Original Article

Uneven Integration: Local Government Integration Policies and Filipino Residents in Nagoya City, Japan

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Abstract

The failure at the national level to address foreign resident integration has highlighted the need for local governments to implement policies and provide social services to foreign residents to promote multicultural co-existence. How such policies impact the integration of foreign residents given the specific context by which they migrated and settled is what this article seeks to investigate. Indices measuring integration policies tend to assess only what policies are intended to measure, leaving out unintended outcomes that can help better understand policy impact. This study is based on a mixed-methods study of Filipino residents in Nagoya City. Using a multidimensional approach to understand the extent of integration, I found that the Filipino residents are experiencing an uneven integration, brought about by a conflation of the approach of the local government to integration that prioritizes structural integration and the specific context of the Filipino residents in Japan.

1. Introduction

Japan has a reputation of having strict immigration laws (Kondo 2015). The country still does not admit the existence of immigrants,

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instead calling immigrants foreign residents, with the assumption that their stay in Japan is temporary. However, the continuous increase in the number of foreign residents which by 2016 is at 2.238 million (Ministry of Justice 2016) suggests that contrary to existing beliefs, migrants are coming and are staying longer than they are expected to.

To say that Japan is contradicting itself is not unfounded. The height of the Heisei boom in 1989 saw considerable labour shortage in jobs regarded as 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) such as those jobs in construction and entertainment industries. Considering labour importation as a last and temporary resort, the national government involved a number of ministries competing against each other in creating ad hoc committees and study groups (Weiner 2000). About 1 million foreign workers came to stay in Japan from 1980 to 1993 (Mori 1997). And now, while it eyes more foreign workers for the upcoming Tokyo 2020 Olympics, it still fails to consider the possibility that foreign workers might decide to stay longer and permanently.

According to Weiner (2000), the failure at the national level of public policy has strengthened the role of local governments and various non-government organizations in addressing the needs of foreign residents. In a report released by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication in 2006, under the banner of *tabunka kyousei* or 'multicultural co-existence', the burden of providing services and addressing livability issues of foreign residents fell onto the jurisdiction of local governments (Nagy 2008).

What this article seeks to understand is how local government policies (Table 1) impact the integration of foreign residents given the specific context by which foreign residents migrated and settled. I employed a mixed-methods approach to situate this question in the context of Filipino residents in Nagoya City. This article will be divided as follows: The next two sections will engage with the theoretical and methodological foundations of this research; the fourth and fifth sections will discuss the contextual factors, and the last section will discuss the Filipino residents' integration outcomes vis-à-vis the contextual factors.

2. Literature Review

While the literature abounds with varying definitions of integration, most of the researches have come to an agreement that integration is a two-way process (Penninx 2005; Hellgren 2015). As a two-way process, integration involves both migrants and the receiving states, that while it acknowledges that it is the state

that can limit or expand migrants' access to various institutions and services, it also recognizes the agency of migrants, in that migrants are driven by motivations, are different in their skills and have the capacity to affect their migration realities. Integration as a process then results from the interplay of contextual and individual factors.

However, many empirical researches have usually focused on either side of the equation, with majority focused on creating indices that measure the integration policies and programmes of migrant-receiving states. For example, the Migrant Integration Policy Index launched in 2015 is one of the most comprehensive indices spanning 38 countries, including Japan. Other such indices are discussed comprehensively by Helbling (2013) and Goodman (2015), and while they note that current indices focus on the multi-dimensionality of integration, they argue that most of these indices only measure what the policies are intended to measure, noting that, 'actual outcomes, whether intended or accidental, can be quite different and this has

Table 1   **Integration Policies of Nagoya City**

Structural	Cultural	Interactive	Identificational
Charter to ensure the appropriate employment of foreign workers and to encourage their adaptation to Japanese society	Elementary Japanese language concentration classes and Japanese language guidance classes	Exchange student participation in the Ward Festival	Ward-level Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Association
Counseling for Foreign Workers Center	Children's Japanese class	Internationalization seminar in the community	Multiculturalism promotion model projects
Employment Service Center for Foreigners	Japanese Language Education Consultation Center	Projects to increase awareness among foreign residents of the mechanisms of neighbourhood and resident associations	
Human Rights Counseling Center for Foreigners	Creating foreign language versions of notices for entering school and enrolment support	Nagoya International Center	
Legal consultation for foreigners	Radio for foreign residents	Foreign Resident Discussion Meetings	
Projects to raise awareness of disaster prevention among foreign residents Information about private rental housing etc. Multilingualization of fundamental medical information Dispatching and placing interpreters			

direct consequences on analysis' (Goodman 2015). Measuring only what policies are conveyed to do disregards the way policies are received and the circumstances of those supposed to receive them.

Acknowledging the multidimensionality of integration, integration scholars have come up with ways on how to describe integration outcomes. For instance, Esser (2004) notes of four dimensions: placement, culturation, interaction and identification dimensions. While placement pertains to access to social structures such as the labour market, housing and education, culturation and interaction pertains to a migrant's acculturation and participation in the host society, and identification pertains to a migrant's perception of his or her own belongingness and standing in the host society. His dimensions are comparable to that of Berry (2011), who also mentions of four dimensions: structural, cultural, interactive and identificational. Further, Penninx (2005) discusses three dimensions, socioeconomic complementing Esser's placement and Berry's structural dimensions; cultural/religious a combination of Esser's culturation and interaction dimensions and Berry's cultural and interactive dimensions; and legal/political, which is more or less comparable to Esser and Berry's identificational dimension. The main difference among these typologies is the focus. While Penninx (2005) focuses on the multidimensionality of integration policies, Esser (2004) focuses more on the process of integration from the acculturation process of the individual migrant and Berry (2011) focuses on how policies interact with the individual processes of integration.

