system. Despite all the regional differences in the two selected prefectures and embracement of the idea of local citizenship in Aichi, however, the political participation of Brazilian migrants is not achieved in either prefecture. Local citizenship, which has a distinct path from the traditional citizenship concept based on nationality, has a possibility for the realization of political participation by migrants; nonetheless, it became apparent that mere acknowledgement of such a concept does not guarantee the realization of migrant political rights. In the last chapter, the situation concerning the political rights of migrants in Japan will be examined. This will also lead to the exploration of the relationship between the local citizenship concept and political participation by migrants. As a conclusion, chapter five also suggests what changes need to be made in order to realize the political participation by Brazilian migrants in the case of Japan.

5.1 The political rights of migrants

There are many ways to define political rights and different perceptions are possible for what is to be or not to be included. Broadly speaking, having political rights enables individuals to influence the environment surrounding them by freely expressing their opinions and concerns, and by such ideas being heard by society. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) offers a minimum but basic list of the rights which are crucial for people to be politically influential to their

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environment. They include: the right to freedom of expression, the right of peaceful assembly, the right to freedom of association, the right to participate in public affairs, and the right to vote and to be elected. In following, how these rights are exercised, limited, or attempted to be realized in Japan will be discussed.

5.1.1 The right to hold and express opinions

Article 19, 21, and 22 of the ICCPR ensure the right of people to hold opinions and express those freely. Such rights can be exercised through peaceful assembly or forming or participating in associations. These rights are guaranteed to everyone in Japan, regardless of people's nationalities. Despite the fact that everyone in Japan is entitled to the right to express their demands through various forms, such a right is not utilized by recent migrants, which of course include Brazilian migrants. Unlike Korean or Chinese residents who have a long historical presence in Japanese society and have already organized themselves[1], recent migrants do not have an organization to represent them. Without organized groups constantly pressuring the government and presenting issues to the public, it is difficult to actually change the situation surrounding migrants. Angelo Ishi (2009, 160-161) introduces the existence of an organization of Brazilian migrants called Network Nacional dos Brasileiros no Japão, which has been formulated in the hopes of uniting and representing Brazilians all over Japan[2]. However at present, the network seems dormant due to the lack of interest among the general Brazilian population in such an organization.

In addition to such a nationwide ethnic organization, a trade union can provide the space for migrant workers to express their opinions and negotiate for their needs. In Japan, the formation of and participation in trade unions is not restricted to Japanese nationals but trade unions have not yet been fully utilized as an opportunity to improve the working and living conditions of migrant workers. There persists a rejection of foreign workers by Japanese trade unions at the national level in order to

[1] For example, the group representing South Koreans in Japan, *Mindan*, maintains interaction with local and national politicians and has strong political influence. Mr. YA, a local politician in Yamanashi interviewed on June 14, 2010, explained *Mindan* functions as a body delivering their demands as a group to politicians.

[2] http://nnbj.org/HOME/tabid/76/Default.aspx

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protect job security for Japanese workers. Although there are some smaller local trade unions which successfully include the interests of non-Japanese workers, these unions tend to have severely limited budgets and therefore their activities become quite limited. Language barriers and lack of knowledge on the side of migrant workers towards Japanese labour laws also create major obstacles for active involvement by migrant workers in Japanese trade unions. The fact that most of foreign workers are employed as contract workers also prevents some from participation because some unions do not allow contract workers to become members (Ishizaki and Yorizaki,2004: 3-7).

At a local level, there are some examples of the exercising of the right to express opinipons by migrants. At a peaceful demonstration in Hamamatsu City[3] in December, 2008, around 200 foreign workers, mostly Brazilians, gathered to demand job security (The Mainichi Daily, 2008). In Yamanashi, around 70 migrants marched on the main street of the capital city of Kofu to demand job security and the provision of Japanese language classes. Demonstrators also submitted a petition to the governor[4]. These events were reported in the media, although they virtually had no influence in terms of policy changes or further service provisions. These examples are sporadic responses to the acute economic downturn in 2008 rather than part of a systematic advocacy movement, therefore entailed no meaningful consequences.

5.1.2 The right to be involved in public affairs

The first paragraph in article 25 of the ICCPR reads that every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity "(T)o take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives". Although it is a right bestowed to citizens, this is applicable to the case of non-national residents if the term "citizen" is interpreted broadly by adopting the concept of local citizenship. Where this right is properly guaranteed, all the residents, including nationals and non-nationals, have the right to participate in the decision-making process of the very society in which they

[3] Hamamatsu is a city in Shizuoka Prefecture, which is next to Aichi. Is is also known for the concentration of Brazilian migrants. As a city, it has the biggest population of Brazilian migrants in Japan.

[4] From the interview with Mr. YN on November 7, 2010.

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reside. However at a national level, no periodical consultation meetings or established mechanisms have been installed in order to involve non-national residents in public affairs. Non-national residents, especially recent migrants including Brazilians, are considered less significant when planning and conducting public affairs.

Some local governments hold consultation meetings with the representatives from a migrant population. Aichi Prefecture is among such instances, although the Opinion Exchange Meeting for Foreign Residents in Aichi (OEM) is not the embodiment of the right to be a part of public affairs as guaranteed in the ICCPR, because the representatives are chosen not by migrants themselves but by prefectural officials. In this sense, the majority of migrants are excluded from the involvement in public affairs under the system of OEM. Nonetheless, if such an opportunity is properly planned and conducted, it will provide space for migrants to input their opinions into local administration and be involved in public affairs of local communities.

Another possible method for migrants to participate in public affairs is through the involvement in neighbourhood associations. In many localities of Japan, the system of neighbourhood associations remains fairly strong and matters related to residents' daily life, such as garbage disposal, maintenance of some street lights, local festivals and other social gatherings, come under their control. Through decision-making on these matters, residents collectively determine how their communities should be administered. In other words, the future of each community is designed and shaped by the participants. In this sense, these neighbourhood associations function not only as social organizations but also as political organizations. Despite their legal character as non-obligatory associations[5], residents are highly expected to be a part of these associations. The associations hold periodical meetings where various issues including neighbourhood security and infrastructural maintenance of the area are discussed. If functioning well, such associations provide the space for residents to have a closer relationship and discuss their concerns as fellow residents.

