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Towards Local Citizenship: Japanese Cities Respond to International Migration

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Intro – summarizing the argument and information to be presented

The argument I will present is based on research I conducted primarily over a 16 month period beginning in January 1995, which I published under the title "Foreigners are local citizens, too" in a book edited by Mike Douglass and Glenda Roberts, *Japan and Global Migration*. This paper updates that argument with data I gathered during a short trip back to Japan this past summer. I also want to share some new thoughts I have regarding the consequences of Japanese cities' responses to international migration for Japanese notions of citizenship.

The central premise of my argument is that since international migration unevenly affects particular cities and regions, politicization of immigration will frequently be driven by actors motivated by local conditions and needs. Accordingly, our studies of the politics of migration should look to both center and periphery, to interactions between institutions of local and national governance.

Japan offers a clear illustration of this point. Beginning in the mid 1980s, Japan became a destination for significant international migration flows. The national government sought to reinforce the tight controls, which prevent much labor migration, even though conflict among

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national ministries generated some policies that tacitly encourage increased entries in certain categories. Official rhetoric continues to deny the possibility of homogenous Japan becoming a country of immigration.

In sharp contrast, many local governments are filling the gap left by the national government's unwillingness to consider what is to be done with the migrants already living in Japan. A series of pragmatic local policy measures address how to prevent conflict between Japanese residents and their new foreign neighbors, how to fit non-nationals into the Japanese social welfare systems, with consequences for the understanding of community membership. Officials in these local government counter the national rhetoric of homogeneity with a rhetoric of "symbiotic community building with foreigners" (*gaikokujin to no kyÜsei shakai*). Some local governments go even further, committing themselves to treating foreigners as local citizens.

Why are municipal governments developing programs, which reach out to resident foreigners when the national government has deemed this unnecessary? I will argue that three forces contributed to the advent of local policies incorporating foreign migrants. First, since local government officials are directly responsible for registering foreigners and dealing with the majority of complaints from Japanese about migrants in a particular place, they have the different perspective than the national officials who are only tracking the demographic changes from a distance. Second, following the period of proactive local governance in the 1960s and '70s, the pursuit of independent, policymaking at the local level has been normalized. Groups – especially academics - impatient with the national government's neglect of non-entry control aspects of international migration see local governments as a viable alternative site for action. Local bureaucrats dedicate to fostering a distinct collective identity for their community make good partners in such endeavors. Third, local bureaucrats found political space for addressing

immigration issues by redefining an amorphous national government project for local internationalization. The specific catalysts for this process have differed in each city, but overall, the redefinition of local internationalization to include incorporation programs allows the bureaucrats-in-charge to expand the scope and importance of their programs.

This paper is divided into four sections. I begin by briefly summarizing the new international migration to Japan that began in the 1980s. Next, I introduce the activities engaged in by four Japanese cities in response to that immigration. Third, I make my argument regarding the political sources of these activities. Finally, I discuss the consequences of these policies.

Current data on migration to Japan

[TABLE 1 HERE]

Table 1: Registered Foreigners by Year and Country of Origin

[TABLE 2 HERE]

Table 2: Visa Status of Registered Foreigners, 1990-98

Introducing cases and their selection

As in virtually all other cases, foreign migrants to Japan are heavily concentrated in particular urban areas.

[TABLE 3 HERE]

Discussion of Table 3:Prefectural Distribution of Foreigners, 1994 and 1998

1994

- 34.6% in the 5 prefectures at the heart of the Kanto region around Tokyo
- 27% in 3 central prefectures of Kansai
- 11.1% in neighboring industrial strongholds of Aichi and Shizuoka
- Only 10.8% of registered foreigners living outside the top 10 prefectures (roughly half of the Japanese population lives in the top 10 prefectures)

1998 – slightly less concentration

- 33.6% in the 5 prefectures at the heart of the Kanto region around Tokyo (absolute # up, even though % is down)
- 23.8% in 3 central prefectures of Kansai (absolute # down slightly as well as %)
- 12.1% in Aichi and Shizuoka
- 28.1% of registered foreigners living outside the top 10 prefectures

My research focused on four cities in Japan that have comparatively high concentrations of registered foreigners. Kawasaki, Hamamatsu, Kawaguchi, and Shinjuku were selected to obtain variation in the conditions thought likely to influence the policy environment; namely, the national origins of the migrant population and the dominant producer sector in each city.

