

ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

ANALYSING INTEGRATION FROM
THE PERSPECTIVE OF LOCAL ACTORS:
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF
NEWHAM/LONDON AND SHINJUKU/TOKYO

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¹ Oyama, A., 2020. Local approach towards integration in Newham/London. *Tosei Shimpo* (in Japan), 13 Oct. p.6.

² Oyama, A., 2021. Local approach towards integration in Newham/London. In: C. Kawamura, ed. *Global Awareness and Co-creation*. Tokyo: Tosei Shimpo Publishers. Ch9-2.

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ANALYSING INTEGRATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LOCAL ACTORS:
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This study aims to investigate the concept of integration and policy response towards local integration issues from the perspective of local actors, such as council staff and members of community-based organisations/groups. It has been argued that integration happens at local level and local councils have taken a lead in developing and promoting integration policy in the UK and Japan. Newham and Shinjuku were selected because they have the most diverse populations in London and Tokyo.

A conceptual framework was developed to analyse integration issues at the local level. I conducted semi-structured interviews with 24 local actors (9 participants in Newham and 15 in Shinjuku) in order to gain qualitative insights and to illustrate integration perspectives and integration policy. Interview data in Newham and Shinjuku was analysed inductively, using coding analysis and analysed separately as a single case, and then two findings from these analyses were compared to draw cross-case conclusions.

The findings show that local actors defined integration in a different way from central government – it was defined based on the characteristics of the local community in Newham, and as a political term and as principles in local practice in Shinjuku. The local policies illustrated were categorised as a mainstreamed, whole community approach in Newham, where people with a migration background were in the majority, and as multicultural, reception policies in Shinjuku, where foreign residents were in the minority. Despite these differences, it was found that some local actors in Newham and Shinjuku share similar views – refusing to label people based on nationality, ethnicity and religion; considering the integration barriers to be addressed as a structural rather than an individual responsibility. The findings also show that community-based organisations were considered as important key actors in local approaches towards integration, rather than in local policy-making.

These results suggest that there are integration perspectives specific to the local area and that consensus building on integration within local areas is needed, in order to address local integration issues. Also, it is important to consider community-based organisations, not only as local government partners that influence policy-making and cooperate to deliver local policy, but also as main actors that have formed local efforts towards integration.

Key words: integration, integration policy, local actors, local government, community-based organisation, a comparative case study

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1-1. Introduction: Research topics

1-1-1. Integration perspectives and integration policies at the local level

Integration has been discussed in relation to international migration and “the stuff that happens after migration” (Gidley, 2014, p.1), and integration policies have been introduced to address not only difficulties faced by immigrants, but also whole society issues including discrimination, social marginalisation and conflicts in society. However, there is no consensus regarding the definitions of integration and integration policies. How integration issues are framed and “which policy levers could be used” (Spencer, 2011a) vary depending on the government. Therefore, research has been conducted to identify the concept of integration (Ager and Strang, 2008; Erdal, 2013; Spencer and Charsley, 2016) and to analyse policy responses towards integration issues (Alexander, 2007; Hadj-Abdou, 2014; Schmidtke and Zaslove, 2014; de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016). These academic fields are relatively new and more theoretical and empirical research is needed to understand what is meant by integration and the way to respond to integration issues. Analysing integration is difficult because integration and integration policy can include the normative implications such as “a desired outcome” (Penninx, 2009, p.5), “where the process should lead” (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.246), or “what ought to be” (Erdal, 2013, p.983). Therefore, this research will analyse the integration perspectives and policy response towards integration, by exploring the perspectives of people engaged in activities related to immigrant integration in the field.

It has been argued that local governments have taken a lead in developing and promoting integration policy. For example, in the UK, Ali and Gidley (2014) argued that “local authorities have considerable power (though limited resources) to set their own integration goals” (p.1) and found that several boroughs in London have introduced a variety of programmes for immigrant integration in the cohesion strategy or the youth inclusion programme. Similarly, in Japan, it was argued that local governments have transformed themselves into entities that analyse their own issues and formulate and implement policies since the decentralisation reforms in 2000 (Isao, 2016), and Kim and Streich, (2020, p.192)

argued that “local governments took the lead in pioneering local incorporation policies” in Japan.

Furthermore, both national governments clearly stated that integration is a local issue. In the UK, *Creating the Conditions for Integration* (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012) stressed localism and stated that “We will encourage local areas to take the lead in building integration” (p.7) and “Government will act only exceptionally” (p.9). In Japan, the *Research Report on the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence*³ (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in Japan, 2006) stated that it is necessary to promote Multicultural Coexistence (MC) in the local area and it is local governments rather than national government that play a major role in providing administrative services to foreign residents once they enter Japan and in promoting MC in the local community.

In the UK and Japan, integration issues have been addressed by the government at a local level rather than at the national level. Research has been conducted, focusing on local integration policies in both countries. However, there are few studies exploring how integration issues are framed and approached in the local area. Moreover, no research has compared the integration perspectives and local integration policies between local areas in the UK and those in Japan. Therefore, this research aims to explore the integration perspectives and policy response towards integration focusing on one local area in the UK and in Japan.

1-2. Primary research questions, objectives and motivations of the research

1-2-1. Primary research questions

The primary questions of this research were as follows:

- What is meant by integration in the local area?
- How has the local government responded to local integration issues?
- What are the differences and similarities of integration perspectives and policy response towards integration in the local area in the UK and Japan?

³ In Japan, integration issues have been addressed by the term ‘Multicultural Coexistence (tabunka kyōsei)’, which will be explained in the policy context in this chapter.

The specific research questions will be added in Chapter 2 to address gaps identified in the literature.

1-2-2. Objectives of the research

The central aim of this research is to gain in-depth insight into the subject of integration and integration policy in the local area. Qualitative methods are used to look at integration and integration policy from the perceptions of local actors, the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations, who have been engaged in activities related to integration issues. It is important to explore the integration perspectives and local integration policy from the perspectives of local actors, because the meaning of integration and what kind of services and strategies are considered as local integration policy may differ according to the local area. The views of local actors are analysed to illustrate integration and integration policy in the local areas in the UK and Japan. While recognising the different contexts, findings of the local areas in the UK and Japan are compared to find similarities and differences.

Therefore, the objectives of this study are to:

1. develop a conceptual framework for understanding the integration perspectives and the policy response towards integration at the local level;
2. interview local actors to gain qualitative insights into integration perspectives at the local level and local policy response towards integration;
3. add empirical research on the integration perspectives and local integration policies focusing on a specific location, and;
4. compare findings of two local areas in the UK and Japan to provide an empirical basis for theory.

1-2-3. Motivations of the research

My interest in this topic and the selection of the local area in the UK and Japan are largely related to my personal background. I was born and raised in Japan and raised my children in the UK. I have lived in the UK as a non-EU migrant for 6 years and as a permanent residence visa holder for 11 years. Although such immigration status with limited rights has affected my experience of integration sometimes, it is the local response towards migrants that has had a significant impact on my everyday life. Moreover, I have a sense of belonging to Cambridge rather than the UK. Therefore, I have been interested in the integration

perspectives and the policy response towards integration at the local level rather than the national level.

I am also interested in conducting a qualitative, comparative research between the UK and Japan because I have studied similar subjects in both countries: I have completed my bachelor and master degrees in Social Sciences in Japan and my bachelor and master degrees in Social Policy in the UK. I must admit that before the fieldwork, I believed there was a lot that the local area in Japan could learn from the local area in the UK, because of a long history of immigration in the UK and Japan being called “a recent country of immigration” (Tsuda, 2006). However, having interviewed local actors in the field in both countries, I discovered there are some similar views of local actors in the UK and Japan, which have important implications. This study is based on the belief that local efforts towards integration are the results of practices that local residents and local actors are striving to build a better society within its context, which provides many implications for the researcher.

1-3. National and city’s policy contexts

The London Borough of Newham and the Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku⁴ were selected to explore the integration perspectives and the policy response towards integration at the local level. This is because Newham and Shinjuku were considered to be the boroughs with the most diverse populations in London and Tokyo; hence it was assumed that they would have their own integration policies. The demographic characteristics of the two areas are presented in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3), those characteristics being the main reason why I chose Newham and Shinjuku. Historical and Policy contexts of Newham and Shinjuku are shown in my findings chapters (Chapter 4 and 5 respectively). This introduction chapter briefly outlines national and city policy contexts of Newham and Shinjuku – how governments in the two countries have addressed immigrant integration and the kind of issues that have been focused on. It also explains the terms used in the two countries, such as migrants, foreign residents and Multicultural Coexistence. The aim of this section is not to discuss the historical development of migration policy in the UK and Japan, but to present some key issues necessary to understanding the integration perspectives and policies in

⁴ Shinjuku in Tokyo is translated into English as ‘Shinjuku City’ on their official webpage (<https://www.city.shinjuku.lg.jp/>). In this study, however, it is translated as ‘the Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku’ to indicate that Shinjuku is in the sub-Tokyo level similar to the London Borough of Newham, and that Newham and Shinjuku are compatible.

Newham and Shinjuku; therefore it does not cover all key developments and discussions of their approaches.

1-3-1. UK and London's approach towards integration

A brief overview of the UK's approach towards integration

It has been argued that the UK's approach to immigrant integration began with the Race relations approach in the 1960s (Hunter and Boswell, 2015; Ali and Gidley, 2014; Broadhead and Spencer, 2020). Hunter and Boswell (2015) summarised the history of the UK's approach towards immigrant integration since the 1960s and argued that it can be divided into four phases (See Table 1-1) – 'Race relations' frame (1965-c.1980); 'Multicultural race relations' frame (c.1980-2000); 'Community cohesion' frame (2001-2010), and; Recent developments (2010-2015).

Table 1-1: Policy frames in British migrant integration policy since the 1960s

| | 'Race relations' frame 1965-c.1980 | 'Multicultural race relations' frame c.1980-2000 | 'Community cohesion' frame 2001- 2010 | Recent developments 2010-2015 |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|---|
| Normative perspective | To maintain public order and promote equality of opportunity | As previous, plus: To promote cultural diversity | To promote a sense of shared values and belonging | As previous |
| Terminology | Race; (indirect) discrimination; positive action | Race; group rights; institutional racism | Cohesion; bridging; Britishness; parallel lives | Integration; <u>localism</u> |
| Main policy measures | Anti-discrimination legislation; more immigration restrictions | Ethnic question in census; accommodation of religious practices (dress, diet, education); Race Relations Act 2000 | Changes to citizenship/naturalisation; focus on youth; English language; counter-extremism | As previous, but <u>coordinated by local, not central government</u> |
| Institutions involved | Home Office; Race Relations Board; Commission for Racial Equality; <u>local authorities</u> | Home Office; Commission for Racial Equality; <u>local authorities</u> | Department for Communities and Local Government; Home Office; <u>local authorities</u> ; Commission for Racial Equality/Equality and Human Rights Commission | <u>Local authorities</u> ; Department for Communities and Local Government and Home Office (but 'only exceptionally') |

Source: Hunter and Boswell, 2015, p.237

Note: Underlines were added by a thesis author.

The table 1-1 tells us that integration policy in the UK emerged as anti-discrimination, developing to promote cultural diversity, and that later the concept of community cohesion

became mainstream “in the aftermath of the 2001 riots in the northern cities” (Somerville, 2007, p.55), focusing on a sense of shared values and belonging.

Integration literature emphasised the UK’s race relations approach, as it targeted migrants from New Commonwealth countries who shared “the same (formal) citizenship status” (Hunter and Boswell, 2015, p.234). This means that it was focused on “discrimination on racial grounds” (ibid) rather than “discrimination on the basis of nationality or national origin” (Spencer, 2011b, p.213). It was argued that because the race relations approach was “the foundation stone of integration policy in the UK” (Hunter and Boswell, 2015, p.234), a citizen-foreigner dichotomy or a migrant/host boundary has not been clear-cut, as in other European countries (Hunter and Boswell, 2015, p.234), and integration policy has been directed at ethnic minorities, including UK nationals, rather than at newly-arrived migrants (Spencer, 2011b; Saggar and Somerville, 2012; Ali and Gidley, 2014; Hepburn, 2015).

The table 1-1 also shows that local authorities have become the main institutions in Recent developments (See the underlines in the table 1-1 added by a thesis author). Hunter and Boswell (2015) argued that the main change of integration policy by a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010 was “shift[ing] responsibility for integration from central to local government” (p.236). It is suggested that the coalition government considered that the responsibility for integration lay with local authorities, because policy documents on the national framework of integration were published by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) in 2012 and the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) in 2018.

In 2012, the DCLG published a national framework, *Creating for conditions for integration* (2012), in which five key contributory factors to integration were identified: Participation; Responsibility; Common Ground; Social Mobility; and Tackling Extremism and intolerance. However, it was argued that this integration strategy offered “no program of action or coordination” (Saggar and Somerville, 2012, p.17), but emphasised “devolving responsibility for integration to local authorities” (Hepburn, 2015, p.13).

In 2018, the MHCLG published *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (2018), in which integration was defined as “communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities” (p.10). The Green Paper stated that “integration is a two-way street” (p.10) and identified seven factors affecting integration – Level and pace of migration; School

segregation; Residential segregation; Labour market disadvantage; Lack of English language proficiency; Personal, religious and cultural norms, values and attitudes, and; Lack of meaningful social mixing (p.11,12). Regarding the role of each actor for integrated communities, it emphasised the roles of: communities; individuals; local agencies such as local government, businesses, and voluntary and faith organisations, rather than the role of central government. Phillimore and Sigona (2018) argued that “The Green Paper does not take account of the Government’s own responsibility for creating conditions where people can mix” (p.20). For example, the Green Paper stated that “To achieve integration, and make the most of the opportunities on offer, recent migrants should learn to speak and understand our language and values and seek opportunities to mix and become part of our communities. And resident communities, in turn need to support them in doing this” (p.11). Furthermore, Holmwood, Bhambra and Scott, (2018) pointed out that “The overwhelming emphasis in the Green Paper is on ethnicity and failures of ethnic minorities to integrate” (p.6). Phillimore and Sigona (2018) also argued that “The UK Government’s strategy doesn’t aim to promote a better integrated society for all, but more ‘integrated communities’, placing the onus of integration firmly on migrants and ethnic minorities” (p.20).

London’s guidelines for integration

While non-UK born people accounted for 14 per cent of the UK population, 38 per cent of London’s resident population were born abroad in 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Gidley (2011) pointed out that “a quarter of these migrants [non-UK born people] arrived in the last five years” and argued that the successive mayors of London “have demonstrated a strong concern with migration policy” (p.2). In 2009, the mayor at the time, Boris Johnson, published *London Enriched*, a refugee integration strategy. In 2013, this strategy was widened to address migrants in general. The *London Enriched Update* in 2013 presented seven integration themes: English language; Housing; Employment, skills and enterprise; Health; Community safety; Children and young people, and; Community development and participation (Greater London Authority, 2013, p.14). It was highlighted that the mayor’s priority is to improve access to English language learning because it is significantly important for migrants and refugees to be able to speak English (Greater London Authority, 2013). It is possible to argue that unlike central government, the Greater London Authority has launched a policy targeting refugees and migrants, rather than ethnic minorities. Gidley (2011) argued that “the London-level migrant integration strategy, *London Enriched*, necessarily focuses on coordinating the efforts of different London-level stakeholders, rather than setting out a plan

for delivering a particular programme of activity” (p.7), which suggests that it is local councils that have introduced programmes or provided services, and responded to their own local integration issues.

1-3-2. Japan and Tokyo’s approach towards integration

A brief overview of Japan’s approach towards integration

In Japan, an approach towards immigrant integration has been referred to as ‘Multicultural Coexistence (MC, in the Japanese phrase Tabunka kyōsei)’, and MC has been widely used in both national and local governments. MC policy in Japan is considered similar to integration policy in European countries (Kondo, 2011, p.7; Yamawaki, 2011, p.33), and also regarded as “the Japanese version of multiculturalism” (Kibe, 2011, p.60; Bradley, 2014, p.23).

MC was defined by central government as “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” (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2006, p.5 in Nagy, 2013, p.65)⁵. Kondo (2011) argued that MC is a grassroots term originally used by the NGOs, and it became popular all over Japan after the Great Hanshin-Awaji earthquake in 1995. There were lots of foreign residents who suffered and experienced difficulties gaining access to disaster information on the shelters or the hospitals, because information was delivered in Japanese only. It was extremely important to be able to understand information quickly and correctly without any misunderstandings in an emergency. Thus, NGOs responded quickly by providing multilingual information and consultation, and since then the importance of supporting foreign residents in the event of a disaster has been recognised and discussed, using the term MC. That is to say, the term MC in Japan has been developed from the need to support foreign residents (Kondo, 2011, p.6). Therefore, it was pointed out that there are some local governments that use the term MC in the same sense as foreign-resident policy or foreign residents support policy (Kondo, 2011, p.8).

According to Yamawaki (2011), there are two phases in Japan’s approach towards integration – from the 1970s to 1990s when local governments responded to discrimination, and 2000s

⁵ It is important to note that the English translation of the definition of MC by Japan’s government differs slightly according to a researcher. For example, Aiden (2011) used Yamawaki’s translation of MC as “people who differ in nationality, ethnicity, and so on, recognising one another’s cultural differences, and living together as members of the local community, while trying to build a relationship based on equality” (Yamawaki, 2002, p.5 in Aiden, 2011, p.223).

and after when central government started to address MC issues in local areas. Yamawaki (2011) argued that central government entrusted local governments with regard to MC issues and local governments with a large number of foreign residents have independently promoted various measures to address discrimination, considering human rights and participation of foreign residents (p.22). For example, in the 1970s, some local governments, such as Osaka and Kawasaki, began to provide public housing and child allowances to foreign residents and employ them as council staff, in response to the social movement that sought the elimination of discrimination based on nationality⁶ (p.23). From the 1980s, internationalisation initiatives, focusing on international exchange and international cooperation were developed by some local governments in response to an increasing number of foreign residents. The word ‘internationalisation’ became a keyword of the times and ‘Local internationalisation’ was also promoted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (p.25).

From 2000 onwards, an MC perspective was promoted “to help both foreign and Japanese residents accept cultural differences arising from nationality and ethnicity, and live together as members of their local communities” (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016, p.3). In the early 2000s, local governments started to introduce measures using the term Multicultural Coexistence (MC), such as publishing the guidelines for MC, setting up the centre for MC, or formulating a declaration on MC (p.31). It was 2005 when central government established a study group on the promotion of MC and published the report in 2006, in which MC was defined as presented above. The report identified four areas to address: (1) intercultural communication support; (2) assistance in everyday life; (3) the development of a multicultural coexistence community; and (4) the development of a system to promote multicultural coexistence policies (Chung, 2010, p.684). Yamawaki (2009, p.34) argued that although the government’s response was delayed compared to local governments, there are three significances in this report. Firstly, MC was established as a pillar of regional internationalisation policy. Secondly, the report gave an overall picture and direction of measures related to MC. Thirdly, the report emphasised the viewpoint of foreigners as ‘residents’ rather than as ‘visitors’. Moreover, Chung (2010, p.684) highlighted that the report regarded foreign residents “not only as the beneficiaries of incorporation policies and programs but also as active participants of ‘multicultural coexistence’ community building”.

⁶ There was a social movement calling for the elimination of discrimination against Korean residents “who were forced to emigrate to Japan before and during World War II” (Usui, 2006, p.50) and the second-, third-generations.

While Yamawaki (2011, p.33) argued that the contents of the programmes were similar to integration policies in European countries, Kibe (2011) pointed out that multicultural coexistence policy is “a culture-oriented integration policy” because the report “typically focuses on the question of how to overcome language and cultural barriers in public services and information distribution” (p.61).

In Japan, ‘migrants’ is not an official term and ‘foreign residents’⁷ is used in policy documents and in statistics. Japanese nationality is based on the principle of *ius sanguinis* (right of blood) (Tsuda, 2006, p.17) and dual nationality is not allowed. There has been a clear dichotomy between Japanese and non-Japanese in society. Many people with a migration background live in Japan as ‘foreign residents (gaikokuseki jūmin)’ rather than as naturalised Japanese. In Japan, the term ‘foreign residents’ is usually used in a neutral way, to mean residents from other countries. It is the term ‘migrant (imin)’ rather than ‘foreign (gaikoku)’ that has a negative connotation. For example, people, including academics, prefer to use the term ‘foreign workers (gaikokujin rōdōsha)’ rather than the term ‘migrant workers (imin rōdōsha)’ in Japan. As described above, citizenship rights of foreign residents have been improved by removing the nationality requirement in various systems at the local level rather than changing the naturalisation policy. Tsuda (2006) argued that local governments have offered immigrants rights and services, including “employment and housing assistance, language programs, cross-cultural activities, education for immigrant children, health care and insurance, welfare benefits, and local political representation” (p.6). It is possible to argue that it has been considered that nationality is one thing and citizenship is another at local level in Japan.

Tokyo’s guidelines for Multicultural Coexistence

In 2016, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) published the *Tokyo Guidelines for the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence*⁸ (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016). It is possible to argue that the TMG was late to take action because this first guideline was

⁷ Foreign residents was defined as those “who have been legally staying in Japan for more than three months and are registered in the Basic Resident Register” (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016).

⁸ In the English version of the guideline published by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, ‘Tabunka Kyōsei’ (translated as ‘Multicultural Coexistence’ in this thesis) was translated in English as ‘Intercultural Cohesion’ (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016). I asked staff in the related department of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government re this translation, whether ‘Intercultural Cohesion’ means anything different from ‘Multicultural Coexistence’. They replied that there is no particular meaning to this translation; therefore I use ‘Multicultural Coexistence (MC)’ instead of ‘Intercultural Cohesion’ for the term ‘Tabunka Kyōsei’ in Tokyo’s guideline to avoid confusion.

established ten years after the national guideline⁹. This suggests that the sub-Tokyo level governments had responded to MC issues in their local areas without any systematic support from the TMG. The purpose of promoting MC policies in Tokyo was stated as to “embrace diversity and build a city where all residents can participate and play an active role in its development and feel safe” (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016, p.2). Similar to London, it was considered that the TMG needed to “take the lead in ensuring coordination between the various actors, including municipalities, which directly provide administrative services to citizens, the national government, and NPOs and others providing support to foreign residents, so that they can properly fulfil their respective roles” (p.3). Three policy goals were presented – (1) To establish an environment in which both Japanese and foreign residents can play an active role; (2) To give more support to all foreign residents for living securely and enjoy their lives, and (3) To raise awareness of respect for diversity and mutual support, worthy of a global city. The guideline emphasised that Tokyo’s MC policies are based on “a new line of thought in which foreign and Japanese residents together play an active role in Tokyo’s development” as well as on “the traditional concept of MC, which focuses on foreign and Japanese residents living together in the community” (p.2). Thus, it is possible to argue that foreign residents were regarded as those who can contribute to economic development, which helps promote “a global city that leads the world” (p.2).

1-3-3. Comparative overview of the demographic characteristics

Table 1-2 shows the demographic statistics regarding the number of international migrants in the UK and Japan. According to the Office for National Statistics (2018), “Non-UK populations” are indicated by “non-UK born and non-British nationals” (p.3). In 2017, 14 per cent of people in the UK were born abroad, and the top five countries of birth were Poland, India, Pakistan, Romania, and the Republic of Ireland. It is important to note that “not all foreign-born UK residents are subject to immigration control” (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2014, p.3), because some were born abroad and hold British nationality. Regarding nationality, 10 per cent of people in the UK stated non-British nationality when they were interviewed, and the top five countries were Poland, Romania, the Republic of Ireland, India,

⁹ During the interviews in Shinjuku, some participants pointed out that this late guideline was due to the former mayor of Tokyo, who marginalised MC issues from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government.

and Italy. Those top five countries suggest that international migrants in the UK have “strong historical links to the empire and Commonwealth” (Ali and Gidley, 2014, p.3) and the EU.