Bosswick and Heckmann (2006), building on Berry's (2011) much earlier works, note that the dimensions proposed by Berry can help facilitate understanding how policies and other contextual factors interact with migrants' individual factors in the process of integration. These dimensions that explain integration outcomes highlight a member's inclusion or exclusion into or from social subsystems such as labour markets, educational systems, housing, health, cultural groups, among others (Schunk 2014). What it implies is that, if a

government's approach to economic integration is progressive and inclusive, then it can ease access for migrants into the labour subsystem, the impacts of which can be seen in their economic outcomes. To define, structural integration looks at a migrant's access to the basic institutions of the society, such as employment and education opportunities, housing and social services among others, cultural and interactive integration looks at the cognitive and attitudinal change of a migrant towards the host society. Lastly, identificational integration looks at the sense of belonging and identification with the host society.

Approaching integration from this perspective allows us to consider both sides of the equation, the host society and the migrants and how the interaction (or lack of) can impact a migrant's integration process.

3. Methodology

This article asks the question: How do policies impact the integration of foreign residents given the specific context by which they migrated and settled? Understanding that integration should be context-driven (Penninx 2005), I attempt to answer this question by using the case of Filipino residents in Nagoya City.

As of 2016, the top three most populous foreign resident groups in Japan are Chinese (695,522), Koreans (453,096) and Filipinos (243,662; Ministry of Justice 2016). Comparing the number of Filipinos among prefectures, the most number of Filipinos are found in Aichi prefecture with 33,390 Filipino residents; Tokyo only comes second with 31,315. Nagoya City is the most populated by Filipinos among all municipalities and cities in the Aichi prefecture.

In Nagoya City, as of 2016, the three largest groups of foreign residents include Chinese Koreans and Filipinos. Of the 74,180 foreign residents in 2016, 8,568 are Filipinos (Ministry of Justice 2016). According to Takahata (2008), Filipinos are among the oldest foreign residents in the area. Many Filipinos in Nagoya City came as tourists, entertainers and trainees during the Heisei boom. However, while those coming in with entertainer and trainee visas

dwindled by 2006, the next years saw an increase in those coming in with dependent, child of Japanese National and other family-related visas. This is the context whereby I conduct my investigation.

This article utilized mixed-methods approach employing both quantitative and qualitative approaches. First, data to aid in the development of the survey instrument were collected through interviews, both structured and unstructured, with migrant organizations and local government personnel, and through participant observation in programmes organized by migrant organizations in coordination with the city and prefectural government as well as with the Philippine embassy. Next, based on the data gathered during the first stage of the data collection, a survey was conducted among Filipino residents living in Nagoya City by using a random-sampling method and was administered face to face. It covered topics on the following issues: demography, reasons for migration, pre-migration and settling experiences, employment, housing and health, language proficiency, civic participation, transnational practices, ethnic social capital in the host country and intentions for the future. This survey instrument was pre-tested twice to test for its fit and validity. A total of 459 Filipino residents living in Nagoya City were covered in the survey. The survey was limited to foreign residents aged 15 and above and those who have stayed for more than 3 months following differentiation of the Japanese government between short stay and long stay visa types.

This article has two goals. First, I aim to assess what the policies and programmes the local government of Nagoya City implements based on a multidimensional approach to integration as discussed by Berry (2011), Nagy (2008) and Bosswick and Heckmann (2006). And second, I situate this integration approach in the context of the Filipino residents in Nagoya City to be able to understand better their integration experiences with regard to the policies and programmes being implemented by the local government while taking into account their particular histories and context.

4. Filipino Residents in Japan

The sudden increase of Filipinos in the 1980s came mostly about because of two factors: On the one hand, from the demand side, the economic boom experienced by Japan in this period has created jobs in the manufacturing, construction and entertainment industries. Considered 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and demeaning), most of these jobs were considered to be jobs that many Japanese people would not do. On the other hand, from the supply side, the 1970s labour export policy of the Marcos administration helped spur a 'culture of migration' (Asis 2006), sending hundreds of thousands of Filipinos to work abroad. Among the top destinations was Japan. By the 1980s, an unprecedented number of Filipinos have entered Japan as entertainers, working in Japan's big entertainment industry. Entertainer work was seen as a lucrative way to earn income, attracting more and more Filipino women to Japan.

The 1989 amendment of the Immigration and Refugee Control Act of Japan further encouraged this migration. The amendment that allowed entry of third generation nikkeijin to Japan also saw the addition of entertainer and trainee visas into the skilled visa categories, which Yamanaka (2006) argues virtually allowed entry of unskilled workers in Japan. However, entry became limited in 2005 when the United States released the Trafficking In Persons Report, which included Japan as the only developed country in a list of countries engaged with human trafficking. This resulted in the Japanese government implementing stricter measures in terms of issuing entertainer visas so that by the following year, the number of Filipina entertainers in Japan had dwindled significantly, from 39,000 entrants in 2005 to 7,000 in 2006 (Lambino 2015). While some Filipino entertainers were forced to go back to the Philippines after the stricter measures were put in place, some stayed and married Japanese men. Some, who still had families in the Philippines when they left, eventually brought their children and other relatives to Japan. What the 2005 Trafficking In Persons Report did was to bolster the image of Filipino

entertainer as a bad girl or as a victim of human trafficking. Those who married were often seen in a negative light as 'marrying for the yen' (Suzuki 2005).

The context by which Filipinos came to Japan has a number of implications. First, the movement especially during the period after the labour export policy was instituted has been highly economically driven. The culture of migration has instituted the idea that working abroad can improve lives back home. Many Filipinos, in pursuit of better economic outcomes for their families, travelled to Japan to engage in jobs considered as 3D. Second, engagement in such 3D jobs labelled many Filipinos as low-skilled workers. The association of entertainer work as a 3D job has given many entertainers a negative image, and the work's association with sex, regardless of whether an entertainer engages in prostitution or not, has given many entertainers a 'bad girl' image (Suzuki 2005). And consequently for those that eventually married Japanese men, they were often seen as 'marrying for the yen' (Suzuki 2005). And third, majority of those who travelled to Japan are women, and this opens up issues of reproduction, householding and child rearing.

