

The Importance of Local Level Actors: A Comparison of Integration Policies for Foreign
Migrant Residents in Two Cities in Japan

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ABSTRACT

How do Toyota and Yokkaichi, two cities in Japan, respond to the difficulties faced by their Nikkeijin foreign residents and why do these cities respond differently despite sharing numerous characteristics? Are there key factors that influence different migrant incorporation strategies? How do these factors influence the ways that Brazilian-Nikkeijin might be viewed in each city? This thesis explores the ways that local organizations in Toyota and Yokkaichi assist their Brazilian Nikkeijin migrant populations and the factors that influence these strategies. I hypothesize that the domination of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota and Yokkaichi's history of citizen mobilization significantly affect the ways in which these two cities approach migrant incorporation. I also hypothesize that trends in the types of consultation sought by Brazilian Nikkeijin in the two cities will share seasonal patterns. I test these hypotheses through interviews conducted in 2015 with representatives from local organizations in Toyota and Yokkaichi and through the information in the websites of these organizations. My findings support the hypotheses that the dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota and the unique characteristics of Yokkaichi's citizens, grounded in citizen mobilization experiences, influences the different approaches each city takes in responding to Brazilian needs. However, they do not indicate visible seasonal patterns on the types of consultation services sought by Nikkeijin. Previous literature frames the challenges Nikkeijin face in Japanese society and how local governments respond to those challenges in the larger picture of ethnicity and ethnically-based state policies. The thesis contributes to discussions of return migration policies aimed at the integration of foreign residents and the patterns of ethnic negotiation and re-negotiation by co-ethnics when faced with problems as a result of unfulfilled cultural expectations

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

Nikkeijin, or members of the Japanese diaspora, make up a sizeable percentage of the unskilled labor force in Japan. However, many encounter difficulties in Japanese society as a result of discrimination due to cultural differences with the Japanese. My thesis explores the ways that local organizations in two Japanese cities, Toyota and Yokkaichi, assist their Brazilian Nikkeijin migrant populations in response to these difficulties and the factors that influence these strategies. I hypothesize that the domination of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota and Yokkaichi's history of citizen mobilization significantly affect the ways in which these two cities approach migrant incorporation. I also hypothesize that trends in the types of consultation sought by Brazilian Nikkeijin in the two cities will share seasonal patterns. I test these hypotheses through interviews conducted in 2015 with representatives from local organizations in Toyota and Yokkaichi and through the information in the websites of these organizations. My findings support the hypotheses that the dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota and the unique characteristics of Yokkaichi's citizens, grounded in citizen mobilization experiences, influence the different approaches each city takes in responding to Brazilian needs. However, they do not indicate visible seasonal patterns in the types of consultation services sought by Nikkeijin. My thesis contributes to discussions of return migration policies aimed at incorporating foreign migrants and how members of a diaspora are able to utilize their ethnic identities when faced with problems as a result of cultural differences.

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Chapter One: Introduction and Methodology

Introduction

In the summer of 1999, a community in Japan was struck by violence. Homidanchi, a primarily Brazilian area of Aichi prefecture, was the subject of anti-foreigner hostility. Starting as a dispute between Brazilian and Japanese gang members, the conflict quickly escalated to intimidation techniques by right-wing nationalist groups from outside the area. The group circled the community on motorcycles for several hours, chanting slogans exhorting Brazilians to “go home” and threatening the community with violence, leaving Brazilian residents of Homidanchi fearful to leave their apartments (Brody 2002, 70). Though the situation has improved considerably since the 1990s, Japan now faces a new challenge. With numbers of foreign migrant workers expected to rise in Japan, it is necessary to examine the ways in which local governments support their foreign Brazilian populations and the factors that shape how they respond to foreign residents’ needs in order to prevent further conflicts as occurred in the past.

In the 1980s, Japan faced a large spike of immigration from South America by the Japanese diaspora, known collectively as Nikkeijin. The characteristics of Nikkeijin migrant workers in Japan differ depending on when they entered the country, as Nikkeijin varied according to the time of their entry. Yoko Sellek explains that the first stage began in 1985, featuring Nikkeijin holding Japanese citizenship who were primarily, “male farmers, [who] had been low-income earners in Brazil and wished to work in Japan in order to satisfy their households’ basic needs.” The second stage began in 1988 with a majority of “highly educated members of the middle class,” who also held Japanese citizenship, seeking to gain an economic advantage in Japan or Brazil. The third stage first began in 1990 after the revision of Japan’s

Immigration Control Law, featuring the immigration of families as well as “young, and often single, third-generation Nikkeijin who wish to enjoy high-consumption lifestyles in Japan rather than making remittances to their families at home” (Sellek 1997, 191-192).

Nikkeijin receive special treatment by the Japanese government due to their ancestry. Because of the ancestry of Nikkeijin, the Japanese government expected that Nikkeijin and Japanese would share cultural values. When these expectations are not fulfilled, Nikkeijin often encounter difficulties in Japanese society and turn to local organizations for support. In order to examine how local governments support Nikkeijin and the reasoning behind varying approaches, my thesis seeks to understand the following questions. What are the needs of Nikkeijin? What methods of support do local governments provide for their Brazilian residents in responding to these needs? What is the reasoning behind their respective strategies? Are their strategies influenced by unique characteristics of the city? If so, what aspects of the city are significant in shaping the approaches taken by local governments? This thesis engages these questions through interviews with staff of international centers and support groups in Toyota and Yokkaichi, two cities featuring a sizeable Brazilian population. I found that the dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota affects the resources available in Toyota and is a key reason for the differences between the approaches taken by the two cities, as Yokkaichi did not feature a similar dominant company. In addition, I found that Yokkaichi’s different approaches might also be the result of a unique characteristic of Yokkaichi’s citizens, grounded in a history of citizen mobilization that Toyota did not experience.

Significance

As the responsibility of responding to foreign residents’ issues is delegated to local level actors in Japan, an analysis at the local level is essential in order to establish an accurate

understanding of how cities address the needs of their Brazilian population. This project will show these approaches and will show the impact of different local factors in shaping strategies.

The challenges faced by Brazilian-Nikkeijin in Japan and the support systems for responding to them provide an opportunity for considering themes in the study of ethnicity. Specifically, this comparison of two cases can be placed within the discussion of return migration policies aimed at the integration of foreign residents. These policies are the mechanisms through which the fluidity of ethnic processes manifests itself. Understanding the reasoning behind these policies and their effect on migrants is important for understanding how migrants are able to negotiate and renegotiate their ethnic characteristics in order to live comfortably in foreign lands.

Though not the immediate focus of my study, the results of my study can be utilized as a tool in developing a comprehensive policy in migrant integration. In Japan, policy is determined primarily by local actors and is thus unique to each geographic area. Offering a comparative look at two cities can contribute to drawing conclusions regarding the effect of different strategies. Exploring the different methods of each city, and possibly later determining what methods were more effective for local governments, may allow for a future comprehensive national policy to address migrant workers.

Hypotheses

Despite their similar percentages and national origins of the largest foreigner groups, I believed that Toyota and Yokkaichi would take different approaches to responding to Brazilian needs. I hypothesized that this is due to two main factors: first, the nature of industries in these two cities and second, the histories of each city. Regarding the first factor, I hypothesized that Toyota would feature more consultation organizations funded by the Toyota Motor Corporation

due to the Corporation's dominance in Toyota's economy, and that these would not be found in Yokkaichi due to the lack of a single main industry in the city. I hypothesized that in Toyota support systems would be driven by the Toyota Company due to the Corporation's hold on the city's economy. In contrast, I expected that the mix of industries of Yokkaichi would lead to more city responsibility in policies targeting migrants.

Regarding the second factor, I anticipated that Yokkaichi's history of grass-roots citizen mobilization, particularly regarding Yokkaichi's previous experiences with Yokkaichi Asthma and environmental activism, influence the approach taken by the city. I hypothesized that this history of citizen mobilization in Yokkaichi would contrast with the primarily economically driven history of Toyota and that this would influence approaches to supporting the Nikkeijin community. I expected that Yokkaichi's unique history has encouraged citizens to take responsibility to seek solutions for issues encountered by Yokkaichi, resulting in more individual, one-on-one consultation resources.

These two factors affect the needs of Nikkeijin, the resources available in responding to these needs, and how Nikkeijin are perceived by the local governments, whether as workers or as members of the community. These three components act as a link between government policy and the Nikkeijin, shaping the strategies used by local governments.

I also hypothesized that I would be able to see trends in types of consultation sought by Brazilian Nikkeijin according to the season. For example, I believed that in the spring, local organizations might provide consultation focused on school enrollment while in the winter consultation might be focused on health related concerns. I believed that the target of support services would reflect common issues of the year regardless of the city in question, and that by

analyzing the types of consultation offered throughout the year, I would be able to determine what consultation services were sought by Brazilian Nikkeijin at different times of the year.

In addition to examining the different strategies pursued by local governments and the factors that shape these approaches, it is important to understand the end goal of the strategies. The end goal of local government strategies aimed at integration is key as it provides insight into how local these cities view their migrant populations. Some integration policies are working towards the cultural assimilation of migrants. Other policies are concerned with economic integration while simultaneously allowing migrants to express their own respective cultures. The varying end goals of each city's support systems indicate different perspectives of what local governments determine as integration and thus contribute to the reasoning behind the different policies of Yokkaichi and Toyota.

These hypotheses are rooted in the Japanese national government assignment of responsibility of responding to foreigner issues to local governments and other local actors such as NGOs and local international organizations. Because the task of responding to migrant needs is assigned to the local governments of these cities, their actions in assisting Brazilians are more sensitive to the varying features of the respective cities.

Methodology

Case Selection

This study uses a comparison of two cities that share numerous characteristics, but whose industrial characteristics and local histories with respect to activism differ. I expect that their approaches to foreign resident integration and support would similarly differ as a result.

Toyota, located in the Aichi prefecture, has a total population of 412,633 with 13,096 recorded as foreigners (外国人). This is approximately 3.1% of the city's population (豊田市外

国人データ集, 2015). The three largest groups are Brazilians, Chinese, and Koreans.

Yokkaichi, located in the Mie prefecture, has a total population of approximately 312,477 with 7,876 recorded as foreigners (外国人). This is approximately 2.5% of the city's population (Mie Prefecture Population Data, 2015). The three largest groups of foreign residents in Yokkaichi are Brazilians, Koreans, and Chinese.

I selected Yokkaichi and Toyota because both cities featured similar national origins of their largest groups of foreign residents with Brazilians composing the largest group. Furthermore, the foreign residents' portion of the total population is nearly identical in the two cities. By keeping those two elements constant, I am able to determine that differences in the approaches taken by international centers or their organizational structure is not because of different national origins of foreign residents. This thesis examines what aspects of the city other than the types of foreign residents present are responsible for shaping the strategies used by local governments in responding to Brazilian migrant needs.