Table 1-2: The demographic statistics in the UK and Japan

| The UK (2017) 65 million residents | | Japan (2017) 127 million residents |
|--|---|---|
| Non-UK born residents: 14 % (9.4 million residents) | Non-British national residents: 10 % (6.2 million residents) | Foreign residents: 2 % (2.4 million residents) |
| Top five countries of origin: Poland India Pakistan Romania Republic of Ireland | Top five countries of origin: Poland Romania Republic of Ireland India Italy | Top five countries of origin: China Republic of Korea Vietnam Philippines Brazil |

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2018; Immigration Service Agency of Japan, 2018

Note: The table shows estimates of the resident population of the UK and Japan. The UK statistics by the Office for National Statistics are based upon data from the Annual Population Survey. The statistics in Japan are based on the Population Estimates and the Population Census of the Statistics Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

As explained above, the number of ‘foreign residents’ has been used to show the number of international migrants in Japan (Immigration Service Agency of Japan, 2018). In 2017, the percentage of foreign nationals residing in Japan for more than three months accounted for 2 per cent of the population. The top five countries of origin were China, the Republic of Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Brazil. There are many foreign residents from Brazil in Japan because the Japanese government has permitted Latin American people of Japanese descent “to ‘return’ migrate to Japan” (Tsuda, 2006, p.14). In 1993, the Technical Intern Training Programme¹⁰ was established and since then a large number of trainees have come from Vietnam, China and the Philippines (Immigration Service Agency of Japan, 2018, p.30).

¹⁰ Tsuda (2006) argued that “although the program is officially justified as a form of overseas development assistance that enables trainees from developing countries to acquire technical skills at Japanese companies, it is being widely abused as a source of inexpensive unskilled foreign labor” (p.14). In order to strengthen the protection of trainees, the Immigration Control Law was amended in 2009 (Hayakawa, 2011).

The official statistics in the UK and Japan show “the British tradition of conferring citizenship by birthplace (*jus soli*)” (Ali and Gidley, 2014, p.3) and Japanese nationality based on the principle of right of blood (*ius sanguinis*) (Tsuda, 2006, p.17). In both countries, the top five countries of origin suggest that international migration has been significantly affected by historical experience (such as colonisation and war) and policies related to migrant workers (such as the EU and the Technical Intern Training Programme in Japan).

Similarly, table 1-3 shows demographic statistics regarding international migrants in London and Tokyo. In 2017, 38 per cent of the London population was born abroad, which shows that “London has a larger migrant population than the rest of the UK” (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010, p.4). Approximately a third of non-UK born residents in the UK lived in London. On the other hand, in Tokyo, the percentage of foreign residents in the Tokyo population was 3.3 per cent, and approximately a fifth of foreign residents in Japan lived in Tokyo in 2016. The demographic statistics in Newham and Shinjuku will be presented in the section of Comparative case study in Chapter 3.

Table 1-3: The demographic statistics in London and Tokyo

| London (2017) 9 million residents | | Tokyo (2016) 14 million residents |
|---|--|--|
| Non-UK born residents: 38 % (3.3 million residents) | Non-British national residents: 24 % (2.1 million residents) | Foreign residents: 3.3 % (0.5 million residents) |
| Top five countries of origin: India Poland Bangladesh Romania Pakistan | Top five countries of origin: Poland Romania Italy India Portugal | Top five countries of origin: China Korea Philippines Vietnam Nepal |

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2018; Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2016

Note: The statistics of London by the Office for National Statistics shows the estimates of the resident population and are based upon data from the Annual Population Survey. The statistics of resident population in Tokyo shows estimates based on the Population Estimates and the Population Census of the Statistics Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, and the statistics of foreign resident population are calculated based on the Basic Resident Register.

1-3-4. Summary

This section has provided a brief overview of national and city policy contexts of Newham and Shinjuku. A comparison of the UK and Japan on the historical development of integration policy reveals a contrasting trend. Although integration policy had begun in both countries with efforts to eliminate discrimination against people with a migration background in society, the Japanese response had begun at local level, due to the absence of a national response. Regarding the focus group on integration, UK policies have paid attention to ethnic minorities including British nationals rather than newly arrived migrants. On the other hand, foreign residents have been focused on in Japan because there is a clear dichotomy between Japanese and non-Japanese in Japan. London and Tokyo's governments were expected to coordinate between various actors as the city level government rather than providing actual services. There appears to be no strong relationship between the UK and London, and between Japan and Tokyo in terms of integration policy.

1-4. The structure of the thesis

This study investigates integration perspectives and policy response towards local integration issues, focusing on two local areas in the UK and Japan – the London Borough of Newham and the Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku. This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 presents primary research questions and the objectives of this study. It also provides a brief overview of the policy contexts of two areas at national and city level. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the concept of integration and the study of integration policies, and identifies what is already known about local immigrant integration policy. The conceptual framework for this research is developed to define the key concepts and to look holistically at integration perspectives and integration policy at the local level. In Chapter 3, the methods used in this research will be described. My epistemological views and the rationale behind the use of the case study method and of selecting Newham and Shinjuku are presented. Research process and the structure of the thesis are also illustrated, after which the data collection process and the data analysis process are described, also considering the validity of the research process and ethical issues. Chapters 4 and 5 present findings in Newham and Shinjuku respectively, beginning with brief outlines of local historical and policy contexts – the meaning and import of local actors' views in Newham and Shinjuku and concluding with the results of descriptive coding and pattern coding. Chapter 6 discusses findings in Newham and Shinjuku by comparing and examining them in the context of the conceptual framework and of local

integration policy studies. Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the findings of this research, discusses my originality and contribution to knowledge, and presents recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2-1. Introduction

The purposes of this chapter are to critically review how immigrant integration has been investigated and the resulting discussions, and to identify what is already known about local immigrant integration policy. Based on this literature review, a conceptual framework has been developed to show the focus of my study and to delineate possible relationships between the key concepts and factors influencing local policy.

The main element of my search strategy consisted of electronic searching, conducted via the Anglia Ruskin University online library. I used general library search and the databases: Academic OneFile; Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts, and Policy and Practice. I also searched key academic journals: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis; Research and Practice, and Local Government Studies. Google Scholar was also used to find open access articles. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were defined as within the table below. The time frame was selected in order to acquire current knowledge about policies and the year 2004 was considered to be important because that was when the European Union introduced its framework of immigrant integration.

Table 2: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for search strategy

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Time frame | 2004 – (Within Google Scholar searching, literature was selected only from publications dating from 2012 in order to obtain a manageable number of hits) |
| Language | English English and Japanese for Google Scholar searching ¹¹ |
| Types of materials | Books Journal articles (only peer-reviewed) Grey literature (reports, theses and dissertations) |

¹¹ For Japanese language literature, I used Google Scholar and hand searching because of availability.

Search terms such as ‘immigrant integration’, ‘immigrant integration policy’, ‘policy making’, ‘local government’ or ‘comparative research’ were used for this electronic searching¹², and the total number of hits was 275. Additionally, I evaluated the relevance of each source by checking their titles and abstract and narrowing it down to 65. This was also supplemented with hand searching and snowballing reference lists¹³. From these candidate references, 47 references were identified as the most relevant to my topic and have been included in this literature review.

This chapter first explores the key concept in my research – immigrant integration, and secondly, provides the development of integration policy studies to understand what has been focused on and how these aspects have been investigated. It then critically reviews recent research to examine what has already been found on integration policy at local level and to address gaps in previous work. The final section presents the conceptual framework to show the definitions and assumptions used in my research and what I will investigate regarding integration and local immigrant integration policy, and to delineate possible relationships between the key concepts and factors influencing local policy.

2-2. What is immigrant integration?

2-2-1. No single definition

Immigrant integration has been defined in various ways, but there has been no consensus on its definition. As a result, there is a risk that people discuss integration issues based upon differing ideas of what the term actually means. In the case of the UK, integration has been referred to as “a dazzling and treacherous concept” (Saggar and Somerville, 2012, p.1), and the results of empirical research in the UK have pointed out that the term ‘equality’, ‘community cohesion’ or ‘social inclusion’, rather than ‘integration’, is used to describe the purpose of integrating migrants at both national and local levels (Kofman, Vacchelli and D’Angelo, 2011, p.6; Jones, 2012, p.2). Castles, Haas and Miller (2014) used the term ‘incorporation’ instead of ‘integration’ in *The Age of Migration*, because integration “can imply a specific idea of where the process should lead” (p.265).

¹² For Japanese language literature, terms such as ‘Tabunka kyōsei (Multicultural Coexistence)’, ‘Chihōjichitai (local government)’, and ‘Seisakukeisei (policy making)’ were used, but articles written in Japanese were often not available as a full text.

¹³ One website (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2015) was included.

2-2-2. Definitions used by international organisations

Despite these criticisms, however, European and North American countries are increasingly using the term integration. In the international field, for example, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) states that they have addressed the integration of migrants since the 1950s, and defines migrant integration as “the process of mutual adaptation between host society and migrant” (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2015). In 2004, the European Union (EU) introduced ‘Common basic principles (CBP) for immigrant integration policy in the EU’ to establish a coherent EU framework of immigrant integration, and defined integration as “a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States” (Niessen and Huddleston, 2010, p.160). Although the CBP had no legal force, it presented the key areas of policy intervention for successful integration: employment; knowledge of the host society’s language, history and institutions; education; access to services; communication between immigrants and Member State citizens; cultures and religions, and political participation (ibid).

2-2-3. Various approaches to the concept

The concept of immigrant integration has been explored from different perspectives. Schain (2010) demonstrated that the progress of integration in a country can be measured by differences between migrants and non-migrants in terms of unemployment rates and educational attainment, although the management of diversity and “what they expect integration to mean” (p.206) differs among countries. Schain evaluated relative success and failure of immigrant integration by looking at such differences in France, Britain and the US, and found that socio-economic integration in Britain and the US are relatively successful compared to France, where unemployment is higher among immigrants and “almost two-thirds of immigrants did not attain the level of upper secondary school and 50 percent simply dropped out without any degree” (p.227). It is possible to argue that the wide socio-economic performance gaps between two groups can be viewed as one of the evidences of “failure of integration” (Goodman, 2010, p.754). It has been reported that there are gaps between migrant groups and the host population, not only in socio-economic gaps, but also in health and wellbeing (Thomas and Gideon, 2013, p.2).

While Schain (2010), discussed success and failure of integration based on quantitative data, others sought to construct the concept of integration based on qualitative data. Ager and Strang (2008), conducted inductive research to explore what constitutes successful

integration. Based on the review of related literature and primary fieldwork, including 62 semi-structured interviews with refugees and non-refugees such as teachers, health workers, community workers, police, clergy and local business people in settings of refugee settlement in the UK (Islington in London and Pollokshaws in Glasgow), they identified ten core domains reflecting “normative conceptions of integration” (p.166): employment; housing; education; health; social bridges; social bonds; social links; language and cultural knowledge; safety and stability, and rights and citizenship. By contrast, Erdal (2013) viewed immigrant integration as “the lived experience of migrants” (p.983) and explored migrants’ own expressions about integration by interviewing 30 Pakistani migrants and their descendants in Norway. Erdal (2013) found that migrants do not consider “complete integration in terms of norms and cultural values” as a prerequisite for becoming a member of society (p.991), do not perceive “full integration in the sense of belonging, identity and full citizenship” as achievable (p.992), and maintain dual loyalties to people and places – they identify as Pakistani as well as Norwegian citizens with Norwegian passports (p.994,5).

Based on two international comparative research projects comparing cities’ integration policies, Penninx (2009) argued that immigrant integration is a difficult concept to define, because the term can include “normative implications that point to a desired outcome” (p.5). Although policies are normative by definition as “policy formulation starts by defining the actual integration process or outcome (for certain groups) as problematic (hence the need to have a policy)” (p.6), he argued that it is possible to define immigrant integration without including normative elements as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society” (p.5), and the process is “propelled by the interaction between two parties” (p.5).

Spencer (2011b) presented a more detailed definition of immigrant integration in her book *The Migration Debate* which discusses migration issues in the UK. Spencer’s definition is “processes of interaction between migrants and the individuals and institutions of the receiving society that facilitate economic, social, cultural and civic participation and an inclusive sense of belonging at the national and local level” (p.203). It is possible to argue that “becoming an accepted part of society” in Penninx’s definition can be represented as participating in all aspects of everyday life in society and sharing an inclusive sense of belonging. As participation is important for Spencer, she argues that a migrant’s legal status is fundamental to the integration process (p.204). Similarly, the discussion paper for an international project involving many researchers in different European countries, Ponzo et al.,

(2013) considered participation and a sense of belonging to be important elements for the definition. They defined it as “the dynamic, multi-actor process of mutual engagement that facilitates effective participation by all members of a diverse society in the economic, political, social and cultural life, and fosters a shared and inclusive sense of belonging” (p.6) and emphasised that it is the interaction between migrants and the receiving society that shape this process. They also pointed out that the integration process happens at different levels – the local level and the national level.

2-2-4. Summary

This section has looked at the concept of immigrant integration and reviewed different definitions used by international organizations and in the literature. Immigrant integration can be viewed as “a policy objective, a theoretical construct, and the lived experience of migrants” (Erdal, 2013, p.984), which depends on which perspective is used and which issues are focused on. As the desired outcome – successful integration – differs depending on society, integration has generally been defined broadly.

It is possible to argue that there are some important key elements in the concept of immigrant integration. Firstly, integration means the two-way process of mutual adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society. This is a characteristic peculiar to the concept of integration that is different from assimilation, which can be considered to be one-sided. That is to say, two players – the migrant and the receiving society – are expected to change and influence each other. Integration can be seen as a society-wide issue, related to all members of a society rather than as something only immigrants do, although “the lived experience of migrants” is one of the important aspects of the integration process, as Erdal (2013) argued. Secondly, this process involves participation in all aspects of everyday life in society and an inclusive sense of belonging. Thirdly, such participation is facilitated and sense of belonging is nurtured by interaction between immigrants and the receiving society. My definition of immigrant integration will be presented later in a conceptual framework.

2-3. The study of immigrant integration policies

2-3-1. The beginning of immigrant integration policy studies

A key early theme in studies of policy responses to immigrants in society was citizenship, “a formal legal status (often referred to as nationality), designating membership of a nation-

state” (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014, p.287). It is important for migrants to acquire citizenship because it brings rights equal to that of other residents, such as rights to vote, work, welfare, education and health care. Academic focus has been on how migrants can obtain citizenship, as access differs from country to country. For example, Brubaker (1992) discussed *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood) and *jus soli* (law of the soil) citizenship models, based on a comparison of French and German citizenship policies and their historical conditions. It has been argued that citizenship rules, such as how to define who is a citizen and how newcomers can become citizens, can be explained by the country’s historical experience of nation-state formation and self-understanding as a nation. Stephen Castles (1995) added an aspect of cultural diversity to the national citizenship regimes and identified three approaches that explained how nation-states respond to immigration – differential exclusion, assimilationist, and pluralist. In an exclusionary approach, migrants are incorporated into certain areas of society (e.g. the labour market), but denied access to others (e.g. citizenship and political participation). Assimilationist and Pluralist approaches offer full membership, with migrants needing to abandon their original languages and cultures in the former approach, while the latter accepts cultural differences. In order to “explain why some countries pursue inclusive policies whilst others have been exclusivist” (Hepburn, 2015, p.3), other comparative analyses followed, with a focus throughout the 1990s on national factors (Alexander, 2007, p.8). These comparative analyses of immigration regimes have shown that migrant policy can be recognised as a field of study, underpinned by theoretical background (Alexander, 2003, p.412).

2-3-2. Indicator development

Not only national models, but also various indices have been developed to measure the comprehensive legal equality and the situation of immigrants at nation-state level, such as the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI) in Banting and Kymlicka (2006, 2011, 2013), the Indicators of Citizenship Rights for Immigrants (ICRI) in Koopmans et al., (2005), the Citizenship Policy Index (CPI) in Howard (2009), and the Civic Integration Policy Index (CIVIX) in Goodman (2010) (Duyvendak et al., 2013, p.600).

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) (2016), first published in 2004, measures policies to integrate migrants in 38 countries, including all EU Member States, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA, by the 167 indicators in 8 policy areas: labour market mobility, family reunion,

education, health, political participation, permanent residence, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination. Countries score high marks when it is easy for immigrants to obtain the same equal rights and opportunities as nationals. In 2014, Sweden was the best case among 38 countries, receiving high scores for labour market mobility and anti-discrimination. Next was Portugal, having high scores for labour market mobility, family reunion, anti-discrimination and access to nationality, followed by New Zealand. The United Kingdom was ranked 15th, despite high anti-discrimination scores. This is mainly because the score of family reunion is ranked 38th out of 38 countries. Japan was ranked 27th with low marks in education, anti-discrimination, political participation, and access to nationality.

2-3-3. Criticisms of national models

These international comparative studies, using models and indices reduce complexity and allow a comparative assessment of immigrant integration policy. Moreover, they are useful in identifying recent trends, such as convergence or divergence of integration policies between various countries and to “generate insight in a country’s history” (Duyvendak and Scholten, 2012, p.268). Despite these advantages, however, national-level analyses have been criticised for the following reasons: firstly, it has been argued that immigrant integration should be studied at a local level rather than at the national level. Scholten (2014) argued that:

“from a sociological perspective, migrant integration appears to be primarily a local process. The local level is where migrants go to school, find jobs, mix with their neighbours, participate in social life, and raise their kids. Research has also indicated that migrants tend to feel more connected to the cities or regions in which they live, than to the countries they live in or to supranational identities like Europe” (p.150).

In the same way, Penninx (2009) suggested that integration takes place “in the very concrete contexts of streets, neighbourhoods, schools, work places, public spaces, local organisations” (p.5) and the variation of local responses to integration can be explained by those local factors and circumstances rather than higher (regional, national or international) levels factors. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that it is not central government that has responded to such local processes, but rather local governments, which have developed their own integration policies and impacted on national policies in European countries (Scholten, 2014, p.150; Penninx, 2015, p.104; Scholten, Entzinger and Penninx, 2015, p.1). Similarly, Caponio and Borkert (2010, p.9) argued that municipalities in Europe have responded to

international migration by adopting a pragmatic solution, although non-governmental actors rather than local governments have dealt with migrant-related issues in some cities.

Secondly, critics have argued that policy responses toward immigrants in a country cannot be described as a single national model (Alexander, 2007, p.8,9; Schmidtke, 2014, p.79; Hepburn, 2015, p.3,4; Penninx, 2015, p.99,100). It has been pointed out that there is a growing heterogeneity of approaches across European cities and national-level analyses cannot explain those local variations (Alexander, 2003, p.412; Schmidtke, 2014, p.79). In addition to local variations, it has been pointed out that there is a divergence between national and local policy in the approach towards immigrants (Alexander, 2003; Poppelaars and Scholten, 2008; Caponio and Borkert, 2010). In the case of the Netherlands, Poppelaars and Scholten (2008) showed that national governments have adopted a citizenship approach to immigrant integration since the 1990s based on “a framing of migrants as individual citizens” (p.352), whereas local governments have taken “a more accommodative approach to migrant groups” (p.335). Furthermore, while Alexander (2007, p.8,9) suggested that a country’s classification, based on the analysis of one policy domain can be classified differently according to the other policy domains. Penninx (2015) argued that national models focused on a particular area of policy domains – “policies related to civic and political participation” (p.99). It is possible to argue that local variations within countries and differences between policy domains can be ignored by the national-level analyses. That is to say, national models can be described as “overly abstract” (Alexander, 2003, p.412) and it is also possible to argue that they have been built upon “the assumption that there is somehow a single coherent, consistent approach that determines policymaking within a state” (Hepburn, 2015, p.3).

2-3-4. Summary

Regarding comparative studies of immigrant integration, many studies have focused on national policies. These comparative analyses have been used to identify recent trends and assess policy, and have been acknowledged as a field of study. However, it has become recognised that the integration process is affected not only by the legal framework (that only central government can set), but also by local policies relating to all aspects of the everyday lives of immigrants – the development of theories and models based on national policies have been criticised for being too simplistic. Moreover, it has been argued that many cities have developed their own integration policies in the absence of national guidelines. In response to

these criticisms, there has been some increase in research that focuses on the regional and local perspectives on integration policy, which will be critically reviewed in the next section.

2-4. What is already known about local immigrant integration policy?

2-4-1. Large-scale projects

In regard to large-scale comparative research, various international projects have been carried out in Western countries (Schwarz, 2014; Ponzo et al., 2013; Caponio and Borkert, 2010). In one of several desk research papers in the Knowledge for Integration Governance (KING)¹⁴ project, Schwarz (2014) identified 28 research projects on the topic of local integration policy funded by the European Union (EU) or by other supranational organisations. These large-scale international research projects have aimed primarily at exchanging their experiences to learn from each other and have produced rich empirical data, allowing us to compare different cities in their different contexts (Penninx, 2009; Alexander, 2007). Based on the findings of the Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship (MPMC)¹⁵ in European cities and the Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP)¹⁶ projects, Penninx (2009) argued that a wide variety of patterns in local policy response towards immigrants can be explained by not only “the differences in the national institutional systems”, but also by “a great many local factors and circumstances” such as: “the physical layout of the city and its relationship with the neighbouring area; the city’s historical experience with earlier immigration and diversity; the concrete instruments and resources available to local policymakers to guide processes in the vital domains of housing and urban regeneration, labour market and entrepreneurship, education and health, and local political constellations and coalitions that work for inclusion or for exclusion” (p.6).

¹⁴ The KING (Knowledge for Integration Governance) project, funded by the European Commission Directorate, intends to gather knowledge in relation to migrant integration through a multidisciplinary approach (EU Policy, Political Science, Public Administration, Social Science, Applied Social Studies, Economics, and Demography) and to provide evidence-based recommendations.

¹⁵ The MPMC (Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities, 1996-2004) is an empirical research project on the participation of immigrant and minority groups and local policies in 15 European cities and Tel Aviv.

¹⁶ The CLIP (Cities for Local Integration Policies, 2006-) is a network of 30 European cities that aims to work together to support the social and economic integration of migrants focusing on housing, equality and diversity, intercultural policies and intergroup relations, and ethnic entrepreneurship.

2-4-2. Criticisms of large-scale projects and Alexander's study

However, it has been argued that most projects of large-N comparisons across cities tend to look at rather successful practices, become descriptive case studies using a vague comparative perspective approach, and have been less likely to involve theoretical discussions (Alexander, 2007, p.10; Caponio and Borkert, 2010, p.17,8). In order to bridge a gap between “overly abstract/deductive” (Alexander, 2007, p.197, 214) national models and “overly specific/inductive” (ibid) local-level research, Alexander (2003) developed a typology of local migrant policies based on a literature survey in 25 cities¹⁷, including the findings of the MPMC project. This was the first attempt to provide an analytical framework on local integration policies (Penninx, 2015, p.100). Alexander adopted the concept of Host-Stranger relations as a theoretical framework, and focused on whether the local authority (the Host) regards migrants/newcomers (the Stranger) as “a passing phenomenon”, as “a threat to stability”, or as “a positive potential for the neighbourhood and city” (2003, p.415). These local government attitudes toward immigrants were understood by policy reactions ranging from inclusionary policies, such as the establishment of migrant advisory councils and “allocating extra resources in education, health and welfare services,” to exclusionary policies, such as “the deliberate exclusion of migrant organisations” and restricted access to local services (2003, p.412). Local policy reactions were divided into four types – Transient, Guestworker, Assimilationist and Pluralist.