While there are currently more varied groups of Filipinos travelling to Japan for different purposes such as careworkers, language teachers and students, the rapid increase in the number of entrants holding entertainer visas in the 1980s and the 1990s has created an image of Filipinos in Japan that is not easily changed. In the next sections, it will be discussed how such an image, coupled with the integration policies of the local governments, impacts the integration processes of many Filipino residents.

5. Nagoya City's Integration Policies

Before *tabunka kyousei*, there was *kokusaika*, often translated to mean internationalization. What the term did was to 'add a Japanese perspective to the international order' (Burgess 2012) and essentially reinforced the idea of a mono-ethnic nation. Internationally, *kokusaika* referred to the 'Japanisation of the foreign in the world' and, domestically, 'Japanisation of the foreign in Japan' (Burgess 2012). Because of this, *kokusaika*, though still used in discussions of the international, is in decline and has been supplanted by terms such as globalization and multicultural co-existence.

On the other hand, *tabunka kyousei*, translated to 'multicultural co-existence', describes a situation in which people of different cultures and ethnicities live together in harmony. Compared with *kokusaika*, the focus is on acknowledging the foreign and how the foreign and the local can harmoniously co-exist. The term has gained popularity when it was deployed in the context of local and foreign residents helping each other out in the aftermath of the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake in 1995. Nagoya City, like other cities and municipalities in Japan, currently implements various *tabunka-kyousei* plans.

To respond to the growing number of foreign population in the city, Nagoya City has launched the Nagoya City Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan in March 2012. The plan is effective from April 2012 to March 2017. The Nagoya plan highlights the importance of communication in creating bonds in the community. It has three policy directions:

1. communication support;
2. livelihood support; and
3. creating a multicultural communal society.

The plan highlights the importance of making information multilingual and providing Japanese language support 'so there will be no cases of people being unable to receive necessary information and governmental services because of difficulties in communicating in Japanese' (Nagoya City 2012). The city government aims to encourage foreign residents to participate in exchange events and projects in the community 'in which foreign residents are not in a position of always being supported but rather become enablers within the community'.

The multicultural plan of Nagoya City reflects the overall direction of the *tabunka kyousei* approach. According to the white article released by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, *tabunka kyousei* should

be deployed in the contexts of depopulation and ageing and local public finance crises as a tool to revitalize municipalities and localities (Nagy 2008).

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication announcement underlines the importance given to the structural integration of foreign residents over any other dimension of integration. What this approach does is it encourages localities and municipalities to be service providers, to provide basic social services that can facilitate easier access to the labour market and to other social structures such as health, housing and education sectors.

In terms of livelihood support, the Nagoya City government provides information to foreign residents to ease access to labour, housing, health and education structures. In terms of providing easier access to the labour market, the city has provided a comprehensive list of plans and policies such as providing legal consultation and counselling for foreign workers, providing an employment service centre and enacting a charter that ensures foreign worker rights. The goal is simple, as stated earlier, it is so that foreign residents would not always be in a position of always being supported.

Complementing livelihood support is communication support aimed at facilitating the cultural and interactive dimensions of integration. It includes provision of translations specifically for medical support, websites and bulletin boards, and disaster-prevention campaigns. In terms of instituting a more multilingual and more multicultural education system, there is a lack of policy initiatives. While language classes for children and adults are being offered, those are not mandatory.

In terms of the third policy direction that is creating a multicultural communal society to facilitate identificational integration, the city has been implementing internationalization seminars, establishing the Foreign Resident Discussion Meetings and conducting various multiculturalism promotion projects such as assisting foreign migrant groups in hosting ethnic festivals. While this is welcome, it brings to light arguments that have been used again and again in the critique of multiculturalism approaches to migrant integration. The

tendency to focus on the 3Fs of multiculturalism (food, fashion and festival) in approaching the issue of diversity within the city runs the risk of oversimplifying and consuming the cultures of the varied groups, a criticism that has been made before in reference to *kokusaika*.

Another critique is that policies aimed at creating this multicultural communal society are done simply to conform to some standard of multiculturalism. Compared with progressive cities such as Kawasaki City (Green 2013) where foreign resident discussion meetings can submit recommendations and have their recommendations enacted into laws, foreign resident discussion meetings in Nagoya City are but names to qualify the programme as part of its multicultural coexistence plan.

Looking at the policies and programmes highlights three important implications: First, stressing the need to revitalize municipalities through *tabunka kyousei* underscores the importance of foreign residents' economic contribution to the society. By having this focus, many localities and municipalities see themselves as service providers, an approach that Nagoya City also employs. Second, given the approach, the co-existence being pertained to in multicultural co-existence implies a rather shallow definition of co-existence in that what it encourages is a harmonious non-relationship between foreign residents and local residents. There is still a tendency to approach diversity in terms of *kokusaika*. This leads to the third implication, that it becomes obvious whom the policy actually is for. Local residents are the most important concern in this multicultural plan. The plan is for the local residents, so that, as stipulated in Nagy (2008) and reflected in the goal of Nagoya City's multicultural plan, foreign residents would not always need to be supported by them and would not disrupt the society.