I focused specifically on districts that featured a large concentration of Brazilians within these two cities. In Toyota, I focused on the Homidanchi district, found in Homigaoka located near a satellite campus of Chukyo University. In Yokkaichi, I focused on the Sasagawa district found a short drive from Nishi-Hino station.

Methods

I used a combination of written materials, interviews, and email communication in this study. Written materials consisted mainly of local government websites. These resources illustrate two things: the services offered and the approach taken to communicate these services. These resources include materials in Portuguese or Japanese targeting Brazilians, such as information on community events and advice in living in Japan. These materials illustrate efforts

at communication with foreigners and demonstrate accessibility of their services.

I utilized the websites of Yokkaichi and Toyota extensively in order to gauge what is available for migrants seeking consultation services.¹ As local government websites are likely one of the first points of contact for migrant workers, information publicly available online represents accessibility, illustrating what information is easily available to Brazilians who seek help. Useful information includes events and services targeting Brazilians and other foreign residents, as well as Japanese who wish to volunteer to assist foreigners. Moreover, the structure of the website itself is key, including the website's language options and available contact information. For example, a Portuguese language option indicates that the local government is striving towards making itself and its services available should migrants be in need. Should the website be confusing and difficult to navigate, migrants may not be able to fully utilize the services provided by the city or organization.

In order to understand the ways that Toyota and Yokkaichi assist their Brazilian migrant population and the motives behind the different strategies involved, I conducted interviews with staff from international centers and international organizations located in Yokkaichi and Toyota. In Toyota, there are three entities that provide consultation: The Toyota International Association (TIA), the International Division of the Toyota Office, and non-profit organizations (NPO). There are three main NPOs that operate in Toyota's Homidanchi district: Homigo, Torcieda, and Kodomonokuni. In Yokkaichi, the main source of consultation for Brazilians in Sasagawa is not found at the main Yokkaichi City Office nor at the Sasagawa District Office, but rather at a small government office located a short drive from the center called the Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon. This Salon is located close to the apartment complexes housing a large

¹ Toyota City Website URL: <http://www.city.toyota.aichi.jp/index.html>

Yokkaichi City Website URL: <http://www5.city.yokkaichi.mie.jp.e.rt.hp.transer.com/menu1.html>

concentration of Brazilian migrants.

I was able to conduct interviews with staff and asked each location's staff similar questions. In addition to in-person interviews, I was able to submit my inquiries to international center and NPO staff through email as well. I communicated through email to provide further questions after my interview or if organization representatives were unavailable to meet for an interview.

I conducted my interviews primarily in English with Japanese occasionally for clarification purposes. Initial self-introductions and a brief overview of my research and purpose were provided in Japanese. However, my inquiries and in depth responses to my questions were given in English. If the interviewee was not very proficient in English, an English-speaking staff member often volunteered to act as a translator as well as offer his or her own opinions and explanations.

Focus

As my research concerned how Toyota and Yokkaichi responded to the needs of their Brazilian migrant population, Brazilian migrants were not the targets of my interviews. Though the issues encountered by migrants are important, my focus is on the response to those issues by Toyota and Yokkaichi rather than the issues themselves. Therefore, my study focused on the staff of these international centers or non-profit organizations. Furthermore, this study is not an assessment of the effectiveness of policies or an evaluation of which city responded more effectively to the needs of their migrants. Rather, this study is a presentation of the different methods and structures used by the cities in responding to the population and analyzing what influences these different methods. This study examines information and services publicly available through official outlets, thus allowing me to work from a migrant's perspective and

examine what would be available to those seeking consultation.

Findings

My findings did not support my hypothesis that trends would be visible in the types of consultation services sought by Nikkeijin at certain times of the year. Local organizations of both cities responded to similar issues throughout the year, addressing Japanese language problems through translation services, interpretation services, and Japanese language classes.

My findings instead were consistent with my expectation that the differing industrial structures and strength of citizen mobilization histories influences the different approaches each city takes in responding to Brazilian needs. I hypothesized that these two factors affect the needs of Nikkeijin, the resources available in responding to these needs, and how Nikkeijin are perceived by the local governments whether as workers or as members of the community. The dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota compared to the dispersed industries in Yokkaichi significantly affects Toyota's support systems. A strong history of citizen mobilization in Yokkaichi compared to the weak history of citizen mobilization in Toyota affects Yokkaichi's support systems.

Though Yokkaichi's unique character may influence the different approaches taken, the dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota is a more significant factor. The responsibilities of organizations in Yokkaichi and Toyota are consistent with the needs of each city's Brazilian population. Though both cities cite language difficulties as the primary challenge faced by resident Brazilians, other needs exhibited by Brazilians are affected by the Toyota Corporation's dominance, such as assistance in times of unemployment. In addition to the effects on the needs of Brazilians, the Toyota Motor Corporation's active role in Toyota affects the resources available to respond to these needs, providing a strong financial base in

Toyota that is not found in Yokkaichi. This subsequently shapes perceptions of how each city may perceive Brazilian migrants, with Brazilians in Toyota potentially viewed as temporary workers and Brazilians in Yokkaichi as full members of the community.

The following chapters will explain the Japanese context as a whole and will provide an in depth analysis of Toyota and Yokkaichi. Chapter Two is a literature review presenting the difficulties faced by Nikkeijin and the relevant immigration policies of the Japanese government; it further discusses literature on ethnic identifications made by migrants and states. Chapters Three and Four discuss the cases of Toyota and Yokkaichi respectively. Chapter Five provides a comparative analysis of these two cities and explains the factors that affect the different migrant integration approaches pursued by each city.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter is divided into two sections to review literatures related to two questions: what are the problems regarding Nikkeijin return migration from South America to Japan and why are these problems occurring? I frame the challenges Nikkeijin face in Japanese society and how local governments help respond to those challenges in the larger picture of ethnicity and ethnically-based state policies.

In the first section, I present the history and characteristics of Brazilian-Nikkeijin return migration to Japan and the opportunities provided by the Japanese government based on their ethnicity. I then present the challenges faced by Nikkeijin in Japan and the societal effects of unfulfilled societal expectations and state expectations toward Nikkeijin. Following this, I discuss why Japanese local governments are tasked with creating policies to assist Nikkeijin in coping with these challenges and the types of policies created for Nikkeijin.

Following the specific discussion of Nikkeijin, I consider the reasons why migrants encounter difficulties in light of theoretical perspective on ethnicity. After examining ethnicity as a negotiated concept, I use Christian Joppke's discussion of state de-ethnicization and re-ethnicization to situate the relationship of ethnicity to citizenship and state belonging. Following this, I discuss how the use of ethnicity by the state shapes migrant incorporation policies.

The Japanese Context

Beginning in the mid-1980s, large numbers of Nikkeijin migrated to Japan seeking work. Many migrated with economic goals, seeking to satisfy their income needs or wishing to experience Japan's consumerist culture (Sellek, 1997, 192). Historically Japan has restricted the admission of foreigners, avoiding the hiring of foreign migrant labor during Japan's economic boom and refusing to admit refugees in Japan until the early 1980s (Tegtmeyer Pak 1998, 6).

However, Nikkeijin are one group of foreign residents whose visa status allows them to work in the unskilled job sectors. This commonly includes work on assembly lines.

Japan revised its Immigration Control Law in 1990, reorganizing visa categories in order to solve its domestic labor shortage. Though laws prohibited companies from hiring foreign workers, recruitment of Nikkeijin allowed one channel for foreign resident employment in the unskilled labor sector. Following the revision, Nikkeijin were able to work and live in Japan with no legal barriers under the status of “long-term resident.” As a “long-term resident,” Nikkeijin could stay in Japan for three years with an option of renewal with no restrictions (Ninomiya 2002, 249-250).

From the perspective of Nikkeijin migrants, return-migration from Latin America to Japan is primarily economically motivated. Kiyoto Tanno and Teresa Castelvetera argue that from an economic standpoint, immigration is, “the act of attempting to achieve one’s economic goals by effecting a change in the very environment within which one finds oneself” (Tanno and Castelvetera 2013, 93). Due to scarce employment or insufficient wages in Brazil, they contend that Nikkeijin migrants have often migrated out to areas such as Japan in search of work opportunities.

According to Erin Chung, the idea of nationality in Japan is viewed through an “ethno-cultural understanding” (Chung 2010, 175), in which Nikkeijin and Japanese will share values due to their ancestral ties regardless of nationality (Chung 2010, 56). This *jus sanguinis* principle frames the way that the Japanese government views Nikkeijin.

It is because of *jus sanguinis* beliefs that the Japanese government provides Nikkeijin the opportunity to receive a three-year visa that Nikkeijin can renew with no restriction (Chung 2010, 151). The revision to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Law in 1990,

essentially prohibited foreign resident employment in unskilled sectors. However, foreign nationals who could prove their Japanese descent were able to obtain a special visa that allowed them to work in unskilled sectors while residing in Japan (Sugino 2008, 52). Anthropologist Takeyuki Tsuda argues using his 1996 fieldwork that the Japanese government takes the view that a shared ancestral bloodline leads to the automatic inheritance of Japanese cultural values by those of Japanese descent, even among those born outside of Japan (Tsuda 2003, 117). According to Toshiko Sugino, the unique visa privileges enjoyed by Nikkeijin are based upon this assumption, as in the eyes of the Japanese government ethnicity was analogous with nationality (Sugino 2008, 22).

Erin Chung explains that the official reasoning behind the unique visa opportunity from the Japanese government is that it, offers "ethnic Japanese...the opportunity to visit their relatives in Japan, learn Japanese, and...explore their cultural heritage" (Chung 2010, 152). The majority of Nikkeijin who made use of these opportunities were South American, intending to work for "small and medium sized firms in the construction and manufacturing sector" (Chung 2010, 152).

According to Katherine Tegtmeyer Pak, the opportunities granted specifically to Nikkeijin resulted in the construction of Nikkeijin as the most acceptable immigrant group as a result of their Japanese race. A belief in shared cultural characteristics between the Japanese and Nikkeijin framed Nikkeijin as a group that was no different culturally from the Japanese, but stark cultural differences between Nikkeijin and the Japanese soon came to light (Tegtmeyer Pak 1998, 189).

However, according to Takeyuki Tsuda many Japanese citizens negatively view Brazilian-Nikkeijin as culturally and therefore ethnically foreign, despite their common ancestry.

Tsuda explains that, “the cultural foreignness of the Nikkeijin and the inability of most of them to speak [Japanese] properly are disillusioning and disappointing for most Japanese” (Tsuda 2003, 117). Tsuda further argues that the perceived lack of Japanese cultural values is a "stigma--an attribute that is discrediting because it is incongruous with social expectations” (Tsuda 2003, 117).