Importantly, Alexander (2003) looked at local policy response towards the Stranger, which included “guestworkers recruited in the 1960s and their families” (p.412) and irregular labour migrants depending on the local authority, and excluded “ex-colonial migrants” or “economic migrants from rich countries” when the local authority regarded them “as a different category of Strangers” (p.427). That is to say, the local policy responses in 25 cities were categorised in Alexander's typology although the Stranger differed according to the local authority. Not only were the different definitions of the migrant/minority used in each city, but also the 25 cities were at different stages of migrant policy development, and the percentage of the migrant/minority population ranged from 5 to 30 per cent (ibid, p.428). Therefore, it is possible to argue that Alexander provided an analytical framework that enables us to compare

¹⁷ Amsterdam, Antwerp, Athens, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham, Bradford, Brussels, Cologne, Frankfurt, Liege, Lille, Marseille, Milan, Oeiras (Lisbon), Paris, Rome, Rotterdam, Sheffield, Stockholm, Stuttgart, Tel Aviv, Turin, Utrecht and Zurich.

migrant policies in cities with different types of migrant, different experiences on migration and migrant policies.

Furthermore, it is a “comprehensive typology” (Caponio and Borkert, 2010, p.18), because it took into account four domains – juridical-political, socio-economic, cultural-religious and spatial. In each policy domain, Alexander identified two to three policy issues, such as ‘labour market’, ‘education’ and ‘local social services’ in the socio-economic domain and ‘housing’ and ‘symbolic uses of space’ in the spatial domain. Alexander (2003, p. 425) argued that it is important to look at policies across different domains, as focusing on one particular domain may provide a different picture. This is because each city with a different type of migrant, may have different kinds of migrants’ need, and each local authority may have a different agenda to focus on. Jaczewska (2013) used Alexander’s classification of policy domains and policy issues (not the host-stranger relations model) to compare immigrant integration policies in 20 German cities and 17 urban areas in the UK. Despite significant institutional differences between Germany and the UK, Alexander’s theoretical tool helped to identify the multidimensionality of integration policy at the local level, and similar patterns in the socio-economic, cultural-religious and spatial dimensions in cities in both countries.

In order to test the Host-Stranger relations model and provide a revised typology, Alexander, (2007) conducted in-depth case studies of Amsterdam, Rome, Tel Aviv and Paris. The findings of the case studies illustrated that each city has responded to migrant settlement in a different way and that “there are no set formulas for managing labour migrant settlement” (2007, p.197). Nevertheless, Alexander’s case studies showed that, by using the model and the typology, it is possible to make a comparative analysis of the case studies between cities with “different national migration regimes, scales of city, governance style and migration histories” (2007, p.203) and provide generalisations for further studies. However, there is criticism that Alexander analysed local responses, focusing on cities’ official policies (Caponio and Borkert, 2010, p.17,8). That is to say, the actual response to immigrant integration at the local level should be understood not only by analysing the official policies of cities, but also by looking at the policy-making process and implementation (ibid).

2-4-3. An ongoing large-scale project

In a conceptual and methodological discussion paper for the EU-MIA¹⁸ project, Ponzo et al. (2013) advocated the “Functioning Practices” approach, which pays attention not only to policy outcomes but also to policy making processes and considers that “the effectiveness of integration measures is strongly related to and embedded in the specific context” (p.14). The authors argued that the focus on the context can raise the issue of generalisability – the findings “depend on time, place, and organizational, social, and political context” (p.14). However, they considered that the Functioning Practices approach could overcome this problem by analysing policy-making processes that:

“look at the various aspect of formal and informal decision processes, such as actors involved (public actors and institutions, non-profit organisations, private foundations, trade unions, private enterprises, research institutions and experts, media, etc.) and relations among them, actors’ policy frames, means employed to carry out a specific practice (norms and sanctions, economic resources, community resources and social capital, symbolic resources, etc.) and ways in which the abovementioned means have been raised (financing mechanisms, communication strategies, mobilisation processes, etc.), outputs and outcomes including the negative ones” (p.14,15).

Furthermore, quoting the definition of policy transfer by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) – “a process by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangement, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting” (p.14), they argued that the analysis of policy making processes including various actors’ policy frames can contribute to foster policy transfer and policy learning.

2-4-4. An international comparative case study

Apart from those large-scale projects, comparative case studies of a small number of cities have also been carried out in recent years. Hadj-Abdou (2014) looked at how immigrant

¹⁸ The EU-MIA (European Migration Academy) project, is “a research and action project, funded by the European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals, delivered by the International Training Centre of the International Labour Organisation, the International and European Forum of Migration Research and the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) of the University of Oxford” (Ponzo et al., 2013, p.5).

integration has been framed in Dublin and Vienna, based on over 40 interviews with policy actors such as “national and local politicians, executive administration, civic and interest groups” (p.1877) in each city and the policy document analysis. Despite their different situations in terms of immigration history, the structure of immigrant demography and party politics, Hadj-Abdou identified that the two cities “share a common vision of immigrant integration” (p.1890). In both cities, the contribution of migrants is framed in association with economic benefits, and ethno-cultural diversity is used as a tool to foster economic growth. Hadj-Abdou pointed out that such a view of immigrant integration, focusing on economic interests rather than on migrant rights can lead to reproducing inequalities. Using a similar method, the policy document analysis and interviews with “government officials, service providers and actors within civil society” (p.1858), Schmidtke and Zaslove (2014), looked at local policy framing of North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany and Emilia-Romagna in Italy. Although these two countries have different state structures, Schmidtke and Zaslove highlighted that there was a common framing of managing migration and diversity in both regions – “the task of integration is strongly framed around the need to provide migrants with equitable opportunities in the educational sector and the labour market, and by way of access to important institutions such as health care” (p.1869), and that this framing is contrary to national debate in Germany and Italy, which concerns threats caused by cultural and religious diversity. Importantly, they found that community organisations play a crucial role in the political process at local level. They argued that “community organisations have become more firmly embedded in institutional practices and accepted by the wider policy community” (p.1870).

Sidney (2014) focused on how immigrant settlement organisations work in the community in Ottawa, Ontario (Canada) and Newark, New Jersey (US). Mainly based on 15 interviews with staff members of organisations and city government workers in each city, Sidney identified that different types of groups were active in each city and they had a different focus of activities. The NGOs in Ottawa, well established and funded, provided an array of settlement services to immigrants, as strong partnerships have been established between NGOs and government in Canada. In contrast, local immigrant organisations in Newark had an unstable relationship with the city and most of their activities were centred on legal and political activism. However, as Sidney pointed out, different relationships between immigrant organisations and the city have been seen in other cities in the US. In New York City and San Francisco, it has been found that “immigrant organisations are well organised and regularly

collaborate with each other to realise shared goals” (de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016, p.20). De Graauw and Vermeulen (2016) examined the integration experiences in Berlin, Amsterdam, New York City and San Francisco to develop an inductive framework on local policy-making, based on 10 years of empirical research, including interviews with local and national politicians, policy-makers, practitioners and staff members of local immigrant organisations. They identified three local-level factors that play important roles in adopting and implementing city integration policies: “(1) left-leaning governments, (2) immigrants who constitute a large part of the city electorate and are part of local decision-making structures, and (3) an infrastructure of community-based organisations that actively represent immigrants’ collective interests in local politics and policy-making” (p.1). They argued that “when these three factors exist synergistically, cities are more likely to commit themselves to policies that promote immigrant integration” (p.1), and these local contextual variables are more important than national context towards understanding the integration approaches at the local level.

2-4-5. National-local relations

Rather than looking at local approaches within their national contexts, there is some literature, which focuses on the relationship between national policies and local policies. Poppelaars and Scholten (2008) argued that local immigrant integration policies in the Netherlands differ from national policy because of varying problem framing between national and local governments. Based on an analysis of policy documents and a secondary analysis of the report and interview materials, and a case study of Rotterdam, including interviews with local administrators and civil servants, they argued that national government has adopted a citizenship approach to immigrant integration based on “framing migrants as individual citizens of the imagined national community” (p.352), whereas local governments take a more pragmatic approach towards addressing neighbourhood issues and use “migrant organizations as a specific problem coping mechanism” (p.352), which results in taking “a more accommodative approach to migrant groups” (p.335).

Garcés-Mascareñas (2014) viewed local integration policies as the response to national policies, because the accessibility of the institutions in the domains of health care, housing, education and the labour market is primarily determined by national policies. Based on a review of academic research and reports by institutions and stakeholders, Garcés-Mascareñas (2014) looked at how European cities have responded to integration in these four domains,

and highlighted two tendencies of local policy responses. First, local policies sometimes seek to ‘repair’ non-working national policies. In some cities, local policies and practices aimed to reduce “the practical barriers limiting access to health care or education” (p.19) and to “include those excluded by immigration policies” (p.19). Secondly, “professionals in the health care and education sectors and NGOs in the four domains” (p.19) were heavily involved in inclusive practices at the local level. Garcés-Mascreñas (2014) pointed out that local governments provided minimum conditions to undocumented migrants “indirectly by financing NGOs and immigrant organisations” (p.19).

Scholten (2015) offered a conceptual framework on the national-local relations focusing on policy-framing of immigrant integration. Based on “a typology of governance configurations in multi-level settings” (p.4), the national-local relations were divided into four types – Centralist type (top-down), Localist type (bottom-up), Multi-level governance (vertical interaction and joint coordination), and Decoupling (contradictory). Scholten (2015) hypothesised that “different ‘vertical’ governance configurations will have an effect in terms of producing either convergence or divergence in the framing of migrant integration in policies at different levels” (p.2) and conducted in-depth case studies of the UK and the Netherlands and their cities/subnational authorities¹⁹ to analyse how immigrant integration policies are framed nationally and locally. To describe the relations between national and local governments in relation to the framing of integration policies, Scholten used the notion of “frame alignment” that means “multiple actors, or as in this research, multiple levels, gradually adopt a similar frame (or mutually adjust their frames) in response to interaction and learning” (p.5), and his analysis showed that “there are no top-down coordination mechanisms that create frame alignment” (p.1) in both countries. The findings showed that in the UK, frame alignment took place around the community cohesion frame in the multi-level governance structure, while in the Netherlands, the decoupling of national and local policy frames led to contradictory policies (p.19). In relation to migrant integration policies in Scotland/Glasgow, however, he suggested that “the national turn towards community cohesion” (p.13) was less relevant in Scotland “due to devolution and very different local (problem/policy/political) circumstances” (p.14), such as an ageing population and “the One Scotland campaign, stressing that the Scots were an open people that welcomed migrants and diversity” (p.13).

¹⁹ Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Scotland, Glasgow, Greater London Authority (GLA), Tower Hamlets and Enfield.

2-4-6. Research in the UK

Hepburn (2015) focused on the different approaches towards immigrant integration between England and Scotland, and analysed them qualitatively using the policy divergence/convergence framework. This model has explained whether, and to what extent policy divergence/convergence exists in policies, including health, education, and housing across the substate governments of the UK (p.5). Based on Keating's (2002, 2005) works that identified factors explaining the Scottish difference, Hepburn examined "the party politics of migrant integration, public opinion, the nature of intergovernmental relations on migration policy, overlapping powers, and the European dimension" (p.6). She found that Scotland and England have developed their own distinct integration policies "in terms of the policy frames and content of policies" (p.22), although there have been convergences in relation to the race relations approach, the role of local authorities in developing integration policies, and a mainstreaming approach.

Importantly, Hepburn (2015) defined two types of integration policies:

- 1) Those that are targeted at newly arrived immigrants and their families and focused on their particular language and orientation needs (otherwise known as 'reception' policies);
- 2) Those that are intended towards the long-term inclusion of immigrants – including second, third generations and more – that seek to ensure the equality of opportunity for all individuals in society (p.3).

This distinction is very important for studying integration policies in the UK because the community cohesion agenda, one of the key pillars of integration policies in the UK, has targeted ethnic minorities, including British-born UK nationals rather than new arrivals (Spencer, 2011b; Saggar and Somerville, 2012; Ali and Gidley, 2014). Ali and Gidley (2014) suggested that issues of migration, ethnicity and diversity have been addressed within "the label of 'minority' policy" (p.2) rather than immigrant integration in the UK. Although integration is framed differently in the UK, however, they demonstrated that "promising local practices" (p.16) closely related to integration having been introduced in an area where residents are relatively positive towards migrants, by presenting cases in Scotland and London. In Glasgow in Scotland, "a whole community approach" (p.18) has been adopted and a large number of grassroots organisations have been working with migrants "as part of communities rather than as discrete entities" (p.1). In London, five boroughs were selected

(Hackney, Waltham Forest, Lewisham, Tower Hamlets and Southwark) and demonstrated that each borough has developed its own integration policy by “including and engaging minority young people” and “developing mainstreamed integration and cohesion strategies” (p.22).

Jones (2012) also explored “promising practices” (p.2) regarding attitudes towards migrants at the local level in the UK as part of the AMICALL²⁰ project. Based on seven case studies of potential promising practices including two in-depth case studies in Glasgow and the London borough of Hackney, Jones found that local practices in the UK did not fit into the EU integration policy framework focusing on “third-country nationals (non-EU citizens, and not asylum seekers or refugees)” (p.3) because the target groups of practices were all residents, including migrants and non-migrants or “specific group of migrants based on legal status” (p.12) in the UK. Jones identified that local authorities were engaged in a wide range of activities from “providing direct services and advice to migrants” to addressing “tensions between new and existing communities” (p.9) and that many representatives of local authorities considered that in order to avoid conflicts it was necessary to improve attitudes towards migrants by “supporting new migrants (to speak English, to know their rights and responsibilities, to find work and decent housing)” (p.8) for the whole community. Furthermore, Jones’ findings showed that civil society organisations were “used as a resource” and “seen as the direct line to minority communities” (p.16) in the planning or delivery of local practices.

It is worth noting that the above case studies looked at policy responses in London at the sub-city/borough level rather than at city level. Kofman, Vacchelli and D’Angelo (2011) examined local integration policies in the London Boroughs of Enfield and Islington as part of the PRONSINT²¹ project and showed that there were significant differences between inner and outer London boroughs, due to their differing migrant population and local socio-economic conditions. They argued that an inner city borough, like Islington “has a broader set

²⁰ The AMICALL (Attitudes to Migrants, Communication and Local Leadership) seeks to provide a platform for the sharing of good practice and the development of new strategies for the promotion of positive attitudes towards migrants and towards migrant integration at the local and regional level, led by a partnership of six European research institutions, with the Council of Europe as an associate partner.

²¹ The PROSINT (Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration) aims to evaluate the impact of admission related integration policies on the integration of newcomers, to analyse the different logics underlying integration policymaking and to investigate the main target groups of compulsory and voluntary integration measures in 9 European countries.

of local institutions, organizations, service providers and social enterprises” (p.19) to address immigrant integration, compared to an outer city borough, like Enfield. Importantly, they found that some local organisations such as the Evelyn Oldfield Unit and Migrant Resource Centre worked to promote local integration across boroughs and engaged in a wide range of activities – “sometimes focusing on individual community groups and in some other cases by targeting wider categories of vulnerable groups in need of socializing and feeling ‘integrated’ with other people who have a similar cultural background” (p.32).

2-4-7. Research in Japan

Thus far I have reviewed studies in Western countries. There is also an increasing literature on local immigrant integration policies in Japan. It has been argued that in contrast to the restrictive and exclusionary immigration policy at the national level, local governments in Japan have developed inclusive policies towards immigrants (Tsuda, 2006; Nagy, 2008; Chung, 2010).

Tegtmeyer Pak (2006) reviewed local integration policies (local incorporation policies, in her terms) in six large cities²² and identified common types of programmes and initiatives: (1) initiatives mitigating language barriers; (2) direct services, such as financial support and school-age educational programmes; (3) cultural activities, such as international understanding promotion programmes and social events to bring foreign and Japanese residents together; (4) research and continuing debates on the appropriate scope of integration initiatives, including surveys of foreign residents and Japanese residents; (5) advocacy for reforms at the national level, and (6) creation of alternative forms of political participation by foreign residents. She argued that foreign residents living in Japan who do not possess formal citizenship have been less marginalised than before and accepted "as legitimate members of the local community" (p.81) in the cities. While Tegtmeyer Pak (2006) focused on large cities, Abe (2007) conducted survey research²³ to grasp the overall trend of local governments' attitudes towards foreign residents in Japan. It was found that most of local governments “feel a responsibility to respond to the needs of foreign residents in parity with those of Japanese residents” (Abe, 2007, p.6). However, Abe (2007) also pointed out that

²² Yokohama, Osaka, Nagoya, Sapporo, Kobe and Kyoto.

²³ A questionnaire was sent to 2,049 local governments in 2006 and there were 1,413 valid responses (Abe, 2007, p.2).

their policies vary widely because of a lack of human resources and budget, especially in rural areas, and the diverse needs of immigrants (Abe, 2007).

Tsuda (2006) argued that localities emerged "as the site for citizenship" (p.4), because it is not the Japanese national government but rather local governments, local NGOs and local activism that have provided immigrants with "employment and housing assistance, language assistance, language programs, cross-cultural activities, education for immigrant children, health care and insurance, welfare benefits, and local political representation" (p.6). He defined local citizenship as "the granting, by local governments and organizations, of basic sociopolitical rights and services to immigrants as legitimate members of these local communities" (p.7), and argued that local citizenship had emerged in the local area in the absence of a national integration policy and that immigrants have been accepted as "local citizens" (p.11). However, it was also pointed out that there were serious limitations in local citizenship, such as "local variation in immigrant rights" (p.274) and "low civic participation among foreign residents" (p.278).

Furthermore, Tsuda (2006) pointed out that NGOs have played a key role in promoting immigrant integration in Japan. Importantly, local NGOs have provided unauthorised immigrants, who are not considered as local citizens by local governments, with "a limited form of local citizenship" (p.23) such as protecting their human rights and offering social services. Tamura (2011, p.173) illustrated the roles of NPOs and NGOs in MC issues in various areas such as language support, livelihood support, and promoting MC in the local community. He argued that it is NPOs and NGOs that have provided immigrants with public services, before governments addressed immigrant integration, and that immigrant integration cannot be achieved without them.

The following two studies focused on specific local integration issues. Nagy (2009) conducted case studies of Multicultural Coexistence (MC)²⁴ policies, introduced by three local governments in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, demonstrating that local integration policies have been developed to meet local needs. Although their approaches differ according to the different demographics and immigrants' settlement patterns, three local governments addressed language difficulties and a lack of cultural knowledge and sought to ensure immigrants' access to social welfare. It was pointed out that international-level factors, such

²⁴ The concept of "Multicultural coexistence" was argued in Chapter 1.

as obligations to fulfill international conventions and bilateral treaties contributed to immigrants' access to social welfare programmes, protection against discrimination, and employment protection at the local level.

Kim (2011) explored the concept of multicultural coexistence and local approach towards integration issues by looking at the case of Kawasaki where there are lots of Korean residents. Kim (2011) argued that the concept of multicultural coexistence in Kawasaki emerged from the civil rights movement for Korean residents and the council's attitude towards Korean residents. The civil rights movement for Korean residents in the 1970s was started by both Korean and Japanese residents in Kawasaki, and Kawasaki City Council has considered expanding the rights of Korean residents as an important pillar of their policy development.

In contrast to above studies on local approaches introducing inclusive programmes, it has been argued that Japan's national policy is ambiguous and inadequate. Aiden (2011) looked at the national policy report and 22 local government plans on the promotion of multicultural coexistence, and found that the national report emphasised that it is local governments that develop MC policies to "provide services to foreign residents equivalent to those offered to Japanese residents" (p.226), and the report regarded cooperation between local government and other actors, such as foreign residents, NGOs and NPOs, International Exchange Associations²⁵, and local businesses, as a key strand in all local plans. However, he argued that it is not clear how these different actors with different responsibilities would work together to practise multicultural coexistence at the local level (p.227). Furthermore, Aiden argued that the national report "more or less ignores immigration, concentrating instead on issues affecting 'current' foreign residents," and "there is still a danger that multicultural coexistence reproduces a mentality of 'us' coexisting with 'them'" (p.229).

Nakamatsu (2014) also reviewed the framework of multicultural coexistence used in policy documents and explored how national policy was evaluated in local practice by interviewing people involved in community-based Japanese language programmes in Aichi. It was found that national policy is considered as "superficial or ambiguous" in local practice (p.151).

²⁵ International Exchange Associations were established in the 1970s and 1980s, and there are three types: municipal, prefectural and non-profit (Kim and Streich, 2020, p.182). For example, municipal centres provide "services for foreign residents" such as classes on Japanese language and culture, and consultation and free legal advice services, and also "activities aimed at Japanese citizens ... to bring foreign residents and local Japanese together" (p.182-184).

Nakamatsu (2014) argued that while volunteers recognised that the framework has made positive and negative impacts on local practice, local government officials “felt it was unrealistic in principle and assimilationist in practice” (p.151).

Sakuma (2009) focused on education for children with a migration background and compared how schools in the UK and Japan respond to the needs of children who do not speak English/Japanese. It was illustrated that schools in Tower Hamlets provide inclusive programmes to children with a migration background based on Race Relations Act, while only some local governments supported schools to provide inclusive programmes in Japan due to inadequate national legislation. Sakuma (2009) argued that the debate over children’s education has been left behind in Japan and it is significant to reduce disparities in responses by local governments.

2-4-8. Summary and gaps in the literature

The section of 2-4 has reviewed the literature on local immigrant integration policy, in which the local area was considered as a distinct unit of comparative analysis.

Funded by the EU or other international organisations, quite a few large-scale research projects have been carried out to compare cities’ integration policies. Although they have produced rich empirical data of different cities, the research tends to focus on rather successful policies and to become descriptive case studies, the main aim being to exchange experiences in order to learn from one another. Based on those international projects, Alexander (2003) developed a typology of local governments’ attitude towards immigrants, which was the first analytical framework on integration policies in cities with different local and national contexts. However, it has been criticised that Alexander’s focus was on cities’ official policies, with little attention paid to the policy-making process. As part of large-scale international projects or as academically-oriented studies, in-depth case studies of a small number of cities have paid attention to policy-making processes and have considered: how issues are framed; which actors are involved, and which factors influence the policy process.

Research papers looking at the policy-making process at local level have focused mainly on problem framing. It has been identified that problem framing varies: between the different levels; between cities within a country, and between cities in different countries. In some cases, it has been found that cities share similar framing, despite their different national

contexts. These findings were identified through policy document analysis and interviews with government officials and other local actors in their selected areas.

With respect to actors involved in policy-making, various actors, such as politicians, political parties, NGOs and transnational policy networks have been identified at the local level. Importantly, for local immigrant integration policy, the role of community-based organisations has been emphasised in the literature. However, their roles in policy-making have not been adequately addressed in the previous work. Therefore, my research focuses on community-based organisations and their roles in policy-making, because it has been established that as well as governmental organisations, they play a key role in promoting, developing and implementing local integration policies.

Regarding factors influencing policy-making process, some argue that many cities have developed their own integration policies in the absence of national guidelines and focus on local level factors, such as the migrant population, socio-economic situations and migration histories. Others look at local integration policies as a response to national policies, or focus on national-local relations in terms of integration policies. International level factors such as EU policy and international law have also been considered as important factors. In my research, all these different level factors will be taken into consideration, rather than focusing on one particular level.

While city-level policies were highlighted in the comparative research, local integration policy studies in the UK looked at various local levels, for example, some identified differences between England and Scotland, and others found differences between two London Boroughs. In Japan, the literature on local integration policies focused on what services local governments (at the city level or at the sub-city level) and NGOs provided for foreign residents.