[5] In 2000, the Supreme Court judged that residents in a prefectural apartment house are free to withdraw from a neighbourhood association.

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The participation in neighbourhood associations by resident foreigners, especially Brazilians, remains very limited, however. Besides its non-obligatory character, language barriers and limited spare time often prevent migrants from participation. In fact, Brazilian interviewees who do not live in an area with a concentrated migrant population said that they are not informed about the activities of local neighbourhood associations[6].

> I don't know anything (about the activities of a neighbourhood association). Even if they have communal cleaning activities, I don't know. I don't think a circular bulletin[7] exists here. For long, I thought a circular bulletin only exists in an apartment complex. Or, maybe they just skip us because we are foreigners[8].

On the other hand, an NPO member from Yamanashi described that there is a lack of effort on the side of Japanese residents to include foreign residents into the associations[9]. According to him, neighbourhood associations in some areas translate various documents into migrant languages and distribute them to migrant households; however, such areas are rather exceptional. In addition, gatherings for these associations are not flexible in terms of time. Even where the concept of such associations is understood by non-Japanese residents and they are informed about the activities, it is difficult for many migrant workers to actually participate as they tend to work longer hours and their working pattern is quite different from that of the Japanese. The difference in language also makes foreigners hesitant to join the meetings and activities of the associations.

The mobile nature of the Brazilian population also hinders their participation. By not being recognized as proper members in society, migrant workers are often conceptualized as commodities, and this results in an unstable employment pattern. Many Brazilians work as contract workers and they were the first ones to lose

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[6] Ms. YC interviewed on July 26, 2010 and Ms. AF interviewed on August 20, 2010 said they are not aware of activities of neighbourhood associations in their area.

[7] Circular bulletins are highly utilized in neighbourhood associations in Japan. They are used to inform residents of communal duties and associational activities.

[8] From the interview with Ms. AF on August 20, 2010. Ms. AF lives in a house, not in an apartment complex.

[9] From the interview with Mr. YN on November 7, 2010.

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jobs after the economic crisis in 2008 (The Mainichi Daily, 2008). Even when the economy is normal, these Brazilian workers are hired and fired in order to meet the changing demand for labour force (Kajita et al., 2005: 163-181). This employment practice renders Brazilians unstable employment conditions and many are forced to relocate themselves to seek job opportunities. This fluidity of the Brazilian population without question decreases the chance for civic participation by these migrants. Not only it is difficult for them to organize themselves in such a situation, but also they need to re-establish social connections which are necessary for their civic participation in new environments (Stoll and Wong, 2007: 883). If the job security for Brazilian workers is increased, they have better opportunities to build social relation in communities, and thus the chances for migrant participation will be greater.

Despite the general tendency of a low participation rate to such associations by foreign residents, there are increasing instances of the successful integration of Brazilian residents into these neighbourhood associations. Matsumiya (2008: 54-60) reports two successful cases of such integration from Aichi. In the first example, Japanese residents have non-Japanese residents understand and be informed about activities by overcoming language barriers. Documents are translated into Portuguese and Brazilian residents are included as committee members of the association. In another case, some committed Brazilian residents became actively involved in the neighbourhood association. They also started to formulate a local Brazilian community group which contributes to the activities of the neighbourhood association by participating in its events. Through the inclusion of Brazilian culture into local activities, a better understanding towards Brazilians has been fostered among the Japanese and an amicable relationship between Japanese and Brazilian residents has been established. Yamanashi also experiences some successful cooperation between Japanese and Brazilian residents in the neighbourhood associations. At one public apartment complex where the majority of residents are non-Japanese, non-Japanese residents as well serve as board members of the neighbourhood association. This enables the information to be provided in different languages and thus participation to the association has increased (Yamanashi

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Nichinichi Shinbun, 2010). By successfully being involved in neighbourhood associations, non-Japanese residents feel more comfortable to express their needs and concerns. They are shared, or negotiated if necessary, with fellow Japanese residents. In this sense, the participation to these associations allows non-Japanese residents to be politically active as they are able to shape the future of very community in which they reside.

The commonality shared by these examples is the existence of committed individuals. Either Japanese or non-Japanese, these people make efforts and improve the situation locally. Nonetheless, these cases remain isolated since there is no mechanism to transfer such experiences and accumulated knowledge. In other words, other unfortunate areas without such committed individuals still suffer from a lack of participation by foreign residents in neighbourhood associations and local communities. In many areas, the absence of interaction leads to a lack of mutual understanding and sometimes even triggers the hostility toward each other.

Two issues can be raised from the observation of current practices and some successful precedents. Firstly, the formalization of neighbourhood associations might be necessary for the inclusion of the entire resident population in the area. All of the Brazilian interviewees indicated that in Brazilians might not participate in such an association unless it is mandatory. This explains why the participation by Brazilians in the activities of neighbourhood associations or the PTA at schools is uncommon. Indeed, making it mandatory leads to the second point that more efforts need to be made on the side of Japanese residents to involve non-Japanese residents into such associations. The obligation to include non-Japanese residents will make Japanese residents aware of the need to change how these associations are run. These changes for example include: translating documents into migrants' languages, being adaptable about when meetings are to be held, and involving non-Japanese residents as committee members of neighbourhood associations. Therefore, enhancing the awareness for the need of participation by non-Japanese residents in neighbourhood associations through the formalization of such associations is one way to achieve the political involvement by non-nationals as fellow residents at a local level.

