Japanese-style Multiculturalism?
A Comparative Examination of Japanese Multicultural Coexistence

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In March 2006, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications released a report entitled "Research Group concerning the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence: Towards the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence in Local Communities". Questions arise when one considers the implications of Japan's multicultural coexistence initiatives. Specifically, in an environment that could be characterized as unwelcoming to non-Japanese, both at the levels of assimilation and integration, what are the implications of multicultural coexistence initiatives?

This paper analyzes Japanese multicultural coexistence policies using a multiculturalism model from Canada. The model employed in Canada is a useful benchmark to examine integration trajectories in Japan as they have been in practice for at least 40 years. J.W. Berry's social psychological model of multiculturalism will be used to pinpoint components of Japanese multicultural coexistence and their intended objectives, especially goals which lie outside the sphere of the realization of rights.

総務省は平成１８年３月に「多文化共生の推進に関する研究会報告書：地域における多文化共生の推進に向けて」を公表した。しかし、多文化共生の手始めに重大な問題が生じる。特に、非日本人を歓迎しないことに特徴付けられる環境において、同化と統合という2つのレベルとして、多文化共生はじめの一歩は何かを示唆しているのか。

本稿はカナダの多文化主義モデルを基に日本の多文化共生政策を検討する。J.W. Berryの多文化主義に関する社会心理的なモデルを利用し、日本における多文化共生の構成要素とその意図的な目標、とりわけ権利を実現する範囲外の目的を指摘する。

1. Introduction

In March 2006, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) released a report entitled "Research Group concerning the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence: Towards the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence in Local Communities". The MIC Multicultural Coexistence proposal consisted of four major pillars: (1) communication assistance; (2) lifestyle assistance; (3) the creation of multicultural coexistence; and (4) the establishment of a system to promote multicultural coexistence (MIC, 2006). The recommended policies aim to overcome systemic, cultural and linguistic barriers in Japanese society. By overcoming these barriers, the MIC plan is advocating the

incorporation of policies that support diversity within Japanese society and help temporary and/or long-term migrants to more fully integrate into mainstream Japanese society. Policies espoused by the MIC multicultural coexistence plan wed systemic, linguistic and cultural initiatives in an effort to open access to Japanese society and, as a consequence, weave diversity into the fabric of society, especially in the spheres of housing, education, and public services.

What exactly are the policies being advocated as part of Japan's multicultural coexistence? Considering Japan's post-WWII migration track record concerning assimilation and integration, what are the implications of these multicultural coexistence proposals and who are they targeting? Using J.W. Berry's (2006) social-psychological model of Canadian multiculturalism, this paper will identify the key components of Japanese multicultural coexistence and their intended objectives, especially those goals which lie outside the sphere of the realization of rights.   It is not the intention of this paper to advocate for Canadian-style multiculturalism. Moreover, the author recognizes that there are many extant multiculturalism/social integration models. Nonetheless, by employing an established model as a yardstick we can better understand the policy recommendations.

To achieve these objectives, this paper consists of three sections. The first section offers a brief introduction to the major tenets of the MIC multicultural coexistence plan. The second section then introduces J.W. Berry's social-psychological model of multiculturalism as practiced in Canada. The third section provides an analysis of multicultural coexistence using J.W. Berry's 2006 model of multiculturalism.

This paper utilizes primary documents gathered in Tokyo from 2004-2009. It also leverages my experience as the Itabashi Ward International Relations Officer from 2001-2004 and 2005 to 2006. Insights and conclusions drawn in this paper incorporate personal interviews conducted in Japanese with local government officials as well as information gathered from the distribution of questionnaires to local departments charged with the responsibility of implementing foreign resident policies. This article limits its discussion to the 2006 Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications' Multicultural Coexistence Plan but recognizes that that there are various approaches to multicultural coexistence at the local government level in Japan that also need to be considered in future studies.