6. Data

A total of 459 Filipino residents living in Nagoya City were covered in the survey. More women participated in the survey than men (Table 2). While women account for about 69 per cent of the respondents, men account for

Table 2   Selected Demographic Variables

Characteristics	Magnitude	Proportion
Sex		
Female	318	69.28
Male	141	30.72
Age in years		
15–24 years old	91	19.83
25–34 years old	178	38.78
35–44 years old	120	26.14
45–54 years old	57	12.42
55 years old and above	13	2.83
Civil status		
Single/never married	227	49.46
Married	191	41.61
Divorced	14	3.05
Widowed	13	2.83
Cohabitation/live-in	14	3.05
Stay in Japan in years		
Less than a year	106	23.09
1 year to less than 3 years	83	18.08
3 years to less than 5 years	39	8.50
5 years to less than 10 years	84	18.30
10 years to less than 20 years	97	21.13
20 years and above	50	10.89
Highest educational attainment		
High school	145	31.59
Technical vocational	68	14.81
College	244	53.16
Grad school	2	0.44

Table 3   Visa Status Variables

	Magnitude	Proportion
Status upon arrival		
Spouse	12	2.61
Entertainer	205	44.66
Trainee	103	22.44
Working	31	6.75
Student	18	3.92
Dependent	60	13.07
Japanese	4	0.87
Tourist	26	5.66
Current visa status		
Permanent	140	30.50
Spouse	4	0.87
Entertainer	99	21.57
Long term	97	21.13
Trainee	69	15.03
Working	21	4.58
Student	18	3.92
Citizen	5	1.09
Overstay	6	1.31
Know someone upon arrival		
Family, relatives and friends	187	40.74
Acquaintances and former workmates	110	23.97
None	162	35.29
Support from		
Neighbours	320	69.72
Work colleagues	413	89.98
Church	172	37.47
Organizations	125	27.23
Acquaintances	4	0.87
Internet friends	1	0.22
Reasons		
To work/look for work	339	73.86
To train/study	42	9.15
To marry/be with spouse	27	5.88
To be with relatives	50	10.89
Tour	1	0.22

about 31 per cent. In terms of age, majority are below 45 years old. The bulk is in the age group 25 to 34 years old. We can see two groups of residents based on their age and length of stay. The first group, making up the majority of those who arrived as entertainers during the 1990s, are in the 35 to 54-year-old age groups, while those that are in the second group are comprised younger age groups who arrived after most of the previous generation of entertainers have already settled in the city. Majority of those in the first group who arrived as entertainers are currently holders of permanent and long-term visas, while majority of those in the younger age groups came as dependents or as holding various visa types such as intra-company transfers and trainees. Some are newly arrived entertainers working in the entertainment industry in Nagoya City. Currently, among all respondents, about 30 per cent are permanent residents and 21 per cent are long-term residents (Table 3).

Majority of the respondents have stayed in Japan for more than 5 years (50.32 per cent). As stipulated earlier, many of the respondents who have stayed for more than 10 years have arrived in the 1990s as entertainers and have eventually settled down in Nagoya City.

In terms of education, more than half of the population has college undergraduate and graduate degrees. Respondents aged 25 to 44 years old seem to have higher educational attainment than those in the older age groups. Respondents who have stayed the longest tended to have lower educational attainment

than those who had just stayed for less than 3 years. However, overall, majority of the respondent population can be considered highly educated, as more than 50 per cent have spent at least one year in college.

In terms of householding, about 50 per cent of respondents have children and about 66 per cent of those with children have children attending school, most of whom are in elementary education and middle school or junior high school education levels.

Majority travelled to Japan to work or to look for work (73.86 per cent). For most of the respondents, they already knew someone when they came to Japan such as colleagues from work or neighbours (Table 3).

7. Implications for the Integration Outcomes of Filipino Residents in Nagoya City

7.1. Structural Integration

Among the 459 Filipino residents in Nagoya who responded to the survey, majority of them reported having jobs (91.72 per cent). Jobs tend to be concentrated in the service sector where majority work as factory workers (45.84 per cent) and as entertainers (30.64 per cent). About 20 per cent work as professionals (such as engineers, nurses and caregivers, information technology specialists and assistant language teachers). Often, they obtain information about available jobs through their personal networks (54.16 per cent).

Although access to job is high and majority of the respondents feel that the amount of money they receive for their wages are sufficient for their daily needs (97.39 per cent), only about 72 per cent receives the same salary every month (Table 4), implying the seasonality of jobs that many of them engage in. Further, language (43 per cent) and qualification (43 per cent) seem to be big problems in looking for jobs as shown in Table 4.

What it tells us are two things: First, although access to jobs is high, many of the foreign residents are working in low-skilled labour. Regardless of length of stay, many of those who have stayed the longest are still

Table 4   Selected Economic Variables

With job	Magnitude	Proportion
No	38	8.28
Yes	421	91.72
Job type		
Entertainer	129	30.64
ALT	22	5.23
Nurse/nurse assistant/carework	35	8.31
Engineers/professionals	27	6.41
Factory work	193	45.84
Various services	15	3.56
How found current job		
Philippine agency/company/POEA	45	10.69
Personal connection	228	54.16
Job advertisement	119	28.27
Local government	26	6.18
Migrant organizations	3	0.71
Selected variables		
Receives same salary every month	303	71.97
Feels that salary is sufficient for daily needs	410	97.39
Feels that skills match with current job	390	92.64
Problems experienced during job search		
Discrimination	21	4.99
Personal constraints	27	6.41
Language	182	43.23
Qualification	184	43.71
Visa	27	6.41
Temporary contract	24	5.70
Illegal	2	0.48

engaged in low-skilled labour. Second, this immobility from low-skilled labour is possibly connected to the qualification and language problems raised by many respondents. While respondents have, in general, high education levels, it would seem that their educational qualifications from the home country are unusable when it comes to finding better jobs in the host society. Many high-skilled jobs, where Japanese is required, entail some level of language proficiency and some knowledge of jargon used in specific fields; also, in many cases, knowledge of *keigo* (honorific and polite) speech and etiquette is required. Incompetence in the language can affect economic mobility. This is illustrated by an experience one of my key informants relayed to me. She was scheduled for a job interview at the Bureau of Immigration in Nagoya City. While she can speak

and understand Japanese, she said her Japanese is very colloquial and casual, as she only learned some words when she arrived in Japan after marrying her Japanese husband. She eventually went to the interview but decided not to pursue it anymore as she felt that she was not qualified in terms of language fluency.