This research addresses two gaps identified in this review or in the literature. Firstly, no research has compared a European city with an Asian city regarding the concept of integration and local integration policy. It is assumed that this is because they have widely differing national contexts. However, as Caponio and Borkert (2010, p.27) argued “comparison across cities in different countries, although difficult and tricky in many aspects, represent a crucial frontier for the development of migration studies.” It is hoped that this first attempt to include an Asian city in a comparative integration policy study will provide new

insights into this field. Secondly, although the city has been considered as a distinct unit of comparative analysis, it is possible to argue that the city level is still too large to understand what is happening in the field. For example, integration policies might have been introduced to foster economic growth at city level, but at sub-city level, policies may have been introduced because sub-city level government was concerned about the marginalised groups. Therefore, this study considers borough level governance in cities for its in-depth study.

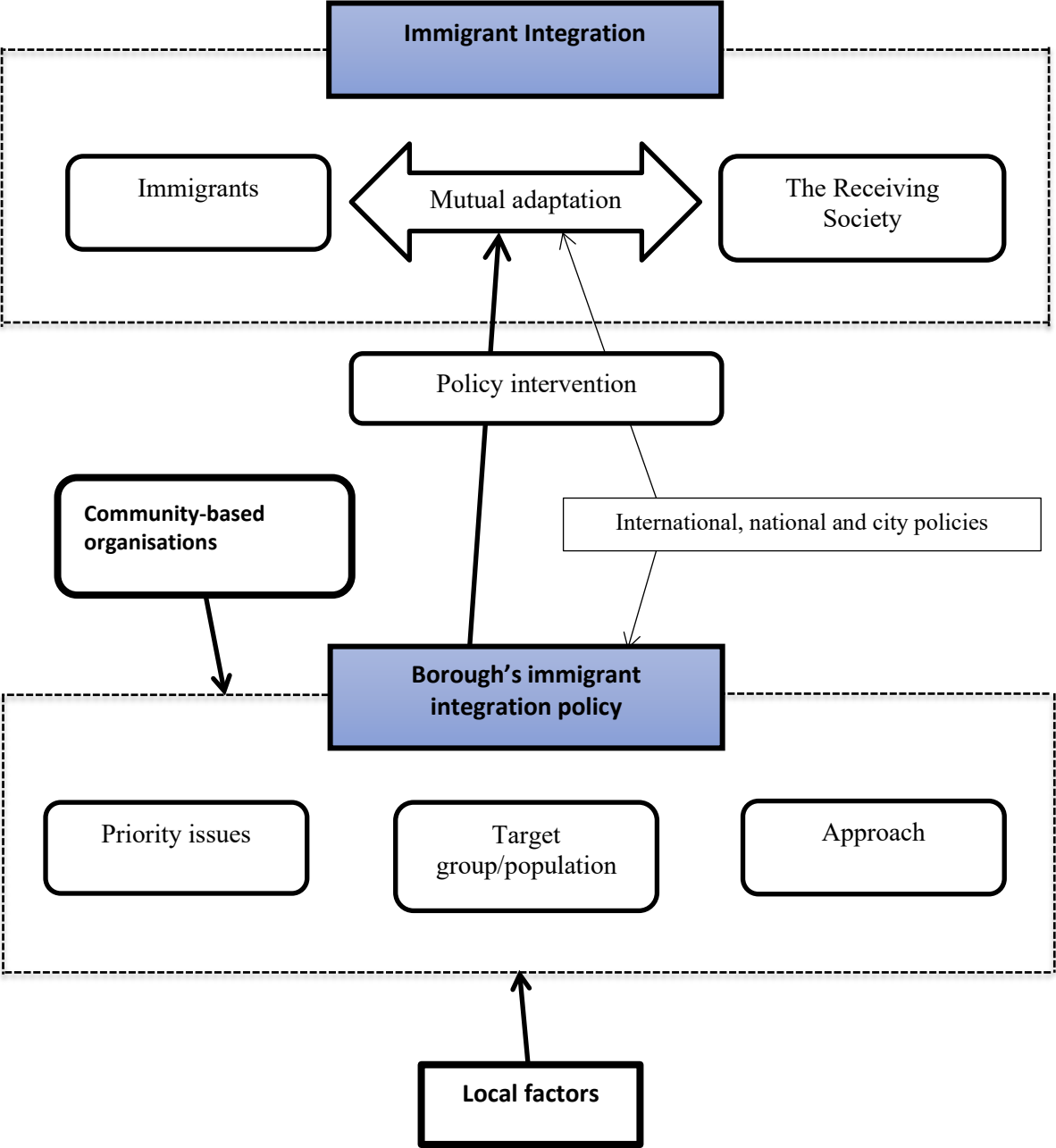
2-5. Conceptual Framework and research questions

Based on a review of literature, a conceptual framework was constructed and it is shown below as a diagram (See Figure 2). This framework was the starting point for my research and has been refined as I've proceeded. It was not intended to predict the findings, but rather to serve as structure for the research, as explained below.

Firstly, this framework bridges two related fields of literature – the concept of integration and local integration policy. It provides a holistic view of the integration perspectives and local integration policy by delineating possible linkages and relationships between the key concepts.

This conceptual framework also shows the definitions of key concepts and the underlying assumptions in this study. In my framework, immigrant integration needs to be defined broadly for this cross-national study, so was defined as ‘the two-way processes of mutual adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society,’ which has been used in international organisations, such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the European Union (EU). It was considered as a process of what is happening at local-level, rather than “as the possession of civil, political and social rights” (Rutter, 2013, p.19) in the study of national integration policies. In this research, other key elements of the concept of immigrant integration identified in the literature review, such as ‘participation in all aspects of everyday life in society’ and ‘an inclusive sense of belonging,’ were considered important elements, but not included in the definition, because this is cross-cultural research, examining policies in two different national and local contexts and their conceptualisations are some of what this research seeks to explore.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



It is also necessary to define what kind of policies I focus on in my research because different terms are used in the UK and Japan. In the UK, integration policies have been framed as community cohesion, equality strategy or anti-discrimination measures (Ali and Gidley, 2014; Jaczewska, 2013). While in Japan, immigrant integration policy is usually described as ‘multicultural coexistence policy’, as explained in Chapter 1. Furthermore, it is possible to argue that all policies introduced by governments, such as education policy and housing policy, are related to immigrant integration, because the integration process involves all aspects of everyday life in society (Ponzo et al., 2013, p.6). In my research, immigrant integration policy is defined as ‘a policy intervention that can facilitate or impede the two-way process of immigrant integration.’ Previous studies suggested that local integration policies can be divided into city level and borough level. Therefore, borough integration policy was distinguished clearly from city policy in this research, and city policy was grouped together with international and national policies, as the framework shows. The framework also indicates that this research does not focus on one particular area related to immigrant integration, such as attitudes towards immigrants or local social services, because it has been argued that focusing on one particular domain or policy issue may provide a different picture. Moreover, policy intervention at borough-level was defined to include, not only policies introduced by the council, but also integration issues that the council focuses on, who is the target of integration approach, and how integration issues are approached. As one of the key actors to influence council integration policy, community-based organisations were focused on, as existing research argued that community-based organisations play an important role in local policy-making in terms of immigrant integration. Local factors were highlighted because the existing literature identified a wide variety of factors at the local level that affect local policy-making, such as “the city’s historical experience with earlier immigration and diversity” (Penninx, 2009, p.6), or the city’s image “as open and diverse” (Hadj-Abdou, 2014, p.1890). Three upper-levels (international, national and city level) policies were also explored as to whether they influence the fields – integration process at the local level and local integration policy.

Having developed my conceptual framework, the specific research questions were added into three primary research questions presented in Chapter 1 (questions 1, 3 and 7 below), in order to illustrate what is happening at the local level and to address gaps identified in the literature. Therefore, research questions of this study were set as follows:

1. What is meant by integration in the local area?
2. What are the main issues regarding integration in the local area?
3. How has the local government responded to local integration issues?
 - a. What issues has the local government focused on?
 - b. Who is the target group of the policy?
 - c. How have integration issues been approached?
4. What are the main local factors influencing local integration policy?
5. How have community-based organisations been engaged in local integration policy?
6. How have upper-level policies affected local integration and local integration policy?
7. What are the differences and similarities of the integration perspectives and the policy response towards integration in the local area in the UK and Japan?

2-6. Summary

Immigrant integration is a contested concept, which can be approached from different perspectives. In this literature review, key elements of this concept were identified – immigrant integration is a two-way process of mutual adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society, and this process involves participation in society and a sense of belonging, which are fostered by the interaction between two groups.

Policy responses to immigrants in society have been studied at the national level. However, it is recognised that not only is there a need to focus on national governments and legal frameworks, but also on local government response to immigrant integration concerning all aspects of life in a society. Models and theories based solely on national policies have been criticised for being too simplistic, because they cannot explain local variations within countries.

In response to these criticisms, there has been some increase in research that focuses on local immigrant integration policy. Large-scale international projects involving researchers in different countries have provided rich empirical data of cities' integration policies within different national contexts, and in-depth case studies of small numbers of cities have paid attention to policy-making process and have considered: how issues are framed; which actors are involved, and which factors influence the policy process. Research has demonstrated that some cities share similar framing of immigrant integration, despite their different contexts,

various local policy actors are involved in local policy-making process, and not only local factors, but also higher level factors influence local responses to immigrants.

Having reviewed the literature on the concept of integration and local integration policy, a conceptual framework and research questions for this research were developed. Immigrant integration is necessarily broadly defined, for this cross-national research and integration policy refers to a policy intervention that can facilitate or impede the two-way process of integration. Although community-based organisations were considered as important actors in terms of immigrant integration, limited attention has been paid to their roles in policy-making in previous work. The framework reflects this by highlighting community-based organisations as key actors, in order to explore their roles in promoting, developing and delivering local integration policies. Importantly, this conceptual framework serves to structure my research, by showing the definitions of key concepts and underlying assumptions, by indicating the focus of this research and how I approach the research topic, and by providing a holistic view of the integration perspective and integration policy at local level. Lastly, research questions of this research were presented.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3-1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I reviewed the concept of immigrant integration and how immigrant integration policy has been studied, and identified what is known about local immigrant integration policy. I established a conceptual framework, based on the literature review, which shows the focus of this study and my holistic approach towards this research project. This chapter aims to discuss my approach and methods for this research and outline my research procedures for collecting and analysing data.

I will begin by outlining my epistemological viewpoint in studying the perspectives of local actors, and the roles the conceptual framework established in Chapter 2 play in this research. I will go on to provide my reasons for selecting the case study method and the two local areas – Newham and Shinjuku. This chapter will also include discussion on some important points in cross-national case studies, with section 3-4, illustrating the research process and thesis structure. The next two sections show how the fieldwork in Newham and Shinjuku was carried out and also consider the validity of this research and ethical issues. The final section is a reflection on the research process.

3-2. Qualitative Study

3-2-1. Understanding policy from the perspective of local actors

For the purposes of my research, representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations are defined as local actors who work to promote integration in the local area and are considered to influence local policy. This research aims to explore how local actors understand immigrant integration in the local area and the relationship between immigrants and the receiving society, and whether they consider their views to be reflected in local policy. The local actors' perspectives are considered as “part of the reality” (Maxwell, 2013, p.30) and this research explores how local actors construct the world around them and the meanings they bring to their experiences.

This study relies on local actors' subjective views of their experience related to immigrant integration and also on my understanding of their views. I interpret data in the form of words, which “usually have multiple meanings” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.56), rather than look

at objective indicators. In terms of my understanding, my research is based on the following concepts:

“all knowledge is culturally bound and relative” (Hantrais, 2009, p.58);

“Our understanding of this world is inevitably our construction, rather than a purely objective perception of reality, and no such construction can claim absolute truth” (Maxwell, 2013, p.43).

Therefore, while acknowledging that there are value biases in human understandings, such subjective perceptions are considered as part of the reality and it is assumed that knowledge can be acquired by looking at the explanations or accounts provided by those involved and that their different meanings illuminate local integration policy in this study.

This research aims to offer an insight into the research topic by seeking to “find out what can be found” (Spicker, 2006, p.67) and to discover unanticipated findings, rather than to evaluate policy or test policy models. In other words, it seeks “to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalizations) and not to extrapolate probabilities (statistical generalizations)” (Yin, 2014, p.21).

3-2-2. Research design: A conceptual framework approach

As a starting point for my study, I developed a conceptual framework based on a review of the available literature in order to clarify what has to be focused on in data collection and analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.17; Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2019, p.15; Bazeley, 2013, p.43). In terms of the situation in which a conceptual framework is needed in qualitative research, Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that:

“Something is known conceptually about the phenomenon, but not enough to house a theory. The researcher has an idea of the parts of the phenomenon that are not well understood and knows where to look for these things – in which settings, among which actors. And the researcher usually has some initial ideas about how to gather the information. At the outset, then, we usually have at least a rudimentary conceptual framework, and some initial data-gathering devices” (p.17).

Finding myself in a similar situation, I followed a conceptual framework approach, regarding the conceptual framework as “the researcher’s map” (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2019,

p.15). The data analysis is based on an inductive approach – theoretical ideas and concepts are not tested but emerged from data collection and analysis (Robson, 2011, p.18,9). When engaging in this approach, it is important to remain flexible and open to new ideas, concepts, and unanticipated findings. Moreover, there is a possibility that the focus of this study could change depending on the availability of interview participants in each setting and the results of the analysis. This research, therefore, is based on “loose, emergent” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.17) designs with “a rudimentary conceptual framework” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.17).

3-3. Comparative case study

3-3-1. Case study method

This study utilises the case study method for two reasons: Firstly, the case study method is useful when the research investigated is “a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (Yin, 2014, p.16). This research seeks to reconstruct cases from the views of local actors within context. Therefore, it was important to understand the contexts in Newham and Shinjuku, prior to collecting data and analysing the views of local actors. I collected extensive written material regarding the two councils’ approaches towards integration. This included policy documents, information magazines/pamphlets distributed to residents, and reports published by the councils. Historical and policy contexts in Newham and Shinjuku are outlined before the findings in Chapters 4 and 5.

Secondly, the case study method allows the researcher to adopt a flexible design and to use multiple sources as evidence for a case (Yin, 2014; Robson, 2011, p.79). This research uses loose, emergent designs as argued above, and needs to be flexible throughout the research process, because it is difficult to make predictions concerning what may be found in the two different settings. Before and during the fieldwork, various types of information were available in each setting. I collected a body of written material not only from the councils’ websites, but also from community-based organisations’ websites. I also visited local events and public facilities, attended meetings, and acquired material published by the councils or written by interview participants that were brought to the interview. These experiences and the information gained helped me to understand the contexts, to identify local actors, to develop interview process, and to analyse the views of local actors. Information obtained

during the fieldwork was summarised in Appendix 2-2 (Newham) and Appendix 3-2 (Shinjuku).

3-3-2. Unit of analysis and the selection of two cases – The London Borough of Newham and The Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku²⁶

This study takes ‘the concept of integration and policy response to integration issues at the local level’ as the unit of a case analysis. The decision to select two local areas in the UK and Japan was influenced by my experience of living in both countries. Newham and Shinjuku were selected because they have the most diverse populations in each capital city, and as a result, were considered to have extensive experience in related policy development, strategies and activities.

Table 3-1 shows the demographic statistics in Newham and Shinjuku. Although the area of Newham is approximately twice the size of Shinjuku, Newham and Shinjuku have a similar population size.

According to the Office for National Statistics (2018, p.8), the local authority with the highest proportion of non-UK born and non-British nationals in the UK was Newham in 2017. Newham is known to be “one of the UK’s most ethnically diverse places” (Nye, 2013) with the lowest proportion of White British residents (17%) and the highest proportion of BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) (71%) in the 2011 Census (Tower Hamlets, 2013). In Shinjuku, the percentage of the foreign population was 12% (Shinjuku Council, 2016), and 30% within the 20-24 age group (Takeuchi, 2014, p.108). It has been reported that approximately 40 % of foreign residents in Shinjuku leave to be replaced by other foreign residents within a year (Kawamura, 2015, p.2) and although the percentage of foreign population was low compared to Newham, it was the highest proportion in Tokyo.

²⁶ Shinjuku in Tokyo is translated into English as ‘Shinjuku City’ on the official webpage (<https://www.city.shinjuku.lg.jp/>). However, it is translated as ‘The Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku’ in this study to indicate that Shinjuku is at the sub-city (Tokyo/London) level similar to Newham, and that the two local areas are comparable.

Table 3-1: The demographic statistics in Newham and Shinjuku

| Newham | | Shinjuku | |
|--|------|---|-------|
| 346,000 residents in 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2018) | | 337,563 residents in May 2016 (Shinjuku Council, 2016) | |
| Non-UK born residents in 2017: 57 % (Office for National Statistics, 2018) | | The percentage of foreign population: 12% in May 2016 (Shinjuku Council, 2016) | |
| Non-British national residents in 2017: 38 % (Office for National Statistics, 2018) | | 29.8% in 20-24 age group (Takeuchi, 2014, p.108) | |
| Self-reported ethnic groups of residents in the 2011 Census (Jivraj, 2013) | | Foreign residents in Shinjuku in May 2016 (Shinjuku Council, 2016) | |
| White British | 17 % | China | 4.3 % |
| Indian | 14 % | North/South Korea | 3.0 % |
| White Other | 12 % | Vietnam | 1.1 % |
| African | 12 % | Nepal | 0.9 % |
| Bangladeshi | 12 % | Myanmar | 0.5 % |
| Pakistani | 10 % | U.S.A | 0.3 % |
| Other Asian | 6 % | | |
| Caribbean | 5 % | | |

Source: (Office for National Statistics, 2018; Jivraj, 2013; Shinjuku Council, 2016; Takeuchi, 2014)

Note: The statistics of Newham by the Office for National Statistics shows the estimates of the resident population and are based upon data from the Annual Population Survey. The statistics of Shinjuku by the Shinjuku Council are calculated based on the Basic Resident Register.

3-3-3. Cross-national comparative case study

It has been argued that comparative research is “very useful for those looking for new ideas and approaches” (Spicker, 2014, p.156) and that it has contributed to international policy transfer and learning – “raising awareness among policy actors about how policy processes operate at various levels in society in diverse cultural contexts, and how different policy instruments can be used to deal with similar problems” (Hantrais, 2009, p.140,1). Thus, by comparing findings from the local level in different countries, it is hoped to “develop sets of concepts that travel” (Hantrais, 2009, p.11) and to present “other possibilities for organizing

social, economic and political life and new ways of understanding and theorising about societies” (Carmel, 2004, p.133).

Importantly, this comparative case study seeks to “discover contrasts, similarities, or patterns across the cases,” which contributes to the development of theory (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2012). It compares “emergent themes and explanations” (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2012) obtained by analysing the views of local actors, rather than interview data of Newham and Shinjuku. Therefore, qualitative data from each case was “analysed as a single case on its own” (Ridder, 2017, p.282) and cross-case conclusions were drawn by comparing the findings of the two cases.

According to Carmel (2004), there are three comparability problems in international comparative studies. Firstly, cases in small-N studies should be neither too similar nor too different for it to be feasible to compare and contrast. Despite the significant differences between the UK and Japan in regard to migration history, migration policy development and immigrant demographic characteristics, it is considered that Newham in London and Shinjuku in Tokyo are comparable for the following reasons: in both countries, official government policy papers state clearly that local authorities are responsible for integration (Department for Communities and Local Government, UK, 2012; Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) in Japan, 2006), and it has been shown through migration studies (Ali and Gidley, 2014; Tsuda, 2006) that local governments take the lead in promoting immigrant integration strategy. Thus, two local areas in capital cities are considered to have addressed immigrant integration, although different factors have influenced their local policies. This research seeks to identify the distinct and common characteristics of the concept of integration and integration policy in Newham and Shinjuku, by comparing findings from the two areas that have both differing contexts and similar demographic characteristics within each country and the policy situations outlined above.

Secondly, it is important to consider the different meaning of concepts in different countries. The central concept of this research, immigrant integration, is expressed in different terms in the two countries. In the UK, integration policies have been introduced in the form of social cohesion strategy and anti-discrimination measures (Ali and Gidley, 2014), whereas in Japan, policy towards immigrants in society is called ‘Multicultural Coexistence Policy (tabunka kyōsei seisaku).’ Furthermore, integration policy can include normative implications, which

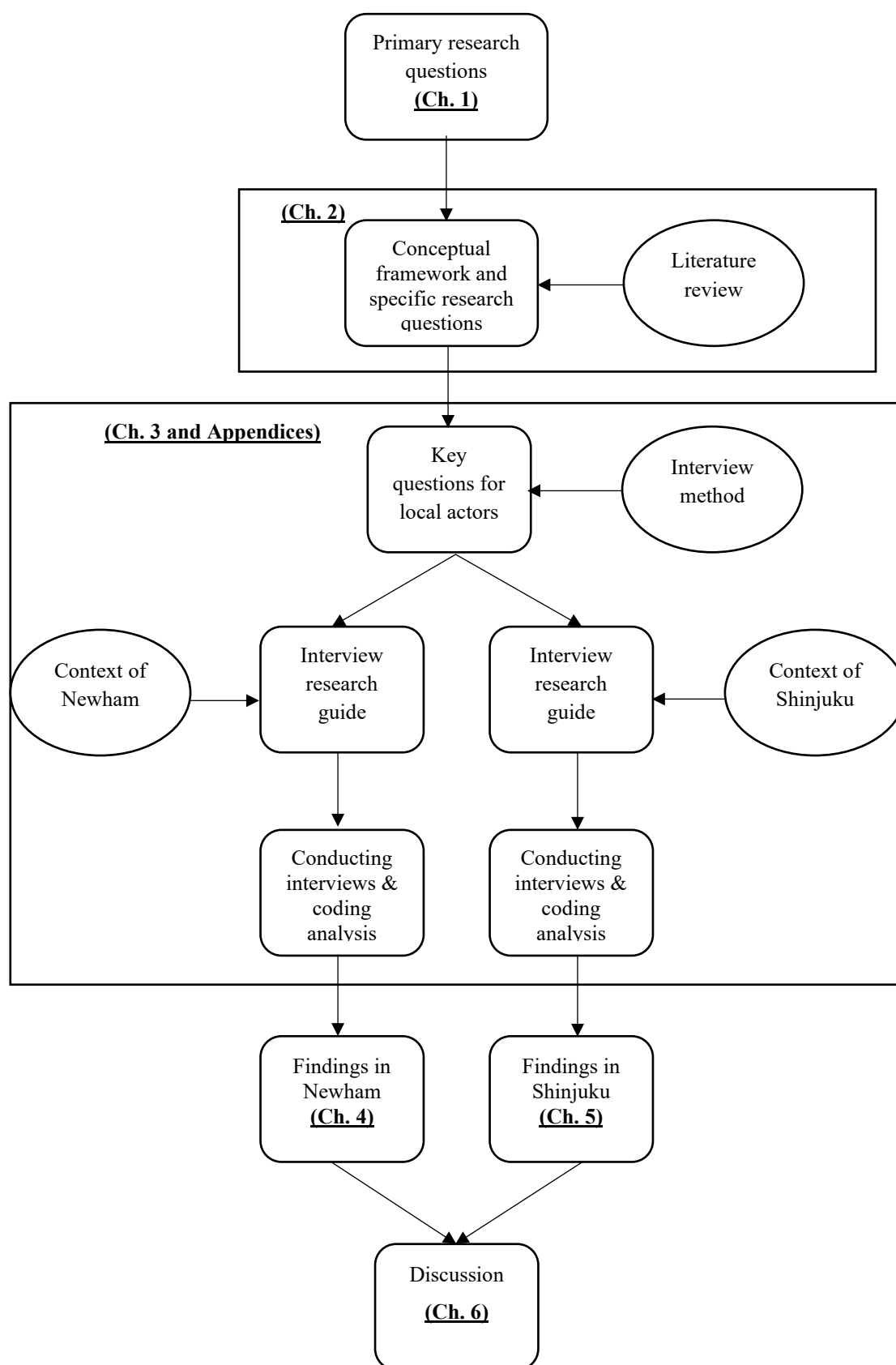
may differ between the two cases. Therefore, it is crucial to understand local actors' views on integration and local policies within their different contexts (Carmel, 2004).