Many Nikkeijin extend their stay in Japan despite initially intending to return to Brazil after raising money and often find their stay comfortable because of ethnic businesses. Sugino states that ethnic businesses allow migrants to reside easily in Japan without having to learn Japanese, providing Brazilian-Nikkeijin with daily commodities, living supplies, and services in Portuguese. Sugino highlights some of these services including “Brazilian schools, church services, bank services, travel agencies, car dealers, and day-care services” (Sugino 2008, 58). Furthermore, many Nikkeijin are employed in areas such as assembly lines where the Japanese language is not needed due to the nature of the work or the high concentration of foreign laborers. However, this creates problems for Brazilian-Nikkeijin when they are forced to venture out of their communities, such as job loss or if their children enter Japanese schools. (Sugino 2008, 58-59).

Japanese language capability is thus one of the largest challenges facing Brazilian-Nikkeijin. According to Michael Weiner, school enrollment is directly tied to language capability, with children of Nikkeijin migrant workers who have little understanding of the Japanese language having lower likelihood of enrollment (Weiner 1997, 197). Though local governments work to combat language deficiencies through specialized Japanese-language instructors and material for foreign children, under-attendance in school is more common among foreign students as compared to their Japanese counterparts. This can be rooted in the

discrimination faced by foreign children in school. Toshiko Sugino explains that when Brazilian children attend school, they are often made aware of their “foreignness” due to their cultural upbringing and often low Japanese language capabilities, and are subsequently excluded by other students (Sugino 2008, 59, 60). In addition, language difficulties affect migrant workers and are directly linked to their discriminatory treatment in the workplace.

When interviewed by Betsy Brody in 1999 about workplace experiences, many Nikkeijin workers reported that they experienced bullying and discrimination as a result of, “language difficulties, prejudice, and isolation” (Brody 2002, 64). A consequence was that many Brazilians rarely interacted with Japanese people in the workplace (Brody 2002, 64).

When Joshua Hotoka Roth conducted fieldwork between 1994 and 1996 to research the challenges Nikkeijin face in the workplace, he observed the workplace conditions for Brazilian-Nikkeijin at an automobile company, where the firm imposed practices to segregate foreign workers from their Japanese counterparts. This included dormitory segregation, assembly line segregation, and special uniforms for foreign-workers (Roth 2002, 46, 62).

In helping migrants cope with the difficulties foreign residents encounter while living in Japan, primary responsibility rests on local governments and other local actors to provide social services and advocacy on behalf of migrants (Chung 2010, 176). The lack of national government legislation or agency representing or addressing the rights foreign residents, along with a lack of significant grassroots Nikkeijin mobilization, reinforces this responsibility (Milly 2006, 127). Local actors have worked towards the incorporation of foreign migrants in Japanese society under the banner of internationalization aiming at multicultural openness and flexibility in accepting foreign residents in Japan (Tegtmeyer Pak 1999, 12).

Deborah Milly's work, *New Policies for New Residents: Immigrants, Advocacy, and Governance in Japan and Beyond*, expands upon the necessary role of Japanese local governments in responding to migrant needs. According to Milly, "when local governments are given considerable discretion, it is relatively easy to innovate if adequate resources are available" (Milly 2014, 85). Thus innovation depends not on national government policies but on the resources provided to local governments and the will of these cities. Many local governments in Japan who have undertaken the task of migrant integration have been able to develop consultation services and multilingual assistance for foreign migrants. (Milly 2014, 85).

Particularly in areas such as housing and education, local governments are able to work within national government constraints to develop policies. With housing, local governments have to be savvy to the factors of their cities including community sentiment and city needs. Similarly with education, local governments work within national government regulations and provide education programs and train teachers in working with foreign children (Milly, 2014 88-92).

Local governments are able to innovate and create policies to respond to the challenges facing migrants when given the freedom to operate. When faced with policy barriers by the national government, local governments are able to maneuver within these constraints and respond to the difficulties encountered by Nikkeijin. However, as responsibility rests on local governments, whether or not incorporation policies are developed depends almost entirely on the will of the local government. If the local governments determine that migrant integration is not an important issue, it is unlikely that such policies will be innovated (Milly 2014, 85-92)

Though the Japanese government awarded Nikkeijin with favorable treatment based on their ethnicity and perceived racial ties, difficulties in Japanese society arose for Nikkeijin due to

discrimination or complications as a result of language capabilities. Local governments take responsibility in assisting Nikkeijin with these challenges. However, in order to examine the reasoning behind this situation, I will frame the Japanese context within theoretical views of ethnicity and how migrants and state governments utilize ethnicity.

Theoretical Framework

The experiences of Nikkeijin in Japan illustrate the relationship between ethnicity and state immigration policies. The reasoning behind this relationship is explained by theoretical discussions of ethnicity that will frame the background on the utilization of ethnicity by both Nikkeijin and the Japanese state. In this following section, I discuss ethnicity as a negotiated concept. From this perspective, I apply this concept to policies of citizenship and state membership using Christian Joppke's theories on de- and re-ethnicization. I then present the role of ethnicity in integration policies in a re-ethnicized state, illustrated in the case study of Japan and Japanese local government migrant integration policies.

Daniela de Carvalho explains that theorists frame ethnicity in two ways: ethnicity as an innate, "primordial attachment" and ethnicity as a "social construction" (de Carvalho 2003, xviii). The former views ethnicity as the unchangeable natural result of one's birth in "a particular community" (de Carvalho 2003, xviii, xix). However, recent theorists generally reject the former and support the view of ethnicity as a socially constructed phenomenon.

Early theorists advocating ethnicity as a social construction argued that ethnicity is not dependent on cultural characteristics but instead created on the differences that divide groups of people (de Carvalho 2003, xix). These divisions and boundaries are not static but rather regularly negotiated across boundaries. However, negotiation is not among static, permanent boundaries

between groups. Instead these boundaries are fluid and constantly re-configured (Brettell 2008, 164). Hence, ethnicity is not inherent but instead a continuously redefined social construct.

As ethnicity is understood to be a constructed concept, it is flexible depending on the goals of groups seeking to utilize their ethnic identities. Groups can change or uphold their ethnic identities to suit their needs. Whether underprivileged groups seeking to improve their statuses or privileged groups seeking to secure their statuses, groups can create these “ethnic-identifications” (de Carvalho 2003, xix). Ethnicity thus is a resource that can be used in certain situations as a means to gain an advantage. However, ethnicity is not an individual matter because ethnic-identification is influenced by political, economic, and social constraints.

Brettell explains that ethnic identity is not fixed but instead depends on an individual’s environment and can be negotiated. As illustrated by the experiences of transnational migrants, migration challenges the perceived fixed nature of ethnic identities. Due to the change in environment brought by migration, these once set ethnic meanings become susceptible to change (Brettell 2008, 165). Subsequent attempts to reapply these meanings in the new environment allow the once static meanings to become “challenged and redefined” (Brettell 2008, 165, quoting Tsuda 2007, 247).

De- and Re-ethnicization of Citizenship

Japan’s immigration policies concerning Nikkeijin are grounded in ethnicity. The Japanese government bases its Nikkeijin immigration policies on perceived ethnic and cultural links with Nikkeijin. In order to understand the reasoning behind these policies, I present Christian Joppke’s argument on state emphasis of ethnicity in membership and how these views manifest in immigration and integration policies. Recent movements towards de-ethnicization

and re-ethnicization and the reevaluation of membership through citizenship or immigration opportunities came as a result of globalization (Joppke 2003, 454).

The two primary competing viewpoints on attaining citizenship are the principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. *Jus soli* is the principle according to which the citizenship of an individual is determined by the place of birth. Theodora Kostakopoulou explains that the principle of *jus soli* allows an individual to attain citizenship if they are, “born within the states’ territory, regardless of parentage” (Kostakopolou 2008, 26). In contrast, *jus sanguinis* is the principle according to which an individual can inherit citizenship from their parents regardless of the place of birth. In addition, they often can attain citizenship if they share ethnic or cultural characteristics with the host nation. (Kostakopolou 2008, 26-27)

Christian Joppke defines the de-ethnicization of citizenship as, “the process of facilitating the access to citizenship, either through opening it at the margins in terms of liberalized naturalization procedures, or through adding *jus soli* elements to the modern main-road of birth-attributed citizenship *jure sanguinis*” (Joppke 2003, 436). In other words, de-ethnicized policies such as less strict naturalization processes or citizenship attainable through residence allows immigrants to obtain citizenship more easily. Joppke explains the trend towards de-ethnicized citizenship through the example of Germany’s immigration policy. German lawmakers encouraged the state to allow easier acquisition of German citizenship on the grounds of democratic ideals and hence removed the structural barriers of naturalization procedures and allow for the de-ethnicization of citizenship law for long-term residents. Thus, Germany evolved from being the home of all ethnic-Germans to the home of all those residing in Germany regardless of ethnicity (Joppke 2003, 436, 438). Subsequently, efforts at integration replaced efforts at assimilation, moving away from requiring the cultural assimilation of immigrants.

Joppke explains the three elements of de-ethnicized citizenship shown through the German case study. The first element is the *jus soli* acquisition of citizenship. In the German context, this is not an automatic access to citizenship through birth, but tied to a residence requirement for the parents. For example, in Germany citizenship depends on a parent having at least eight years of legal residence (Joppke 2003, 438-439).

The second element is what Joppke calls, “the liberalization of naturalization”: the acquisition of citizenship in Germany is no longer tied to the supposed “cultural assimilation” of a migrant nor is it tied to the individual’s ancestry. The German government takes the position that integration will occur naturally with a period of residence and exposure to the German school system rather than through cultural assimilation efforts. Germany did not initially impose a language requirement either, though a later tightening of integration requirements in 1999 resulted in a German language proficiency requirement along with a “written commitment to the liberal democratic order” of the German Federal Republic (Joppke 2003, 439). However, Joppke argues that this is not cultural assimilation. Instead, he states that language acquisition and a commitment to liberal democratic rules are two basic integration requirements made by modern liberal states (Joppke 2003, 439-440).

The third element is the “increasing toleration of dual citizenship” reflected in the practice by states of no longer requiring those seeking citizenship to forfeit previous citizenship (Joppke 2003, 441). Joppke explains that this de-ethnicization element arose as a state response to migrant integration needs stating, “From the point of view of receiving states, the toleration of dual citizenship is part of the trend from ethnic toward territorial citizenship, which is driven by these states’ need to integrate their growing immigrant population” (Joppke 2003, 442).