2. MIC Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan

The growth in the foreign resident population has prompted local governments across Japan such as Toyada City (2001), Shinjuku Ward (2005), Kawasaki City (2005), Iwata City (2005), Tachikawa City (2005), Adachi Ward (2006), Hiroshima (2006), amongst others to research, plan and adopt policies targeted at foreign residents that fall

under the umbrella term of multicultural coexistence.[1] Some of these local government initiatives both led and were a result of MIC conducting research and eventually publishing a report in March 2006 entitled "Report on the Research Group Concerning the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence: Towards the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence at the Local Level."[2] This report was complemented the following year by the publication of the "2007 Report Concerning the Research Group Concerning the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence" which included more recommendations about measures for emergency situations such as natural disasters.[3] The 2006 MIC report defines multicultural coexistence the following way:

> Local multicultural coexistence refers to people of different cultures
> and ethnic backgrounds living alongside one another as contributors
> to civil society, and the building of bridges between each other
> through the acceptance of each other's culture.
>
> (Soumusho, 2006, p. 5)

MIC's report states that multicultural coexistence is premised on the mutual acceptance of cultural differences and people. Furthermore, the report emphasizes that multicultural coexistence policy must strive for people with different cultures and ethnic backgrounds to live together harmoniously. We can understand this preface for multicultural coexistence at three levels: its target, its objective, and the means by which it wishes to achieve its stated goals.

In terms of the target audience for MIC's multicultural coexistence policy recommendations, it is evident that they are primarily targeted at newcomers, those foreign residents that began coming to Japan in the 1980s to fill the labor shortage in blue-collar industries. Still, however, it is important to note that the policies also target Japanese nationals because they include reference to both foreign and Japanese residents. MIC acknowledges that the smooth integration of foreign residents into Japanese society is at least a two-sided dynamic in which there must be policies solely for foreign residents, policies solely for Japanese residents, as well as policies that apply to both groups.

At the second level, it is clear from MIC's statement that its objective is the creation of a "local society" (*chiiki shakai*) or local community in which all residents live together as members of the community. By emphasizing a shared role in living together

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[1] Yamamoto, K., & Matsumiya, A. (2007). Jichitai no Gaikokujin Jissaku ni kan suru Hikaku Kenkyu: Aiichi Ken no Jirei wo Chushin ni in *Gaikoseki Jumin no Souka to Chiiki Saihen: Tokai Chihou wo Jirei Toshi* (p. 131). Japan: Aiichi Kokuritsu Univeristy.

[2] Soumusho (2006). *Tabunka Kyousei no Suishin ni kan suru Kenkyukai Houkokusho: Chiiki ni okeru Tabunka Kyousei no Suishin ni Mukete.* Japan: Tokyo, (p. 5)

[3] Soumusho (2007). *Tabunka Kyousei no Suishin ni kan suru Kenkyukai.* Japan: Tokyo.

in the same community as members of the same community, MIC is attempting to create policy in which different residents of a community are recognized as belonging to the same community. This is a shift away from citizen-based inclusion towards residency-based inclusion regardless of ethnic background, resonating inclusiveness and equality by eliminating hierarchical and role designations. By not stressing particular roles for either foreign or Japanese residents, the MIC statement overcomes the dichotomization of Japanese and foreigners and as a result inculcates inclusiveness in its statement.

The third important area that MIC has outlined in its multicultural coexistence vision is the means through which the MIC objective will be achieved, namely through the mutual acceptance of cultural differences. By advocating the mutual acceptance of cultural differences, it can be concluded that MIC believes that it is ignorance of cultural difference that impedes foreign and Japanese residents from feeling as if they form part of the same community.[4] This is a salient point, especially for foreign residents, as it insinuates that cultural savvy is an integral part of good, local citizenship. At the same time, this premise is somewhat flawed when we reflect upon the historical treatment and feelings related to *oldcomers,* those foreign residents of Japan who are of Korean, Taiwanese or Chinese ethnic extraction.