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5.1.3 The right to vote and to be elected

In the same article which grants citizens the right to be involved in public affairs, the right to vote and to be elected is guaranteed to citizens. Nonetheless, such a right for non-nationals is rarely realized in the countries experiencing international migration and Japan is not an exception. Needless to say, lacking such a right severely limits the extent of the individual's political influence, although political participation is not just about the right to vote, and being politically active entails multiple dimensions. Even where non-citizens can politically participate in a host society through different means independently of voting, their voice is often paid little attention to by politicians as their votes do not count (Castles and Miller, 2009: 287-289). Indeed, only one of four interviewed local politicians at a prefectural level has had personal contacts with Brazilian migrants.

> I believe I have a much stronger relationship with the Brazilian society among local politicians. Yet, I have never heard anything directly from them[10].

> It is probably because there is no need (for many politicians) to listen to non-nationals. Well, their votes do not count[11].

All the local politicians interviewed were aware of the issues existing in the communities; however, the three without direct contact with Brazilian residents gained such knowledge only through complaints from Japanese residents or media reports.

Although realizing the right to vote or to represent their groups is important for migrants to be politically influential, truly realizing it in Japan seems quite challenging, especially with the case of Brazilian migrants. The strong resistance on the side of the Japanese population and the lack of interest among Brazilian migrants are the major hindrances to this realization.

The strong resistance to granting a voting right to resident foreigners was identified in many of the interviews with Japanese nationals.

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[10] From the interview with Mr. AG on October 8, 2010.
[11] From the interview with Mr. AJ on October 27, 2010.

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> I am against (granting non-Japanese a right to vote). Well, I think elections should the opportunity for Japanese to choose Japanese. Even at a local level. Cultures are different… I am not sure whether I should say this, but the number of Chinese is increasing, right? They are everywhere and… I strongly feel Japan will no longer be Japan[12].
>
> Well, they have different interests. Totally different. Different interests toward the society[13].

> I went to the lecture on multicultural co-existence by an academic from Tokyo. He said if we continue to pursue multicultural society then the Japanese society possibly would no longer exist. While I think multicultural co-existence is important and I want to have a good relationship with those who are not from Japan, I at the same time feel scared. For example, many Chinese are buying properties in Japan these days….[14]

Due to media reports which are mostly negative, the vague and often groundless concerns towards non-Japanese are present among Japanese residents. In addition, the fact that the biggest groups of foreigners in Japan consist of Chinese and Koreans makes the Japanese situation more complicated. The historically hostile relationship between Japan and these two countries makes many Japanese believe that the hatred held by them towards the Japanese still persists.

> The reason why I hesitate (to grant the voting rights for foreigners) is… because of Japanese history. I cannot overlook the unique history that Japan has. We cannot generalize the argument, in the same way as in other countries, for the sake of the rights of human beings. We cannot judge only from that perspective[15].

The fear that the long-term resident foreigners of Chinese and Korean origin might vote against Japanese national interests seems to be widely spread among

[12] From the interview with Ms. YF on September 23, 2010.
[13] From the interview with Ms. AE on August 17, 2010.
[14] From the interview with Ms. AB on July 17, 2010.
[15] From the interview with Mr. AG on October 8, 2010.

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the general public in Japan.

Another major source of objection against the right to vote for non-nationals is the understanding that allowing such a right violates the principle of "one person, one vote[16]" (Hammar 1985: 447-448, Faist, 2004: 915). However, this argument is inapplicable in the consideration of local citizenship as it separates a right to vote at a local level from the same right at a national level. If the concept of local citizenship is fully realized, every individual will have a national voting right in the country of their nationality and a local voting right in the area they reside. This means that each individual has only one vote at the different levels of administration, which might be in different countries.

Some may also argue that those who have different nationalities can easily escape from undesirable political outcomes by simply returning to their countries of origin. However, this insistence seems unrealistic as holding local citizenship means they are already woven into social relationships in the very community. This fact makes it more difficult for them to leave as it means abandoning all they have established (Faist, 2004: 915).

Even if such resistance on the side of the Japanese is overcome and the right to vote is guaranteed to all the local citizens including non-nationals, ensuring actual participation can be challenging. There is a general tendency that the turnout of migrant voters remains lower than the national average, even where migrants are allowed to vote. In Europe, the need for allowing non-nationals voting rights has been recognized[17] and there are precedents set in granting non-nationals such rights. For example, Denmark, Sweden, and six cantons in Switzerland grant local voting rights to EU nationals and third-country nationals although conditions for granting such rights vary depending on countries[18] (Groenendijk, 2008: 3-5). The turnout of foreign

[16] In regards to the issue of "one person, one vote" principle, Spain presents an interesting example. It signs treaties with Latin American countries to allow dual nationality but rights and duties are given based on people's effective residence (Hammar, 1985: 447-448).

[17] The Council of Europe adopted the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level in 1992 which entered into force in 1997. This convention does not oblige the signatory states to provide either consultative bodies elected by foreign residents or local voting rights. However, it still is significant the convention includes these aspects as a part of foreigners' participation at a local level.

[18] Criteria in regards to the duration of residence or residence status differ in each country. Some states

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citizens in the election in these areas in reality, however, has been lower than the general participation rate (Hammar, 1990: 150-155).

Hammar (1990: 142-150) indicates that it is natural for migrants to have lower political interest in the country of residence. He identifies at least four reasons for the lack of political interest held by migrants: composition of immigrants, lack of knowledge and information, psychology of migrants, and lack of pressure. The general characteristics of migrants as young and unmarried with little formal education renders them less interested in politics. Unfamiliarity with the political system as well as language barriers are obstacles for many migrants in accessing information for their political participation. As already argued, migrants often lack interest in politics in the country of residence especially if they perceive their stay as temporal. In addition, Hammar points out, migrants are psychologically prepared to receive less due to their immigrant status. Furthermore, less degree of attachment and loyalty to the country of residence compared to nationals also causes less degree of political commitment held by immigrants. Lastly, they feel less pressured to be involved as it is not their country.