Re-ethnicization emphasizes the links with co-ethnics, with membership based on shared ethnic characteristics rather than territorial borders. Joppke explains that at the heart of re-ethnicization is the maintaining of membership ties with co-ethnics up to a certain generation born (Joppke 2003, 443-445). He explains the trend towards the re-ethnicization of citizenship through case studies of France and Italy. Despite the different histories of emigration and immigration of these states, there are common factors in their policies of re-ethnicization. These include praising the emigrant while condemning the immigrant. In addition, re-ethnicization citizenship policies often set parameters as to how citizenship may be transferred to an emigrant or their descendants. Each case illustrates characteristics found in the Japanese context.

Immigration policies in France feature citizenship awarded based on the expressed will (or “*volonté*”) to become French. Joppke remarks on an instance when a French Senator declared that a French person through descent born abroad was more French than a non-French resident born in France, a statement that was met with resounding support. A proposed amendment furthered this sentiment, requiring immigrants to express their “*volonté*” first as a requirement to receiving citizenship, but allowing the children of French emigrants born abroad to receive French citizenship at birth and to express their “*volonté*” at a later age in order to retain it. However, the proposal was later rejected (Joppke 2003, 446-448). The French case illustrates elements also found in Japan, in the preference for return-migrants over immigrants despite potential cultural differences, exhibited in the Japanese context with preferential treatment awarded to Nikkeijin by the Japanese government.

Italy also presented preferential treatment for emigrants over immigrants. Joppke explains that for emigrants, second generation descendants of Italian expatriates were given the option of citizenship after, “service in the Italian army, employment by the state, or a two-year

residence in Italy at majority age” (Joppke 2003, 449). For immigrants, the requirements were more difficult, notably a minimum required ten-year residence time. In addition, for children of immigrants born in Italy, citizenship was only possible with an uninterrupted residence duration. The Italian state expressed a desire of allowing, “our foreign communities to increase and strengthen their ties with the mother country within an international community of increasingly rapid, continuous, and dense communications, dialogue, and relationships” (Joppke 2003, 450). However, Italy’s goal in this case was to strengthen ties with co-ethnics in Argentina as opposed to increasing immigration numbers of Italian Argentines. Italy illustrates similar elements found in Japan with the preference of emigrants on shared cultural grounds. In addition, both Italy and Japan set clear parameters on when emigrant descendants can still be considered members of the Japanese nation. Italy restricts descendants up to the second generation to receive Italian opportunities while Japan restricts up to the third generation.

Japan can therefore be understood as a country on the path of re-ethnicization during the 1990s and 2000s. Much like the two case studies presented above, Japan set clear parameters based on generational grounds in the attainability of the three-year visa privileges available to Nikkeijin and the possibility of Japanese citizenship acquisition, though the visa opportunities were not a fast track to citizenship. Japan is therefore able to restrict access to those who may no longer be seen as part of the Japanese nation. However, as ethnicity is negotiated and therefore not an inherent factor, what it is to be Japanese is not immediately self-evident, and this results in problems for Nikkeijin. The Japanese official policy favors Nikkeijin on perceived cultural grounds and shared inherent ethnic characteristics, though unfulfilled expectations of Nikkeijin result in stigmatization. Initially seen as emigrants, Nikkeijin were framed in a positive light.

Yet once the foreignness of the Nikkeijin was realized, they were framed negatively instead as foreign immigrants.

Ethnicity and Migrant Integration Policies

The principles of ethnicity and its use by states through de-ethnicization and re-ethnicization policies come together in migrant integration policies. These theories of re-ethnicization and de-ethnicization are manifested in policies working towards the assimilation or integration of migrants. In a later article, Christian Joppke explains that “integration” means that migrants are allowed to join the receiving country while continuing to practice their respective customs and uphold their original identities (Joppke 2007, 2). In contrast, Joppke defines “assimilation” as a method of disappearance (Joppke 2007, 2). With assimilation, the identity of the migrant is hidden or eliminated and the migrant is compelled to assume the culture of the receiving country. This difference is key when examining state integration policies.

Joppke explains that the basic principles of migrant integration in Europe were agreed upon with the November 2004 European Council concerning the European integration policies of migrant inclusiveness, which provided that both migrants and the receiving society had to play roles in integration. The receiving society thus should create the opportunities for the “full economic, social, cultural, and political participation of immigrants” (Joppke 2007, 3). However, this integration implies adherence to the values of the European Union and liberal democracy including, “liberty, democracy, and respect for all human rights and ‘fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law” (Joppke 2007, 3, quoting the Council of the European Union 2004, 19), by the migrant.

According to Joppke, European states’ immigrant integration policies are primarily concerned with socioeconomic integration. In the context of the European Union, most states

prioritize economic self-sufficiency and autonomy of the migrant and anticipate that cultural integration comes only as a result of economic integration or that economic integration naturally leads to cultural integration. Joppke states that by making migrants independent of the state, individual migrants hold the primary responsibility of integrating in European society (Joppke 2007, 3-4). Therefore, adhering to the values of the European Union becomes a necessity in order to survive in European Union states.

Integration Policies in Europe and East Asia

The literature I discuss next will highlight the different approaches taken between the European and East Asian context on integration despite sharing the same goal of migrant self-sufficiency. For the European context, I examine the civic integration policies of the European Union as explained by Christian Joppke and Sara Wallace Goodman. For the East Asian context, I examine South Korea's differing integration strategies for North Korean refugees and non-Korean foreign-brides.

Expressed in the fourth principle in the 2004 European Council's statement on integration policy, civic integration is the standard of the European Union. The report states: "Basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration" (Joppke 2007, 5, quoting the Council of the European Union 2004, 20). Civic and language courses are obligatory for migrants upon arrival under the penalty of fines or "denial of permanent legal residence permits" should the migrant choose not to enroll. Inclusion policies leading to the end goal of migrant self-sufficiency take precedence from the start. In Europe, although migrants are encouraged to attend integration courses, they effectively decide their integration level when they decide whether to attend the courses or face the financial and potential legal penalties (Joppke 2007, 5-7).

Joppke argues that the goal of European integration policies is economic inclusion and fair access to employment rather than social equality. European policies aim at eventually allowing migrants to be fully included in the European labor market, partly in order to alleviate the costs of welfare assistance programs for new migrants. Hence, integration has become economically framed, tied to the labor market rather than the state's society. However, in the European model, Joppke states that, rather than equality, the purpose of social inclusion policies is to promote "a full utilization of a society's resources in the global competition" (Joppke 2007, 17).

Sara Wallace Goodman further explains European civic integration policies. She explains that civic integration policies "consist of cultural requirements, namely language and knowledge of society, that empower individuals to act independently in their host society" (Goodman 2014, 16). In other words, language proficiency and knowledge of European cultural values take primary importance in European integration strategies. In Germany and Denmark, the government requires migrants with low language proficiency levels to attend integration courses that include language and civic orientation. In France, the state intentionally imposes a difficult language requirement to commit migrants to language courses upon arrival (Goodman 2014, 61-62).

Sara Wallace Goodman explains that in some states in the European Union, providing for integration is considered a state obligation, though this is a weaker obligation that takes different forms. In Denmark, France, and Greece, this obligation takes the form of free courses on language and country knowledge. In the Netherlands, municipalities were initially financially responsible for the integration of their foreign residents, though migrants are now financially responsible for their own integration, with soft government loans available for financial

assistance. Regarding the citizenship standardized courses and tests previously explained by Joppke, Goodman states that, “the notion of European state assistance is entirely, and possibly purposefully, absent when it comes to the civic integration test for newcomers” (Goodman 2014, 61).

By assuming a limited role and placing integration primarily in the hands of migrants, European states are able to filter those who will work towards integrating in the host society. By requiring all migrants to take integration courses using their own financial resources, the program indirectly weeds out those who do not intend to make efforts at integration.

Migrant self-sufficiency is the goal in East Asia as well, though the approach taken is different. South Korea provides a case in the East Asian context. In South Korea, whether or not an immigrant receives cultural training is dependent on a perceived inherent ethnic factor of the migrant, which has cultural implications. South Korea has faced two main immigrant groups to the country: foreign brides and North Korean refugees. According to Nora Kim, the South Korean government views both groups as, “burdens on social welfare and potential threats to social stability” (Kim 2016, 195). Incorporation policies work towards creating citizens of the South Korean state, transforming migrants into “normalized citizens who can be reasonably integrated into the host society” (Kim 2016, 195). Despite the shared image of burdensome subjects and the shared end goal, the motivation behind each policy is different. Towards North Koreans, the driving force is a push for integration into an economic capitalist society. Conversely, toward foreign brides, the goal is for them to learn how to be culturally Korean to reduce the chance of social disruption (Kim 2016, 189, 193).

For North Koreans, there are no significant policies or legislation addressing potential culture shock or policies aiming at fostering multicultural understanding with South Koreans.

The existing policies ignore the cultural differences between North and South Koreans due to a belief of a Korean homogeneity and therefore shared ethnic and cultural values. Yet, this results in North Koreans constructed as a separate “other” group of South Koreans who are deemed unfit to survive in South Korean society as opposed to a unified Korean whole. In contrast, the South Korean government assumes cultural differences with foreign brides due to their supposed ethnic differences with the Korean people. Put differently, policies addressing cultural differences primarily target foreign brides, but ignore the conflicts created by the cultural differences for North Koreans due to this belief in a Korean ethnic homogeneity (Kim 2016, 188–189, 193, 195)

Despite the common goal of economic self-sufficiency shared between Europe and East Asia, South Korea illustrates the assumptions and subsequent expectations toward co-ethnics in integration policies in East Asia. Though South Korea provides economic training for North Koreans, the government does not provide cultural training due to a belief of shared ethnic and thus cultural characteristics. The Japanese government also exhibits the assumptions that co-ethnic groups will share cultural values, constructing expectations of shared values between Japanese and Nikkeijin. Similarly with North Koreans in South Korea, co-ethnics encountered discrimination when they could not fulfill these expectations.

Conclusion

Though ethnicity is inherently flexible, states approach ethnicity as if it is fixed through preferential treatment for descendants of emigrants based on ethnic similarities. These policies based on ethnic assumptions result in problems for migrants and unfulfilled expectations lead to stigmatization of cultural differences. However, integration policies are used to overcome these challenges. In Japan, integration is achieved through the local government rather than the

national government. The responsibility for responding to difficulties encountered by migrants is entrusted to local actors who are compelled to innovate within the parameters set by the national government. Though common programs include housing, health, and education, and assistance, the specific policies and strategies utilized by local governments vary from city to city.

In this chapter, I explained the challenges faced by Nikkeijin in Japanese society as a result of special treatment grounded in the ethnicity of Nikkeijin. I then explained the reasons behind Japanese local government responsibility of assisting Nikkeijin in response to these challenges. The Japanese context represents a case for examining the relationship between ethnicity and state inclusion policies. Therefore, I discussed the use of ethnicity and the re-ethnicization and de-ethnicization of states through case studies presented by Christian Joppke and the subsequent conflicts that arise between the negotiated concept of ethnicity by migrants and the implicitly fixed concept of ethnicity held by states.