[TABLE 4 HERE]

Discussion of Table 4: Registered Foreign Population, Number of Individuals (% Change From Previous Year)

[TABLE 5 HERE]

Registered Foreign Population as % of Total Population

As the number of foreign migrants living in Japan increased dramatically from in the 1980s and 1990s (up 76% from 1987-1999), it increased even more dramatically in select areas. The four cities I study have seen the registered foreign population increase from a range of 86% in Kawasaki and Shinjuku, 254% in Kawaguchi, and an astonishing 600% in Hamamatsu in the space of only 13 years. Despite the rapid change, and even though these numbers represent the highest for the postwar era, no dramatic disruptions to the social fabric have arisen which would necessarily demand local officials' attention.

Incorporation programs in Japanese cities

Mondai ishiki

In North American and West European cities, perceptions of competition for jobs, housing, and services have mixed with outright racism to give rise to anti-immigrant movements and even violence at the local level (Miller 1994, Layton-Henry 1992, Body-Gendrot and Schain 1992). In response, other local actors have mobilized to combat racism and to provide migrants with increased opportunities and social support (Ireland 1994, Grillo 1985).

In Japan, however, such obvious conflicts are notable by their scarcity. Consequently, local politicians and local interest groups have been largely uninvolved in framing community responses to international migration.

How then were immigration related issues introduced to urban policy agendas?

Awareness of the increase – local bureaucrats in a position to notice that there was a notable demographic shift. Enforcement of the Foreigners' Registration Act is the duty of local governments, requiring them to collect data (visa status, nationality, age, occupation, address, household composition, photographs, and until recently, fingerprints) on every foreigner legally residing in their jurisdiction for more than three months. This direct experience with the migrants reinforced mass media reporting on the new immigration to create what the Japanese refer to as a *mondai ishiki,* or "problem consciousness."

Many departments within city bureaucracies were concerned of the potential for migration to impact their responsibilities, including those dealing with labor and economic affairs, health and welfare, education, and housing. Mindful of experiences in Europe, local officials and outside observers are concerned that ignoring migration-related problems could lead to tension and outright conflict between Japanese and foreign residents. They want to prevent the kind of social disruption which has occurred in other settings.

Yet these sorts of departments were unlikely to develop overarching programs to deal with migration issues, due to the institutional constraints which tie local bureaucracies closely to the mandates of their national-level counterparts. This left any broad-based policymaking to the handful of generalist departments (planning, community services and general affairs) which are outside such direct chains-of-command.

The local bureaucrats who began incorporation programs were employed in "International Offices" located within one of these generalist departments. The precise location of an International Office is in itself an indication of the respect it garners in the bureaucracy. The *de facto* designation of these offices as the place to accommodate foreign residents was due to a coincidence of timing – growing foreign populations followed hard on the heels of central government endorsement of "local level internationalization" in 1986 – and the influence of creative policymaking in some organizations which took advantage of the lack of a predetermined role for the International Offices by carving out a new policy category.

Definition and development of incorporation programs

I call that policy category "incorporation programs." My original research, presented in the published article referenced earlier, identified no single pattern of incorporation programs, but rather a varying combination of services offered to resident foreigners. My baseline definition is that when local governments actively work to introduce social services to foreign residents, and consider how best to meet the challenge of a changing local population, they are exercising their autonomy from the national government. Scattered attempts by one department or another to ease foreign residents into locally-managed policies become incorporation programs once they are understood to be related and therefore approached as a single issue by the city government.

Two caveats must be made regarding this definition. First, the terminology is mine: Japanese titles for such programs vary widely from city to city. I chose to use "incorporation program" because it captures the mission related to me of creating a local society where Japanese

and non-Japanese peacefully exist: a *gaikokujin to no kyôsei shakai*. Note additionally, that incorporation is distinct from assimilation: local governments are *not* engaged in a process of Japanization.

The second caveat is that the incorporation programs are targeted only at documented migrants. Even the most progressive local officials in Japan feel bound to maintain the distinction between documented and undocumented migrants.

Substantively, many aspects of incorporation programs are directed towards helping foreigners unobtrusively fit in to the fabric of the community. Foreigners are assumed to be unfamiliar with expectations of limiting noise so as not to disturb the neighbors, proper methods for garbage disposal, bath house usage, and bicycle parking. Foreigners are also assumed to suffer from lack of Japanese language capabilities which keep them from getting to know their neighbors or obtaining necessary public information.