It does not mean, however, that the human capital foreign residents brought with them from their home country are useless when they moved to Japan. The same informant, after she did not continue on with her application at the Bureau of Immigration in Nagoya City, went to obtain a job as an office worker at a mobile phone carrier. Her Filipino language proved useful as she was hired to manage Filipino clients. Some Filipinos also capitalized on their own ethnicity to improve their economic outcomes. One of my informants runs a restaurant where she cooks and serves Filipino food to a diverse clientele. She serves not just Filipinos but also Japanese customers as well, as well as other nationalities.

Such examples show that by capitalizing on their being Filipino can improve their outcomes, it is hardly the case for everyone. As the data showed, jobs are easy to access. The local government's policies and programmes welcome the active participation of foreign residents in the labour market. But it would seem that the labour market is still not easily penetrated. Most of the jobs available to many Filipino residents are still categorized in the low-skilled sector. This economic immobility caused by language incompetency and lack of qualifications can be a big hurdle.

The story is slightly different for those already involved in high-skilled jobs. It would seem that for those in high-skilled jobs, their education and work experience from the Philippines matter. Language is still a concern but less so. In fact, the language proficiency levels of those in high-skilled and low-skilled jobs are comparable. The main concern, however, is the temporary contracts that they obtain. This can be attributed to two reasons: First, working visas have to be renewed usually every 3 years, and second, many Japanese companies are hesitant to sponsor a foreigner's working visa. While the city has enacted a charter ensuring fair treatment of workers, it still cannot police each and every company.

In terms of access to health facilities, about 96 per cent have access to health insurance (Table 5), whether it is through the National Health Insurance (NHI) or through the Employees Health Insurance (EHI; Table 7). NHI, for instance, is accessed by majority of the respondents (58.17 per cent). The NHI covers individuals not eligible for any employment-based insurance schemes. What the numbers imply is that many of the respondents are not eligible for EHI. This may be associated with the nature of work these respondents engage in. In many cases, factory work and entertainment work are often considered as part-time jobs or *baito* and are usually paid by the hour. In such cases, the individual is not enrolled in the EHI and pays NHI premiums as computed by the municipality where he or she lives in dependent on his or her income.

Less than half of the respondents have experienced going to the hospital for any medical needs. Among those, 60 per cent experienced some difficulty, mainly because of language (52.40 per cent). Here again, we see the effect of language. Some respondents who have some language capability still reported

Table 5 Access to Insurance

Access to insurance	Magnitude	Proportion
No	17	3.70
Yes	442	96.30
Type of access		
NHI	267	58.17
EHI	112	24.4
Dependent	61	13.29
Seikatsu hougo	2	0.44
Experienced going to hospital		
No	251	54.68
Yes	208	45.32
Problems experienced		
None	83	39.90
Lack of information	52	25.00
Problems related to documents/visas	20	9.62
Language	109	52.40
Discrimination	7	3.37
Temporary contract	24	11.53

experiencing difficulties. Japanese medical terms are very specific, and conveying pains and illnesses can be a challenge in itself. This is the primary reason why Nagoya City includes in its programmes deployment of medical interpreters to assist foreign residents.

On the other hand, majority of the respondents seem to have no problems with their current housing. Many Filipino residents live in *danchi*, a type of residential complexes managed by the prefectures. Rents are usually lower as compared with others. Because they are managed by the municipalities, there is usually no key money or contract renewal fees involved that lower the rents considerably. To be able to live in a *danchi*, residents have to apply to the municipality. Nagoya City, for instance, provides translations of guides in filling up housing application forms. *Danchi* housing units are also usually bigger than other private apartments, making them ideal for Filipino residents who often live together with relatives (28.98 per cent; Table 6).

Many Filipinos seem to congest in similar areas. Majority of the respondents found their current housing through personal connections (43.36 per cent). And about 80 per cent live in areas where there are many Filipino residents. One limitation of this research is that I

do not touch upon housing segregation in a much deeper level. Some studies such as Tsuzuki's (2000) study on interactions among Nikkei and local residents suggest that some form of housing segregation have happened in other *danchi* housing complexes in other municipalities, and this is being attributed to the lack of engagement of the local and neighbourhood associations with the foreign residents.

It would seem from the results of the survey that access to the basic social structures was made easier by a combination of factors. On the one hand, the policies and programmes of the city facilitate a situation where foreign resident engagement in such social structures is generally accepted. The thrust towards the participation of foreign residents in the labour market complements the goal of *tabunka kyousei* as the tool to revitalize local municipalities. The migrant population has the potential to bring in income in the form of taxes and businesses (see Parkes & Pryce 2007; Heath & Demireva 2014). Further, structural integration policies involve the same services provided to Japanese citizens and are simply extended to foreign residents. Of course, there are some instances when new policies and programmes are introduced that are specifically tailored to foreign residents' needs such as the use of medical interpreters or translation of notices. But it is in such instances when specific policies are required that we saw from the data that foreign residents experienced more difficulties.

On the other hand, the respondents' ethnic social capital seems to have contributed significantly in their structural integration, especially in the case of respondents who are employed in low-skilled jobs. The data showed that the respondents already knew someone when they arrived in Japan who provided them help not just in monetary but in emotional and psychological terms. As seen earlier, majority found jobs and housing through their personal connections.

What complicates the scenario is the specific context of the Filipino residents. As we saw from the data, majority of the respondents are in low-skilled jobs. Jobs found through

Table 6 Selected Housing Variables

Variables	Magnitude	Proportion
How found current housing		
Living with family/spouse	133	28.98
Through personal connection	199	43.36
Provided by work company	80	17.43
Through own's effort	20	4.36
Through local government	23	5.01
Through migrant organizations	3	0.65
Problems experienced		
None	411	89.54
Lack of information	29	6.32
Problems related to documents/visas	2	0.44
Language	23	5.01
Money	8	1.74
Discrimination	1	0.22
Distance	9	1.96
Living in an area where many Filipinos are living		
No	93	20.26
Yes	366	79.74

personal connections seem to be more concentrated in low-skilled sectors than jobs found through other more formalized means. Most of the respondents who found jobs through personal connections are in entertainer and factory jobs. Many permanent residents still engage in entertainment work, arguing that the job is a lucrative source of income. On the contrary, the respondents in salaried high-skilled jobs reported finding their jobs by responding to job advertisements.