Thirdly and in association with the second problem, there are language translation issues regarding data collection and analysis. In translating words from one language to another, meaning can alter or be lost, which may lead to different interpretations (Carmel, 2004, p.130; Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p.35). Therefore, in this research, qualitative data in Japanese will be translated into English after data analysis, because "language and meaning is central to qualitative research" (Carmel, 2004, p.130).

3-4. Research process

Research process and the thesis structure are illustrated in Figure 3-1. As described below, the interview research process, including sampling decisions and developing an interview guide was carried out in Newham and Shinjuku separately. However, there were many overlapping parts in my interview guides because it was developed from one conceptual framework. Importantly, priority was put on the contexts of Newham and Shinjuku, rather than on unifying the two cases for comparison in terms of participants' backgrounds and the structure of my interview guides. Qualitative data from Newham and Shinjuku were "analysed as a single case on its own" (Ridder, 2017, p.282) and two findings were compared and contrasted to draw cross-case conclusions.

Figure 3-1: Research process flow chart



3-5. Data Collection Methods

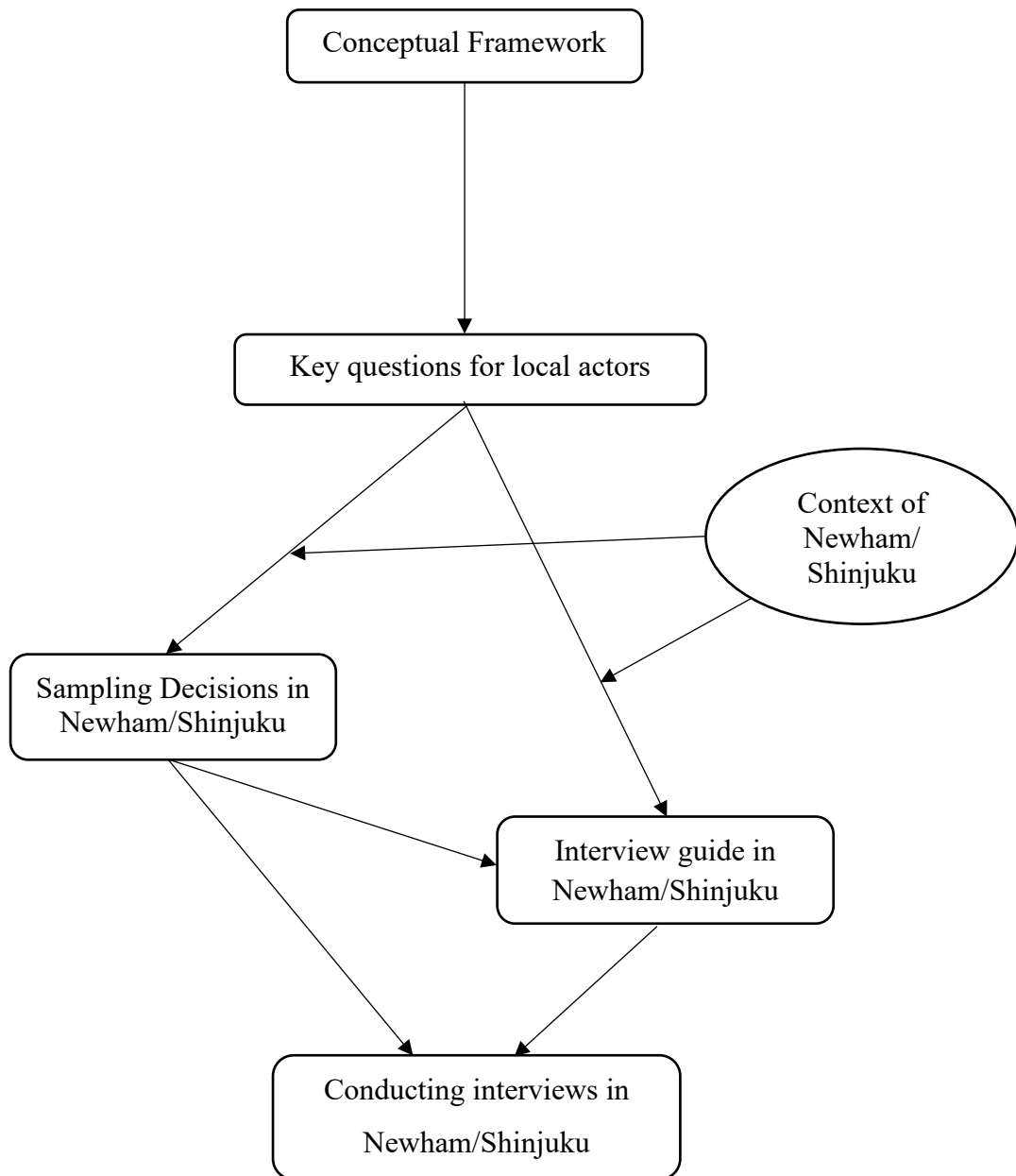
3-5-1. Interview research process

In order to “see things from the insider’s perspective” (Bazeley, 2013, p.27), qualitative interviews are a suitable method for data collection and can provide “information not recorded in documents elsewhere” (Harrison, 2001, p.90).

My interview research process is illustrated in Figure 3-2. First, ‘key questions for local actors’ (See Appendix 1) in Newham and Shinjuku were decided upon, based on the initial conceptual framework, in order to ensure common topics to be covered in both interviews. Then, purposive samplings were conducted for Newham and Shinjuku separately, based on the key questions and contexts of the two boroughs. For example, because there is a committee on integration issues at the Shinjuku Council, I contacted interview participants based on the committee list on the council website. In Newham, I looked for local actors online, and also visited the Newham Show (a community event) in order to understand the context and to recruit interview participants face-to-face²⁷. According to the availability of participants and the results of document analysis in Newham and Shinjuku, the interview guides in Newham (See Appendix 2-1) and Shinjuku (See Appendix 3-1) were developed from key questions. Therefore, local contexts were embedded in the sampling processes and the interview guides in Newham and Shinjuku respectively.

²⁷ All face-to-face contact was conducted in 2017 and 2018, before the Covid-19 pandemic occurred in 2020.

Figure 3-2: Interview Research Process Flow Chart



3-5-2. Interviews and participants profiles

Semi-structured interview processes were selected in order to explore participants' perspectives regarding my research focuses. Interviews lasted approximately one to two hours, apart from one interview in Shinjuku, which lasted 20 minutes. The interviews were face-to-face encounters²⁸ and were audio recorded, after obtaining the participants' permission. All interview participants were asked similar questions and I focused on issues they themselves raised, in order to consider what was important to them. This interview process was flexible on the basis of field experience, in terms of the order in which the questions were asked and the wording of the questions (Arksey, 2004; Bazeley, 2013), and "additional unplanned questions [were] asked to follow up on what the interviewee [said]" (Robson, 2011, p.280).

Newham

In total, nine people participated in this study (See Table 3-2). Seven interviews were conducted in May, June and July in 2017, and two additional interviews were conducted in January and February in 2018. During the fieldwork, I visited a community event, local libraries and local community centres, and walked around the main street and its environs.

Table 3-2: Participant profiles in Newham

| Interview participants | Gender | Ethnicity | Organisations | Living in Newham ¹ |
|------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| N1 | Male | White British | Non-governmental | Yes |
| N2 | Female | White British | Politician | Yes |
| N3 | Female | Person with a migration background | Governmental | No |
| N4 | Female | White British | Non-governmental | No |
| N5 | Male | White British | Non-governmental | Yes |
| N6 | Female | White British | Governmental | Yes |
| N7 ² | Male | Person with a migration background | Non-governmental | Yes |
| N8 | Male | White British | Politician | Yes |
| N9 | Male | White British | Politician | No |

Note:

1. Participants who used to live in Newham were also categorised as 'Yes'.
2. N7 was introduced by council staff as one of the community leaders.

²⁸ All face-to-face contact was conducted in 2017 and 2018, before the Covid-19 pandemic occurred in 2020.

Interview participants were the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations, including:

- council staff who did not identify themselves as policy-makers, but planned and organised community events and council's programmes to deliver council's policy;
- politicians who were a local Councillor, an MP²⁹ and an MEP³⁰, who were interested in integration issues in Newham and have been engaged in local community issues and residents' individual issues;
- a founder of a voluntary organisation which is a social action charity and has helped people in need in East London for over 40 years;
- a founder of a voluntary organisation, who has been engaged in youth work in East London and used to be a local Councillor;
- a representative of a faith organisation/group, who was introduced as a community leader by council staff;
- a representative of a charity shop organised by a faith organisation.

As discussed in Chapter 4, some participants have worked for both governmental and non-governmental organisations/groups. For example, two council staff had worked for non-governmental organisations in the past and a local Councillor had worked for a Newham-based charity organisation for 20 years.

Shinjuku

In total, 15 people participated in this study (See Table 3-3). 14 interviews were conducted in January and February in 2017, and one additional interview was conducted in July in 2018. During the fieldwork, I visited the Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza and local libraries, and attended a formal meeting of the Multicultural Town Development Committee and an informal meeting with council staff and academics in the council.

²⁹ This participant used to be the leader of Newham Council.

³⁰ This MEP for London does not live in Newham and therefore may not be regarded as one of the local actors in Newham. However, this interview has been included in data analysis because this participant grew up in London and understood that this study focused on integration in Newham, was familiar with the political and social context in Newham, answering questions and describing Newham, based on his personal view rather than as the representative view of the EU.

Table 3-3: Participant profiles in Shinjuku

| Interview participants | Gender | Ethnicity ¹ | Organisation | Committee ³ | Living in Shinjuku ⁴ |
|------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| S1 | Male | Japanese | Governmental | attend | No |
| S2 | Female | Person with a migration background | Governmental & Non-governmental | attend | No |
| S3 | Male | Japanese | Non-governmental | attend | No |
| S4 | Female | Japanese | Non-governmental, academic | attend | No |
| S5 | Female | Japanese | Non-governmental, academic | attend | Yes |
| S6 | Female | Japanese | Non-governmental, academic | attend | No |
| S7 | Male | Person with a migration background | Non-governmental | attend | NA |
| S8 | Male | Japanese | Non-governmental | attend | No |
| S9 | Female | Person with a migration background | Academic | attend | No |
| S10 | Male | Japanese | Governmental | No | NA |
| S11 | Female | Japanese | Non-governmental | No | Yes |
| S12 | Male | Japanese | Non-governmental | attend | Yes |
| S13 | Male | Person with a migration background | Non-governmental | attend | No |
| S14 | Male | Japanese | Governmental | No | No |
| S15 | Male | Japanese | Politician | No | Yes |

Note:

1. Participants with a migration background included naturalised Japanese and foreign residents.
2. Participants who attended the Shinjuku Multicultural Coexistence Committee at least once were categorised as 'attend'.
3. Many participants did not live in Shinjuku. However, in terms of MC, the Shinjuku Council considers not only people who live in Shinjuku, but also those who come to work or study in Shinjuku, as "Shinjuku inhabitants/residents (Shinjuku-kumin)" (S1).

Participants in governmental organisations included:

- council staff from the Shinjuku Council and the quasi-governmental Shinjuku public interest incorporated foundation, who did not identify themselves as policy-makers, but planned and organised community events and council's programmes to deliver council's policy;
- a local Councillor who presented the term Multicultural Coexistence as a policy goal in Shinjuku in his/her own website;
- a director of the local library.

Participants in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) included:

- a member of a migrant group, who worked for the council as a paid volunteer;
- a director of a voluntary organisation which provides language support;
- a founder of a community group which provides information service to support people with a migration background;
- an academic who was a founder of a community-based study group;
- an academic who was a member of an NGO;
- a director of a migrant organisation;
- a director of an NGO, who was also a member of the expert committee in the government cabinet;
- an academic with a migration background;
- a director of a community-based organisation;
- a director of the foreign newspaper publishing company, who founded an international school for children with a migration background.

3-6. Data Analysis Process

Data analysis is facilitated using NVivo computer software, for which Anglia Ruskin University has an institutional licence. The software has been developed specifically for qualitative data analysis and is also useful for data management. Audio data, transcripts and the coding process are stored on the project file in the NVivo.

Audio recordings of interviews were transcribed. I transcribed the first three interviews in Newham and the first five interviews in Shinjuku, in order to obtain a closer understanding of the data, but used a transcription service once I became accustomed to the interview data.

3-6-1. Coding process

In data analysis, coding analysis was carried out using descriptive and pattern coding, outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994) and Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2019). I assigned descriptive codes to the segments of the interview data, which “provide an inventory of topics for indexing and categorizing” (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2019, p.65). There was no start list of codes prior to coding, in order to focus on “the matters that are important to them”

(Spicker, 2006, p.82). My coding is based on an inductive approach, which means it is not a “completely unstructured” process but a “more open-minded and more context-sensitive” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.58) approach.

Descriptive codes were grouped into categories, which were arranged in a hierarchical structure. I noted down my impressions, opinions, assumptions, questions and reflections on my research method throughout the process, as an analytical memo.

I conducted pattern coding to “identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.69) by looking for “the patterns, the recurrences, the plausible whys” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.69). Pattern codes and themes were revised many times. Diagrams were used to display the results of pattern coding and some quotes were included to explain the themes better. The results of coding analysis are provided in findings in chapters 4 and 5.

3-7. Validity

This comparative case study aims to “expand and generalize theories (analytic generalizations) and not to extrapolate probabilities (statistical generalizations)” (Yin, 2014, p.21). There are some issues that could potentially affect the validity of this research. The following two validity issues are closely related to each other.

3-7-1. Sampling issues

Interview participants in this study had a wide variety of backgrounds in terms of the types of organisations and the degrees of the commitment to activities related to integration issues, which “provide variation” (Bazeley, 2013, p.49) to the sample. However, it is important to be aware that there are some biases in the sample in this research. As Miles and Huberman (1994) argued: “data collection is inescapably a *selective* process” (p.55), participants were recruited depending on my knowledge and my skills in terms of information gathering, negotiating, and language. In addition to this, participants who accepted my request were considered to have a keen interest in this topic, or to have a strong opinion regarding the current situation. Importantly, some participants in Newham and Shinjuku seemed to be very proud of their local area and expressed this after the interviews as, “thank you for your interest in Newham/Shinjuku”. This suggests that local actors who have strong positive views on their local area were more likely to participate in the interviews. Therefore, these biases were paid attention to when analysing data.

3-7-2. Researcher bias

Regarding the researcher's possible biases towards the whole research process, Miles and Huberman (1994) argued that:

“Researchers, ..., have their own understandings, their own convictions, their own conceptual orientations: they, too are members of a particular culture at a specific historical moment. Also they will be undeniably affected by what they hear and observe in the field, often in unnoticed ways. An interview will be a ‘coelaborated’ act on the part of both parties, not a gathering of information by one party” (p.8).

Similarly, Corbin and Strauss (2008) pointed out that:

“Bias and assumptions are often so deeply ingrained and cultural in nature that analysts often are unaware of their influence during analysis. We find it more helpful to acknowledge our biases and experiences and consciously use experience to enhance the analytic process” (p.85).

Thus, it was important to be aware of the fact that my personal background affects this research, including research questions, a conceptual framework, data collection and analysis. The researcher's possible biases in this study included my immigration status, identity, sense of belonging, English/Japanese language proficiency. Although in qualitative research, it is impossible to eliminate the influence of the researcher (Maxwell, 2013, p.124,5) and to claim that the researcher is “an objective authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text of their research reports” (Gibbs, 2007, p.91), I made every effort to be neutral and to understand participants' views within their contexts. The coding procedure and coding application were checked with the supervisors and the supervisors co-coded the first five interviews.

According to Maxwell (2013), it is “the effect of the researcher on the individuals studied” (p.124) that is often raised in qualitative studies, together with researcher bias. Spicker, (2014) argued that “the researcher's presence alone can lead to differences in behaviour” (p.390). Although I have lived in Cambridge for 16 years, it seemed that participants in Shinjuku regarded me as Japanese (not a migrant) and those in Newham regarded me as a migrant, because of my appearance and language proficiency. This differing position as an interviewer could have affected the interviews significantly. Participants may have used

different words, or have answered differently. Furthermore, there could have been misunderstanding with participants in Newham during the interviews, due to my English proficiency and lack of knowledge, although misunderstanding could have happened even in Japanese. However, when considering the interviews in Newham as a single case, it is possible to argue that my background may have affected the outcome positively, because I am not White British or from 'ethnic minorities in the UK'.

3.8. Ethical Issues

This study has ethical approval from the ethics committee at Anglia Ruskin University. The Participant Information Sheet (PIS, in Appendices 2-3 and 3-3) and the Participant Consent Form (PCF, in Appendices 2-4 and 3-4) were sent via email to the interview participants, and I also carried paper copies with me to the interviews. Participants' consent was obtained prior to the commencement of the interview in written form.

In the PIS, interview participants were informed of the purpose of the research project, were given information on confidentiality and anonymity, and informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time (Homan, 2004, p.153; Kvale, 2007, p.27). Participants were also notified as follows: participants might benefit from the reflection on their work and policy processes which the interviews entail; this may extend to potential beneficial changes in policy-making and work practices as a result; however, they may find that they are not comfortable talking about their experiences in the organisation and views on the local area, and they do not have to answer any questions in interviews they do not wish to.

Systematic effort was taken to ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Their personal identifying information and the name of their organisation were not included in the recording and were stored separately from the data. I alone have access to information on the participants. Once interviews were completed, they were transcribed by me, or the transcription service and loaded onto NVivo software for analysis. All recordings and information on participants' backgrounds, which was collected during the course of the interviews will be stored securely and destroyed after ten years.

To protect their anonymity, all personal information relating to participants was removed prior to dissemination. Identifying information on individual participants and the organisation to which they belong will not be included in any published findings, unless permission is sought and given prior to publication. Although every effort was made to ensure anonymity,

it may not be possible to guarantee this completely. It is possible that the colleagues or peers of participants may be able to identify them from contextual information, although this is less likely to be the case with the general public.

Some selective quotes from the transcription were used to illustrate points in the thesis and any resulting publications. These were anonymised and great care was taken to ensure that any quotes could not be attributed to them as employees of their current organisations.

3.9. Reflections

This research has necessitated the development of primary research skills, including the careful negotiation of a range of governmental and non-governmental organisations, time-management, and communication skills. In data collection, many unexpected issues arose, which I needed to be able to deal with flexibly.

Recruiting interview participants was conducted to reflect the characteristics of local actors in Newham and Shinjuku. Local actors in Shinjuku were quite responsive to the research, compared to those in Newham. In Shinjuku, I sent 24 emails and 15 participants accepted (acceptance rate is 63%). During the fieldwork, participants in Shinjuku eagerly invited me to attend the committee, the informal meeting, and the event organised by them, all of which helped me to understand the context of Shinjuku and analyse interview data. While in Newham, I sent emails to 59 individuals/organisations, explaining how this research is related to their respective activities, but only 9 participants accepted my request (acceptance rate is 15%). I looked for local actors online and examined their respective activities and the reports published on their websites, before sending an emailed request that was tailored to each one. With regards to some local actors, I sent emails two or three times to the same individuals/organisations, altering the wording and expression in the hope of a reply. This process helped me to understand the context of Newham and to analyse data in Newham. Although a smaller proportion of representatives were interviewed in Newham, rich data was obtained from those 9 participants, who had a wide variety of backgrounds, were deeply interested in local integration issues, and gave their opinions, based on a wealth of experience.

During interviews, I recognised a gap between my conceptual framework and participants' views on integration and council policy. For example, in Newham, I realised that participants' definitions of integration were something other than my definition of

integration³¹. Initially, I was confused, but considering this gap became a starting point of my pattern coding, as Chapter 4 indicates. In Shinjuku, most interview participants were contacted because they were members of the Multicultural Town Development Committee, organised by the Shinjuku Council and therefore I expected that the roles of the committee in policy-making would be one of the main topics in the interviews in Shinjuku. However, participants did not think themselves as policy actors who influence policy-making at the council, and the committee was regarded more as a council effort to listen to residents and members of community-based organisations, rather than as an opportunity to influence the council's integration policy in a significant way, (as Chapter 5 explains). During interviews, I came to understand that I had many assumptions and expectations with regard to participants' views. In order to avoid those assumptions and expectations from preventing me gaining access to new possibilities through their views, I focused intently on listening to what participants were saying, trying to think creatively during and after the interviews.

The most time consuming aspect of this research was coding analysis. Because interview participants came from a wide variety of backgrounds, they highlighted many and varied topics, which made it more difficult to decide which issues to focus on in pattern coding. Everything assumed importance and my pattern coding was in danger of becoming merely a descriptive summary of interview data. To combat this, I used the strategies for qualitative data analysis outlined by Corbin and Strauss (2008), such as "asking questions", "making comparisons", and "drawing upon personal experience" (p.69). My pattern coding was based on extensively exploring interview data to find answers to my questions that arose during interviews and descriptive coding.

3-10. Summary

This research aims to provide an in-depth insight into the subject of integration and integration policy at local level by examining local actors' views on integration and integration policy, rather than by studying policies themselves. It is assumed that knowledge can be acquired by looking at the explanations or accounts provided by those involved, while acknowledging that there are value biases in human understanding. Thus, this research relies on local actors' subjective views in order to understand the concept of integration and integration policy, which are considered to illuminate part of the reality, rather than to

³¹ This gap in definitions of integration between participants and my conceptual framework is discussed in Chapter 4.

provide objective truth. Furthermore, as the researcher I have had to acknowledge my own value biases when interpreting the views of local actors. The conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2 is considered as “the researcher’s map” (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2019, p.15), indicating what must be focused on in data collection for an inductive approach in data analysis.

The case study method has been used because data collection and data analysis need to be carried out within context. The London Borough of Newham and the Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku were selected because they have the most diverse populations in each of the capital cities of the UK and Japan. The comparative case study approach was used to “discover contrasts, similarities, or patterns across the cases” (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2012), which provides an empirical basis for theory. Data collection and data analysis in Newham and Shinjuku were conducted as a single case study and cross-case conclusions were drawn, by comparing the findings of the two cases.

Interview participants were purposively recruited and 24 local actors (9 in Newham and 15 in Shinjuku) participated in semi-structured interviews. Participant profiles have been presented in this chapter. The conceptual framework and its respective local contexts of Newham and Shinjuku were reflected and embedded in sampling decisions and the interview guides. Interview data was analysed inductively by using descriptive and pattern coding (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2019). Descriptive code lists and Pattern codes illustrated in diagrams are presented in the findings chapters (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

There are some issues that could potentially affect the validity of this research, and sampling issues and researcher bias were considered in this context. The final two sections show how I approached and dealt with ethical issues, such as participant’s consent, confidentiality and anonymity, and how I coped with unexpected issues in the process of data collection and data analysis.