Thus many initiatives are targeted at overcoming the language barrier through provision of maps, information about local government offices, community newsletters, etc. Japanese language classes are typically offered free or at minimal expense. Consultation services, either in person or over the telephone, are another path to assisting those not fluent in Japanese. Depending on the city, these services are offered in a range of languages that might include Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Spanish or Thai, in addition to English. Children of foreign migrants are targeted through supplementary Japanese language classes at their schools.

Even though these initiatives may appear rather uncontroversial, even the most mundane of them are at odds with the official national immigration policy which is based on the premise of controlling and excluding foreigners. Teaching Japanese and offering information and assistance about how to best access state services are inherently at odds with the "no

immigration" principle underlying national policy. Furthermore, by targeting initiatives directly to foreign residents, local governments draw attention to their increased numbers and thus expose the inaccuracy of that principle.

And these are only the baseline activities. Two of my four cases, Kawasaki and Hamamatsu – joined by others I have followed less closely – have defined resident foreigners as "local citizens" who deserve the right to communicate with local government by virtue of their contributions to the community, payment of taxes and, more generally, because of their involvement in everyday life. The *Local Government Act* provides justification for this stance. Although the constitution guarantees social and civic rights only to Japanese citizens (*nihon kokumin*), the basic statutes on local governance oblige local authorities to ensure the safety, health and welfare of all local residents *(jûsmin*), including non-Japanese (Komai 1997, Jichirô 1991, Ebashi 1993).

This more radical stance has led cities to undertake extensive surveys of their new constituents, so as to better understand their living conditions, opinions, and needs vis-à-vis local authorities. The furthest reaching effort is probably Kawasaki's development of a Foreigners' Advisory Council that provides select representatives from the foreign community with a regular, ongoing forum with local bureaucrats and politicians. This has already produced a pioneering ordinance forbidding discrimination by landlords – a perpetual problem for any foreigner wishing to rent in Japan.

After a thorough review of each city's combination of programs, I determined two criteria by which to judge the development of a city's incorporation program: first, the number of programs developed and their relevance and accessibility for foreign residents; second, the intensity of effort to coordinate programs that stretch across jurisdictional boundaries and reach

out to the broader community. On the basis of these criteria, I found Kawasaki and Hamamatsu to have the more active incorporation programs, while the efforts in Shinjuku and Kawaguchi were much more isolated within the local government structure, and from the general public as well. Additionally, Kawasaki and Hamamatsu's initiatives are more original efforts that go beyond activities endorsed by the Ministry of Home Affairs (more on that relationship to follow shortly).

My return visits to these cities during July 2000 revealed that Hamamatsu and Kawaguchi had remained largely unchanged in their approaches to foreign residents.

Kawaguchi continues to offer the most minimal incorporation program of the four cities discussed. One full time staff member is assisted by a young foreigner hired under the auspices of the JET program run by CLAIR.[2] Activities are primarily provision of documents, Japanese classes, and special events. There is only minimal effort to cooperate with other departments within the city government.

Hamamatsu continues with its much more activist agenda. Although the number of local citizens (foreign and Japanese) availing themselves of Hamamatsu's information services and products has declined since a peak in 1993, the number of foreigners attending classes, lectures or events sponsored by the Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange (HICE) has continued to expand, to a high of 10,321 persons during 1999. Coordinating activities likewise continue, with the city's International Office maintaining solid ties between its activities, HICE, the Board of Education, and other parts of city government.

[2] CLAIR is the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, a public foundation supported and staffed by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Relations. JET is the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, begun in 1987, which brings young foreigners to teach English and other languages in Japanese schools, and a smaller number of Coordinators of International Relations who are forwarded to municipal and prefectural governments.

The incorporation programs in Kawasaki and Shinjuku have changed more drastically, as the offices responsible for local internationalization underwent restructuring, for different reasons.

In 1997, Shinjuku began reorganizing its local internationalization efforts as part of a larger rationalization process driven by budget constraints that arose from the ongoing recession. First, the Peace and International Exchange Section of the General Affairs Bureau was eliminated, and its duties shifted to the International Exchange Foundation. Then, in April 1999, the International Exchange Foundation was combined with a Cultural Foundation. The resulting organization is staffed by 19 employees, most of them forwarded from city government. The move outside the formal structure of the city bureaucracy continues to stymie the kind of integration of activities that marks Hamamatsu and Kawasaki's programs; on the other hand, the resources available for incorporation programs have increased along with the freedom to innovate. The end result is a stronger program, with better information about and ties to the NGOs in the community who work with foreign migrants.