I will explore these concepts through case studies of two cities in Japan: Toyota in Aichi prefecture and Yokkaichi in Mie prefecture. Interviews in both of these cities present the methods taken by local governments in Japan to respond to the challenges faced by Brazilian-Nikkeijin migrants. In this chapter I explained the use of ethnic identifications by Nikkeijin migrants and the Japanese government, and the subsequent problems that arose as a result of unfulfilled cultural expectations. I also explained why it is that Japanese local governments are tasked with responding to these challenges, though different local governments vary in their approach. In the next chapters, I will attempt to answer the following questions: how do these two cities respond to the difficulties faced by their Nikkeijin foreign residents and why do these cities respond differently despite sharing numerous characteristics? Are there key factors that

influence different migrant incorporation strategies? How do these factors influence the ways that Brazilian-Nikkeijin might be viewed in each city?

Chapter Three: Toyota

Toyota is a large city located in Aichi prefecture and is one of the largest cities in Aichi, covering approximately 17.8% of the entire Aichi prefecture (こんなまちとよた, 2016). Situated East of Nagoya, Toyota features a total population of approximately 412,633 people with around 13,096 foreigners (豊田市外国人データ集, 2015). The city features a sizeable Brazilian population, along with significant Chinese and Korean populations. Known as the “City of Automobiles,” Toyota has become inseparable from the Toyota Motor Corporation (クルマのまち, 2016). Initially known as “Koromo,” the city changed its name to “Toyota” in 1959 due to its close relationship with the Corporation (とよたの歴史). A large percentage of its total industries is automobile-related and make up approximately 96% of the revenue created in the city (クルマのまち, 2016).

Toyota City Office

My research in Toyota involved three local actors: the Toyota International Association (TIA), the Toyota City Office, and non-profit organizations (NPO). Each entity independently provides support for Toyota’s foreign populations. I conducted interviews in person with NPO and city office representatives, while my inquiries with the TIA were handled through email.

The Toyota City Office was located within walking distance from the Toyota train station. The office was a large complex divided into three buildings all connected by a bridge: the Eastern Office, Western Office, and Southern Office. Upon arriving at the Western Office, I spoke with an English-speaking representative in the main hub of the building, who then directed me to the international division of the city office where I met with another English-speaking representative.

The representative informed me that those at the city office were not volunteers but instead government employees. Furthermore, the government office provides information on international events in Toyota and other such events aimed at fostering multiculturalism. The city office also handles any immigration and government-related procedures such as visa application forms. However, for anything beyond government related consultation and multicultural event information, they advised me to speak with the Toyota International Association or with non-profit organizations operating in the nearby district of Homidanchi, as they would be the likely first point of contact for Brazilians seeking assistance.

Homigo Non-Profit Organization

Homidanchi is a collection of public housing apartment complexes managed by the Aichi prefecture, directly south of the Homigaoka district. Homidanchi is located approximately eight kilometers from Toyota Station and is accessible by bus from the nearby local train stops of Homi station and Josui station. Located in a maze of rice fields, Homidanchi is relatively isolated and the nearest landmark was a satellite campus of Chukyo University. The community houses a significant number of Toyota's Brazilian population. Homidanchi consists largely of numerous densely arranged apartment buildings arranged around a small "mall." This mall features ethnic businesses including a hair salon, martial arts studio, restaurants, and a supermarket. Signs posted throughout the community in Japanese and Portuguese provide information on garbage collection and other day-to-day needs.

The Homigo non-profit organization meets in the bottom floor of one of Homidanchi's apartment buildings. This building acts as a community center for Homidanchi's residents and Homidanchi's other NPOs. It is located in a convenient area, situated in the center of the

community, adjacent to the mall. I met with Homigo representatives on two occasions, once for an interview and once during an international event.

Two people participated in the interview, with one answering my questions in Japanese and the other translating the answers to English. They informed me that all NPOs operated similarly and relied on volunteers to assist those who sought language help. It was up to the residents whether they would seek NPO assistance, which largely involved language assistance. Many of those who sought language assistance were school-aged children. In addition, Homigo provided assistance on basic daily life problems such as information concerning the parking system and garbage removal. The staff remarked that many migrants have difficulty with both understanding the Japanese language and understanding the Japanese culture.

According to the NPO, companies had their workers live in Homidanchi. Families were able to rent the apartments for low prices as well, so many choose to live in the community. Because of the convenience of nearby Brazilian businesses, Homidanchi was an attractive location to live for Brazilians working in Toyota.

Regarding new problems experienced by the Homigo NPO, the representatives responded that though migrants are renting their apartments in a publicly administered complex, some resell the lease for the apartment when returning to Brazil. This is illegal, as the renters are required to return their apartment to the Aichi prefecture upon departure. According to the NPO staff, many who resell do not inform the Aichi prefecture, resulting in housing payments received in multiple names for the same apartment. In response, the prefecture now sends representatives to work with the NPOs to regularly check on the apartments to ensure that the original renters are still living there.

In Toyota, the Homigo NPO staff view Brazilians migrants as people wishing to eventually reside permanently in Japan. According to the staff, if Brazilian workers bring their families with them to Japan from Brazil, they will likely wish to live permanently in Japan due to the better opportunities and environment for their children in Japan as compared to Brazil. In addition, according to the NPO, 60-70% of Brazilian children living in Homidanchi were born in Japan. Many wish to stay in Japan and make use of their Nikkeijin long-term residency privileges provided through their visa.

The second opportunity where I met with the Homigo NPO was through an international festival event held in Homidanchi near the “mall.” Volunteers cooked and sold both Japanese and international food with the purpose of interacting with the Brazilians and building friendship between the Japanese and Brazilian residents of Homidanchi. Multicultural events in Homidanchi occurred multiple times each year, including the previous one to celebrate the New Year by making rice cakes with Homidanchi’s residents. Most volunteers I spoke with cited their motivation for participating as a desire to help foreign migrants with living in Japan. Homigo’s multicultural events acted as a method to show efforts in fostering multicultural interaction between foreign residents and Japanese in Homidanchi.

The Toyota International Association (TIA)

The main office of the Toyota International Association, a very different sort of non-profit organization, is located on the third floor of the Toyota Industry and Culture Center, a short walk from Toyota Station and a ten-minute walk from the City Office. This floor, which the TIA named “The Toyota Global Square,” is a large open area featuring a stage, print information corner, library, counseling room, and a volunteer room.

The TIA website is available in Japanese, English, and Portuguese. The TIA was established on October 1, 1988 with monetary assistance from the Toyota Motor Corporation. According to the website, the TIA was created with the purpose of expanding local cultural exchange activities for promoting mutual understanding and friendship with foreign countries. Furthermore, according to the website, the TIA, “aims to create a city of, vital industry, rich culture, and global exchange activities, along the three basic principles of ‘exchange,’ ‘understanding,’ and ‘unity’ through advancing the participation of citizens in regional dialogues and activities that require cooperation” (About TIA).

The TIA website also stresses in bold letters: “Internationalization requires that Citizens must take a leading role.” Furthermore, the website explains that, “Based on the three pillars of exchange, understanding, and unity, the TIA was established for the purpose of building the infrastructure of a society where people can live in harmony.” In addition, “The TIA has broadened the range of internal exchange activities in which citizens play a major role, including various exchange events and lectures where people can come together to experience new cultures to get to know each other” (About TIA). In other words, the TIA aims at fostering mutual understanding between the city’s Japanese and foreign residents through cross-cultural interaction and encourages Japanese citizens to actively participate in the TIA’s multicultural opportunities.

TIA volunteers host Japanese language classes. The first is the “Japanese language salon at the Toyota International Association.” This is a six-month weekly classroom style course directed by volunteer groups targeting foreigners who live, work, or go to school in and around Toyota City, costing 1,000-yen per course (approx. USD \$8.50). The purpose is for foreign residents and Japanese citizens who regularly interact with them learn about each other’s culture.

This class is also available to children. The second is “Alpha Japanese Language Class.” Also hosted by volunteers, three three-month courses are held each year for a 1,500-yen fee per course (approx.. USD \$13.00). Semi-private lessons are given by volunteers, aiming to have a good cultural exchange with students through learning Japanese. The third is the “Toyota International Association Nihongo Hiroba Basic Class/Intermediate Class.” This is a free course focused on conversation with volunteers with no textbook requirements. These classes are meant for individuals ages 15 and older (Japanese Language Classes).

In addition to language classes, the TIA hosts “National Days” in which foreign residents are able to present their countries’ history, culture, and lifestyle through an event held in Toyota Global Square in the Toyota Industry and Culture Center. This event involves performances of song and dance, national costumes, and multicultural interaction (Toyota Global Square National Day).

Foreign language consultation is also offered along with translation and interpretation services. The TIA offers translation services for Portuguese, Chinese, and English to and from Japanese. For a 3,600-yen per-page fee (approx. USD \$30.00), the TIA is able to translate documents with a two or three-week turnaround. The TIA is able to provide translation with a three-day turnaround for a 6,000-yen per-page fee (approx. USD \$51.00). In addition, the TIA website states that the organization provides interpreters in urgent situations such as, “an occurrence of domestic violence, counseling by the relevant organizations in the case of for foreigners hospitalized in critical condition, or when, in the course of daily living, a foreigner needs assistance with official procedures for matters relating to one’s humanity, human rights, social welfare, health preservation and medical treatment” (Translations, interpretation, foreign language counseling).

According to TIA staff, from 2006 to 2008, the TIA handled 46-68 consultation requests per year. This number skyrocketed to 1897 requests in 2009, which the TIA reported was due to the global economic crash. In 2010 they handle 855 requests which dropped to 466 and 472 respectively 2011 and 2012. In 2013, the number once again jumped to 882, an increase that the TIA stated was due to their employment of a full-time Japanese-Brazilian staff member. The number remained high in 2014 with 702 consultation inquiries, which according to the TIA was due to the FIFA World Cup Soccer tournament in Brazil.