Chapter 4: Case Study of Newham

4-1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings in the case study of Newham. As explained in Chapter 3, semi-structured interviews with 9 local actors were carried out in 2017 and 2018 and interview data was analysed inductively, by using coding analysis. This chapter presents first of all, the historical and policy contexts in Newham that was reflected in the sampling process and the interview guide, as well as in data analysis. The meaning and import of the views of local actors in Newham will also be discussed. I will then go on to present the results of coding analysis, which was carried out using descriptive and pattern coding, outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994) and Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2019).

4-2. Historical context in Newham

The London Borough of Newham was established in 1965 (Harriss, 2006, p.2), and is located in East London, north of the River Thames. As described in Chapter 3, the borough had the highest proportion of non-UK born and non-British nationals in the UK in 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2018, p.8). Newham Council is proud of having the most diverse population in terms of ethnicities, religions and languages (Newham Council, 2013, p.3). It was reported that the number of the languages spoken in the community was “over 200” (Newham Council, 2013, p.3) or “more than 300” (Harriss, 2006, p.2). Newham is also known to be a poor borough; the council stated in *Newham’s Sustainable Community Strategy for 2010-2030* (Newham Council, 2013) that “Newham is the second most deprived local authority area in the country” (p.3), and that the council is committed to addressing poverty issues.

The origin of the diverse population structure in Newham dates back to the industrial growth of the 19th century (Harriss, 2006, p.4). Because there were rail and river links in the area, and the Royal Docks, which were opened in 1855, industries such as “chemical factories, ironworks, ship-building, railway and rail engineering” thrived in Newham (Harriss, 2006, p.4). Many industrial workers settled in the area, including “migrant workers from Ireland, Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia and Lithuania” (Harriss, 2006, p.5). After the mid-19th century, seamen from non-European countries began to settle, and “communities of Black and South Asian people grew up in the south of the borough” (Harriss, 2006, p.5). After the

second world war, people from the Commonwealth were encouraged to come and work in the UK, and the number of “settlers from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean” significantly increased in Newham (Harriss, 2006, p.6). There have been asylum seekers and refugees in Newham “from Somalia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Kurdish areas, Algeria and Kosovo” (Harriss, 2006, p.7). It was estimated that “8 % (approximately 19,500) of residents in Newham were from refugee communities” in 2002 (Islam and Newby, 2015, p.4). Migrants with student visas and work permits also came after the 1990s and it is acknowledged that there are migrants from all over the world in Newham (Harriss, 2006, p.7).

Its geographical position made Newham the centre of the industrial growth in the 19th century and Newham became the place where people from all over the world came to work and settled. It is assumed that because those settlers had already formed many different communities, not only people from the Commonwealth countries, who were invited to come to work in the UK after the second world war, but also asylum seekers and refugees from various areas have settled in Newham. Therefore, it is possible to argue that geographical and historical backgrounds and settlers since the 19th century have shaped Newham’s existing diverse population structure.

4-3. Policy context in Newham

4-3-1. The term integration was not used in policy documents

As described in Chapter 1, policy frameworks regarding integration have been introduced by central government and the GLA (Greater London Authority). In Newham, however, the term integration was not used in policy documents published on the council’s website. As Jones (2012) argued, some UK local and regional authorities “preferred ‘equality’, ‘community cohesion’ or ‘social inclusion’” to the term integration (p.2), and Newham Council appeared to address integration issues within its equality and cohesion strategy. Therefore, interview participants were asked to define integration in their own words, regarding the topic of upper-level government policies, rather than within the topic of the Newham community or council policy.

4-3-2. No policy targeting migrants

In Newham’s equality and cohesion plan (Newham Council, 2011), it was explained that equality and community cohesion were promoted, based on the council’s three principles:

“Building personal and economic capacity; Creating trust and fairness, and Connecting people” (p.2). In the documents, the word ‘migrants’ was not used, and it was stated that the council paid attention to people with different backgrounds, rather than to people with a migration background alone. In terms of community cohesion, it was argued that “traditionally, the community cohesion debate has focused on race and religion. However, we must consider diversity across the spectrum, including disability, age, gender, sexual orientation and class” (p.7). In *Newham’s sustainable community strategy for 2010-2030* (Newham Council, 2013), it was stated that “across all our services we will not support engagement on the basis of faith or ethnicity alone. We recognise the contribution that faith and ethnic community groups make to Newham and we are keen to work with them on activity that will engage and benefit the community as a whole but will not support an approach which emphasises difference or exclusivity between groups” (p.9). It is possible to argue that the council considered that Newham did not require policy to target migrants. However, I considered the possibility that the council did not introduce policy to target migrants, although the Newham community may have needed it. Therefore, interview participants were asked about their personal views on the council’s approach rather than the council’s view on its approach.

4-3-3. Newham’s policy reported in the media

Newham’s approach towards integration was reported as controversial measures in the media in 2013. It was emphasised that the mayor of Newham at the time, Sir Robin Wales, removed all foreign newspapers from libraries, stopped funding single community events and reduced translation services (Nye, 2013). On the one hand this was expressed as “Naturalising Newham – radical plan to boost integration” (Nye, 2013), although Andrew Boff, leader of Greater London Authority Conservatives, strongly criticised the measures introduced by the Labour mayor of Newham and the Labour-dominated council, saying that “In Newham, they’re imposing sameness, ... What’s happening in Newham is a big backwards step” (Nye, 2013). While on the other hand, Max Wind-Cowie, head of the integration programme at the think-tank Demos considered that “politically Sir Robin and Newham council are able to take quite brave steps in terms of promoting integration” because “there’s no single population that dominates the political landscape or the resource landscape” (Nye, 2013).

While it was reported in the media that the diversity in terms of language, ethnicity and religion was ignored by the council in Newham, the policy documents emphasised the council's positive attitude towards diversity, saying that:

“Newham’s diversity is a huge strength, bringing vibrancy and excitement to the borough. ... Newham has a proud history of welcoming new communities to Britain, which continues today and is based on a sense of strong community kinship. ... Newham’s diversity is demonstrated in many ways including culture, faith, sexual orientation, ethnicity and disability. We value and respect this diversity” (Newham Council, 2011, p.7).

Therefore, there is a potential contradiction between the council's aim to value diversity in the policy documents and the council's policy – removing foreign newspapers from libraries, stopping funding single community events, and reducing translation services. I paid particular attention to such contradiction during the interviews, and in data analysis I explored how interview participants, including the representatives of non-governmental organisations, perceive the diversity in the local community and the council's attitude towards the diversity.

4-4. The views of local actors in Newham

As presented in Table 3-1 in Chapter 3, interview participants in this study include the representative of the voluntary organisation, a local councillor, council staff, and the representative of the faith group who were introduced as one of the community leaders by council staff. They have a wide variety of backgrounds in terms of the types of organisations they work for and the positions in their organisations. What they had in common was that they had been engaged in activities related to integration issues at local level in their jobs or in their personal activities. Thus, interview participants could be called as local actors in terms of integration issues. It could also be said that all residents are regarded as local actors in terms of integration issues, because immigrant integration is defined as a two-way process of mutual adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society in my conceptual framework, and integration activities include not only helping immigrants in need, but also having good time together at community events. However, local actors in this paper essentially refer to people or organisations that consider both individual and local need, in terms of integration issues and the work they do for them.

The purpose of the interviews was to obtain local actors' views based on their broad experiences in the field. During the interviews, I emphasised that I was interested in their personal views as local actors, rather than the representative views of their organisations, as participants sometimes showed concern that they were not the right person to answer some of my questions. Council staff in particular said that they were not in a position to talk about council policy and often reminded me that their contributions were their personal opinions. Thus, the following findings were taken from participants' personal views rather than the views of Newham Council or the representative views of their organisations. For example, the concept of integration in the findings shows 'what integration means to participants' rather than the concept of integration used by Newham Council or in their organisations. Similarly, the findings on council policy present the result of exploring how local actors perceive council policy, rather than what the council policy actually is.

However, it is important to consider that participants' views may sometimes include (or be influenced by) their organisations' views to a certain extent. Moreover, depending on the question being asked, participants may have responded as residents/service users, rather than as local actors. For example, one participant, a member of council staff, explained her multiple standpoints, after she spoke about the council's attitude towards family and integration issues:

"I think they prioritise the family more, that's my personal experience. You're asking what I think, I don't know if everybody would agree, but for me, from what I can see, and my experience as a parent, as an employee, and as a community worker."

Another participant, the representative of a faith organisation, expressed her various standpoints when she talked about the barrier to integration in Newham,

"Language barrier, definitely. That's both my experience in my work and my personal feeling as a citizen of Europe, as a resident of London."

It is important to note, therefore, that people tend to consider issues from multiple standpoints, and that participant local actors were residents/service users, as well as service providers in terms of integration issues.

Some participants in this research have worked for both governmental and non-governmental organisations/groups. For example, one participant, who was asked to participate in the

interview as a local councillor, talked about her experiences of being a leader of the local faith group and a parent governor at the local school. Furthermore, this participant said that she had worked for the Refugee and Migrant Project³² for 20 years. Another participant was the representative of a community-based organisation and also used to be a local councillor. Two Council staff had worked for non-governmental organisations in the past. Those experiences might be specific to local actors in terms of integration issues. Therefore, the result of the analysis did not focus on participants' backgrounds in terms of the types of the organisations they were, or had been involved in, although I paid attention to them during the analysis.

Similarly, the study was not focused on whether the participant had a migration background or not, in the findings. Two participants, one who was a council staff member and the other who was introduced as a community leader, said that they or their parents came from different countries, and were categorised as 'a person with a migration background' in the participant profiles table (Chapter 3). However, I was unable to find any meaningful differences between their views and others in this small-scale research. Moreover, another participant revealed that one of his family members came from abroad, whereas other participants may not have mentioned similar existing backgrounds.

All participants were, therefore, treated as local actors in this study and they were not distinguished by the differences in their backgrounds within the findings (although their differing backgrounds were paid attention to during the analysis). Additionally, one participant's view was considered to be as important as the common views held by several participants, because this small-scale qualitative research was not designed to be representative of all local actors in Newham, but aimed to obtain insightful information and knowledge in the field. It is also worth noting that the following findings, while focusing on Newham, may include experiences of other places in London, or indicate a national context, due to the subjective nature of the participants' responses.

³² Refugee and Migrant Project (RAMP) is part of the Renewal Programme, which is a registered charity in Newham. According to their website (<https://www.renewalprogramme.org.uk/>), the Renewal Programme supports carers, migrants or refugees "without access to public funds, suffering with homelessness, experiencing poverty, or unable to communicate in English". Unfortunately, RAMP is one of community-based organisations that replied to my email that they were not able to participate in the interview due to lack of resources.

4-5. Findings in Newham

4-5-1. Descriptive coding

Table 4 shows the results of my descriptive coding, summarising the topics participants talked about. 44 descriptive codes were grouped into four categories – Newham community; Community-based organisations in Newham; Concept of integration, and The council's policy on integration. Then all codes were arranged in hierarchical structure. The terms underlined are codes, and the others are additional labels to show the structure.

Most descriptive codes are closely related to the interview guide in Newham, and there are some descriptive codes – topics – I did not include, but participants talked about. Those topics can be considered as “the matters that are important to them” (Spicker, 2006, p.82), and are of significance for this qualitative research in order to discover new issues.

For example, participants extensively described the diverse community as one of the fundamental characteristics of the Newham community, and there are eight descriptive codes related to the diverse community under the category of ‘Characteristics of Newham’. The relationship between participants' views on the diverse Newham community and their definitions of integration will be explored later in the section of Newham Integration.

Another topic I did not mention, but participants highlighted while talking about community-based organisations and the council in Newham was the effects of public expenditure cuts. Three descriptive codes – Changes in community-based organisations in recent years and the public expenditure cuts; Shrinking budget, and Lack of resources – suggest that participants considered that central government spending cuts since 2010 have had a significant influence on the environment surrounding community-based organisations and the Council's policy on integration. Participants' views on the impact of the public expenditure cuts will also be discussed later in the section of Recent changes to the third sector, initiated by the government.

Table 4: Descriptive Codes in Newham (44 codes are underlined)

Newham community

Characteristics of Newham

Always diverse (Historical background)

Benefits from the diversity

Attitude towards diversity

Ethnic communities are not minorities

More mixed communities

No conflicts between ethnic groups

A cohesive community

Temporary migrants

Challenges Newham faces

Relationship between poverty and the diversity

Community-based organisations in Newham

Participant organisation

Service users

Relationship with the council

Relationship with other local organisations

Community-based organisations in Newham

Key organisation

Community groups

Faith organisations

Voluntary organisations

Organisations to support migrants and refugees

Relationships between community-based organisations

Relationship between the council and community-based organisations

Changes in community-based organisations in recent years and public expenditure cuts

Concept of integration

Definitions of integration

Important issues when newcomers become members of the Newham community

The Council's policy on integration

The Newham Council

The role of the council

Shrinking budget

The council's approach towards integration

A whole community approach

Services for everybody

Policy-making process

Key actors

Mayor

Participation in policy-making

Consultation

Opportunities for their voices to be heard

The role of local councillors

Factors influencing Council policy

Local-central government relations

Lack of resources

The word 'migrants'

What the council is doing

The Community Neighbourhood team

The role of library and community centre

Stakeholders

The role of community-based organisations in delivering Newham's policy

4-5-2. Pattern coding

During field work and data analysis, I noted down my impressions, questions, opinions and assumptions in a research journal, which served as a starting point to reflect on emergent patterns, relationships and themes. Throughout the process, I focused especially on “what is puzzling, strange, unexpected or surprising” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.74) among the data.

The first pattern code was ‘Newham Integration’, which later became a major category in my pattern coding. This code was created out of my concern over my conceptual framework for this research. During the interviews, I felt that participants’ definitions of integration were fundamentally different from the definition in my conceptual framework. Repeatedly, participants’ own definitions of integration based on their experiences in the field came to light and I coded them as ‘Newham Integration’ in order to distinguish them from ‘Immigrant Integration’. Participants’ definitions of integration and their descriptions and opinions regarding integration issues were grouped into this category.

This broad category was then divided into three groups in order to conceptualise Newham Integration from participants’ views. The first group looks at the differences between Newham Integration and Immigrant Integration to explore how Newham Integration was framed. The second group focuses on participants’ definitions and descriptions of integration to construct possible models. The third group focuses on participants’ perceptions of the barriers to Newham Integration, which suggests how Newham Integration might be addressed.

I then explored how participants perceive the council’ approach towards integration, focusing on the key messages participants received from Council policy and key actors in policy-making process. Lastly, the important roles of community-based organisations in Newham were identified from participants’ views and key factors that might lie behind the changes within community-based organisations in recent years, were explored.

As a result of pattern coding, five themes were identified:

1. Newham Integration – Community building rather than immigrant integration;
2. Three aspects of Newham Integration;
3. Barriers to Newham Integration;
4. Council’s approach towards Newham Integration – Distinctive policy and key actors;

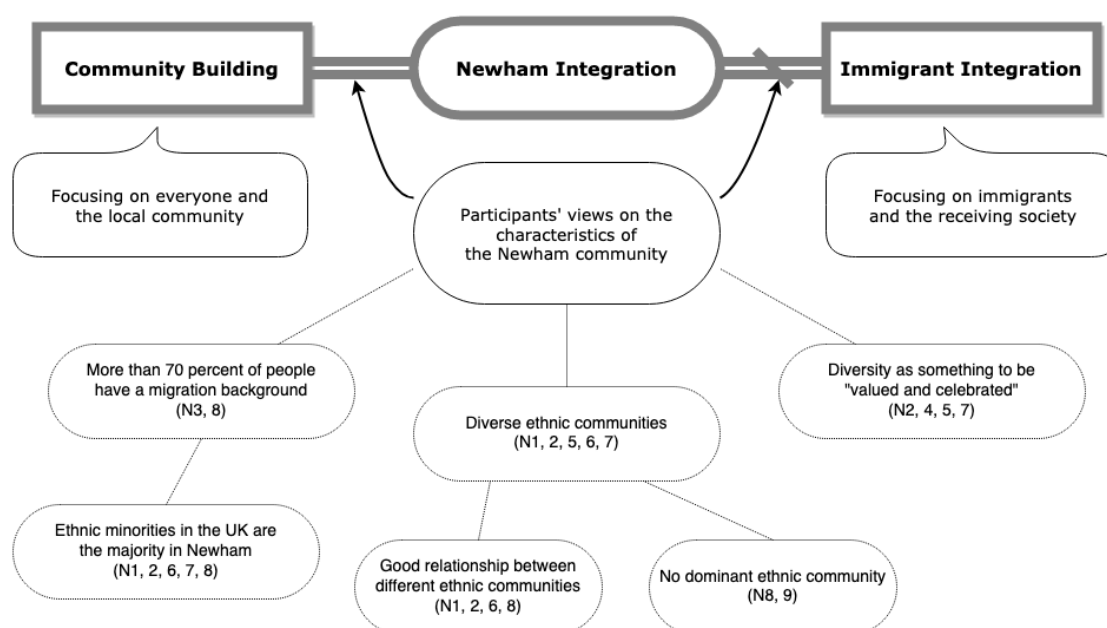
5. Community-based organisations/groups – Three roles in Newham and recent changes initiated by the government.

The diagrams were used to present the results of pattern coding (See Figure 4-1, 4-2, 4-3, 4-4, 4-5). In the diagrams, some quotes were included to explain participants' perspectives.

Newham Integration – Community building rather than immigrant integration

Figure 4-1 shows that Newham Integration was defined as community building rather than as immigrant integration. While Immigrant Integration in my conceptual framework focuses on the interaction between immigrants and the receiving society, integration defined by participants was rather associated with community building because participant definitions focus on everyone and the local community. This gap can be explained by their views on the Newham community.

Figure 4-1: Newham Integration — Community building rather than immigrant integration



All participants described Newham as a community with a long history of migration, and three distinctive characteristics of the Newham community were identified from their descriptions and opinions.

First, it was highlighted that there are many people with a migration background and they are not the minority in Newham. For example, it was described as:

“Most of the people living in Newham have their roots outside the UK. Most of them have their parents or their grandparents came from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Africa, Eastern Europe, or the Caribbean. The proportion of people whose roots are in the UK is only about a third. ... maybe less than a third now.” (N8).

Some participants described the situation where “White British” (N6), “White people” (N7) or “people whose roots are in the UK” (N8)³³ are the minority in many cases such as in school and in the community, and pointed out that this means that ethnic minorities in the UK are the majority in Newham:

“the percentage of people in Newham that are non-white British is higher than the percentage of white British, the minority is actually the majority”; (N6)

“Newham is one of the few places in the country where white people are a minority ... People who are not white are a majority in Newham” (N7).

One participant, who seemed to be white British, suggested that integration in Newham is different from immigrant integration because of this characteristic of population.

“My daughter went to a school that was 95 per cent Muslim, and so for her it was important that it was integrated community. There was a possibility she would’ve been very excluded if it was not. So integrated isn’t just about the new arrivals it’s also about everybody else in the community.” (N1);

Secondly, it was emphasised that there are various ethnic communities, which have built a good relationship in Newham. Some participants described that lots of people have come from all over the world, and nowadays, Newham has “all sorts of different communities including Jewish, Asian, African, Caribbean, Eastern European and Spanish communities”

³³ The terms “White British” (N6), “White people” (N7) and “people whose roots are in the UK” (N8) refer to different categories of people. For example, people whose roots are in the UK includes non-white people, and White people includes people from Europe and is different from White British. It was considered that these different words were used as the opposite meaning of ‘ethnic minorities in the UK’. Thus, these different expressions were collated into one pattern code ‘Ethnic minorities in the UK are the majority in Newham’ (See Figure 4-1) taking into consideration what participants wanted to say.

(N5). Importantly, it was highlighted that those different ethnic communities have built a good relationship in Newham. They expressed that:

“we have never had race riots, we’ve never had really serious conflict between different ethnic communities” (N1);

“we feel that we have a precious thing here, you don’t hear of bad things happening between groups ..., we rarely have issues between races” (N2);

“racial tension is quite low. It’s actually fairly harmonious” (N6);

“Sometimes people think, with so many different backgrounds, it must be a very fragmented community. But I don’t think it is fragmented. I think it’s quite a cohesive community, compared with others.” (N8).

One of the reasons for this, some participants suggested, was that there are lots of rather small ethnic communities in Newham, unlike other neighbouring boroughs and the Northern cities in the UK where there is a large single ethnic community. Although it may be considered that fewer numbers of ethnic communities would have a positive impact on integration in the local community, for some participants, a wide variety of ethnic communities with no single majority group was considered to be a contributory factor in a cohesive Newham community rather than negatively affecting it. Therefore, in terms of immigrant integration, Newham was considered to be a local community, composed of various ethnic communities with no single, dominant/majority group, rather than as the receiving society, as opposed to immigrants in my conceptual framework.

Thirdly, it was pointed out that diversity has been responded to positively in Newham. Some participants expressed that a positive attitude towards diversity was rooted in Newham, which they were proud of:

“the great thing about Newham is that there’re a lot of people here who really love diversity” (N2);

“having such a mix of views, ideas, experiences, that sort of stuff, it could only be positive for the area ... a diverse community is a strength” (N5);

“I will say that it’s a place where diversity is valued. There are some people who don’t like diversity and there are some people who tolerate

diversity. But in Newham, we actually value it. We think that diversity is a good thing. So whether it's a diversity in terms of nationality, or in terms of ethnicity, or in terms of religion, we see that as something positive. That's the impression I get about Newham, as something to be celebrated, not just tolerated but celebrated." (N7).

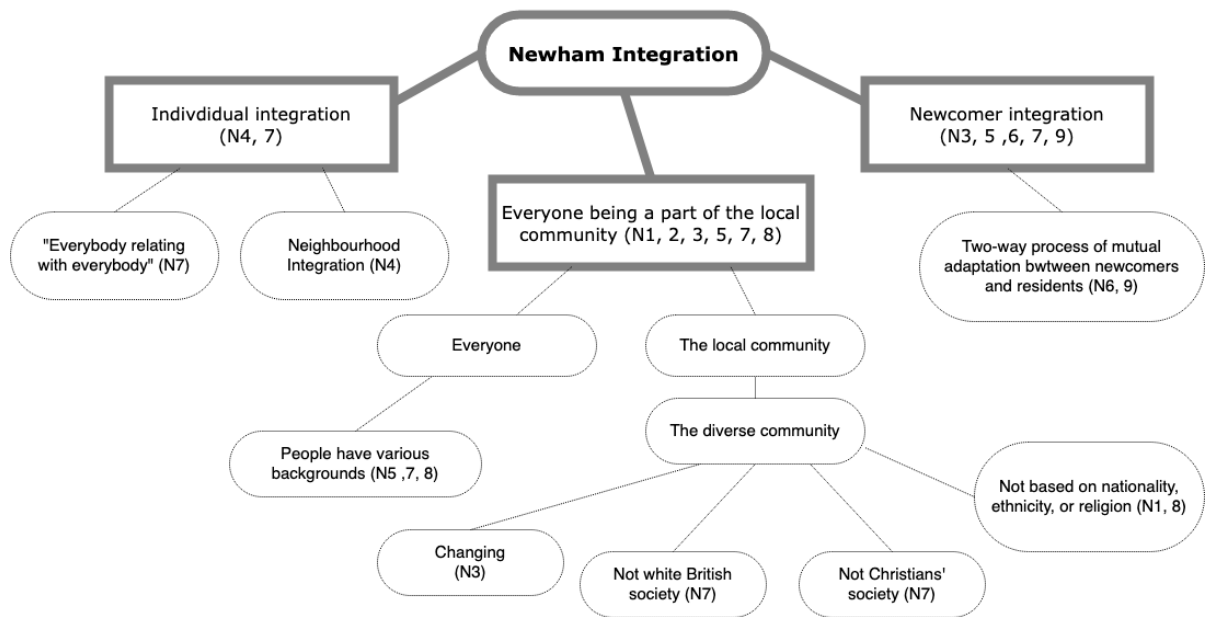
While the diversity tends to be associated with immigrants rather than the receiving society in the concept of immigrant integration, participants' views suggest that the diversity is closely related to the Newham community.