In concrete terms, MIC links its advocacy of its multicultural coexistence policy recommendations to policy recommendations by the then Ministry of Home Affairs in 1987. Named the "Plan for local governments conducting international exchange"[5], it stressed that local governments need to: (1) design local cities in which foreigners can live easily; (2) provide information in foreign languages (3) conduct local planning with foreigners in mind; (4) have reception windows for foreign residents which include advisory services; (5) provide administration information for foreigners and provide necessary assistance; and (6) publish information to assist resident foreign organizations in cities in which the foreign resident population requires such assistance.[6] In the Ministry's view, the ideal way to preempt intercultural friction between Japanese residents

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[4] In the MIAC Report, language, culture, and customs are highlighted as the primary hurdles that newcomers face in Japanese society. The Ministry stressed that these deficiencies prevent foreign residents from being able to receive administrative services, being informed about the local community in which they live. Although it is obvious that language proficiency strengthens the newcomers' ability to become independent, cultural savvy and awareness of customs is more nebulous in that good citizenship is being associated with culture and custom rather than just abiding by local laws and good local citizenship. See: Soumusho (2006, pp.4-5)

[5] The Japanese name for this plan is: *Chiho Koukyo Dantai ni okeru Kokusai Kouryu no Arikata ni Kan suru Hoshin.*

[6] This material was obtained at the February 2006 International Exchange Forum Conference in Tokyo, Japan in which a representative of the Ministry of home Affairs gave a lecture on the Development of Internationalization. See also Menju, T. (2003, pp. 34-36).

and the growing number of foreign residents was to learn about and accept each other's culture.

MIC's multicultural coexistence plan is based on four major components, which include: (1) communication assistance, (2) lifestyle assistance, (3) the creation of multicultural coexistence in local communities, and (4) the establishment of a multicultural coexistence system (See Appendix 1). The report also proposed future research on the establishment of an emergency network, the establishment of an information system, and an enquiry as to the manner in which a multicultural coexistence promotion system could be implemented at the local government level.

In short, multicultural coexistence as advocated by MIC is a social integration system based on the aforementioned pillars. What makes multicultural coexistence different from other social integration programs is its emphasis on the acquisition of cultural savvy and language proficiency. Moreover, where most social integration programs are coeval with a step on the road to permanent residency, multicultural coexistence attempts to stave off problems associated with linguistic and cultural gaps (Kymlicka, 2003; Inglis, 1996).

3. A Social-psychological Model of Multiculturalism

J.W. Berry, multiculturalism specialist, has written extensively on the theme of multiculturalism in Canada. For Berry, Canadian multiculturalism is to enhance mutual acceptance among all ethno-cultural groups dwelling in Canada as citizens, denizens or otherwise. National unity within the confines of a multi-ethnic Canada is promoted through the forging of a collective identity that is founded on official bilingualism and multiculturalism. According to Berry, this ultimate objective is approached through three program components: (1) a cultural component; (2) a social component; and (3) a communication component (See Figure 1) (Berry, 2006; 2008).
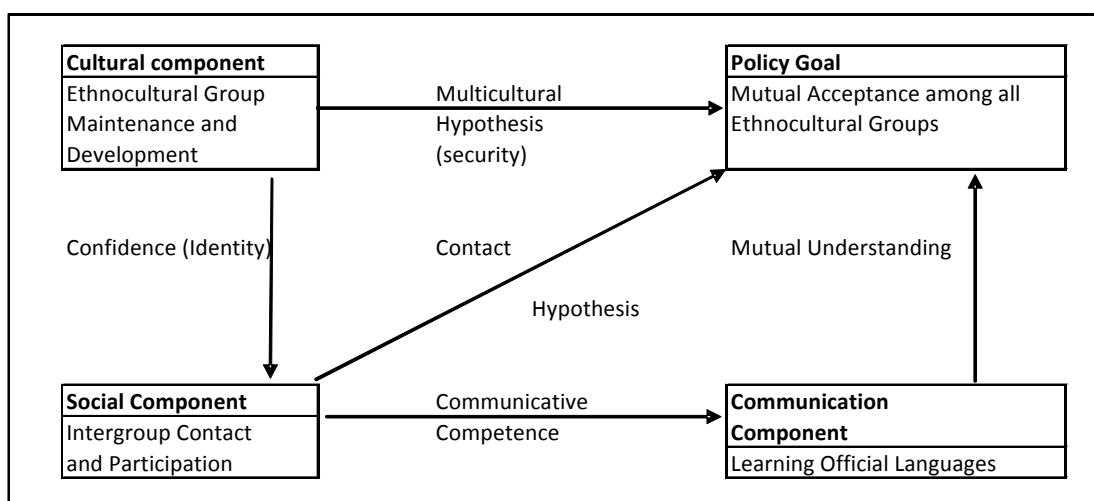