Kawasaki's incorporation programs, by contrast, were moved out from under the "local internationalization" framework, into a new section for Human Rights and Gender Equality. The office remains within the relatively high status generalist department, the Citizens' Affairs Bureau (*shimin kyoku*). Local internationalization continues in Kawasaki, in a way closer to that envisioned by the national government, through the city's international exchange foundation. This reorganization is symbolic of the deepened institutionalization of Kawaasaki's incorporation programs. The centerpiece activity has become the Foreigners' Advisory Council, authorized by a city ordinance in 1996. Modeled on similar bodies in various European cities, tshe Council is composed of 27 individuals of foreign nationalities (16 different nationalities in

1999) selected after applying to the Citizens' Affairs Bureau. The original Chairman of the Council was a well-known member of the activist *Zainichi* Korean community that I will discuss further below. Members are reimbursed by the City for their services. Meetings take place four times a year, focusing on issues such as education, health insurance, housing, and community involvement. The Human Rights Section prepares formal minutes and reports and passes them on to all related Bureaus within city government and to the Mayor and City Council as well (who frequently attend these meetings themselves). To date, the most significant result of Council deliberations is the passing of new city ordinance prohibiting discrimination by landlords and real estate agents against foreigners, the elderly, and the disabled.

Other local governments, including Kanagawa Prefecture, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, have already followed Kawasaki's move towards formal incorporation of foreign residents into local governance structures, while more have formal plans to do so in the works. Additionally, Kawasaki continues as one of the leaders in the push by local governments to obtain the vote for long-term residents of foreign nationality in local elections – an issue debated three times in the Diet last year, albeit without resolution.

Political sources of these policies

Now that I have reviewed the content of incorporation programs, let me discuss the political conditions which generated them. The first point to make is that the most important actors have been local bureaucrats. This was a somewhat surprising finding, given the existing political science literature on center-periphery relations in Japan. Analyses demonstrating that

local governments in Japan have a range of resources at their disposal which allow them to engage in autonomous policymaking, despite the unitary state structure, have come in several waves (Steiner et al. 1980, Samuels 1983, Reed 1986, Muramatsu 1988, Jain 1989, Koike and Wright 1998, Smith 2000).

Many of these studies focus on the power of citizens' movements and/or local electoral politics to foster autonomous local policymaking. Thus local policies which challenge or contradict national policy have primarily been understood as an outcome of grassroots politics. Less well known is that the wave of grassroots politics targeting local government in the 1960s and '70s actually strengthened local bureaucracies. The citizens' movements of that era sought direct ties with the bureaucrats in order to circumvent traditional, conservative local elites. Concurrently, local bureaucracies became more professional. The end result was a changed reality, where local bureaucrats are seen as knowledgeable experts who engage in innovative policymaking as a matter of course, to such an extent that it no longer need be based in grassroots political movements (Kuwahara 1989, Koike and Wright 1998).

Uchi naru kokusaika (local internationalization)

Of course, for local bureaucrats to realize their potential for autonomous policymaking, they must have room for political maneuver around a given issue. When electoral politics or citizens' movements do not provide the opening, political spaces for one policy may be opened within another not obviously related policy area. Such is the relationship between incorporation programs and local internationalization. A nationally-sponsored local internationalization project provided the space for bureaucrats to pursue their preferred solutions to the problems

they associated with the new international migration of the 1980s. A coincidence of timing, the availability of funds and personnel in a unspecified policy area came together in the late 1980s to produce incorporation programs.

Five steps to the process can be identified:

1. Japanese cities began to pursue cultural exchange, such as sister city relationships, at the urging of their business communities.
2. Concurrently, but for different reasons, Kawasaki and Hamamatsu tentatively formulated their first policies for foreigners in their jurisdiction.
3. The national government began several local internationalization projects.
4. Kawasaki and Hamamatsu bureaucrats created incorporation programs within the new International Offices, thereby redefining local internationalization to include solutions to the new immigration that had evolved from their previous experiences with resident foreigners.
5. By the mid-1990s, this redefinition had begun to spread horizontally throughout networks fostered by the national level interest in local internationalization.

In the early 1980s, internationalization emerged as a hot new policy area, with national ministries competing to control it. The scattered internationalization projects at local level proved an attractive target in the competition. Within a few years, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) prevailed with regard to local level efforts, and began to establish a framework to spread local internationalization throughout Japan. Money and standards for new organizations were developed, and cities were authorized to use local bonds and taxes for their operations (Jain

1993). MOHA envisioned local internationalization as involving sister city exchange, promotion of overseas tourism, cultural events, homestay programs, and other activities basically directed towards local citizens of Japanese nationality (*Kawasaki Chihô Jichi Kenkyû Sentâ* 1991). The new, local level International Offices were definitely *not* intended to support the incorporation of foreign migrants into communities.