These three characteristics of the Newham community identified from participants views suggest that participants did not see the Newham community as immigrants and the receiving society. It was found that participants did not divide people in Newham into immigrants and the receiving society, and the Newham community was not seen as the receiving society. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the concept of integration varies according to the local area, and the way the local actors understand the local community is one of the main factors to influence the concept of integration.

Three aspects of Newham Integration

Participants' definitions and descriptions of integration were divided into three groups – Everyone being a part of the local community; Individual Integration, and Newcomer Integration (See Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2: Three aspects of Newham Integration



Everyone being a part of the local community

The first group focuses on everyone and the local community. For some participants, people are not be categorised according to their backgrounds in terms of integration issues in Newham, phrasing it as: “people regardless of what their beliefs or opinions are” (N5); “no matter their nationality, their ethnicity, and their religion” (N7), and “people from a wide variety of backgrounds” (N8). These are different from the definition of immigrant integration in which people are categorised immigrants or not.

Integration was defined as being important for everyone with a different background “to play a full part in this community” (N1) “to become a real part, a valued part of the community” (N2), and “to feel included in what is going on and to make a contribution” (N7). As argued above, the Newham community was not considered as a receiving society. Thus, it is important to pay attention to the meaning of the local community in the definition of integration. It was found that the local community in ‘Newham Integration’ did not necessarily mean the mainstream society. For example, one participant clearly stated that the local community in integration was not considered as the white British or Christians’ society in Newham:

“some people might see integration as an expectation that people who are not white or Christians should do their best to fit in into what they call mainstream society. I don’t see it that way. I think many of us will want to avoid any impression of integration which suggests that the white British constitute the motorway and everybody else is on a slip road waiting to join in.” (N7).

Another participant defined integration as “how you assimilate, how you take people in, how you make people feel part of, how you get them embedded within the local community” (N3). This definition seems to indicate the concept of assimilation when the local community means the receiving society. However, this participant described the local community as meaning the diverse community:

“if you come from a diverse ethnic background, then it is easier for you to assimilate into a diverse cultural area, geographic area ... I think the challenge comes when you have the indigenous population that feels that they have been marginalised by the diversity that’s happening in their community.” (N3).

This indicates that the community is continuously changing, and not only people with different ethnic backgrounds, but also people who have lived in the community for a long time, may feel excluded or marginalised within the local community. It is extremely important to enable all residents, both newcomers and long-term residents in Newham to “feel part of” and to “assimilate into” the diverse community.

Similarly, in the following two definitions, it is important to consider the meanings of the community:

“To create one community to which everyone belongs” (N1);

“I think the aim of integration is for everybody to feel part of the community that we live in, to feel this is my home. I live in Newham, this is my home, that is what I mean by integration” (N8).

It is possible to argue that these definitions did not necessarily mean that many different ethnic/faith communities should merge together to create one community, because it was considered that one of the advantages in Newham is that people belong to different

ethnic/faith communities. Rather, they suggested that it is important to create a local community, which does not conflict with being a member of different ethnic/faith communities or having different identities. In other words, it is important to create a local community to which people with different backgrounds and identities can feel a sense of belonging. According to these participants' definitions, the local community was not based on nationality, ethnicity or religion.

Individual integration

The second group focuses on individuals. One participant emphasised that integration means "the multi-faceted way" (N7) between individuals:

"Integration for me is each person valuing the other. Each person reaching out to the other no matter their original culture or ethnicity and so on. And nobody being seen as being more valuable than the other and nobody being expected to be the one to make the effort to fit in. ... it's not even two-way, it's a multi-faceted way. Everybody is relating with everybody, and interacting, and accepting, and understanding and valuing." (N7)

This definition suggests that integration can be based on the relationship between individuals. Another participant described what the community would look like in which "everybody is relating with everybody" (N7) in everyday life, without emphasising the different groups they belong to and without the hierarchical relationship between groups, although the description below was not about only Newham:

"I live in a small block of flats in the north of London. I grew up in the north of London. And there are 16 flats in my block, and every single flat has different nationality, everyone. So it's very mixed. And it amazes me that everybody gets along. So we're not in and out of each other's houses all the time, but we know each other, first names. We say, 'Good morning' every morning. You might help take the trash for your neighbour. And that is the reality of integration in that every household has a different language. Every household plays different music, eats different food, has different routines, has different faiths, but there is enough tolerance and patience and understanding that we can all share the space and that it's like a microcosm of the area that I live in." (N4)

Integration in everyday life was described as: people getting along with neighbours and helping each other to live in the same local area comfortably, while maintaining their different lifestyles. It does not mean people being together all the time and people may belong to their own ethnic communities or their faith communities. Integration requires a certain degree of shared understanding, such as greeting neighbours, calling people by their first name, and accepting different lifestyles, which could be considered to be local rules – a minimum requirement concerning manners and behaviour that is specific to the local area, in order to live together comfortably. This could be called ‘Neighbourhood integration’.

Newcomer integration

The third group focuses on the interaction between newcomers and people living in the local community. It seemed to me that some participants may have defined integration by focusing on newcomers, because they were aware that this research concerns immigrant integration and they might have thought they were expected to focus on people from abroad. These definitions were similar to immigrant integration, as both of them focus on the two-way processes of mutual adaptation between two groups. However, there were some differences between them. Participants’ definitions are about newcomers and people living in the local community. They did not use the word migrants in their definitions and descriptions. One participant expressed a preference for the word ‘newcomers’ that was used during the interview, because newcomers can include not only immigrants, but also people from a different place in the UK and also British people from abroad. Thus, this group was labelled Newcomer integration. Newcomers in this context means that it matters whether people are new to the local area or not, and not which passport they hold.

For example, one participant defined integration as:

“For me, it's about people really sort of mixing while keeping their own identities but still embracing new aspects of where they've moved to. People that live here embracing new culture new people to come and sort of just getting on with your lives but kind of mixing and again as harmoniously as possible. That's kind of what I see integration as.” (N6)

For integration to happen, mutual adaptation is necessary – newcomers are expected to understand the local community and the people living within the community need to embrace differences. Importantly, mixing does not entail that the community becomes homogenous,

that everyone has to be the same, since it is important to respect different identities, but rather it means that interaction is required.

Similarly, another participant explained the mutual adaptation as follows:

“When you move somewhere, immerse yourself in the history and the culture of the place, understand what the things are that have built the society that you’re in. ... I think if I were moving from another country, an important part of understanding my area is embracing that history, and understanding the culture, and the story behind where I live. So I think understanding the story of others who are coming in, but also understanding the story of where you’re moving to, is a very important part of integration as opposed to assimilation. So I think that learning process works both ways, you break down barriers, you create understanding, you reduce suspicion, you destroy the idea of the other. It’s not the other, it’s just someone else.” (N9)

Unlike the one-sided process of adaptation, integration requires the two-way process of mutual understanding and adaptation. Furthermore, this mutual adaptation includes not only the acceptance of differences, but also a learning process of accepting the new.

Therefore, for some people, integration means the two-way process of mutual adaptation between newcomers and people living in the community. In this definition both groups were expected to learn new things and embrace their differences.

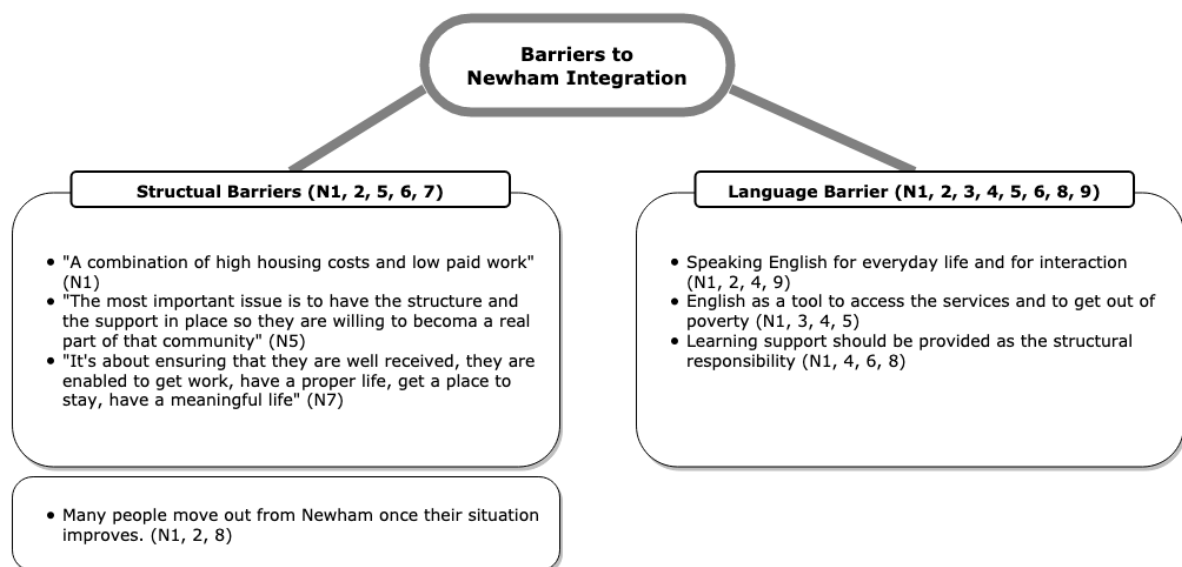
In this section, three aspects of Newham Integration were identified. The definitions focusing on the relationship between everyone and the local community suggest that there are some distinctive features of the meanings of local community in the concept of Newham Integration. It was found that ‘Everyone being a part of the local community’ means everyone with a different background being a member of the diverse community, which is not based on nationality, ethnicity or religion. ‘Individual integration,’ including ‘Neighbourhood integration’ suggests that Newham Integration can be defined by focusing on the interaction between individuals, without the need to consider which groups individuals may belong to. By contrast, ‘Newcomer integration’ looks at two groups – newcomers and people living in the community. Newcomers can include British people from other places, as

well as immigrants. The two-way process in Newcomer Integration means that both groups learn about each other and embrace their differences. Although these are not generalised definitions, Figure 4-2 could be considered as a possible model of Newham Integration.

Barriers to Newham Integration

There are two barriers participants considered as factors that may hinder Newham Integration – Structural barriers and the Language barrier (See Figure 4-3).

Figure 4-3: Barriers to Newham Integration



Structural barriers

For some participants, poverty issues, including poor housing and poor employment were more important than any other factor in considering integration in Newham. Poor housing was described as lots of people living in a one-bedroom place with their whole family. The issue with poor employment was described as people being not unemployed but in low paid work, or many people working in “the black economy – the informal economy/arrangement in which people are paid cash, usually much less than they should be paid” (N2) in Newham. One participant pointed out that “a combination of high housing costs and low paid work” (N1) is the most important aspect of poverty issues in Newham.

Some participants strongly refuted the idea that immigration or diversity are the cause of the poverty issues. It was also stated that “no one would be able to manage that high housing costs and that low income” (N1). Thus, those poverty situations were recognised as structural issues that need to be addressed in Newham in terms of integration. Importantly, it was also pointed out that these serious poverty issues couldn’t be overcome by borough-level policy alone.

For newcomers in particular, some participants emphasised that the local community has an obligation to ensure that they feel welcomed, their needs are met and that support is provided, and after that newcomers are expected to feel part of the community and to make a contribution to the community:

“in a two-way process, the most important issue is to have the structures and the support in place so they’re willing to become a real part of that community. So they feel ‘I’m just doing fine, I feel safe, Thanks for doing that’. And they’re given the opportunities to develop or to grow into that community that they’re coming into.” (N5);

“it’s about ensuring that they are well received, that they’re enabled to sort of get work, have a proper life, get a place to stay, have a meaningful life. ... I think the key issue is enabling them to settle into the country and having a meaningful life and beginning to make a contribution to society which, I’m sure, many of them would like to make.” (N7).

Ergo, it was considered that the local community has a more important role in the two-way process. In other words, the structural issues need to be addressed before the two-way process of mutual adaptation can properly ensue.

Many people moving out

One participant stated that people who live in Newham for a short time were “certainly regarded as local residents” (N8) and it did not matter how long they had lived in Newham. Some participants talked about the Council’s positive attitude towards newcomers as well as diversity. For example, it was described that:

“I would say it’s [Newham Council’s attitude towards newcomers] positive. It’s not something I have studied extensively, but I would say that it is generally positive. I think it is in line with Newham’s attitude of

welcoming, of valuing diversity, I think. So I don't think that the first thought is going to be 'Oh my goodness, this is a terrible problem'. I think it's probably going to be 'Oh, how wonderful it is that we have a chance to help people to settle into the country'." (N7)

However, some participants suggested that although newcomers and the diversity they bring are important for Newham, many newcomers who live in Newham short-term, for only three to six months are not desired by the local community. For example, it was stated that:

"You do need newcomers because you need somebody who says 'why do we do that?' or 'have you ever thought of doing it this way?' but you also need people who've been there for ages. You need both, but that transience is quite difficult to work with really. What we want is people who gonna stay ... because that's how you get to know people, that's how you learn, that's how you become friends by doing things together but it takes time, and people who come and only stay for a short time, well, it's not very good really, because we put a lot of resources in to help them, making them feel welcome, then three months later or six months later that person has gone, and that's quite difficult. ... the funny thing is that the richer ones have moved out." (N2)

This participant was concerned that some newcomers have gone in the middle of the two-way process of mutual adaptation and were making the two-way adaptation process impossible to implement. It was also considered that from the perspective of integration in Newham, some of the resources for community building were used up on people who then quickly moved away from Newham. It was suggested that because those who moved out from Newham would likely live in other boroughs in London or other parts of the UK, that responsibility for providing more resources for integration should lie, not only with the local community and Newham Council, but also with other city councils and central Government. One participant stated that:

"Newham needs government money. It shouldn't just be Newham residents pay for it, this is a national responsibility and therefore the borough should be paid for filling international responsibility." (N1).

In terms of the issue of many people moving out, some participants suggested that this pattern has occurred historically in Newham and it is the Newham community that has to change:

“When people get on a bit, they learn the language they perhaps get some qualifications they get decent job they get a bit of money, those that succeed have traditionally move out of the area to somewhere more prospects ... wave after wave of people come, settled, moved off ... not all of them, some would remain but most moving out. So what the borough would like to do is to make this community a place where people don't feel that they want to move, they would feel comfortable with settling here and that needs some quite big changes.” (N1);

“We always hope that Newham will become increasingly a place where people want to stay. Because the truth is, people have been moving out of Newham ever since World War II. For 70 years, people have been moving out of Newham. We would like Newham to change so that it becomes a place where people will want to stay.” (N8).

Thus, some participants considered that the issue to be addressed was not the number of people who were coming, but the number of people who were moving out, and it is necessary to build a Newham where people want to stay for longer. Furthermore, it was also suggested that many newcomers tend to move out from Newham once their situation improves. This could include people who, while no longer needing support for themselves, could have provided support for people in need or have become co-creators of the diverse Newham community if they had remained living within the borough. Therefore, some participants were concerned about the issue of people leaving Newham in the context of integration and this was regarded as a structural issue that the borough needs to address.

Language barrier

Based on their work experience in the community, some participants emphasised that the language barrier needs to be addressed to enable integration in Newham. One participant, who has helped people in need by working in a voluntary organisation for more than 40 years, was concerned in terms of integration, about people who speak no English at all in Newham.

“I think providing the support to learn English is tremendously important. And I think that means something different for children in the school system, and it is about somebody in their middle years or 80 years. We see particularly in Asian community, a lot of old women who are effectively trapped at home because they don’t speak any English at all and when they go out they have to go out with a child in the family who does all the translation, and they’re not able to play a full part in this community.”
(N1).

For this participant, it is important for integration in Newham that everyone is able to speak English to participate in the wider community. In other words, everyone is expected to interact with people, not only from same ethnic/faith community, but also from different communities speaking different languages in terms of integration in Newham. It also suggests that providing the support to learn English can be considered as one of the tools to empower people who may be isolated or vulnerable due to the language barrier.

The above quote reminds me of my own experience during the fieldwork. When I visited Newham for one of the interviews, a middle-aged Muslim woman who spoke to me at the tube station and we walked together, while talking. She arrived from Bangladesh about ten years ago, and her English was not as fluent as mine. I believe we enjoyed each other’s company, despite it being only a 20-minute talk, during which we were unable to understand each other completely, due to our English language skill levels. She talked about her difficult life, such as her divorce due to her Bangladeshi husband’s domestic violence, and the difficulties of being a single mother. She appreciated the help and the benefits she had received but also complained that the government wanted her to work and stop her benefits. I felt the encounter helped me to understand why some participants, who have helped vulnerable people for a long time, emphasised that being able to communicate in English is important in Newham. If one of us had not been able to speak any English at all, we could not have communicated as we did. I think she confided in me because she needed to talk to someone about her difficult situation, and that she might have been more willing to share personal, sensitive stories because I was apparently not from her own ethnic/faith community. People may sometimes need help from the wider community, or may find it easier to talk to people from different communities. I feel that people with a migration background may place value on interaction beyond their own ethnic/faith communities in Newham, in addition to British people encouraging people from other countries to learn English. This short chat also

implies that language skills are important to gain independence for people in vulnerable situations.

Another participant pointed out that when people do not speak English at all they cannot get out of poverty.

“if you come and you can’t speak the language, you’re low skilled and you’re uneducated then that could feed in the poverty trap, because there’s a vicious cycle, you can’t get a job because you can’t speak the language, and if you get a job you gonna get a low pay job, and then you get a low pay job, then you can’t afford to pay expensive rent, so it’s a perpetual cycle, it’s a cycle of poverty.” (N3).

This suggests that the language barrier exacerbates the first barrier to integration, poor employment and poor housing. Therefore, it is possible to argue that some participants considered support to learn English as one of the tools to empower individuals, so that they would be able to interact with people in the wider community, or lift themselves out of poverty, which is important for integration in Newham. Furthermore, one participant emphasised that it is difficult to engage in basic activities in the community, without having any English.

“It’s almost impossible to try and access services, make friends, settle in, even basic things like trying to open a bank account, trying to manage documents, settle children in. It would be the same if I were travelling elsewhere or settling elsewhere. If you can’t speak the language, it’s so hard to get anything else done” (N4).

It was considered important to learn to speak English for everyday life and for interaction in the Newham community. Furthermore, it was also pointed out that language barrier might cause unnecessary frustration for everyone, or create unnecessary hostility or a barrier between people:

“I think people that don’t have patience judge people who can’t speak the language, and it isn’t about the person’s intelligence. It’s about their ability to communicate. Then it’s frustrating for both parties, but it must be most frustrating for the newly-arrived person.” (N4);

“It creates a feeling of difference sometimes of antagonism which isn’t really there, but it just put up barriers between people” (N1).

These opinions suggest there are some people who believe there are barriers against people who cannot communicate in English when needed, which was considered to hinder integration in Newham. Such emphasis on spoken English might discourage people from speaking languages other than English in the local community. However, it was considered that diversity in terms of the different languages people speak has been celebrated and valued in Newham. As presented in the previous sections, it was stated that a positive attitude towards diversity was rooted in Newham, which was considered to be one of the distinctive characteristics of the borough. Some participants also pointed out that there are many various ethnic communities and it is a quite natural thing for neighbours to speak different languages in Newham. That is to say, it was suggested that speaking English as a tool for a communication is important, in addition to celebrating the different languages spoken in the Newham community.

As a result of their experience in helping those who do not speak any English at all, some participants considered that speaking English “opens everything” (N4) and that providing the support to learn English is a necessity. This suggests that a two-way process is needed to reduce the language barrier, because it was assumed that everyone is expected to learn English and that the local community is expected to provide the necessary support to do so. Some participants also emphasised that it was not a translation service, but learning support that people needed. This was due to the fact that people cannot access a translation service all the time in their daily life, for example, when out shopping or making friends in the wider community. It was also pointed out that translation by children might bring some problems when people need to discuss sensitive issues, such as financial difficulties and family matters.

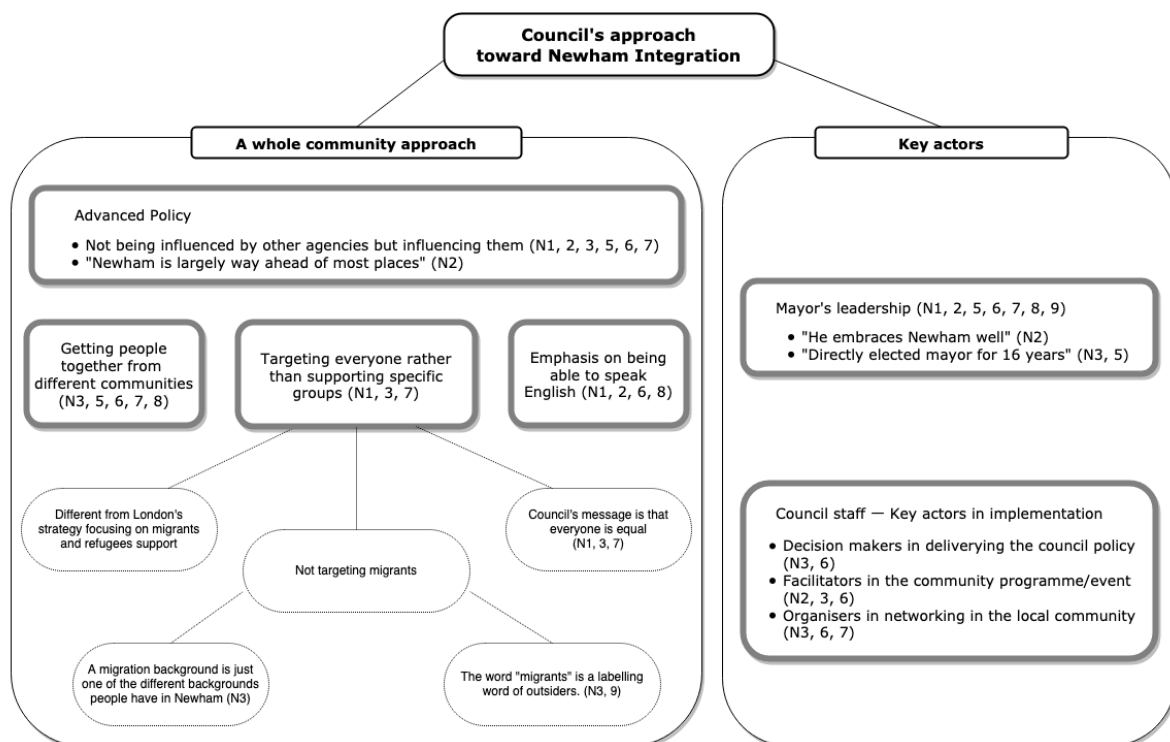
It was found that poverty issues were considered to be one of the most important barriers to Newham Integration. In order for everyone to participate in the local community, Newham needs to address “a combination of high housing costs and low paid work” (N1). It is important to make Newham a place where people “are enabled to get work, have a proper life, get a place to stay, have a meaningful life” (N7). The language barrier was also considered to be a highly significant issue in terms of integration. Support to learn English was considered to be one of the tools to empower individuals to get out of poverty, to access

services and to interact with people in the wider Newham community. In order to reduce this barrier, residents in Newham were expected to learn English, and it was considered that English learning support was needed in a community where valuing diversity was rooted.