Figure 1. *A Social Psychological Analysis of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy*

Source: Berry (2006, p. 723)

Respectively these components aim to: (1) provide support and encouragement for cultural maintenance and development among ethno-cultural groups; (2) seek the sharing of cultural expressions by providing opportunities for inter-group contact and the removal of barriers to full participation in larger society; and (3) promote the learning of one of Canada's two official languages (Berry, 2006; 2008).

Berry's interpretation of multiculturalism revolves around the acceptance of, and support for a culturally heterogeneous composition of the population of a society (Berry & Lalin, 1995; Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008). In essence, in an attempt to promote national unity within Canada, the Canadian government built a multiculturalism policy based on a firm and unwavering commitment to what Kymlicka (2007, p. 106) calls "civil liberties, particularly the freedom of individuals 'to make the life that the individual is able to and wishes to have'", as well as gender and racial equality.

The cultural component of Berry's model based on the Canadian multicultural policy includes the provision of support and encouragement for cultural maintenance and development among ethno-cultural groups. Through this component, Canada's multiculturalism strategy provides public support, encouragement, and recognition for the development and maintenance of heritage cultures. Ideally, it ensures that ethnic groups are not marginalized or segregated from mainstream Canadian society because their culture and ethnic identity stands on equal footing (in the legal and policy sense) to all other groups in Canada.

An important objective of the cultural component of Berry's model is the inculcation of respect for one's self, as well as one's ethno-cultural and religious background. Through a strong sense of confidence in one's ethno-cultural roots, the cultural component of the Canadian multiculturalism policy asserts that Canadians will also develop a sense of mutual respect for other cultures.[7] This mutual respect will then in turn manifest itself in mutual understanding, accommodating behavior towards other Canadians, and a collective sense that Canadian identity is a multiethnic one, based on mutual tolerance, respect and equality.[8]

The social component as identified by Berry is also a crucial part of the policy objective of mutual acceptance of all ethno-cultural groups in Canada through multiculturalism policy. The provision of opportunities for inter-group contact and the

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[7] This echoes previous studies by J.W. Berry, Colleen Ward and Anne Marie Masgoret on their study of attitudes towards immigrants that found that cultural security did lead to greater acceptance of immigrants (see Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

[8] Multiculturalism within Canada has been shown to have varying levels of support, in particular when Anglophone and Francophone regions of Canada are compared. In Anglophone regions of Canada, Anglophones were found to be more integrationist and individualist than their Francophone counterparts. This orientation is in part due to the cultural and linguistic insecurity French Canadians have traditional felt in a predominantly Anglophone nation (see Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

removal of barriers to full participation in the larger society are key features of this component (Berry, 2006). The provision of inter-group contact to foster mutual cultural understanding and respect is realized through festivals, learning opportunities, multiculturalism classes and the construction of venues, all of which serve as a nexus point in which Canadians of different ethno-cultural heritages can come together, interact, and share culture, language and heritage customs.

The strong Canadian advocacy for inter-group contact as a means to foster mutual cultural understanding and respect has been shown to be an important component of multiculturalism and the bidirectional acculturation process. In her study of attitudes towards immigrants, Chan-Hoong Leong (2008) demonstrated that decreased contact between ethnic groups was correlated with: (1) less favorable perceptions of immigrants; and (2) increased insecurity vis-à-vis immigrants. Leong found that inter-group contact allowed individuals to define and negotiate their social space based on their acculturation experience with people from different cultural backgrounds.