However, growth in the foreign population coincided with the initial implementation of nationally directed local internationalization. It was not much of a stretch for local bureaucrats to begin offering the "newcomers" foreign language documents and Japanese classes. The coincidence in timing is perhaps sufficient explanation for the limited activities pursued by Shinjuku and Hamamatsu.

Kawasaki and Hamamatsu are another story, one of developing an alternative definition of internationalization. By pursuing their definition, Kawasaki and Hamamatsu bureaucrats broadened the scope of programs under their jurisdiction, and thus the importance of their own positions. They have become leaders in this policy area, recognized as such by their peers in other local governments across Japan.

The definitions they came up with were based on their previous exposure to contingent, local histories specific to their cities. In Kawasaki, the key history involves *zainichi* Koreans protest of their treatment within Japan. Local governments were at the center of the mid 1980s movement to protest fingerprinting for foreigners' registration. Kawasaki, led by its mayor, was one amongst several local governments which refused to report those who refused fingerprinting to the national government, as required by law. The experience of working with the well organized *Zainichi* movement in Kawasaki profoundly affected the local bureaucrats' feelings about their position. As one such person explained:

> Well, one specific example, you had the fingerprinting problem, which the movement had spread throughout the entire country. Ultimately the Japanese people who supported them, in our case too - I was one of them myself - because we had direct experience with the job of foreigners' registration, during the day we did our job and were on the side taking the fingerprints, you know. And (laughing) at night we protested the fingerprinting system. After all, for bureaucrats in local government there is that element of actually hearing the voices of the people. But of course as part of an institution implementing national policy, even if you are unwilling, you have to do your job. It's [local government] a place with that kind of dilemma (Kawasaki City Hall interview 2/23/96).

The same official explained how the trusting relationship which emerged between the local bureaucracy and the *Zainichi* movement came to be expanded to the newcomer issue as well:

> Well, at the same time that the number of "newcomers" in Kawasaki was increasing, the so-called "oldcomer" *Zainichi* Koreans were detecting problems of systematic discrimination in local administration and asking local government to reform. So, as each specific problem was discovered, they would say, "please fix this" and "please reform that." Rather than have local government move bit by bit, within the course of performing duties separated between the various departments, by each responsible official, they wanted us to think about exactly what kind of problems existed where - all at one time, to act as a unified local government, thinking of all its various duties. And, just as the oldcomers were requesting a centralized office to make this kind of general policy, the newcomers were increasing. So, against this background, we decided, instead of fixing things one by one, let's clean it all up at once. And from this perspective it was decided that an International Office was necessary, and we created the International Office to skillfully link the two issues [of responding to oldcomers and newcomers] together (Kawasaki City Hall interview, 2/23/96).

In Hamamatsu, the relevant local history c enters on the arrival of a small group of Vietnamese refugees in the early 1980s. A private, religious association which runs a hospital, hospice and offers many social services in Hamamatsu, invited the Vietnamese to settle in the city in 1982 (*Seirei* interview 7/18/95). The precursor to today's HICE, staffed by city bureaucrats, was developing a small program providing English language maps and information to the international business travelers who frequently visited Honda, Suzuki, Kawai and Yamaha. The local religious organization brought the Vietnamese's struggles to HICE's attention, leading that city organization to begin offering them language classes, drivers' education, and a video on daily life in Japan. HICE provided coordination, private donations funded the effort, and volunteers did much of the work. Hamamatsu thus began its tradition of "homemade internationalization," which it defined in explicit contrast to the ceremonies and events promoted by MOHA. Memories of these early, local efforts left a legacy that made later attempts to reach out to the fast growing Brazilian population appear to be part of a natural progression of internationalization (Hamamatsu City Hall interview, 7/17/95).

Additional factors

Contingent local histories go a long way to explain the differences between Kawasaki and Hamamatsu and Shinjuku and Kawaguchi. Two more factors, explicitly related to the newcomer's arrival, should also be considered.

First, outside interest in a city's experience with its newcomer population increases that city's commitment to active, progressive incorporation programs. Japanese academics are especially important. Many combine active research agenda with explicit support for specific

policy programs. Those supporting incorporation programs typically see local governments as a the most important venue for realizing increased openness and democracy in Japan – a view which can be traced from the Occupation's emphasis on local autonomy, through the citizens' movements of the 1960s, up through current issues including military bases and freedom of information, in addition to the one under discussion here (Smith 2000). Scholarly books, articles and research reports praise local incorporation programs, generating positive support within local government, as well as complimentary attention from the national media. Moreover, academics offer many ideas to local bureaucrats, a good example being the Foreigners' Advisory Council developed in Kawasaki, following several European models.