The argument made by Hammar is generally applicable to the situation of Brazilian migrants in Japan. Although Brazilian migrants in Japan are diverse and not necessarily young and unmarried, other characteristics are common among them and they tend to have a lower interest in political participation in Japan. It is commonly accepted today that most Brazilians arrive Japan with the intention to return after saving enough money (Kajita et al., 2005: 262-268). When people consider their stay as temporal, it becomes difficult for some to be committed to the communities of their residency[19]. This psychology of migrants, with the intention to return home eventually, inevitably limits Brazilian migrants' interest in political life while in Japan.

It also became clear in course of field research that the majority of Brazilian migrants working in Japan have a lower level of education. Indeed, the percentage of those who have the experience of post-secondary education has dropped as time passes. Instead, people who are younger and less educated started migrating

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such as Spain and Portugal allow non-nationals voting rights only based on a reciprocal basis.

[19] However in reality, the majority extends their stay, or come back to Japan after a while even when they go back to Brazil (Kajita et al., 2005: 130, 268-274).

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more to Japan (Kajita et al., 2005: 265-268). This is partly because of the growing Brazilian economy which provides more job opportunities if one has skills or better education.

> In the past, I believe people with higher education as well came. Perhaps. I heard people like dentists came to work, but now they don't come anymore. They can make their living in Brazil[20].

> It starts with the reason why Brazilians come to Japan… well, they come to make money, right? And… they go abroad because they cannot make a living in Brazil. In short, they cannot make enough money even if they work there. Well, they cannot find work because they do not have education. They cannot find work because of the recession. It is bad to put it this way, but those whose level is lower leave the country to find work and make money[21].

It was also pointed out that these new migrants with little educational background tend to have little experience of political involvement even back home. This creates a lower level of interest in political participation in Japan.

Language barriers also discourage Brazilian migrants from voting even if they are allowed to do so. Many Brazilian migrants, not only newly arrived but also those who live in Japan for many years, are unable to communicate in Japanese. Until the recession in 2008, Brazilian migrants did not need Japanese language skills even though they worked for Japanese companies[22] especially if they lived in the area with the concentrated population of Brazilian migrants[23].

> I would not go (to vote)… because I do not understand. I do not

[20] From interview with Mr. YN on November 7, 2010.
[21] From the interview with Mr. YM on November 5, 2010.
[22] This was possible as many workplaces are staffed with translators. According to Mr. AI interviewed on October 26, 2010, some companies even have Brazilian migrants at administrative positions.
[23] Professor Teruko Nakata mentioned in the seminar on preschool program held in Nishio-city, Aichi on August 19, 2010 that those who have been in Japan for 20 years now come to attend Japanese classes of primary level. This occurs since little Japanese skill was required previously but now it becomes necessary when finding work due to economic downturn and increasing competitiveness to find an employment. The lack of need to acquire Japanese language was also pointed out by Ms. AC, Mr. AI and Mr. YM based on their experience in the interviews.

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understand what candidates are saying[24].

> First of all, no information comes to us about which candidate is who and what they want to achieve. So I think it is pointless even we go to vote[25].

In the case of Brazilian migrants, the fact that participation is not mandatory also limits people's actual involvement. In Brazil, voting is mandatory and this creates the opportunity for many to learn about the political situation there. The fact that political involvement is not obligated makes Brazilians less pressured and less interested in politics in Japan and thus it is assumed that many would simply abstain from the participation[26].

In order to increase migrants' political interest, their familiarization with the new environment is indispensable. In this regard, the social integration of migrants is not just an objective but also a process towards the attainment of political participation by migrants. The assistance to overcome language barriers and to learn the social and political culture of a host society is, for example, required in such a process. If successfully included in the host society, migrants' attachment to the communities they live in will grow over time and this enhances their sense of commitment to the host society. In addition, Hammar (1990: 147-149) raises an interesting point that giving migrants the right to political participation itself increases their interest in the politics of the host society. It also accelerates the integration of migrants as they learn about the social and political culture of the host society through such participation. Through these means, it is expected that migrants' political interest in host communities will increase.

Although presently no voting rights are accorded to non-nationals in order to elect representatives at any level of administration in Japan, there are growing instances of municipalities including foreign residents when holding referendums. Hiroshima City and Kawasaki City, for example, have adopted *jōrei* (local bylaw) to establish a system of referendum which includes their resident foreigners as

[24] From the interview with Ms. YC on July 26, 2010.
[25] From the interview with Ms. AF on August 20, 2010.
[26] This point was emphasized by two or the interviewees, by Ms. AC, interviewed on August 17, and Ms. YL, interviewed on November 4, 2010.

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participants. It is undeniable that there remains strong resistance to grant such a right to foreign residents among the general public in Japan, but this tendency provides one indication that Japanese society is starting to acknowledge the need to reflect the political will of all residents regardless of people's nationalities.

5.1.4 The right to citizenship

At present, having Japanese nationality is the only way to achieve full political participation in Japan at any level. Since the concept of local citizenship has not been established as a formal system, naturalization is required if one wishes to be politically involved to a full extent in Japanese society. Admittedly the right to nationality should be a viable and practical option for those who wish to be naturalized, the right to citizenship also needs to be guaranteed through the realization of local citizenship. Thus, there is a need to recognize the existence of two kinds of the right to citizenship. One is the right to citizenship based on national affiliation and another is the right to citizenship associated with people's lived presence in local communities.

The right to nationality in Japan in reality is quite restricted since being naturalized in Japan is not really an available option for many, unlike in some countries of immigration such as the United States and Canada. Whereas migrants in countries of immigration are expected to become naturalized after a certain period of time, such expectation does not seem to exist in Japan. Rather, a belief in ethnic homogeneity strongly persists in Japan therefore non-Japanese ethnics are not really welcomed to become Japanese citizens (Coleman and Harding, 1995: 33-34). Although the right to Japanese nationality is open to those who meet the requirement given by the Japanese government[27], the actual exercise of such a right remains highly limited in the case of Japan. Indeed, being naturalized is more difficult in Japan than in many of the migrant-receiving countries and the number of naturalizations remains quite low. Each year, around 15,000 individuals are granted Japanese nationality[28].