Based on the above studies, we can argue that negotiation between ethnic groups becomes an essential part of the process of developing mutual cultural understanding and respect. Additionally, it is important in the process weaving into the fabric of Canada's multicultural society. Absence from the negotiation process for space prevents new immigrants from contributing to the diverse nature of Canadian society, and as a result marginalizes them at best, or creates segregation at worst. Inter-group interaction also provides important opportunities for culture-specific learning (Zlobina, Basabe, Paez, & Furnham, 2006), to exchange understanding of the host country's social expectations and adjustment strategies.

The third component of Berry's model is what he refers to as the communication component. Through a shared language (either French or English), this component aims to provide the means of communication amongst different ethnic groups (Berry, 2006). Simply, shared language allows ethnic groups to communicate and access all levels Canadian society. Importantly, learning one of the two official languages of Canada also promotes acceptance of newcomers by the host society (Van de Vijver et al., 2008; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007).

Lack of language skills, no matter what society one lives in, not only makes inter-group communication difficult, but also hampers newcomers' abilities to integrate into host societies, become educated, and acculturate (Commission on European Communities, 2007; *Gendai shis*, 2007, pp. 50-51; McKinley, 2007, Miyajima & ta, 2005, pp. 1-17, 21-24; Van der Veer, 2003). Consequently, the intercultural component of the Canadian multiculturalism policy plays a significant role in the integration process.

4. MIC's Multicultural Coexistence Policy and Significance

By employing Berry's model of Canadian multiculturalism, it is evident that MIC's multicultural coexistence policies have several important similarities. For instance, we can examine the MIC multicultural coexistence plan (Table 1) using Berry's cultural component of multiculturalism that stresses the provision of support and encouragement for cultural maintenance and development among ethno-cultural groups.

Examining specific policies found in the MIC multicultural coexistence plan, two policies that aim to encourage this kind of process can be found: (1) the promotion of international understanding education from the perspective of multicultural coexistence (See Objective: Lifestyle Assistance, General Measure: Education, Specific Measure F); and (2) the holding of exchange events related to the theme of multicultural coexistence (Objective: Creation of Multicultural Coexistence, General Measure: Awareness programs in local communities, Specific Measure C). These programs fall short in terms of multiculturalism as they do not emphasize heritage culture or the maintenance of heritage culture.

In concrete terms, the MIC multicultural coexistence plan marginally addresses the cultural components of Berry's model. It does not however, explicitly support the maintenance of heritage cultures, ethno-cultural identities, or inculcate a sense of pride and confidence in one's respective ethno-cultural roots. From the standpoints of the cultural component of multiculturalism, the MIC plan does not make either unidirectional or bidirectional acculturation a key component of its multicultural coexistence plan. Despite being entitled "multicultural coexistence", the plan does not stress diversity or respect for ethno-cultural roots as the centerpiece of its plan or as part of its policies. Instead, when examining policies found within the plan it can be seen that most initiatives revolve around creating windows for foreign residents to receive the same services available to their Japanese counterparts. This embodies inclusion in terms of access to services but not multicultural or multiethnic identity or citizenship.

In terms of Berry's social and communication components, the MIC plan fairs better in these categories. To overcome barriers to wider participation in Japanese society, the MIC's multicultural coexistence plan aims to break down barriers at the linguistic, cultural, and systemic level.

To overcome language and cultural challenges in Berry's social/interaction components, MIC has proposed several measures including but not exclusive to: (1) the provision of multilingual information; (2) multilingual advisory services; (3) housing; (4) education; (5) initiatives in the area of labour; (6) assistance vis-à-vis health care and social welfare; and (7) providing opportunities for inter-group contact.

These initiatives do meet Berry's criteria in terms of the cultural component of multiculturalism. However, when we look at the systemic and social mechanisms that are used to bolster and reinforce these measures, we can see that they are superficial measures which do not lower systemic and social barriers to the participation in society at large.