In short, the respondents in low-skilled and in high-skilled jobs both experience immobility. For low-skilled respondents, regardless of how long they have been in Japan, it seems that breaking into different industries is difficult. Language and qualifications seem to be the biggest hurdle, entrenching them into jobs that are considered 3D. On the other hand, for high-skilled respondents, visa and temporary contracts are the biggest issue that hinders their mobility.

7.2. Cultural and Interactive Integration

The second and third policy directions of Nagoya City seem at the outset to target the cultural and interactive dimensions of integration. For instance, language classes for young and adult learners are being offered by the local government for free. As mentioned earlier, the self-rated Japanese language proficiency of many of the respondents is mostly below intermediate or level 3 based on the categories in the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (Table 7).

However, a very small proportion of the respondents are currently studying the language. Learning that it is not mandatory and although classes provided by the local government are free, it is surprising to find that most of those studying the language are taking them from a migrant organization. Majority reported 'time' as being the major reason why they cannot continue learning the language from formal institutions, which is expected, given that majority of the respondents are working and are with children.

Aside from adult learners, there is a much bigger issue that the city aims to address when

Table 7   Language Variables

Language proficiency	Magnitude	Proportion
Level 1	33	7.19
Level 2	184	40.09
Level 3	176	38.34
Level 4	59	12.85
Level 5	7	1.53
Currently studying language	27	5.88
Where		
Classes provided by local government	8	29.63
Classes provided by migrant organizations	10	37.04
Private institution/university	3	11.11
Self-study	6	22.22
Problem encountered with studying		
None	5	18.52
Lack of information	2	7.41
Motivation	4	14.81
Time	20	74.07

it comes to language competency. The so-called 1.5 generation[1] who arrive as children and adolescents in Japan was the proposed focus of the multicultural plan for 2018 discussed during the Nagoya Regional Seminar. Uncommon are stories of Filipino women who worked as entertainers in Japan and upon coming back to the Philippines learned that they are pregnant. Recognition of the children by their Japanese fathers often takes time and is usually traumatizing. Upon recognition, children are moved to Japan after having spent some part of their childhood in the Philippines. They constitute a big portion of the 1.5 generation children in Japan. According to Takahata (2011), the number of 1.5 generation Filipino children in Japan is increasing, although there are no specific numbers, as many of them are often categorized into long-term residents.

One of the biggest problems with regard to the education of children is the difference in the Philippine and Japan education systems. Although the Philippines has recently

1. According to Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot (2015) in her study on 1.5 generation Filipinos in France, the term '1.5 generation' refers specifically to migrants' children who themselves 'migrate and arrive in their receiving country between the ages of 5 and 18 and have therefore experienced schooling successively in both their country of origin and their host country'.

implemented the K-12 system that adds two more years of education to be at par with other educational systems in the world, there are still differences in culture and rules. The language difference that children have to overcome to be able to integrate stands out. Takahata (2011) notes that children aged 5 years old or more will have a difficult time catching up with lessons, as Japanese and Filipino languages differ greatly. Further, because school year levels are determined by age in Japan, this creates problems for teenagers who are suddenly thrown into junior and senior high schools whose Japanese ability is elementary at best. This can set off a series of complicated problems: Not properly learning the Japanese language will hinder these children from going to higher education, and ultimately into the labour market.

On the other hand, in terms of establishing ties and friendships with Japanese people, majority reported having a Japanese friend that they can rely on (82.79 per cent). Results suggest that language plays an important role in establishing friendships with Japanese residents. About 67 per cent of the respondents cited language as what stops them from having more Japanese friends, while 60 per cent noted time and 25 per cent pertained to the differences in culture (Table 8).

In terms of civic participation, according to the survey, majority of the respondents reported being involved in some form of organization (40.31 per cent). Many Filipino residents acknowledge the benefits of joining and being active in organizations, and the most oft-cited advantage is that it makes them feel part of a community. A substantial proportion also noted that organizations can give them better access to information, work and opportunities (Table 9). However, even among those who are members of organizations, active participation is low. Time seems to hinder most of the respondents from joining and actively participating in organizations.

The city does not hinder foreign residents from organizing. Nagoya City hosts a number of foreign resident and migrant associations. It provides financial sponsorship as well as legitimacy to many of the groups that are active in the locality. And at the same time, the city

Table 8   Having Japanese Friends

Many Japanese friend	Magnitude	Proportion
No	79	17.21
Yes	380	82.79
Where met Japanese friends		
Same residential block/complex	143	37.63
Work	357	93.95
Organization	24	6.32
Church	7	1.84
Common friend	4	1.05
School	7	1.84
Internet	1	0.26
Reason		
Culture	20	25.32
Time	47	59.49
Language	53	67.09
Nationality	9	11.39
Visa	17	21.52
Personality	1	1.27

Table 9   Membership in Organizations

Organization	Magnitude	Proportion
Church/religious	67	14.60
Filipino migrant organizations	40	8.71
International associations	1	0.22
Neighbourhood organizations	14	3.05
Organizations organized by the local government	1	0.22
Voluntary organizations	62	13.51
No organizations	274	59.69
Why join		
Feels part of a community	137	74.05
Better access to information	109	58.92
Better access to work and opportunities	58	31.35
Help with homesickness	5	2.70
Emotional support	3	1.62
Frequency of participation in organization events		
Always	7	3.78
Sometimes	44	23.78
Neither sometimes neither seldom	81	43.78
Seldom	51	27.57
Often	2	1.08
What stops from joining organization		
Lack of information	102	37.23
Time	217	79.20
Visa	11	4.01
Language	30	10.95
Personal reason	1	0.36

also taps into these organizations for assistance on various foreign resident-related issues.