[27] Those who are over 20 years old, have legally resided for more than five years in Japan, possess good moral character, are financially self-supporting, renounce the previous nationality upon the acquisition of Japanese nationality, and are not against the Japanese government are allowed to apply for Japanese nationality.

[28] <http://www.moj.go.jp/MINJI/toukei_t_minj03.html> accessed February 23, 2011 (in Japanese)

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Two major factors are behind the low naturalization rate in Japan. First of all, the complicated procedure and discretionary nature of naturalization in Japan discourages many from applying for Japanese nationality (Coleman and Harding, 1995: 33-34, Tsuda, 2006: 17, Asakawa, 2003: 37-61). Applicants are asked to submit a wide range of documents such as graduation certificates, proof of employment and certificate of nationality. Applicants need to collect these documents from different places including the offices of their home countries. For some, gathering all the required documents itself is too much of work and thus they decide not to go through the process. Naturalization becomes more difficult when migrants are not settled in one place, which is the case for many of Brazilian migrants, because moving results in extra paperwork and a delay in the process.

> More than ten years ago, I was in the process of naturalization. And the process was almost complete and I was getting Japanese nationality… but I had to move for some reasons. I lived in Chiba Prefecture then, but I moved. If you move, you have to start over the process from the beginning. I did not continue because I have a permanent resident status. But sometimes… I still think about it[29].

In addition, the highly discretionary nature of the procedure decreases the incentive to apply for Japanese nationality since their application might be rejected without explanation even after applicants make the efforts to collect all the documents.

Generally speaking, the prohibition of multiple nationalities discourages many from being naturalized[30], as is the case in Japan, because migrants are asked to relinquish their previous nationality upon the acquisition of new nationality. Rather than making a difficult choice of abandoning their former affiliation and attachment, many choose to remain foreigners in the countries they reside. On a global scale, however, the tolerance toward dual nationality is actually growing, especially in Europe, and the number of individuals holding multiple nationalities is increasing[31].

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[29] From the interview with Mr. YM on November 5, 2010.

[30] For example, the interest in naturalization among Finnish born and living in Sweden strongly increases if they are allowed to retain both nationalities (Hammar, 1985: 441-443).

[31] This is a recent trend and there were efforts to prevent multiple nationalities in history. The European Convention of 1963, which was developed to reduce the cases of multiple nationalities and military

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Despite the debates about double taxation, double voting, multiple political loyalties and multiple military obligations, the concept of dual nationality has been increasingly accepted (Koslowski, 2000: 139-155, Hammar, 1985: 443-449, Faist, 2004: 913-917).

What is important to be emphasized, however, is that the concept of local citizenship, which means the right to citizenship at a local level, still needs to be accepted and established as a mechanism to grant residents a formal membership status in communities even where dual nationality is tolerated. At a first glance, the necessity for local citizenship seems to be lessened if one can be naturalized in the countries they reside and thus obtain equal membership there without relinquishing their previous nationality. Nevertheless, local citizenship still needs to be accepted as a formal system because upholding such a concept enables the inclusion of a wider range of residents. Not only that local citizenship provides the opportunity for political participation for those who wish to be naturalized in future but not yet meeting some requirements for naturalization, but also that realizing local citizenship enables local communities to politically include those who are not yet determined to settle down permanently. It is unlikely for those who do not plan to stay in a country of residence permanently to be naturalized. Yet, these individuals who pay taxes, perform same duties in communities and contribute to the development of communities should not be excluded from the community planning and other local decision-making processes if they stay for an extended period of time. Local citizenship allows such individuals to be a part of local communities politically without being naturalized. In this sense, local citizenship provides a solution to the problem of the stratified rights of aliens (Joppke, 2010: 82-96) as it allows non-nationals with different profiles and legal status under immigration laws to become equal participants in local communities.

The right to citizenship is indispensable for residents' political participation as it grants them acknowledgement as a political being within communities. The exercise of such a right should not be limited to through naturalization. Rather, the installment of local citizenship needs to be realized in order for society to include all the stakeholders residing in local communities.

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obligations, is one example of such efforts.

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5.2 Local citizenship and migrant political participation

Although some local governments in Japan accept the idea of local citizenship as a concept, such acknowledgement does not necessarily entail the realization of political rights exercised by migrants. Indeed, the political participation by non-nationals as equal communal members in a full and real sense has not yet been achieved anywhere in Japan. This does not mean, however, the concept of local citizenship is futile in the realization of migrant political participation. Rather, adopting local citizenship ensures the political rights of migrants if such adoption is properly made.

Based on the discussion made in chapter two and the analysis of actual practices in two Japanese prefectures presented in chapter four, the last part of this thesis will be spent on the examination of the relationship between the local citizenship concept and the political participation by migrants in order to conclude the present exploration on local citizenship and migrant political rights in the context of Japanese society.

5.2.1 Concept and practices

The idea of local citizenship undoubtedly contributes to the realization of political participation by migrants. Political rights and political participation to a full extent is usually limited to legitimate members of a society. This is justifiable because the exercise of political rights affects the future of the very society. However, as it has been repeatedly insisted, the inclusion of all the existing members needs to be ensured in order for a society to be just and sustainable. Adopting local citizenship enables society to reconceptualize the idea of membership and review the qualifications for its membership. The concept of local citizenship separates membership in local communities and nationality thus allowing one to become a legitimate member in a local community even when that person does not possess the nationality of that country.

It needs to be emphasized, however, that merely acknowledging the concept of local citizenship does not guarantee the realization of political participation

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by all the residents in communities, as is the case in Aichi Prefecture. The failure in Aichi, in terms of the real political participation by migrants, is due to a lack of formality attached to such acceptance of the local citizenship idea. Foreign residents are refereed as fellow prefectural citizens (*kenmin*) and accepted as equal members in local society as far as local policies are concerned. However, such acknowledgement does not entail a formal membership status to be guaranteed for those who possess non-Japanese nationalities. They are therefore entitled to less political rights compared to Japanese nationals even at a local level. It is therefore indispensable to establish the concept of local citizenship as a formal system installed in local communities, guaranteeing equal rights and status to Japanese residents within local communities.