How can it be asserted that these initiatives are superficial and hollow? First, removing barriers or at least lowering barriers to participation in society at large requires a firm and concrete commitment to providing tools that newcomers can use immediately to begin contributing in a positive manner to society. Examples could include professional and nationally recognized Japanese as a second language programs, recognition of qualifications from abroad, and integration programs.

Canada's Federal Integration Strategy is one example of an integration strategy that aims to overcome these kinds of barriers (Thomas, 1997, p. 217). Its four tier integration program includes: (1) the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP) which provides transitional   assistance to refugees for up to one year; (2) the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) which supplies funding to organizations assisting with integrating minorities; (3) the Host Program (HOST) which provides money to assist organizations recruit and train volunteers that help new immigrants; and (4) the Language for Newcomers to Canada Program (LINC) which provides basic language instruction in one of Canada's two official languages (Bosnich, 2008). Through these programs, linguistic, cultural and systemic challenges are overcome through the provision of language training, the promotion of inter-group interaction and cultural learning, and Canada's strong commitment to rights and the expression of individuality.

Second, although the multicultural coexistence policies of the MIC lower the barriers to services faced by foreign residents, there still exist large systemic barriers to wider participation in Japanese society. Three examples are illustrative of this, and they are all related to nationality restrictions. The first is the nationality requirement for all public servants at the local government level (Lie, 2008; Tanaka and Kimu, 2006). Secondly and thirdly, nationality restrictions prevent non-Japanese residents the opportunity to hold public office or vote. In light of these restrictions, Japan is particularly restrictive when compared to other nations.[9]

Third, at the social-cultural level, this plan does little to help mitigate the real and widespread exclusion that occurs vis-à-vis Japan's foreign residents. Suzuki Eriko (2007, pp. 34-35) argues that this social-cultural barrier articulated as a "mind/ heart" barrier, makes it difficult for Japanese citizens of Japanese ethnicity to accept non-Japanese into Japanese society: to accept them as Japanese speakers, as contributors to Japan, as stake holders in Japan. She argues that this often results in exclusion, discrimination and an aversion to an emotive identification with so-called Japaneseness.

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[9] In the response to questionnaires conducted in Tachikawa City, Shinjuku Ward and Adachi Ward, all respondents pointed out those non-Japanese nationals were only able to be recruited for the positions of health and welfare services. (Questionnaire conducted between March and April 2008); Voting rights and the rights to hold office as a non-citizen may seem counter intuitive however many countries confer precisely these rights to non-citizens based residency period and being part of the Commonwealth or European Union (see Child, 2002, p.595; Kawahara & Uemura, 2006, pp. 16-20; Kondo, 1997, p.33).

Where does the MIC plan stand in terms Berry's social component of multiculturalism? Berry highlights the emotive and cognitive aspects related to the feeling of belonging to the new host society. Programs that offer clear and transparent paths to citizenship, opportunities for inter-group contact, chances to participate in the political processes, mutual respect and appreciation of ethno-cultural differences and the ability for newcomers to simultaneously maintain their cultural identity while at the same time adopt customs, culture and practices of the host nation are established in Berry's model.

Here again, the MIC multicultural coexistence plan is mixed. On the one hand, it attempts to inculcate cognitive identification in that it supports the provision of multilingual administrative services when possible, multilingual information on services in the community, programs to secure housing, and health and social welfare services on par with Japanese citizens. It also proposes mechanisms by which foreign residents can be involved in local policy making. These examples embody practices that encourage cognitive identification with Japanese society because they formally advocate inclusion through the removal of linguistic and systemic barriers.

On the other hand, the MIC plan is vacuous in terms of the emotive and cognitive aspects of promoting Berry's social component of multiculturalism. Although the aforementioned initiatives lower systemic and linguistic barriers to substantial participation in Japanese society, continued dichotomization between Japanese and non-Japanese, the lack of recognition of ethnic diversity, and differential treatment of non-Japanese in the family registration process,[10] are indicative of the impediments to foreign residents identifying as being a foreign resident or naturalized citizen in Japanese.