Toyota Findings: The Active Role of the Toyota Motor Corporation

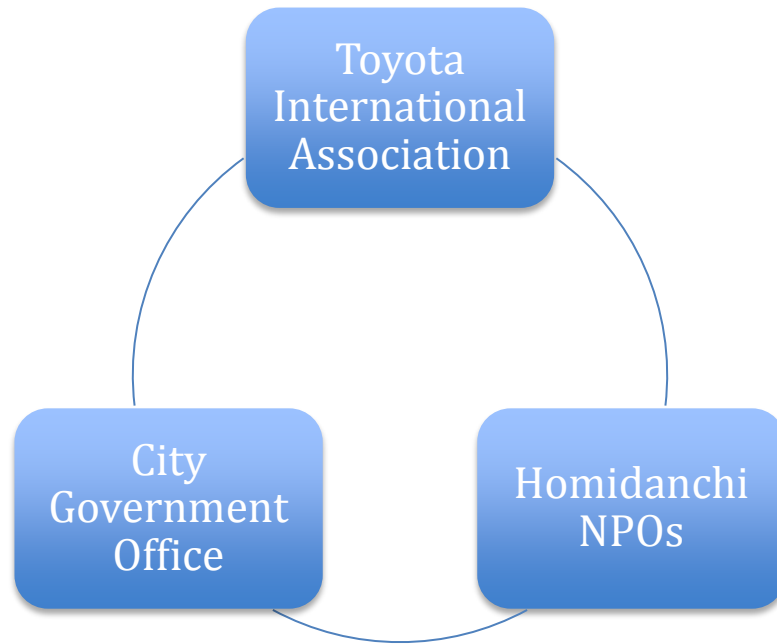
There is a close relationship between the Toyota Motor Corporation and the city of Toyota. Evident in the name of the city, my interviews and investigations revealed a monetary relationship between the Corporation and the city government and TIA. Though the exact monetary value was not disclosed, the Corporation's website states that in February of 1988, the Toyota Motor Corporation contributed to the Toyota International Fund, which later became the Toyota International Association. (Social Contribution Initiatives: Society and Culture, 2012). The TIA website states that they were founded in 1988 (About TIA), allowing me to conclude that this contribution was large enough to assist the start of the association. Furthermore according to my interviews with NPO representatives, the Corporation also contributed approximately 100,000,000-yen (approx. USD \$100,000 at 2008 exchange rates) to Toyota City with the intention of creating a Japanese language learning support system for foreign residents living in Toyota, especially for working people. Thus, the Corporation has an active role in the support systems of Toyota tasked with responding to the needs of its migrants.

The Toyota Motor Corporation plays a significant role in the housing of its workers. According to NPO representatives, the employers of Toyota's Brazilians have their workers live

in the Homidanchi community. Though it is up to the migrant, the easy renting process and possible arrangement by companies employing Brazilian workers makes living in Homidanchi desirable. The NPO representatives did not explicitly say that it was the Toyota Motor Corporation that had their workers live in Homidanchi. However, due to the nature of the city's industries and the overall dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation, it is highly likely that these Brazilians who are arranged to live in Homidanchi are migrant workers employed in the Toyota Motor Corporation or one of its subcontractors.

Toyota's support systems are organized in a horizontal structure, where responsibility for responding to the needs of Brazilian migrant workers is divided between the Toyota International Association, non-profit organizations, and the Toyota city government. Each organization handles similar issues, but the manner in which they handle those issues varies. Though private organizations take on similar problems as the city government, they address those issues differently. Private organizations do so through multicultural events and after-school language assistance. Toyota's horizontal organization is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 1: Toyota Support Structure



For Toyota’s Brazilian migrant workers, there is no perceived immediate long-term benefit to interacting with the Japanese nor is there a long-term benefit to learning the Japanese language. Their likely employment in the Toyota Motor Corporation assembly lines allows them to work without advanced Japanese language skills. In addition, the large number of ethnic businesses in Homidanchi enables migrants to live comfortably with low Japanese language proficiency.

However, the often low level Japanese language capacity, employment concentration, and highly concentrated and isolated housing may lead to Toyota’s Brazilian population to be seen as not members of the Toyota community. Instead, Toyota’s Japanese population might consider them solely as foreign migrant workers. For Toyota’s Brazilian migrants, interaction with Japanese residents and participating in Japanese society is not required for living in Japan due to the nature of their work and the easily accessible ethnic businesses. This concentrated nature, isolated location, and language barriers suggest that Brazilians and Japanese may not

have the opportunities to interact regularly. The lack of intercultural interaction may lead to a division between Toyota's Brazilian and Japanese population, potentially resulting in Brazilians being seen by Toyota's Japanese residents as a separate group rather than a part of the larger Toyota community.

Conclusion

Toyota features multiple support sources for non-Japanese residents of Homidanchi due to the active role of the Toyota Motor Corporation. However, their isolation in the Homidanchi housing complexes as a result of their employment, in addition to the numerous ethnic businesses available, allow for Brazilian migrants to live in Japan without high Japanese language proficiency skills. Though this allows Brazilians to be able to live more easily in Japan, these factors contribute to the common problem of Japanese language difficulties encountered by Brazilian migrants when they are forced to venture outside of Homidanchi.

Toyota features a division of responsibility among three organizations: The Toyota City Office International Division, the Toyota International Association, and multiple non-profit organizations operating in Homidanchi. Each organization offers similar help to tackle problems that Brazilians may encounter, including Japanese language assistance and translation services. However, it is likely that due to the city's division of responsibility between three entities, the Toyota City Government takes less of a role in Brazilian migrant incorporation. Instead, the private organizations in Toyota take primary responsibility for responding to the needs of Brazilian migrants, with Homidanchi's NPOs taking particular responsibility as the likely first point of contact for many of the community's residents.

Chapter Four: Yokkaichi

Though sharing some characteristics with Toyota, including similar foreign resident percentages and large concentrations of Brazilian residents, Yokkaichi takes a different approach in responding to Brazilian needs, providing support through levels of the Yokkaichi local government. The following chapter will explain the differing structure of support in Yokkaichi.

Yokkaichi is a city of approximately 312,477 people located in the Mie prefecture, west of Nagoya. The city is the largest in Mie Prefecture by population and is home to a significant foreign resident population of approximately 7,876 (資料編: 三重県内の外国人の状況について, 2015); the three largest nationality groups are Brazilians followed by Koreans and Chinese (Mie Prefecture Population Data, 2015) After World War II, Yokkaichi developed into one of Japan's leading industrial cities. Though industrial progress brought pollution with detrimental health effects, Yokkaichi has taken strides to push for environmental-friendly development (四日市の歴史).

Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon

From Yokkaichi's main website, I learned that the Yokkaichi City Office provided Japanese language classes for the city's foreign residents. I determined that those hosting the language classes would be the ones also responding to Brazilian migrant needs, or point me in the direction of whom I should speak with. The Yokkaichi City Office is located a short walk east of Yokkaichi station. The office consists of two buildings: the main Yokkaichi City Office and the Yokkaichi City Office Annex. The Annex located behind the main office sponsors the language classes. Volunteers assist foreign residents with Japanese language practice in an informal conversation-focused setting. When I inquired about how Yokkaichi assisted its resident Brazilian population, the volunteers advised me to speak with representatives of the

Sasagawa District Office on matters pertaining to Brazilian resident support. As the majority of Yokkaichi's Brazilian population lived in the Sasagawa district, the Sasagawa office would be a likely place of consultation.

The Sasagawa District Office is accessible through Nishi-hino station, a small station approximately eight minutes from the Yokkaichi main station by train. The Sasagawa district is located in the residential zones of Yokkaichi, southwest of the main part of the city, with the Sasagawa District Office an approximate 20-minute walk southeast of the Nishi-Hino train station. The office itself is a small two-story building in a residential area adjacent to a police station. The area features many small businesses including small health clinics and restaurants. After a brief wait, I met with two representatives from the district office. However, staff from the Sasagawa District Office offered to accompany me to another building, closer to where Brazilian migrants lived. Most of Yokkaichi's Brazilians live in a series of semi-public apartment complexes located a short drive south of the Sasagawa District Office. Signs concerning parking rules and garbage collection information in Japanese and Portuguese hinted at the nationality of the community's foreign residents, though the lack of ethnic-businesses did not make it explicit that Sasagawa had a sizeable Brazilian population.

The two District Office representatives drove me to the Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon. The Salon is publicly funded and government-run in a small one-story building within easy walking distance from the apartments. Three government employees at the time were working in the Salon, with one employee offering to act as an interpreter for my interview while also explaining the responsibilities of the Salon.

The representatives stated that Japanese language problems were typical for Brazilian migrants in Sasagawa. When I inquired about the typical problems experienced by the Salon,

they replied that a main problem was that only one staff member employed spoke Portuguese and Spanish. The main problems brought by migrants that the Salon handled were translation problems in reading and writing documents. Translation questions primarily concerned forms and applications and small problems such as housing inquiries. For kindergarteners and elementary school students, the Salon offered help with schoolwork.

According to the Salon, there was a difference in the types of support sought by newcomer immigrants and those who have resided in Japan for a long duration. The staff reported that newcomers and short-term immigrants typically sought translation services from the Salon. However, those who have lived in Sasagawa district for a long time sought help to improve their language ability.

The Salon staff also reported that many Brazilian migrants did not work in Yokkaichi and instead commuted to other areas. The staff stated that the companies employing Brazilians did not require their workers to live in Sasagawa. Instead, many migrants chose to live there in Yokkaichi's Sasagawa district because other Brazilians lived there as well; the Salon staff reported that Sasagawa featured a "strong community" of approximately 20% Brazilians. In addition, the Salon staff stated that the apartments were easy to rent for non-Japanese people.

In Yokkaichi, local government representatives viewed Brazilian migrants as people who wish ultimately to return to Brazil but are occasionally are unable to due to unemployment or lack of sufficient funds saved. The staff stated that for older Brazilian residents, there are no jobs in Brazil and that because they are getting older, these Brazilians are becoming unable to work. Newcomer migrants often have the impression that they will be able to return home to Brazil after working a short duration, yet many soon become unable to return.

There are no non-profit organizations that operate in Sasagawa or Yokkaichi to assist Brazilian migrants. Instead, those seeking consultation or support will first come to the government funded Multicultural Salon, an extension of the Sasagawa District Office. As almost all who live in Sasagawa know of the Salon's close location, support services are easily accessible.

The Salon offers Japanese classes for adults and children. Volunteers teach these classes and once a month there is a special activity. Three to four people attend the inexpensive 100-yen classes (approx. USD \$1.00). Ten to fifteen attend free language classes in the Sasagawa District Office. The importance of Japanese language capabilities came to light in 2009. Just as with Toyota's Brazilian population, with the economic crash, many Nikkeijin lost their jobs and were forced to learn Japanese in order to search for work. Approximately 40 people per month on average seek Salon consultation.