The second reason for the limitation of migrant political participation in spite of the acknowledgment of the local citizenship idea is that such a concept of equal membership is not endorsed by the wider public but only by a limited number of involved individuals. The strong association between ethnicity and Japanese membership persists in Japan and renders the acceptance of the local citizenship idea by the general public extremely difficult. In spite of the fact that the concept of citizenship and its association with cultural or ethnic traits has been increasingly contested in the West, such movements have not yet gained momentum in Japan (Clammer, 2007: 30-33). Xenophobia is a serious issue and such fear has even been accelerated by the recent tension between the Japanese and Chinese governments over disputed land[32].

The endorsement of local citizenship is meaningful in terms of migrants' loyalty to communities and the development of their identity as community members. The rejection of migrants partly stems from the doubt cast over migrants' loyalty to communities and their sense of affiliation. Securing the loyalty of community members is important because it affects the security of communities, and adopting local citizenship actually enhances migrants' loyalty to host communities since they are fully accepted as equal community members under such a concept. Where properly

[32] Arisen from a collision between Japanese patrol boats and a Chinese fishing trawler, the land dispute of the Senkaku Islands, or Diaoyutai Islands, again draw a public attention. After the incident, the Chinese government suspended some of diplomatic relationship with Japan temporarily.

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accepted, the migrants' sense of affiliation to host society increases as they stay longer in the country of their residence. This is apparent in the case of Canada, where migrants receive most of the socioeconomic benefits for citizens. Even in such a situation, a substantial number of migrants continue to be naturalized in Canada and the longer they stay, the less number of individuals claim dual citizenship. This means that immigrants feel more attached to the host society rather than their countries of origin as they spend an extended period of time (Bloemraad, 2004: 401-403, 416). As Motomura describes (1998: 205), personal identity stems out of community membership and being denied such membership leads to the sense of incompleteness. Securing the full integration of migrants, which of course includes political aspects, is therefore indispensable in order to foster the migrants' attachment to their host society. To be sure, being able to shape the future of communities in which they reside, rather than being conceptualized as mere temporal guests and recipients of specialized services, provides migrants with a sense of responsibility and belonging. Where migrants are fully accepted as equal members in local communities under the concept of local citizenship, they increasingly identify themselves with host communities. This further enhances the chance of political participation by migrants. Needless to say, the well-being and stability of the host society is ensured in such a situation.

From the arguments above, it becomes clear that the endorsement of local citizenship is meaningful for the realization of a just and sustainable society where the full political participation of all the existing members of local communities is guaranteed. However at present, the concept of local citizenship has not yet been realized in any localities in Japan in spite of the fact such an idea is acknowledged by some of local governments.

5.2.2 Prospects for the realization of local citizenship in Japan

Upon considering the political participation by migrants, at first it needs to be acknowledged that there are two aspects of such participation, as a migrant and as a resident. Such recognition is important because the participation as a migrant and the participation as a resident require different methods for participation.

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In a survey conducted by Aichi Prefecture, foreign residents expressed the problems experienced in everyday life as non-Japanese residents in communities. These include: insufficient opportunities for language acquisition, the difficulty in obtaining information, and the discrimination against foreigners[33]. This proves that non-citizen residents have specific needs due to their background as foreigners. In the political rally in Hamamatsu in 2008, migrant workers from different regions, namely Shizuoka, Aichi, and Gifu Prefectures, called for attention to the unstable hiring practices they face. Regardless of the places in which they live, migrants share some of the same concerns as non-nationals. Hence, there arises a need to create space for foreigners to assert their collective demands as non-nationals.

While migrants have specific needs as residents with different backgrounds, they also have general interests as residents which can be shared by fellow Japanese citizens. This is apparent in a survey conducted in Yamanashi[34] in which some resident foreigners expressed their demands concerning city infrastructures such as bridges and parks. Neighbourhood security is another issue equally important for all the residents regardless of people's backgrounds.

> For example, someone burned a motorbike the other day. Like mischief. So everyone is talking about setting up a security camera, but we don't know whom to talk to. To whom we tell our suggestions. We talk about this kind of thing, among Brazilians, but we don't know whom to tell[35].

These matters, which are related to public infrastructure and neighbourhood security, of course require consultation with their Japanese counterparts as they share the same space as residents.

Favell (2001: 1-4) made it clear that there are two kinds of integration, namely assimilation and multiculturalization. In other words, society copes with migration by transforming either migrants or already established social systems. It

[33] The survey result is available at <http://www.pref.aichi.jp/cmsfiles/contents/0000031/31057/gaikokujin.pdf> accessed February 18, 2011 (in Japanese).

[34] This survey, entitled "*Kōfushi gaikokuseki-jūmin jittai chōsa hōkokusho* (The report on the actual conditions of foreign residents in Kofu City)" was conducted in 2008 by Yamanashi Prefectural University and committed by Kofu City, in order to provide background information for the development of the guideline for multicultural co-existence of Kofu which has been adopted in 2009.

[35] From the interview with Mr. AI on October 26, 2010.

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seems that the combination of both is indispensable in reality. To be sure, familiarization to the socioeconomic and political system of a host society on the side of migrants is important. However, demanding migrants to entirely suppress their distinct needs as people with different backgrounds results in the accumulation of dissatisfaction, and therefore destabilizes the host society in a long run. Securing migrant political participation both as migrants and as residents signals the accomplishment of these two kinds of integration since both a sociopolitical system of the host society and the distinctiveness of migrants are equally respected with such realization.

The first half of this chapter has been spent on the exploration of different methods to exercise one's political rights. In order to fulfill the political participation of two distinct characters, having access to all the methods examined earlier is important. In order to deliver the needs as migrants, having opportunities to be heard by administrative bodies, just as attempted by the Aichi Prefecture, or organizing themselves as a group of migrants is necessary. On the other hand, participating in local resident groups such as neighbourhood associations is crucial when migrants have demands as residents. Needless to say, having the right to vote is important in order to secure the political influence of migrants so that local politicians, those who play a major role in shaping local communities, become more sensitive about what migrant residents say.