5. Conclusion

The analysis above demonstrated that the multicultural coexistence espoused by MIC displays elements of Berry's multiculturalism components. Specifically, I maintain that multicultural coexistence contains elements of Berry's cultural component that encourages limited pluralism in Japanese society. This is exemplified by the existence of international understanding programs, a commitment to augmenting the abilities of primary schools to deal with greater ethnic diversity, and the promotion of multicultural coexistence in local communities. The availability of multilingual information and

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[10] David Chapman of University of South Australia University and specialist in *Zainichi Kankokujin* studies argues in his paper "Sealing Japanese Identity" that the current family registration system in Japan ensures that non-ethnic Japanese are indefinitely outside the Japanese nationality framework. As such, the final step in the identification process, both at the cognitive and emotive levels remains an aloof. Specifically, Chapman demonstrated that only Japanese nationals can be registered as the head of household (*setai nushi*) on the *jūminhyō* (residence record) (see Chapman, 2008).

multicultural coexistence education are also important signs of a movement towards the acceptance of broader plurality in society in terms of language, culture and ethnic representation. This is indicative of a shift from nominalism to pluralism in which a more diverse group of cultures and people negotiate quotidian life in Japan.

Berry's multiculturalism components of cultural, social and communication are reflected in the MIC's multicultural coexistence plan. Through policy proposals, the plan aims to remove barriers such as those which prevent non-Japanese from engaging in certain entrepreneurial activities, renting an apartment, applying for public housing, receiving child subsidies and business start-up assistance. As systemic and language barriers are lowered, foreign residents will achieve broader access to all sectors of Japanese society. In short, these policies represent a shift from a homogeneous-centered society towards one that is more pluralistic and diverse.

Collectively, the MIC multicultural coexistence plan's recommended policies aim to overcome systemic, cultural and linguistic barriers in Japanese society. By overcoming these barriers, the MIC plan is promoting more diverse social conditions which in turn make it possible to describe Japan as a more pluralistic society that is attempting to weave diversity into the fabric of society in the spheres of housing, education and public services.

Notwithstanding this general trend towards greater plurality, it is clear that at the cognitive and emotive levels of Berry's social/communication components that multicultural coexistence as a means of creating a co-identity, as a tool for enhancing a shared national identity based on mutual respect and understanding of ethno-cultural backgrounds is absent from the MIC multicultural coexistence policy. As a result, it can be argued that multicultural coexistence policy strives to inculcate more pluralism into mainstream Japanese society, but like the inclusivity dimension of multicultural coexistence, the pluralism dimension seems limited and superficial, still not forging a road map that ends with a sense of identity that lies outside racial and ethnic boundaries.

Lastly, it needs to be recognized that the Canadian model as conceptualized by Berry represents multiculturalism within a heterogeneous society in terms of ethnicity, culture and language. Socially integrating more diversity in a society that has pre-existing ethnic, cultural and linguistic heterogeneity may require different policies than in a society that is somewhat less diverse in its ethnic, cultural and linguistic composition. That being said, Berry's models have provided useful yardsticks to examine multicultural coexistence policies currently conceived at the state level in Japan.

6. Acknowledgements

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Appendix 1 Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications' Multicultural Plan

(Source: MIC, *Tabunka kyōsei no suishin.*)

Objective	General Measures	Specific Measures	Level/ Sector
Communi-cation Assistance	(1) Provision of Multilingual Information	(A) Provision of multilingual administrative & lifestyle information using diverse media	
		(B) Establishment of a lifestyle advisory window for foreign residents, staffed with professionally trained individuals	
		(C) Collaboration with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) etc. to distribute multilingual information	
		(D) Mobilize local foreign residents to act in the capacity of advisors	
		(E) Mobilize JET Program Coordinators for International Relations (CIRs)	
	(2) Assistance for Japanese language and society studies	(A) Hold community orientation programs	Local
		(B) Provide Japanese language and Japanese society study opportunities	Local
		(C) Mobilize the knowhow of related state institutions	State
		(D) Consider Japanese language proficiency as criteria for permanent residency	State
Lifestyle Assistance	(1) Housing	(A) Housing assistance through the provision of information, elimination of housing discrimination	
		(B) Housing orientation for new complex residents	
		(C) Participation in local resident associations, town halls	
		(D) Establishment of an advisory window in housing complexes with large numbers of foreign residents	