To facilitate foreign residents' involvement into the community, the city government established the Nagoya International Center, a non-profit organization based in Nagoya, affiliated with the city government. By having rooms that can be hired for conferences, meetings and various events, it provides a physical space where foreign residents can meet, organize and become involved with a variety of community affairs. Filipino migrant organizations such as the Chubu Philippine Friendship Association have utilized the Nagoya International Center spaces for different events. However, rents for the spaces can be expensive. The smallest conference room can range from ¥3,500 to ¥4,300 for 3 hours and ¥9,200 to ¥16,650 for an entire day depending on the purpose. For other events, such as bazaars and some informal meetings, many Filipinos use the Ikeda Park. Organizations wanting to use such public spaces have to coordinate with the *chounaikai* (neighbourhood associations) to access permission. The Filipino Migrants Center and the Philippine Society of Japan boast of good relationships with members of the *chounaikai* because they had needed to use the spaces for a number of events. In a way, such 'required' coordination between the *chounaikai* and the Filipino migrant organizations has created ties between and among the groups.

In terms of participation in events and programmes conducted by the local government, there is a much lower participation rate (Table 10). Time, lack of information and language are the most oft-cited reasons for non-participation. Among programmes that have been implemented by the local government, take-up is high for language classes than among other programmes. While many respondents note that participation in local government-led events and programmes can help them feel more at home in the community, some still reported having no idea how such involvement can help them.

This is not unfounded; many programmes can be categorized as 3F multiculturalism and hark back to *kokusaika*. The city government,

Table 10   Participation in Local Government Events

Participation in local government events	Magnitude	Proportion
Frequency of participation		
Always	1	0.22
Sometimes	8	1.74
Neither sometimes neither seldom	60	13.07
Seldom	194	42.27
Often	196	42.7
What stops from joining		
Lack information	169	36.82
Time	360	78.43
Visa	23	5.01
Language	61	13.29
No interest	1	0.22
Local government programme		
Language classes	111	24.18
Translation services	44	9.59
Visa assistance	40	8.71
Multicultural programmes	57	12.42
Job fairs	42	9.15
Housing	54	11.76
Earthquake and emergency drills	78	16.99
Windows for foreign resident opinion	33	7.19

along with neighbourhood associations, has supported parades and festivals showcasing the various cultures of the foreign residents such as the Philippine Festival and the Brazilian Day. While this is not entirely bad, Carruthers (2013) and Flowers (2012) warn us of the peril of the so-called 3F multiculturalism that essentializes the 'food, festival and fashion' of a culture, thereby failing to recognize the subjectivity of the migrant.

It would seem that, while programmes are acceptable, the approach is not appropriate. Following the rhetoric at the national level, foreign residents are treated more as a problem rather than as a possible asset. By approaching foreign residents as problems needing to be solved, there is a tendency to lump all foreign residents into one outsider group, disregarding their differences and the issues particular to their historical relations with Japan.

This was noticeable during the Nagoya Regional Seminar held in 5 to 6 February 2016. The seminar was held to discuss how to revise the current multicultural plan as it is

expiring in 2017. Japanese experts from various universities discussed the 1.5 generation issue, which was the decided theme of the new plan, and while this is indeed an urgent issue as I mentioned, the format largely ignored the aim of the programme, which is 'an opportunity for Japanese and non-Japanese residents to think about the future of a Nagoya City rich in diversity'. The issues raised by foreign residents during the panel discussion at the end of the programme, such as the loneliness of foreign wives raised by a Chinese foreign resident, business opportunities raised by an American foreign resident or lack of funds for migrant-run schools as raised by a Filipino resident, were seemingly put to the side because of the issues that were already highlighted by the city since the beginning of the event.

Among the most important programmes held by Nagoya City to improve the representation of foreign residents and to address the diversity in the city is the Foreign Resident Discussion Meetings. These meetings act as venues where foreign residents can express their opinions and suggest as to what issues are deemed critical in foreign resident communities. The potential of such a programme in improving the integration process of the foreign residents is substantial, as including them in discussions that are needed to address their specific concerns can greatly improve their sense of belongingness. However, participation in the meeting is made difficult by a number of factors. First, the discussion meetings are conducted in Japanese. Residents who cannot speak Japanese and who would want to attend are required to bring their own interpreters. Second, the format suggests that themes are already decided by the local government beforehand. Meetings are held thrice a year, which is sparse considering the purpose of the discussion meeting.

In the literature, foreign resident non-engagement with the host society has been a chicken and egg kind of question (Penninx 2005). Whether it is caused by foreign residents not wanting to engage or whether it is the lack of government responses, the literature could not really seem to say definitively. What

we see in this case, however, is a largely inactive group of foreign residents whose inactivity is being addressed by inappropriate approaches.

On the one hand, at the individual level, the respondents seem to interact and establish personal ties with other Japanese individuals, and they seem to acknowledge the importance of being involved in meso-level organizations, although reasons for participating are more for personal benefits than for pushing for acceptance in their locality. At the organizational level, on the other hand, many still do not see the need to push for representation. And further, we see a local government whose approach on diversity has the tendency to consume other cultures where the centre of this multicultural exchange is the host society and migrant subjectivities ignored.

7.3. Identificational Integration

On the other hand, identificational integration as a measure of belongingness can be understood in terms of the subjective perceptions of foreign resident of their fit and involvement into the host society, as well as their perceived contentment (Berry 2011). From Table 11, we see in terms of perceptions of belongingness

Table 11 Belongingness Variables

Variables	Magnitude	Proportion
Contentment in life in Japan		
Very content	105	23.09
Content	209	45.53
Discontent	135	29.41
Very discontented	9	1.96
Feelings of being welcomed		
Very welcomed	100	21.79
Welcomed	228	49.67
Unwelcomed	127	27.67
Very unwelcomed	4	0.87
Feelings of being able to succeed		
Very able	190	41.39
Able	212	46.19
Unable	56	12.2
Very unable	1	0.22
With intent to stay permanently in Japan	59	12.85
Applied for citizenship	18	30.51
Resident card checked by police	133	28.98

that more respondents have responded positively in terms of being contented, feeling welcomed and able to succeed, although more moderately than expected. A minimum-wage earner in Japan still earns considerably more than a minimum-wage earner in the Philippines, and following the discussions in the previous sections showing that majority of the migrants travelled to Japan for economic reasons, it would be instinctive to expect responses showing higher levels of contentment. Levels of contentment and perceptions of being welcomed seemed to be more moderate as compared with perceptions of being able to succeed. Responses for contentment and being welcomed seem to cluster around 'welcomed to unwelcome' in contrast to responses for perceptions of being able to succeed that clustered around 'able to very able'.