The second factor has to do with the image of the newcomers themselves, as grouped by race and nationality, further complicated by legal status. One of the reasons why Kawasaki and Hamamatsu emerged as attractive research sites for academics is the comparatively positive image of the foreigners working and living in each city: Kawasaki with its responsible, well-organized Korean community and Hamamatsu with its Brazilians of Japanese descent. Kawaguchi and Shinjuku newcomers, by comparison, came from China and the Philippines. Moreover, these two cities both received a great deal of national press in the late 1980s focusing on the large numbers of undocumented foreigners living there. Researchers have a much easier time getting employers and the migrants themselves to cooperate in studies which target those legally in the country. And just as certain groups are more attractive research targets, they are also more attractive targets for activist incorporation programs.

Consequences of these policies

Finally, it is time to consider the broader significance of the developments I have explained today. I would like to discuss two points in particular.

First, I would like to emphasize that the incorporation programs I have outlined can have a very real impact of on national level policy. The normalization of the idea – throughout Japan - that city governments should offer services to their foreign residents is the first example. The end of the fingerprinting requirement for foreigners' registration is a weightier example. Current debate over whether or not to allow long-term residents to vote in local elections is another example of how initiatives supported by local governments can go on to change national policies as well.

Second, I would like to invite discussion of the extent to which we should analyze the programs introduced today as moving Japan towards a distinct form of local citizenship. In the published version of this research, I concluded that incorporation programs-as-local internationalization contribute to the debates regarding Japanese national identity. Even though much of the substance of these programs comprises small efforts to improve communication, discussion of such matters offers a route to more profound discussions of the flexibility of Japanese culture and society. But what about the idea that they are generating a distinct form of citizenship?

If we consider the formal dimensions of citizenship, it seems clear that these incorporation programs are doing just that, certainly in the case of Kawasaki and perhaps in the other three cities as well. Charles Tilly has defined citizenship, in principle, as a relationship between:

> (1) governmental agents [including municipal level ones] acting uniquely as such and (2) whole categories of persons identified uniquely by their connection with the government in question. The relation includes transactions among the parties, of course, but those transactions cluster around mutual rights and obligations (Tilly 2000: 252).

Kawasaki's Foreigners' Advisory Council meets this definition. City residents of foreign nationality have been provided a right to participate in a deliberative body with ties to the formal juridical and bureaucratic structures of city government. Open meetings inviting any foreign resident to speak before the Council further extend this right. In exchange, foreign residents are expected to develop plans for community events, policies and interactions, in other words, to help the city in its quest to develop a distinct collective identity (Bagnasco and Le Gales 2000). They are also, by implication, supposed to help the city stave off the development of any social tensions resulting from international migration to Kawasaki.

The other cases are less clear. Hamamatsu's extensive provision of classes and information, and informal meetings between bureaucrats, elected officials and foreign residents suggest expectations of a citizen-like relationship, further supported by the rhetoric city officials use to explain their activities. Shinjuku has moved closer to the level of activity in Hamamatsu in the past 5 years, so much the same conclusions can be made in that case. But are these expectations well enough developed to constitute a sense of "mutual rights and obligations"? I invite your comments. As for Kawaguchi, the activities in this case are on such a tentative, small scale that I cannot describe them as any more than the beginning, hesitating steps on a road to local citizenship.

If we turn from discussion of formal citizenship to that of a more sociological citizenship of the type with which participatory democratic theorists concern themselves, the developments in Japanese cities seem less significant. At this point, there is little evidence to suggest that the incorporation programs discussed today have yet promoted a sense amongst foreign migrants to Japan that they enjoy a type of citizenship in the community. Participation in these programs generally takes place at a low level – with Hamamatsu as an exception – so any conclusion that these policies have given migrants to Japan a place in a democratic community is as yet unfounded.

That is not to say that they will not have such an effect in the future. Patrick Ireland's research in Switzerland and France points to the importance of institutions set up by "native" local actors in shaping the kind of politics ultimately engaged in by migrants there. City institutions' expectations of migrants to behave as workers or distinct national groups, for example, had lasting effects on the organizational patterns which developed over the decades. These institutions efforts to draw migrants into city life also proved influential, a point Ireland develops through contrasts between incorporating cities and those which shut migrants out of civic life. Similar effects can be predicted for Japan.