Lifestyle Assistance	(2) Education	(A) Provision of multilingual information for school enrollment, work, and work assistance programs	Local
		(B) Japanese Language Study	Local
		(C) Encourage community involvement	Local
		(D) Measures to combat child truancy	Local
		(E) Workplace assistance and placement	Local
		(F) Promote international understanding education from the perspective of multicultural coexistence	Local
		(G) Legally recognize non-Japanese schools	Local
		(H) Augment the primary education system to be able to accommodate different cultures	Local
		(I) Mobilize JET Program CIRs	Local
		(J) Publicize stance vis-à-vis education	State
		(K) Establish JSL Programs	State
		(L) Measures to employ youth	State
		(M) Investigate the possibility of assistance for non-Japanese schools (recognized)	State
	(3) Labour Environment	(A) Work assistance through collaboration with Hello Work	Local
		(B) Reform labour environment through collaboration with local chambers of commerce	Local
		(C) Assistance for foreign residents who would like to set up their own enterprise	
		(D) Reform labour environment	Local
		(E) Initiate measures to combat employment of foreign residents	State
		(F) Assistance for foreign residents who would like to set up their own enterprise	State

Lifestyle Assistance	(4) Medical, Health and Social Welfare	(A) Provide information on which hospitals and pharmacies can receive patients who speak foreign languages	Local
		(B) Provide and hold multilingual advisory services for healthcare and examinations	Local
		(C) Establish an area-wide interpretation system related to health care	Local
		(D) Programs for nursery school and mother-child health care	Local
		(E) Programs for the elderly and disabled	Local
		(F) Promote enrolment in the Social Insurance Scheme	State
		(G) Bare some of the costs for medical interpretation services and the training of interpreters	State
		(H) Provide training to health care workers and social welfare related workers	State
	(5) Emergency Assistance	(A) Preparations for emergencies (disasters)	
		(B) Know the location of foreign residents in the case of an emergency	
		(C) Provide volunteer interpreters for foreign residents during an emergency (this includes training, assistance, collaboration and cooperation)	
		(D) Secure a safe location to gather in the case of an emergency	
		(E) Collaboration in the event of an emergency to convey information to foreign residents in many languages and through many media	
Creation of Multicultural Coexistence	(1) Awareness Programs in Local Communities	(A) Multicultural coexistence awareness for local residents	
		(B) Create multicultural coexistence hubs	
		(C) Hold exchange events related to the theme of Multicultural coexistence	
	(2) Independence & Social Participation of Foreign Residents	(A) Development of self-help organizations, key-persons and networks	
		(B) Create systems to incorporate the opinions of foreign residents in local policies	
		(C) Support for foreign residents to participate in local community	
		(D) Create a recognition system for foreign residents who contribute to the local community	

The Establish-ment of Coexistence Promotion System	(1) Improve Local System	(A) Establish an office for the promotion of multicultural coexistence	
		(B) Formulate a plan for local governments	
	(2) Cooperation between Local and Division of Labour	(A) Designate roles for each level of municipal government	Local
		(B) Cooperation and collaboration with local bodies	
		(C) Designate roles for each level of government (Prefecture, metropolitan etc.)	
	(3) Clarification of state and private sector role	(A) Publicize the basic policy on accepting foreigners	State
		(B) Provision of Japanese language and society study opportunities	State
		(C) Create a fast, accurate and easy to understand information system for foreign residents	State
		(D) Promote the involvement of foreign residents in the revision of current systems	
		(E) Provide information and research and investigate capabilities related to multicultural coexistence	State
		(F) Implement Corporate Social Responsibility in businesses	Private
		(G) Request concrete measures from private sector	Private