So far, the current situation surrounding migrant political rights and participation in Japan, particularly the case of Brazilian migrants, has been studied and what is missing has been pointed out. Migrants in Japan, just like migrants in many other countries, have not yet obtained political rights in the local communities in which they reside despite the fact they too contribute to the maintenance and development of such communities. If local citizenship must be achieved and the political rights for resident foreigners need to be realized, what changes are necessary in the case of Japan? In short, there need to be three levels of change: the understanding by the Japanese general public, the consciousness of foreign residents, and national policy on the acceptance of migrants. The following argument will focus

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on the case of Brazilian migrants as they have a specific character which is different from other major groups of resident foreigners in Japan such as Koreans and Chinese. However, some of the arguments can be applied to other migrant groups as well.

In Japan, the issue of resident foreigners has not yet caused or initiated a discussion involving wider civil society. Politicians, academics and those who are involved in the work of NPOs are the only groups paying attention to this issue. The general public often feels that the issue of immigration and migrants are unrelated to themselves. Regarding the extension of local suffrage to resident foreigners, for example, many feel that it is a matter to be explored and decided by someone else, but not themselves. In the interviews, most Japanese respondents, including local officials, NPO workers, teachers and residents, implied it is not the decision they make although many at the same time expressed their concerns about national security. They want politicians and academics to discuss this issue but do not want to be involved in such discussion despite the fact that they too are largely influenced by such a decision especially when the number of resident foreigners is increasing. Involving the general public in the discussion is therefore indispensable.

The response of an average Japanese individual to the issue of resident foreigners is often xenophobic or indifferent, and this absence of positive interest and the lack of acknowledgement of the need for migrant integration on the side of Japanese are probably the biggest obstacles in the realization of local citizenship in Japan. Although challenging, increasing their awareness is a crucial step toward the real political integration of the migrant population. As already described in the previous chapter, even in Aichi where the second largest foreign population in Japan resides, the issue of resident foreigners is not of much interest for the general public unless people have foreign neighbours, classmates or co-workers. Various cultural events are hosted in order to raise awareness of the general public and foster positive perceptions toward non-Japanese cultures. Nonetheless, such attempts in reality fail to change perceptions held by the general public, which tend to be negative even where they exist, and the great majority remains uninterested in the issue of resident foreigners as it is apparent in the survey results.

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Rather than hosting cultural events, expanding some of the ongoing efforts contributes to the creation of a positive attitude towards non-Japanese residents. Through the empirical study of three areas with a high concentration of foreign residents[36], Hamada (2009) found that Japanese tend to acknowledge positive aspects of having foreign residents more when they have daily contacts with resident foreigners, whereas negative images are often created through media reports on crimes and local problems involving foreigners. Similarly, Suzuki (2005: 128-131) suggests that those who have daily contacts with foreign residents show less hesitancy toward interacting with non-Japanese residents. Drawing on Allport, Yonese (2008: 69-70) points out that sporadic contacts even increase prejudice. Rather, equal and constant cooperation between the majority and minority in order to achieve shared objectives is necessary. From that argument, Yonese insists that operating local language classes together or cooperating at neighbourhood associations is helpful for both Japanese and non-Japanese residents in fostering a positive understanding. All these echo with the insistence of Rustenbach (2010: 66-72) that personal trust on an individual level is crucial in constructing a positive attitude toward immigrants. She argues that such trust building can be achieved through the interaction between the host society and immigrant communities as well as positive media coverage. In other words, the introduction of migrant cultures through sporadic events cannot be helpful to foster positive opinions of migrants.

The problem is, though there are some cases of relatively successful cooperation and integration, such instances remain isolated and only a limited number of interested individuals are involved in the process. What is required in Japan, then, is to increase opportunities for Japanese and non-Japanese residents to have face-to-face contacts which are not superficial. For example, encouraging Japanese residents to join volunteering to teach Japanese to foreigners or further promoting the participation by resident foreigners in neighbourhood associations through overcoming language barriers or arranging activities which are convenient for non-Japanese to join are the possible methods to increase regular contacts between two. There exist Japanese

[36] Ōizumi in Gunma Prefecture, Toyohashi in Aichi Prefecture, and Hamamatsu in Shizuoka Prefecture are compared in his study. All these locations are famous for a high concentration of Brazilian residents.

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language classes in different localities. Involving a wider range of the Japanese population in these will be helpful in creating a positive understanding of foreigners by the general public. Moreover, based on the experience of some neighbourhood associations which have been successful in involving non-Japanese residents, associations from other areas can adopt some of the methods implemented by such associations.

Not only Japanese residents but also Brazilian migrants need to change their consciousness. As already argued, the intention to return and the lack of interest hinders the political participation by Brazilian migrants. Overcoming these is quite challenging, but one way to achieve this is to make some of the participation mandatory. That way, Brazilian migrants will be involved even when they perceive their stay in Japan as temporal. People in the beginning may participate as an obligation, not as the exercise of their rights; however, actual participation enhances people's understanding and interest in their involvement in local communities. This eventually leads to a situation where individuals are willing to participate, and therefore people start to consider such participation as no longer just their obligation. As Hammar analyzes (1990: 147), integration does not need to precede political participation. In addition to that, creating a proper channel through which their concerns and demands as migrants or residents are heard and accepted will be also helpful to enhance the interest and motivation since migrant participants can see the outcomes of their actions which therefore further increases their interest in such participation.

Lastly and most importantly, a change needs to be made in national policy on the acceptance of migrants. Many scholars agree that the lack of vision on how to accept migrants into Japanese society negatively influences actual practices at a community level (for example, Kajita et al., 2005: 249-256, Watado, 2009: 181-183). Even with the report published in 2006 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication which advanced the discussion by acknowledging registered foreigners as residents, a long term vision of how Japan as a society accepts migrants s not yet presented and thus remains unclear. By leaving the responsibility for resident

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foreigners in the hands of local governments, the central government refuses to be actively involved in this issue.