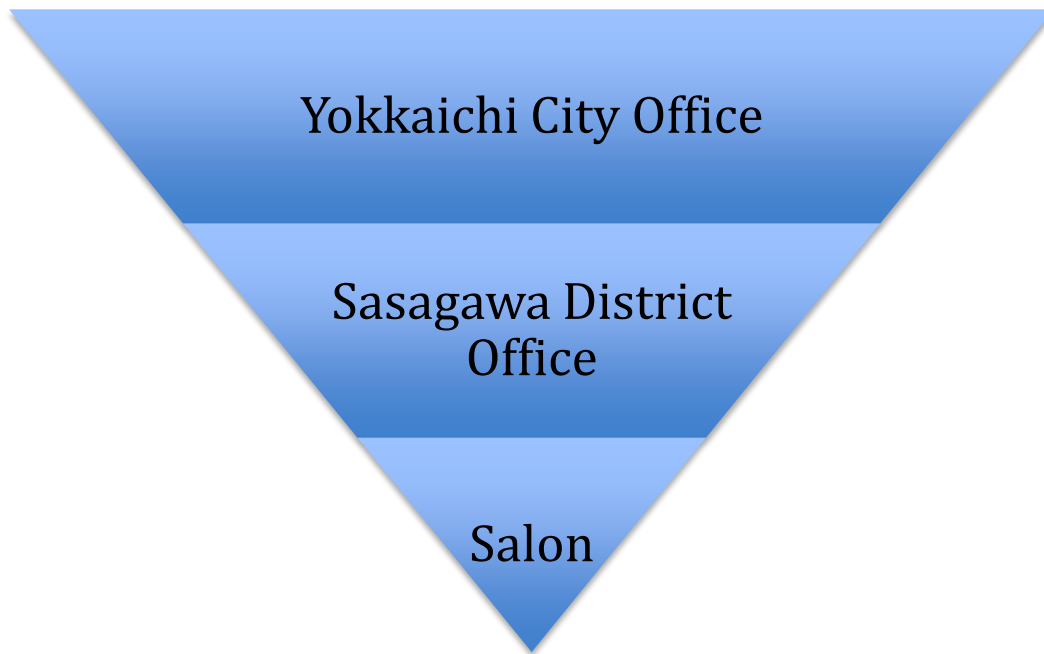
Despite the various types of support they offered to the city's foreign residents, the Sasagawa representatives did not view themselves as more progressive than local governments of other cities. Their views suggest that actions towards migrant incorporation in Yokkaichi may not have necessarily stemmed from progressive attitudes, but instead may have come as a result of the large population of Brazilians living in Yokkaichi. The city's migrant incorporation policies may have been grounded in a substantial need to accommodate their significant foreign resident population. With no large private organizations aimed at responding to migrant needs operating in Yokkaichi, the local government assumed the responsibility of migrant incorporation and innovated policies in order to effectively tackle the problems faced by Brazilian-Nikkeijin migrants.

Yokkaichi Findings: Government Vs. Corporation

The multipurpose capabilities of the Salon symbolize accessibility of the Yokkaichi local government. The importance lies in the effect of the Salon, both as a support entity but also as a symbol. Specialized consultation from the government rather than from private businesses suggests a willingness of the government to assist the city's foreign population.

The small number of local government staff in the Salon suggests that the Salon is intended to handle small, relatively quick problems. This suggests a vertical hierarchical organization through the Yokkaichi local government. Problems that the Sasagawa Multicultural Salon's specialized consultation cannot solve are transferred to the Sasagawa District Office. If the Sasagawa District Office cannot resolve it, the issue is delegated to the Yokkaichi City Office. As there are no non-profit organizations in Yokkaichi aimed at assisting Brazilians, the Salon is the primary and first point of contact for Sasagawa's Brazilian population. Yokkaichi's vertical organization is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 2: Yokkaichi Support Structure



The employment locations of Yokkaichi's Brazilian-Nikkeijin are not clear, as many have to commute out of Yokkaichi to other cities for work. The lack of ethnic businesses in Sasagawa suggests that Brazilians frequent the same businesses as Sasagawa's Japanese residents. In addition, the location of the apartments in the middle of Sasagawa's residential area indicates that there is less of a chance of the development of an isolated Brazilian district in Yokkaichi. As the apartments are located among Japanese neighborhoods, it is likely that Brazilians and Japanese interact or have the opportunities to interact regularly. Due to the nature of their employment, housing location, and the lack of Brazilian ethnic businesses in Sasagawa, the development of an isolated Brazilian migrant enclave is unlikely. Instead, regular interaction with Japanese residents and the location of Brazilian housing may lead to Brazilian migrants in Yokkaichi being viewed as part of the Sasagawa community rather than solely as migrant workers.

An international center with specialized support systems featuring one-on-one consultation may stem from the perceptions of migrants as part of the Sasagawa community. It may also be the result of the unclear nature of where Brazilians are employed. As many commute out, not only is it not immediately clear where migrants are employed, it is also unclear what types of consultation may be offered through their employment and what specific work-related problems migrants may encounter. This makes it difficult to generalize solutions for consultation-seeking migrants. Therefore, specialized one-on-one support is necessary in effectively responding to Yokkaichi's Brazilian migrant needs.

Conclusion

Unlike in Toyota, all support systems in Yokkaichi aiming at Brazilian migrant incorporation are government-funded. Yokkaichi's support systems act as a reflection of the city's prioritization of migrant incorporation. As they are government-funded, Yokkaichi's support systems suggest that the local government allocated sufficient funds to develop specialized support systems for Brazilians in Sasagawa and view migrant incorporation as a priority.

The local government assumes a larger role in Yokkaichi than in Toyota, as there are no private organizations tasked with helping Brazilian migrants in the Sasagawa district. Only a single support outlet is available through the Yokkaichi government, as compared to the multiple privately funded organizations in Toyota.

The lack of private organizations operating in Yokkaichi is partially the result of an absence of a dominant company that is motivated and able to provide financial backing to fund organizations to assist Brazilians, such as the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota. Yokkaichi's local government offices are unable to delegate migrant incorporation responsibilities to large

privately run organizations, such as the Toyota International Association in Toyota, or non-profit organizations aiming at assisting Brazilians, such as those operating in Toyota's Homidanchi. Furthermore, as the places of employment of Brazilians are also unclear, the Yokkaichi local government is not able to delegate responsibilities to the companies that employ the city's Brazilian residents. Therefore, the Yokkaichi local government assumes the full responsibility of responding to the difficulties that the city's Brazilian migrant residents encounter.

In order to effectively respond to Brazilian needs, as the first point of contact, the Sasagawa Multicultural Salon needs to be able to provide effective support for the numerous types of difficulties migrants may face. Other levels of the hierarchy such as the Sasagawa District Office and the Yokkaichi City Office need to be able to respond to multiple issues as well, when the Salon cannot resolve them. Furthermore, as Brazilians are not concentrated in an isolated enclave as in Toyota's Homidanchi, it is difficult for the Yokkaichi government to generalize about Brazilian needs and formulate incorporation solutions. Therefore, specialized support is necessary in order to effectively engage difficulties in the Sasagawa district.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Discussion

Conclusion

My thesis sought to answer the following questions: what are the needs of Nikkeijin? What methods of support do local governments provide for their Brazilian residents in responding to these needs? What is the reasoning behind their respective strategies? Are their strategies influenced by unique characteristics of the city? If so, what aspects of the city are significant in shaping the approaches taken by local governments? In order to answer these questions, I reviewed the literature related to the difficulties Nikkeijin face in Japan and the reasons why Nikkeijin experience these difficulties through a discussion of ethnicity and state re-ethnicization policies. I also explained why Japanese local governments are tasked with responding to these difficulties. I then presented the cases of Yokkaichi and Toyota and how each city responded to Brazilian migrant needs. Although in both cities, Brazilians faced similar difficulties, each city took different approaches to addressing these challenges. The following chapter will explain the factors that affect the different migrant integration approaches pursued by each city, followed by the limitations of my study and potential areas for future research.

Original Hypotheses

I hypothesized that despite sharing similar percentages and national origins of the largest foreigner groups, Toyota and Yokkaichi would take different approaches in responding to Brazilian needs. I hypothesized that this was due to the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota and the effects of a history of citizen mobilization in Yokkaichi. I also hypothesized that I would be able to see trends in types of consultation sought by Brazilian Nikkeijin with common seasonal issues, such as school enrollment in the spring and health concerns in the colder months.

Findings

My findings support the main hypothesis on the reasoning behind the different approaches taken by each city, but not the second on visible consultation trends. They do not confirm that there are trends in the types of consultation services sought by Nikkeijin depending on the time of the year. I found that local organizations in Toyota and Yokkaichi responded to similar issues throughout the year, addressing language difficulties through Japanese language classes and Japanese translation services.

The findings confirm that the dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota significantly affects the resources available in Toyota and is a key reason for the differences between the approaches used by the two cities, as Yokkaichi did not feature a similar dominant company. Because of the Corporation's role, multiple private organizations that respond to migrant needs operate in Toyota. The sole industrial dominance of the Toyota Motor Corporation also affects how Brazilian Nikkeijin may be perceived in Toyota, with Brazilian Nikkeijin migrants potentially being perceived only as foreign migrant workers as opposed to part of the Toyota community. In contrast, the lack of a sole dominant industry in Yokkaichi affects the resources available, resulting in support being processed entirely through the local government. This lack affects how Brazilian Nikkeijin may be perceived in Yokkaichi, with migrants potentially considered as part of the community.

It is also possible that Yokkaichi's different approaches are grounded in a unique characteristic of Yokkaichi's citizens due to the city's history of citizen mobilization that Toyota did not experience. This may affect how migrant support is structured in Yokkaichi and how local government representatives respond to the needs of Brazilian migrants through a unique sense of citizen responsibility. However, I was unable to establish a clear connection between

Yokkaichi's approaches toward migrant incorporation and the city's history of citizen mobilization.

The problems faced by Brazilians are similar in both Yokkaichi and Toyota with representatives from both cities citing Japanese language difficulties as the problems commonly experienced by Brazilians. This is consistent with previous literature on the challenges Brazilian Nikkeijin experience due to low Japanese language proficiency. Each city engages these difficulties through translation services, interpretation services, and Japanese language classes. However, Toyota and Yokkaichi differ in the organization of their support systems and the method at which they engage problems experienced by migrants.

Toyota's support systems are organized in a horizontal structure in which the responsibility for responding to the needs of Brazilians living in Toyota is divided amongst the Toyota International Association, non-profit organizations, and Toyota city government. Each organization addresses similar issues, though the manner in which they handle those issues varies between each organization. Private organizations, such as the TIA and NPOs, respond to similar problems as the Toyota city government, but engage those issues differently through multicultural events, after-school language assistance, and Japanese conversation practice.

In contrast, support systems in Yokkaichi are organized entirely through the Yokkaichi local government, as there are no private organizations tasked with helping Brazilian migrants in Yokkaichi's Sasagawa district. The Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon in the Sasagawa district acts as the first point of contact between the local government and foreign residents, and offers specialized consultation and Japanese language assistance. Issues that are unable to be solved by the Salon are transferred to the Sasagawa District Office. If the issue cannot be solved through the Sasagawa District Office, the issue is further delegated to the Yokkaichi City Office. (Please

see Table 1 for an explanation of the support systems and their responsibilities in Toyota and Yokkaichi.)