According to the survey, only a small number reported feeling discriminated against when looking for work (4.94 per cent) and some 30 per cent reported being stopped by police to have their resident permits checked. On the other hand, in terms of intent to stay, only about 13 per cent of the respondents expressed intent to stay permanently in Japan. And from this 13 per cent, only 30 per cent have applied for citizenship. When asked why those who have intent to stay permanently did not apply for citizenship, almost 48 per cent responded with 'I would need to renounce my being Filipino'.

Looking at group differences, there seems to be no general trend among the belongingness levels of respondents with high-skilled and low-skilled jobs. However, we see that perceptions of being able to succeed and contentment can be said to be higher among high-skilled respondents. The most salient pattern emerges, however, in terms of language proficiency. Respondents with intermediate to advanced language competencies responded with higher contentment (58.81 per cent), higher perception of being welcomed (54.39 per cent) and higher perceptions of being able to succeed (51.89 per cent). It would seem that those with better language competency seem to have better overall identificational integration as they are able to navigate their society better and access more resources.

In terms of length of years stayed in Japan, based on the descriptive statistics, it seems that the longer the respondent stayed in Japan, levels of contentment, perceptions of being welcomed and being able to succeed increase, although the increase in the proportion of respondents who go up one level seems to decrease as they stay more.

Interestingly, based on the data, identificational integrations in terms of contentment and fit are moderate while involvement is moderate to high. It would seem that, while involvement or the perception of being able to succeed is an inward assessment of the their own skills, contentment and perception of being welcomed are assessed more on in terms of their position as a Filipino in Japan. The relatively lower levels of perception of fit and contentment are possibly affected by the conflation of the approach of the local government that values language competency, high-skilled participants in the labour market and the stereotype of the Filipino in Japan. The prevalent image of the Filipino woman migrant as a 'bad girl' and as 'marrying for the yen' still exists (Suzuki 2005). For instance, the Chubu Philippine Friendship Association argues that this image still exists in Nagoya City and has made it a goal to erase the 'bad girl' image by holding events in considerably more upscale places such as the Hilton Nagoya and opening these cultural events to both Japanese and foreign expats. Involvement in unskilled labour can put one at a disadvantage in the Japanese society, especially when it comes to economic equality and demand for fair treatment. And the local government approach to multicultural co-existence runs the risk of entrenching such negative images.

8. Conclusion

This article inquired about the extent of integration of Filipino residents vis-à-vis local government policies in Nagoya City. The whole exercise showed the importance of looking beyond intended policy outcomes to

understand how the interplay of contextual and individual factors can affect the integration process. On the one hand, the characteristics and histories of different migrant groups can inform us better how to approach integration projects. Take-up of services can vary among migrant communities; some groups may be more susceptible than others. On the other hand, how the host societies approach the integration project can also significantly impact the process.

What is being argued in this article is the importance of looking beyond policy outcomes. Migrants come with histories that are unique to their group and that could affect their migration realities. Implementing policies without regard for the specific circumstances of migrants can be self-defeating in that, instead of creating societies where different cultures can co-exist harmoniously, it can create problems of consumed multiculturalism and entrench further negative images and stereotypes. The insufficiency of looking at only policy outcomes to determine the effectiveness of policies is demonstrated by the following findings.

First, policies facilitating structural integration are in place. This can be attributed to, first, the institutionalization of migration led many Filipinos to migrate for mainly economic reasons, mobilizing many to actively participate in the labour market; second, local governments see themselves as service provides and providing access to basic structures tie in with the thrust of 'tabunka kyousei', which is to revitalize local municipalities. However, while policies and programmes implemented by the local government facilitate ease of access to basic social structures and encourage active participation in the labour market, many of the Filipino residents in both low and high-skilled jobs can feel economically immobile.

Second, cultural, interactive and identificational integration is made problematic by two factors: One, the specific context of the Filipino residents whose engagement with 3D jobs gave them a bad image, and two, the 3F approach to multicultural interaction. Stereotypes of Filipino residents still exist, and while migrant organizations are working to help change this image, it still persists regardless,

as entertainment work continues to prove lucrative and easy to get into even without language competencies. And in a society where language proficiency is important in finding a job, many Filipinos choose this option to be able to earn money. Majority of the respondents, regardless of visa types, are still in this profession. On the other hand, the 3F approach runs the risk of entrenching these images. Such an approach to multicultural exchange does not facilitate substantial interaction between foreign and local residents and only serves to highlight the differences between the two cultures.

What results overall is an uneven integration. It would seem that assertions in the literature stating that once the basic social structures had been accessed, access to other structures would come naturally does not hold true for Filipino residents in Nagoya City. While, indeed, access to basic social structures and services improves their overall outcomes, the context by which they came to Japan coupled with the approach of the local government limits their integration and puts them in a place where they are left economically immobile because of entrenched images and undeveloped skills. This is not disregarding the stories of successful Filipinos who improved their outcomes in Japan but to argue that there are exceptions ignoring the possible adverse effects a wrong approach to integration coupled with negative entrenched views regarding the migrant population can have.

Non-conflict does not necessarily translate to harmonious co-existence. What we see here is the equating of co-existence with non-engagement or engagement from afar. Therefore, further research is needed to fully comprehend what and how policies should be implemented to better facilitate migrant integration

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