Looking into the future, then, which of these four cities is most likely to succeed in drawing its foreign residents into civic life? Even though Kawasaki has the most active agenda to date, I would have to put equal or even higher odds on Hamamatsu, due to an important factor not yet discussed. Kawasaki is configured geographically in a rather awkward, unconcentrated shape in the middle of the greater Tokyo metropolitan district. Consequently, there is little sociological meaning to its municipal boundaries. People who work – Japanese and foreign – in this area live their lives around commuting patterns, train lines, and accessibility to popular entertainment

districts. Housewives who stay in the neighborhood for most of the day are in a different situation, and perhaps over the years, they will develop a true community grounded in Kawasaki. Hamamatsu's geographical configuration, however, lends much more meaning to the municipality. It is a city surrounded by rural areas and small towns. People's lives are organized within the city to a much greater extent than one typically finds amongst employed persons in the large metropolitan areas.

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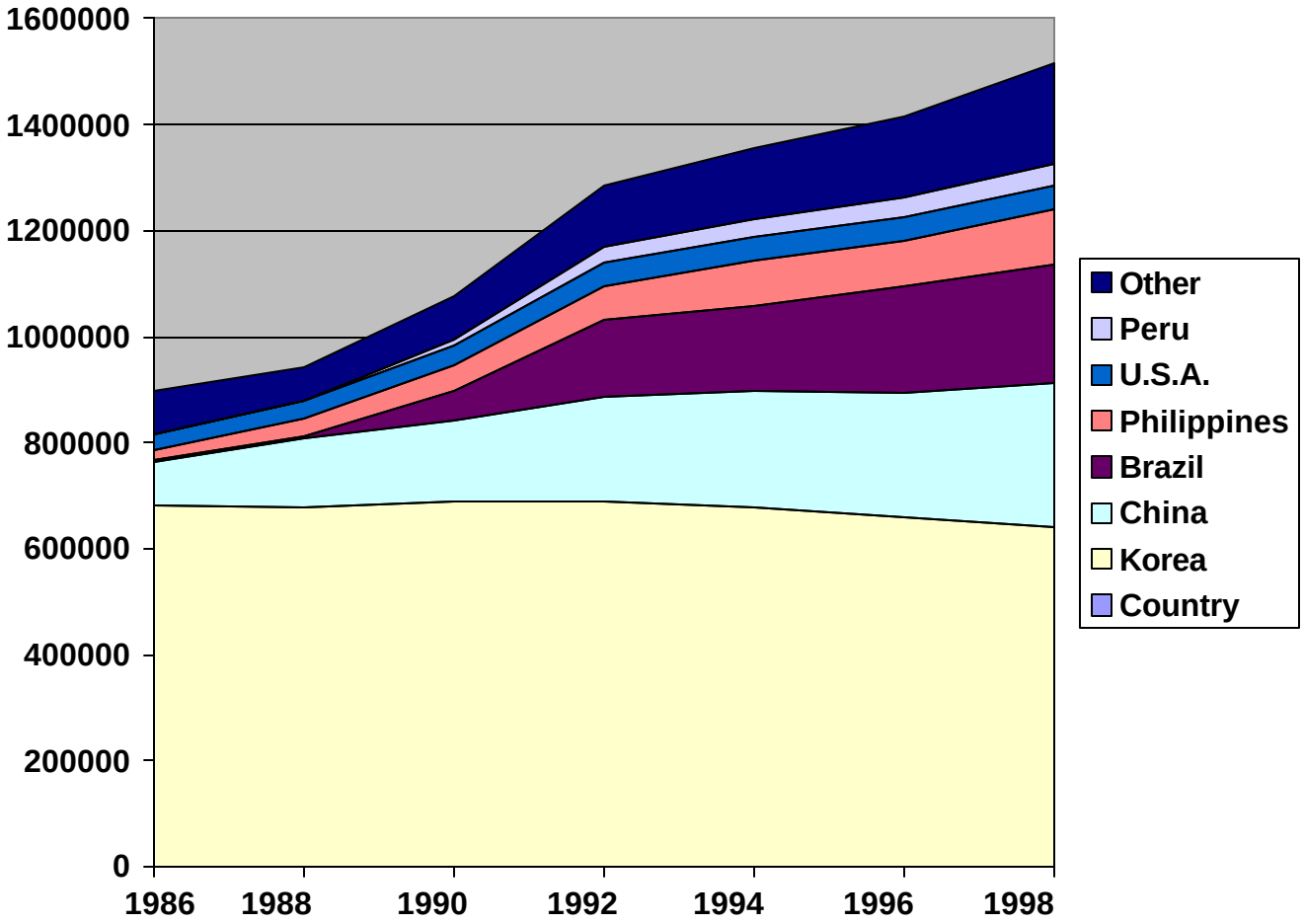
LEGALLY REGISTERED FOREIGNERS IN JAPAN, BY NATIONALITY, 1986-1998



Source: Ministry of Justice, Japan.