Discussion

Key Factor: The Dominance of The Toyota Motor Corporation

A significant factor behind the different approaches to responding to Brazilian needs is the dominance and active role of the Toyota Motor Corporation's in Toyota. The Corporation's role significantly affects how support systems are structured in Toyota, allowing for private organizations to take primary responsibility responding to the needs of Brazilian migrants.

The Toyota Motor Corporation plays a role in the housing of its workers, encouraging residence in the isolated district of Homidanchi. This isolation allows for the non-profit organizations operating directly in Homidanchi to be the first point of contact for Brazilians seeking assistance. Furthermore, the large distance between the Toyota city office and Homidanchi suggests that it is difficult for Homidanchi's residents to regularly seek consultation from the city office. Thus, NPOs operating directly in Homidanchi play an important role in migrant integration and assistance in Toyota.

The domination of the Toyota Motor Corporation has a direct effect on the resources available in responding to migrant needs. The financial power of the Toyota Motor Corporation allows for the creation of private organizations that provide migrants with multiple sources of consultation. However, this also allows the Toyota city government to assume a smaller role in integration policies and allows private organizations, such as the Toyota International Association and NPOs in Homidanchi, to take primary responsibility in responding to Nikkeijin migrant needs.

Without the financial backing and active role of a large organization like the Toyota Motor Corporation, the Yokkaichi local government is forced to allocate more resources in order to respond to the needs of Brazilians living in Yokkaichi, exhibited through the creation of the Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon. In addition, the Yokkaichi local government assumes full responsibility in responding to migrant needs, unable to delegate responsibility to numerous private organizations like what is found in Toyota.

This factor illustrates the extent to which the social statuses of Brazilian migrants are tied to their employment. Employment in Toyota Motor Corporation in Toyota almost guarantees isolation in the Homidanchi public housing complexes. Because of this isolation, migrants are able to live comfortably in Japan without high levels of Japanese language proficiency due to lower opportunities for interaction with Japanese and large amounts of ethnic businesses available in Homidanchi. In contrast, employment in or near Yokkaichi may lead to residence in Yokkaichi's Sasagawa district, requiring regular interaction with Japanese due to the residential location of the apartment complexes and the lack of Brazilian ethnic businesses.

Potential Factor: The Unique Yokkaichi Attitude

A unique characteristic of Yokkaichi's people stemming from Yokkaichi's history may influence the city's approach to migrant integration as well. Yokkaichi experienced rapid industrial growth through the petrochemical sector, bringing environmental pollution. The pollution resulted in detrimental health effects for Yokkaichi's citizens. In response, Yokkaichi saw significant citizen mobilization that eventually led to the development of environmental protection policies. Yokkaichi's residents therefore would have experienced the successes of their mobilization and sense of citizen responsibility. Toyota, in contrast, did not share a similar

history. Although rapid growth came with the Toyota Motor Corporation, the city did not have the same history of grassroots mobilization as Yokkaichi.

Though I am unable to establish a clear link, I believe that progressive attitudes and a willingness of citizens to take action can be the result of this history. A unique sense of citizen responsibility may have shaped support in Yokkaichi, manifested in specialized personal consultation through the Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon and readiness for government representatives to aid. Although I do not have concrete evidence, I feel that I experienced this attitude personally during my research in Yokkaichi when local government representatives offered to personally accompany me from the Sasagawa District Office to the Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon to complete my interviews.

Contribution to Existing Literature

My thesis is a comparison of two cases that can be placed within the discussion of return migration policies aimed at the integration of foreign residents. It examines the reasoning behind these policies and their effect on migrants, allowing for the understanding of how migrants are able to negotiate and renegotiate their ethnic characteristics in order to live comfortably. My thesis also presents an in depth perspective into how two cities in Japan work within Japanese national policy to provide help and assistance for their foreign residents. My findings confirm the challenges that Brazilian Nikkeijin face in Japan and the ways that local governments are forced to innovate in order to respond to migrant needs, as presented by my previous literature.

My thesis offers insight into the problems that occur when shared cultural expectations with co-ethnics are not fulfilled. I illustrate the problems faced by migrants by presenting the actions and strategies of organizations that respond to the problems. Japanese language assistance through classes and interpretation services by local organizations confirm the

challenges related to Japanese language proficiency as explained previously and potentially indicate efforts by local organizations to combat discrimination as a result of cultural differences as explained by my previous literature. My research displays the effects of previous re-ethnicization policies on both migrants and the local organizations that are tasked with assisting migrants.

The experiences of Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japanese society indicate different patterns of negotiation and re-negotiation when ethnic expectations are not fulfilled. The Japanese government favors Nikkeijin based on perceived shared cultural and ethnic characteristics. However, upon the realization of the cultural foreignness of most Nikkeijin, Nikkeijin become stigmatized as an ethnically foreign Brazilian group. Brazilian Nikkeijin migrants live in a constantly changing ethnic environment in Japanese society and deal with the consequences of their ethnicity being constantly redefined. This results in unfulfilled expectations and discrimination as a result of the stigmatization of their cultural differences, causing many to turn to local organizations for support.

My research also shows the effects of factors in Toyota and Yokkaichi that impact how Brazilian Nikkeijin migrants negotiate their ethnic identity while living in Japan. Ethnic businesses and the isolation of Toyota's Homidanchi district allow Nikkeijin migrants to live comfortably in Japan as a non-Japanese Brazilian group. In Homidanchi, Japanese language proficiency is not required due to the presence of ethnic businesses and the isolation of the district limits the opportunities for Brazilian migrants to interact with Japanese residents. However, these factors may strongly contribute to the discrimination faced in Japanese society. The residential location of Yokkaichi's Sasagawa district apartment complexes and lack of ethnic businesses in the area pushes Nikkeijin migrants to learn the Japanese and culture and

operate in society similar to a Japanese resident. Though this may reduce the chances of discrimination, living in the Sasagawa district requires Nikkeijin migrants to re-negotiate and limit their Brazilian ethnic identity.

My thesis explains the different strategies used by local governments and may provide insight into the limitations of different strategies as well as the limitations of a lack of a comprehensive national policy concerning immigrant integration. These two cases may indicate various strengths and weaknesses of different strategies. However, my study is not intended to assess the effectiveness of each city but instead to show how Toyota and Yokkaichi respond to their Brazilians and the factors that shape the way in which they respond.

Limitations

It is difficult to accurately determine whether local government incorporation policies effectively engage the needs of Brazilians in Toyota and Yokkaichi, as my study intentionally examines solely the perspective of local organizations that assist foreign migrants. Relatively low numbers utilizing the services provided by local organizations suggests that the resources of the cities are not matching up with the reported needs of the migrants.

However, it is difficult to accurately determine the specific needs of resident Brazilian migrants in Toyota and Yokkaichi and determine which service is the most effective from their perspective. In addition, the differences in the types of support sought by newcomer immigrants and those who have resided in Japan for a long duration indicate that the needs of migrants change over time.

Low consultation numbers may also indicate that migrants may be seeking support from alternative sources, such as from other Brazilian residents or employer provided consultation.

Hence, low numbers would not mean that the needs of Brazilian residents are not being met, but instead that their needs are being effectively responded to by other sources.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research is possible in other cities that feature large populations of Brazilian migrants, such as Hamamatsu in Shizuoka prefecture or Oizumi in Gunma prefecture, to determine if the needs of Brazilians are the same in these densely populated areas as well. Further research would thus be based on the strategies of engaging migrant needs in these areas as well as the reasoning behind differing policies. These differences will contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the needs of migrants and effective policies in engaging those needs in order to develop an inclusive national policy targeting migrant integration in Japan.

Appendix

Interview Process

I was able to conduct interviews with representatives and asked similar questions to each location's staff. In addition to in-person interviews, I was able to submit my inquiries to international center and NPO staff through e-mail as well. I communicated through e-mail to provide further questions after my interview or if organization representatives were unavailable to meet for an interview.

The primary questions of my interview are listed below.

- On average, how many people seek consultation?
- On what issues does the center primarily address?
- What is the average number of staff members assisting those seeking consultation?
- Are these staff members volunteers?
- Who typically seeks consultation?
- Where do the Brazilians typically live?
- Where do the Brazilians typically work?
- Do the children of these immigrants typically attend Japanese public schools?

I conducted my interviews primarily in English with Japanese occasionally for clarification purposes. Initial self-introductions and a brief overview of my research and purpose were provided in Japanese. However, my inquiries and in depth explanations to my inquiries were given in English. If the interviewee was not very proficient in English, an English-speaking staff member often volunteered to act as a translator as well as offer his or her own opinions and explanations.

In Yokkaichi, the initial phone call to the Yokkaichi City Office in order to schedule an

interview appointment was made in Japanese. In this phone call, I introduced myself and briefly provided an overview of my research and purpose. Upon meeting two representatives in Yokkaichi's Sasagawa District Office, self-introductions were given once more in Japanese. The two representatives and I then relocated to the Yokkaichi Multicultural Salon where I held the interview with the District Office representatives and an English-speaking member of the Salon. The English-speaking member was able to act as translator as well as provide her accounts of Yokkaichi's activities.

In Toyota, initial phone calls and introduction emails were unsuccessful. I overcame this obstacle by visiting the international division of Toyota's City Office and scheduled an interview in person. Self-introductions and the purpose and aim of my research were given in Japanese with the subsequent interview in English. With regards to the Toyota City office, I was able to interview an English-speaking staff member in the Toyota's international division. Regarding the Toyota International Association, representatives were unavailable for a meeting but were willing to communicate through email. All emails were exchanged in English. Regarding the NPOs operating in Toyota City's Homidanchi district, self-introductions and the purpose and aim of my research were given in Japanese with the subsequent interview in English. Two staff members responded to the interview questions, with one staff member acting as a translator for the other.

Table 1: Support Systems in Toyota and Yokkaichi

Support Systems in Toyota

Organization	Responsibilities	Target	Staff
Toyota City Government International Division	Translation Services, Interpretation, Official Document Translation	Toyota Residents	Government Employees
Toyota International Association	Translation Services, Interpretation, Language Help, Document Translation, International Events, After School Practice	All	Volunteers
Homidanchi Non-Profit Organizations	Language Practice, After School Practice, International Events	Homidanchi Residents, Children	Volunteers

Support Systems in Yokkaichi

Organization	Responsibilities	Target	Staff
Sasagawa Multicultural Salon	Specialized Consultation, Document Translation, Interpretation Services, After School Practice, "Small Problems"	Sasagawa Residents	Government Employees
Sasagawa City Office	Problems Unable to be Solved by the Salon	Sasagawa Residents	Government Employees
Yokkaichi City Office	Problems Unable to be Solved by the Sasagawa City Office	Sasagawa Residents/ Yokkaichi Residents	Government Employees

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