This abstention of the central government from involvement results in poor coordination among different stakeholders. As already presented, there exists sporadic but relatively successful cases of migrant integration. Nevertheless, there is no mechanism to transfer the accumulated knowledge and techniques acquired through such experiences to other areas. Indeed, none of the interviewees were knowledgeable about the policies and practices in different localities. Upon being asked whether they consider the policies of their prefectures as progressive, all responded that they were unsure as they were unfamiliar with the situations in other areas. The knowledge and techniques from successful cases can be better utilized if the central government starts taking an active role in dealing with the issue of non-Japanese residents and sets up a network to coordinate among the different stakeholders from different locations. This eventually lessens regional unevenness in dealing with the issue of resident foreigners.

All these changes require a transformation in the conception about how people perceive Us, by Japanese residents, migrant themselves, and the Japanese government. If nationhood is not a fact but based on people's interpretation of their experience and social world (Anderson, 1991: 1-7, Brubaker, 2009: 32-34), it is possible to change the definition of nationhood by reinterpreting what has been believed. Indeed, realizing local citizenship is about transforming the conception of belonging.

5.3 Towards the realization of political participation by Brazilian migrants in Japan

The present thesis has explored the issue of local citizenship and the exercise of political rights by Brazilian migrants in Japan. Specifically, five questions have been pursued in order to examine the political participation enjoyed by Brazilian migrants and the influence of nationalism and internationalism in the acceptance of local citizenship.

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The first question is whether or not Brazilian migrants in Japan enjoy the right to political participation. As is apparent from observation of the two selected prefectures and the general analysis made in this chapter, political rights are not really enjoyed by Brazilian migrants although there are some attempts to politically include migrants into local polities in a few localities. Indeed, the differences between progressive and less progressive local governments are quite huge and the enjoyment of social and educational benefits enjoyed by Brazilian migrants differs drastically from locality to locality. Such differences are partly triggered by the policy differences adopted by prefectural governments. In the case of Aichi and Yamanashi Prefecture, the interest on the side of prefectural governments in the issue of resident foreigners is reflected on the local policies of each prefecture.

Although there are huge discrepancies between different localities in terms of social and educational inclusion of Brazilian migrants, it has also become apparent that such differences have no meaningful relationship with the political participation enjoyed by migrants. It is true that local governments with higher awareness on the issue of resident foreigners attempt to include them into local communities politically. However, such efforts in reality do not result in the actual political participation enjoyed by a wider migrant population. In addition to such attempts and progressive local policies, the interest held by both Japanese and migrant residents and commitment made at a national level are necessary to realize political participation exercised by migrants.

The last question pursued in this thesis is the relationship between nationalism, internationalism, and local citizenship. The discourse of immigration in Japan is strongly influenced by nationalism and the strong belief in its cultural and ethnic homogeneity. It is not unique to Japan and even countries that have been relatively liberal in regards to the issue of immigration have been experiencing a retrogression in terms of rejection and control. Restriction, although in different forms from the one in history, is again becoming a common practice. However, the predominance of nationalism is particularly obvious in the case of Japan due to its historical experience, geographic isolation and its relationship with neighbouring

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countries. In essence, nationalism in Japan which hinders the real integration of migrants has a strong the connection with the past. Reframing nationhood based on the present and the future by accepting the concept of local citizenship will therefore provide a solution to overcome nationalism as well as the failure in the full integration of its migrant population.

Internationalism, on the other hand, has two distinct implications in how the issue of migration is addressed in Japan. Internationalism in the Japanese context is used differently from how it is understood in other contexts. On one hand, internationalism limits the scope of migrant administration by conceptualizing migrants as mere temporal guests, and therefore having the influence of nationalism. On the other hand, however, internationalism also increases the degree of people's acceptance of the migrant population, as is the case in Aichi Prefecture. If so, internationalism is not a concept to be discarded but an idea to be promoted and well-understood among the general public. What is important and necessary, then, is to officially acknowledge the existence of resident foreigners and embody the commitment to accept such a population in the form of policies. With official policies acknowledging the existence of foreigners as equal long-term residents, their presence cannot be simply conceptualized as sojourners. At the same time, the general public will increase its tolerance towards differences and accept foreign residents more positively by transforming their previous conceptions about communities through the endorsement of internationalism.

If the integration of migrant population is an objective for Japanese society, as it is articulated in the 2006 report by the Japanese government, transforming its approach to the issue of immigration and resident foreigners as it has been indicated in this chapter is essential. Just as many other societies which experience a massive movement of people, the notion of local citizenship has enormous significance in Japan as a democratic country since it will allow communities to have a consensus reached by all the participating members regardless of their nationality. Moreover, achieving local citizenship enhances a sense of belonging as well as responsibility held by resident foreigners, which contributes to the sustainability and further development

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of the very community. By widely disseminating the concept of local citizenship and transforming the understanding of membership in communities held by both Japanese and non-Japanese residents, which could be supported by progressive national policies which articulate the need for migrant integration, the full integration of non-national residents in Japan will be pursued and local citizenship will be realized both in name and in reality.

The traditional concept of citizenship, which has a strong association with people's national affiliation, still remains powerful. However, as it has been explored, such a notion excludes a large number of members in local communities, especially in a political sense because today many migrate beyond national borders and thus live apart from where they hold their nationalities. Without acknowledgement as formal members, the existing participants in communities do not enjoy full political rights. If people are denied the right to change the situation they are in and forced to suffer without any recourse, they accumulate dissatisfaction and this is, in the long run, harmful to a host society. Everyone should be entitled to make decisions affecting their lives. Throughout this thesis, it has been insisted that the realization of local citizenship as a formal status can provide a solution to such an injustice. Achieving local citizenship will open the door to full political rights enjoyed by migrants. This will definitely allow the meaningful contribution of migrants themselves and hence is beneficial to life of all members of the community as well as the well-being of the host society.

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