Table 1
Registered Foreigners by Year and Country of Origin

Country	**1986**	**1988**	**1990**	**1992**	**1994**	**1996**	**1998**
TOTAL	867,237	941,005	1,057,317	1,281,644	1,354,011	1,415,136	1,512,116
Korea*	677,959	677,140	687,940	688,144	676,793	657,159	638,828
China*	84,397	129,269	150,339	195,334	218,585	234,264	272,230
Brazil	2,135	4,159	56,429	147,803	159,619	201,795	222,217
Philippines	18,897	32,185	49,092	62,218	85,968	84,509	105,308
U.S.A.*	30,695	32,766	38,364	42,482	43,320	44,108	42,774
Peru	553	864	10,279	31,051	35,382	37,099	41,317
Other	82,321	64,622	82,874	114,612	134,344	156,142	189,442

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Justice statistics.

Table 2
Visa Status of Registered Foreigners

Status of Residence	Employment Authorization	Number of Persons	
		1994	1998
Permanent Resident	no restriction	631,554	626,760
Spouse/Child of Jpn Nat'l	no restriction w/in visa term	231,561	264,844
Long-Term Resident	no restriction w/in visa term	136,838	211,275
College Student	up to 20 hours per week with permit	61,515	59,648
Dependent	none	53,252	65,675
Pre-college Student	up to 20 hours per week with permit	37,653	30,691
Entertainer	w/in occupational category only	34,819	28,871
Humanities./Intl Affairs	w/in occupational category only	24,774	31,285
Trainee	on the job training	17,305	27,108
Engineer	w/in occupational category only	10,119	15,242
Other	w/in occupational category only‡	114,621	150,717

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Justice Statistics and the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act.

Table 3: Prefectural Distribution of Registered Foreigners

Prefecture	Number of Registered Foreigners	
	1994	1998
Tokyo	250,570 (18.5%)	262,613 (17.4%)
Osaka	211,121 (15.6%)	207,367 (13.7%)
Aichi	106,601 (7.9%)	124,919 (8.3%)
Kanagawa	99,778 (7.7%)	110,036 (7.3%)
Hyôgo	97,257 (7.2%)	98,705 (6.5%)
Saitama	59,812 (4.4%)	69,996 (4.6%)
Kyoto	56,276 (4.2%)	55,040 (3.6%)
Chiba	52,730 (4.0%)	64,942 (4.3%)
Shizuoka	43,813 (3.2%)	56,732 (3.8%)
Fukuoka	36,853 (2.7%)	36,601 (2.4%)
Other	339,200 (10.8%)	425,165 (28.1)

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Justice statistics.

Table 4
Registered Foreign Population
Number of Individuals (% Change In Previous Three Years)

	Kawaguchi	%	**Shinjuku**	%	**Kawasaki**	%	**Hamamatsu**	%
1987	2,976	--	12,439	--	11,207	--	2,557	---
1990	4,982	67.4	16,703	34.3	13,989	24.8	4,748	85.7
1993	8,106	62.7	18,761	12.3	19,720	41.0	11,700	146.4
1996	8,636	6.5	18,834	0.3	19,490	-1.2	12,554	7.3
2000	10,538	22.0	23,123	22.8	20,825	6.8	17,849	42.2
total % change over entire time period charted								
	+254.1%		**+85.9%**		**+85.8%**		**+598.1%**	

Sources: City statistics from each case.

Table 5
Registered Foreign Population as % of Total Population

	Kawaguchi	Shinjuku	Kawasaki	Hamamatsu
	Japan			
1987	0.72	3.75	1.02	0.49
	0.77 [1988]			
1990	1.14	5.35	1.40	0.89
	0.87			
1992	1.62	6.09	1.65	2.06
	1.03			
1995	1.90	6.59	1.62	2.09
	1.08			
1999	2.12	7.64	1.66	2.83
	1.20 [1998]			

Sources: City government and national statistics. The numbers include Japanese and foreign nationals registered with the municipal government.