Council's approach towards Newham Integration – Distinctive policy and key actors

Figure 4-4 shows how interview participants perceived the council's approach towards integration issues. Because Newham Council has not introduced integration policy, this section looks at participants' views on a whole community approach.

Figure 4-4: Council's approach towards Newham Integration - Distinctive policy and key actors



Advanced policy

Some participants considered that the council's approach is not only quite distinctive from other places but is also more advanced more than anywhere else:

“Newham is largely way ahead of most places, ... We tend to be quite inward-looking when we’re talking about Newham. Newham is our borough and that’s what we are interested in. So I think we regard ourselves as leading in this sort of area, perhaps quite arrogantly” (N2);

“a more advanced approach than one that sees a mainstream and then delivers services for fitting in” (N7).

It was stated that it might be difficult for other agencies, including national government and the EU, to adopt Newham’s approach, because it was considered that “Newham is able to adopt this approach because of its own demography with a diversity of religions and ethnicity” (N7). Furthermore, some participants considered that Newham’s community strategy has not been affected by the approaches developed in other places, but on the contrary has influenced other places. One participant mentioned that people from different local authorities came to learn the way the Newham Council worked with the communities.

Therefore, participants considered that Newham has been focusing on their local community rather than learning from other places, and Newham’s distinctive approach has been influenced very little by government policy or that of other local authorities. One participant stated that decision-makers in Newham might consider central government policy if it were to come with funding.

Three messages participants received from the Council’s policy

Three approaches were identified as being highlighted by participants, re the council’s policy.

Targeting everyone as individuals rather than specific groups –

Everybody is equal

Unlike London’s integration strategy, which focuses on helping migrants and refugees towards integration, Newham Council takes a whole community approach, rather than developing support services for specific groups. One of the reasons for the approach, according to some participants was that it is more important for the council to emphasise that their approach is based on the idea that everybody is equal, rather than to promote services for specific groups, such as migrants and refugees:

“I think they [the council] would say that everybody is equal, if they [migrants and refugees] live here then they are entitled the same treatment

as everybody else. I mean there are still some kind of advice that they are more likely to need, than other people, obviously migration advice, and we do that as part of our legal services, but we wouldn't separate that out and say it is specifically for certain kinds of people" (N1);

"I suspect they still sort of have service specific to people who have particular needs ... but I can imagine that the council probably feels that it is healthier to have an approach that shows that everybody is equally valuable rather than thinking that there is a mainstream and everybody else is either a refugee or an immigrant" (N7).

Another participant, employed by the council explained that the view that everyone is equal is important for the council because it understands "the level of deprivation" and "what the needs are in Newham" (N3). It was explained that because the council has tried to ensure that "everybody is able to experience everything" (N3), it has provided services and organised events, programmes and activities that are open to everybody and free of charge, such as introducing free school meals³⁴ and free afterschool clubs, which differ from policies in more affluent boroughs in London.

Therefore, it was considered that a whole community approach has been developed, because it is important for the council to express its intention of ensuring everyone is equal. In other words, the council's whole community approach shows that their services are for everyone and everyone would be given opportunities, regardless of socio-economic situation, which was considered an important issue in "one of the most deprived boroughs" (N3), and that there are no groups who are given priority in Newham, which is also considered to be an important issue in one of the most ethnically diverse boroughs.

As outlined above, the target population in Newham's community strategy is everyone. However, the meaning of the word 'everyone' varies slightly in practice when the council provides services. Some participants added a qualifier to their interviews, such as: "... everyone if you have leave to remain, or you'd become a British national" (N2) or "... everyone if you are here legitimately and you have a right to be here and you have a right to access services" (N3). That is to say, everyone should be treated equally but the "bottom

³⁴ According to the Newham Recorder, the local newspaper, Newham started to provide free school meals to all primary school children in 2009 as a government pilot and "continued to run the project, despite the coalition government's decision to cut funding" (Atwal, 2014).

line” (N3) is his or her legal status granted by central government. Some participants considered that it is the third sector rather than the council that supports people who do not have a right to stay because “the council is governed by laws ... and the community voluntary sector is governed by people and the needs of people” (N2). For example, it was stated that:

“Sadly most of things like immigration and housing is quite often driven by national policy than local policy ... Because the council and the national government can’t provide everything, and because their ethos and drivers are different. I mean, their motivations are different and the ways in which they work are different. That is why you will always need voluntary organisations, community organisations.” (N7).

It was also explained that in practice they had no choice but to prioritise people who are eligible, because it is difficult to provide services for people who move around a lot, living in Newham one day and going to a different borough the next:

“For them to access to services they have to be part of the system, they have to be on some sort of record, otherwise it’s difficult to support them, it’s difficult to support the child, the family” (N3).

Therefore, it is possible to argue that there is a gap between everyone in Newham Integration and the target population in the council. People who do not have the right to stay in the UK are not included with ‘everyone’ in the council’s policy, because it is difficult for them to support people who have not been accepted by central government, such as asylum-seekers and overstayed immigrants, although they may participate in the events or activities organised by the council and may be able to contribute to the Newham community.

Importantly, it was also stated that it is not necessary to promote policies targeting the migrant group in Newham. On the one hand, some participants considered that the use of the word migrant has no specific meaning in Newham because “70 per cent of Newham’s residents” (N6) or “almost everybody in Newham” (N8) have migrant backgrounds. In Newham, having a migrant background is not special but just one of the differences people have or a common background people share. On the other hand, one participant pointed out that the words migrant and refugee have a negative meaning in the UK and the Council might have chosen to deliberately avoid the stigma of those words.

Furthermore, another participant strongly refused to acknowledge the use of the word migrant in the community strategy:

“when you refer to someone as an immigrant, somehow it says that you are outsiders, you don’t belong, you’re not part of the fabric of the society, that what it says. ... if you start labelling people, then they might behave that they’re labelled, in terms of an immigrant, I don’t belong, I don’t care, but if you’re part of something, you care” (N3).

It was explained that it is not necessary to label people as a migrant in the community strategy and it just needs “description of the services” (N3):

“You can address someone’s language barriers without labelling them. You just put a class and you just send them to a class or invite them to attend a class for non-English speakers. You don’t have to mention, ‘Oh by the way this is for the migrant, this is for the immigrant, this is for the refugee” (N3).

This suggests that it is more important to focus on the needs of people rather than to promote policies targeting specific groups. In migration policy, immigrants and people with migrant backgrounds are often seen as the group that needs help and support. In Newham, however, those people are not categorised directly into the target groups for the policy. Moreover, it was pointed out that there is a danger that introducing policies targeting migrants might lead to categorising some people as outsiders in the community.

Getting people together from different communities

The second approach participants highlighted was that the council has encouraged people to interact with each other. For example, the council supports individuals and/or groups who try to create such opportunities, by giving funding and securing spaces:

“if you live in a block of flats, and want to do something like having a street party, because maybe you have an old elderly person that lives there who’s alienated and isolated, maybe you have a single-parent who feels like she’s by herself with a child, maybe you have a widow or a widower or someone who is disabled who live in their lives and don’t really interact with anyone, you encourage people to come outside their houses because they’re

neighbours, it's not a lot of money but it will provide an opportunity for you to talk to your neighbours" (N3).

Importantly, some participants highlighted that the council has encouraged “people from other different faiths and different communities to talk together, and to share what’s good, what’s common, and respect what isn’t” (N5). In order to do that, the council has supported communities in having their own events and activities only “if more than one religious group or one ethnic group is involved” (N8). The council has organised events and supported events organised by communities “so that people can still feel able to maintain their identity, but they can also go and join in with other people and meet other people at certain events” (N6). In the media, it was emphasised that the mayor and the council have stopped funding for single community events. However, participants supported the council’s focus on getting people together outside and beyond their own communities and did not raise objections with regards to stopping funding for single community events. It is possible to argue that for some participants, the council’s approach means that with limited resources³⁵ it prioritises community events that are open to everyone rather than events that are limited to members of a specific ethnic/faith community.

Emphasis on being able to speak English

As another measure in terms of integration issues, some participants highlighted that the council has promoted the English language. It was stated that the council has considered that “everyone should be able to speak English” (N8). As described earlier in the section on language barriers, speaking English was considered essential in Newham where “English family, Irish lady with her Turkish partner, Pakistani Muslim family, Bengali Muslim family, and a Nigerian man and his English wife live next door to each other” (N2). Everyone in Newham is expected to be able to communicate with each other, to share understanding and work together using “a common language” (N2). It is possible to argue that without a common language, it is more difficult for people with different backgrounds to celebrate diversity in terms of religions, languages and values together. It was also framed as a public issue to be addressed by the council, that there are people living in Newham who speak no English at all and are consequently quite isolated.

³⁵ As I discuss in the last section, participants emphasised that the council had been under financial pressure due to public expenditure cuts, and it was the diminishing voluntary sector about which participants raised a concern regarding changes caused by lack of resources.

As argued in the section on policy context in Newham, the mayor at that time introduced a “radical plan to boost integration” (Nye, 2013) in 2013, such as reducing translation services and removing non-English newspapers from local libraries. Thus, prior to the interviews, I expected some participants to be critical of these council measures, because most of the participants were representatives of community workers, rather than policy makers in the council who might want to defend the council’s decisions. However, after five years³⁶, there was no participant who objected to these measures and some participants agreed with this policy:

“It was a brave policy ... I’d like to support it, difficult but it’s right” (N1);

“I think he’s [the mayor] got a point – that in order for the community be resilient, everybody needs to be able to speak English. ... The council wants to give every encouragement to people to learn English, to be confident in English, so they can speak, write and do the things that they need to do” (N8).

The mayor and the council’s approach seemed to be contrary to one of the distinctive characteristics Newham community participants emphasised – that celebrating diversity is firmly rooted in Newham. Therefore, I explored the reasons why participants, who can be seen as advocates for vulnerable people, migrants or refugees³⁷, supported this policy, and the following two reasons were identified from participants’ views.

First, it is possible to argue that participants understood that reducing multilingual services to encourage and support English learning does not mean refusing diversity or different languages. For some participants, this council policy was not a contradiction to Newham’s attitude of valuing diversity. For example, it was explained that:

“I’m afraid a lot of this is a function of the political circumstances we find ourselves in with relation to funding for local authorities. ... and that to me is perfectly sensible policy. It doesn’t, of course, mean that you don’t encourage or celebrate the fact that you have many different languages spoken in any particular area. And the idea of corresponding with your council only in English, for example, is very different to saying we don’t

³⁶ The interviews in Newham were conducted in 2018-2019.

³⁷ Some participants described that they have helped or used to help people in need, including migrants, refugees and people who have trouble with their legal status.

want any languages other than English spoken on the bus, which is what some people, AKA Nigel Farage, have been saying publicly. I think that those are separate issues.” (N9)

It was perceived that concentrating the council’s resources on English learning support and the council’s attitude of valuing diversity are different issues. Some participants described the council as having contributed to Newham’s positive attitude towards diversity. Moreover, as argued in the section on ‘Language barrier’, supporting the learning of English was considered as one of the tools to empower vulnerable people in Newham, so that people could get out of poverty and interact with the wider community. For some participants who have helped people in need on the ground, the most important issue for newcomers is supporting them to learn English, rather than giving temporary support. For example, one participant stated that:

“[The most important issue for newcomers is] Language barrier, definitely. ... lack of native language. ... If you can’t speak the language, it’s so hard to get anything else done. Because that opens everything. ... It would be so good if people would pair up, would join together and not passively sit back and expect the newly arrived person to just get it. It doesn’t work like that. It has to be two-way. ... I don’t speak with enough knowledge to know. Not being familiar with this policy, I don’t know enough. But I know from being on the ground that people struggle for language support, struggle for housing, struggle for money, struggle for employment opportunities. Mostly can get their children to schools, which is good, but we see lots of people who are living in one room with their whole family, ...newcomers often live in temporary accommodation. So I don’t think it’s been a great success, from what I see on the ground, but that’s also the nature of my job. So if I were to work somewhere where a newcomer had settled and was now very well established and working, and housed, I would probably feel differently. But I see the same thing week in and week out.” (N4).

This suggests that participants have learnt from practice that although there are structural issues to be addressed, such as high housing costs and low income, the simplest way to get out of a difficult situation for newly-arrived people is to be able to speak English, which can lead to more employment opportunities, higher income and better housing. Therefore, it is

possible to argue that participants considered that it cannot be helped that the council reduced the translation services and removed non-English newspapers in local libraries, because they prioritised support for learning English in order to empower vulnerable people in Newham, which was not related to the council's attitude of valuing diversity.

Secondly, it is possible to argue that non-English newspapers in local libraries were not considered as one of the essential resources in other languages in Newham. This is because this issue did not appear to be a serious problem within the borough. Participants emphasised that there are lots of community-based groups/organisations in the diverse Newham community, and they would not remain silent if they believed the council had ignored diversity or excluded vulnerable people. One participant, a founder of a community-based voluntary organisation in Newham, described one of his organisation's activities as follows:

“What we tried to do here is to learn from the people who seek our help and through that to obtain a better understanding, ... we would take that to the relevant authorities and in some cases that might be central government and some cases be local government. ... often we would do a report but we would never just do a report we would follow that up ... very active lobbying and campaigning.” (N1).

Some participants also considered that the council has made an effort to understand local needs. For example, it was mentioned that the council has conducted a household survey asking residents for their opinions and it was pointed out that many local councillors in Newham are involved in their own ethnic/faith communities, such as working as a priest in a church or a secretary of a mosque, and act as “a go-between” (N2) between the council and their communities. Thus, it is possible to argue that participants considered that the council introduced such radical measures to meet local needs.

It is also possible to argue that the languages of non-English newspapers in the local libraries might have been major languages spoken in Newham, and the resources in those languages or the opportunities to read them could have been provided by established ethnic/faith communities or local faith-based schools. In Newham where lots of different languages are spoken, it is possible to argue that focusing on English rather than supporting the major languages of established communities is fairer for everyone, and it is difficult for each local library to provide newspapers in all the different languages spoken in Newham from the perspective of cost.

Furthermore, some participants recommended the use of the local library as one of Newham Council's initiatives, in terms of integration. It was explained that the local library and the community centre are in the same building in each area; there is a cafeteria, spaces for art exhibition by children in local schools, and many computers available for residents. It was stated that:

"All our libraries are community centres as well, it's quite innovative and quite interesting, I think. So I would recommend that to other boroughs" (N2);

"In the library, we've got a conversation club for people who speak English as a second language. We've had quite a large response in this area from people who find it really useful. They do ESL [English as a Second Language] classes in the Adult Education upstairs because we share our building with Adult Education and with Youth Services." (N6);

"Their library is top class. ... They actually have activities so people can come in and engage in dancing, tai chi as well. It's a good initiative." (N7).

Some participants regarded the role of the libraries in Newham as "our central point for communication and information exchange" (N3). Council staff, including the librarians, were expected to engage in promoting integration in Newham.

"What we want is for people to come to the library and see that as their central point of contact. Their first point contact. If you're a bit isolated, feeling a bit down, the library would say 'Oh we have a lovely club you'd like it on Mondays and Wednesdays'. And of course, everything is free. ... All the staff including the librarians are expected to engage to a great or less degree, in this community neighbourhood activity. ... People come to the library and they say 'How can I get a parking permit?'³⁸ and our staff will say 'Go online, go to Newham website, you can use the computer over there', you say 'but I haven't got a computer, how do I go online?' and we do need to be a bit flexible, to be a bit imaginative, 'well, I can't help you learn how to use the computer but we have some volunteers coming in,

³⁸ Some participants described that parking has always been one of the most concerning issues for residents in Newham.

some six formers, and if you want to come on Wednesday afternoon, they will show you how to do it', so that's what we're going to have to do I think'' (N2).

It is reasonable to argue, therefore, that the use of the libraries was regarded as one of the successful initiatives to promote integration in Newham, even though non-English newspapers were removed as part of prioritising the learning of English. In local areas other than Newham, reducing multilingual services might mean refusing diversity or excluding vulnerable people. But participants considered that the council has promoted a positive attitude towards diversity and placed emphasis on speaking English in order to meet local needs.

It was pointed out that English learning support should be strengthened by the council. One participant suggested that in Newham, it is not enough just to provide an 'English class at 7pm at the local library, everyone can come', because people who do not speak English at all may need to have more confidence to come to the class; women from Asian communities may wish to learn English together with people from a similar background, or refugees might need to feel they are in a safe environment. This suggests that sometimes it is necessary to consider people with a similar ethnic/faith background as a group, rather than individuals. It is possible to argue that there are some limitations in the council's approach, targeting everyone as an individual, distinct from their background.

Key actors

Mayor's leadership

It was emphasised that the mayor (at the time of the interviews in 2017) was the most important key person, with respect to community strategy. For example, participants expressed that "the mayor is absolutely the key actor, very definitely" (N1), "[the key actor is] without doubt the mayor" (N2), and "the mayor has been the dominant person in this community strategy" (N8). On the one hand, some participants explained this as being because Newham has functioned with a directly elected mayoral system since 2002 and it is the system that gives the mayor the political power to set policy. On the other hand, others highlighted the mayor's personality and his leadership:

"He is not only at the top but very powerful, a very strong leader" (N1);

“I think it’s largely him and his leadership ... he is a very charismatic person” (N2);

“the mayor is very visionary in terms of how he sees things and how things tend to develop” (N6);

“he is very firmly of the view that we need to be a resilient community ... the mayor of Newham is quite a strong mayor” (N8).

It was recognised that the mayor has shown his vision clearly and that the mayor is the most important key actor to have identified and promoted community strategy as one of Newham’s public issues, for which government intervention is needed. It was considered that this is due to the system of directly electing a mayor and also to the mayor’s leadership.

Council staff – key actors in implementation

While it was considered that the mayor is the key actor in agenda-setting, it was found that council staff can be called key actors in implementation. Three roles were identified in terms of council policy regarding integration issues.

First, it was stated that council staff facilitate the delivery of policy that the mayor and the council make, which includes: creating programmes/events that meet the needs of the local area; managing the budget; listening to what local people are interested in; working together with local groups/organisations; organising programmes/events. It was described how council staff need to create the fun programme/event that people will want to come to and also to “promote healthy and active lifestyles, which will impact on people’s poverty” (N3). Thus, council staff can be considered as decision-makers in implementation, because they decide upon the kind of programmes/events they organise, which groups/organisations to involve and work with and how to use the limited resources.

In terms of programmes with grants, one participant explained that council staff need to be facilitators rather than organisers. Some participants described how the council provided a grant for an activity intended to bring the community together and provide an opportunity to talk with neighbours, which was also mentioned as one of the programmes they recommended to other areas. In these programmes, the role of council staff was described as:

“We facilitate. My role is not to deliver the project with them, not to govern and do the project for them. ... you might make an initial introduction but

you wouldn't take on a very active role, because they need to be able to carry that project themselves, and they are going to work with their neighbours, ... we are working to engage our community and get people taking responsibility, being more resilient.” (N3)

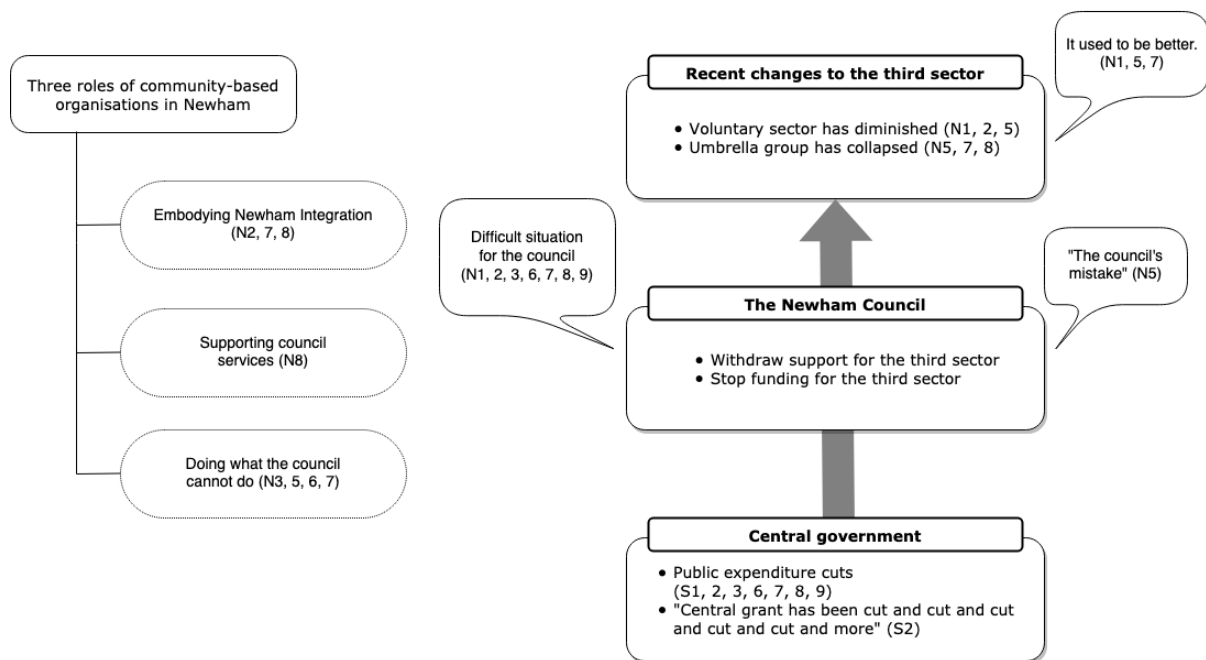
Some participants talked about the council's magazine and the e-newsletter in which council staff communicate with local stakeholders and residents. One participant, member of council staff, explained them as “an information exchange tool” (N3) and described how council staff provide opportunities for local stakeholders and local groups to share what they are doing and for council staff write what the council is doing. When another participant, the representative of the faith organisation, talked about how council staff support people of different faiths, he called council staff by their first names. This indicates there may be face-to-face relationships between some community-based organisations and council staff. Thus, it is possible to argue that council staff make an effort to play a key role in networking within the community.

In this section, three key approaches participants highlighted in the council's policy regarding integration issues were summarised – Targeting everyone rather than supporting specific groups; Getting people together beyond different communities, and Emphasis on being able to speak English. These approaches were seen as a distinctive and advanced policy, focusing on the Newham community. The mayor was considered to be a key actor in agenda-setting and it was found that council staff play an important role in implementation as decision-makers in delivering council policy, sometimes as facilitators in the community programme/event and as organisers in networking in the community.

Community-based organisations/groups – three roles in Newham and recent changes initiated by the government

Figure 4-5 shows how participants perceived community-based organisations in Newham. Three roles of community-based organisations were identified in terms of integration issues in Newham. Importantly, some participants highlighted recent changes within the third sector and the reasons for those changes were explored.

Figure 4-5: Community-based organisations/groups
— Three roles in Newham and recent changes initiated by the government



Three roles in Newham

Embodying Newham Integration

Participants suggested that faith organisations play an important role in Newham. It was stated that there are “over 450 faith groups in Newham” (N5) and most people in Newham belong to religious groups, such as Christian, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu faiths. It was described that these faith organisations play a major role in supporting people in need in the Newham community, similar to the voluntary organisations. In addition to supporting people, one participant suggested that faith organisations play an important role in terms of integration issues. It was considered that belonging to these faith groups “gives Newham quite a cohesive character” because “you do feel you are part of the wider community through them” (N8), and that:

“There are other groups as well – community organisations that have nothing to do with faith – but the really strong and active and, I would say, effective organisations in Newham are the churches and the mosques and the temples. They really bring lots of people together.” (N8).

Thus, it was considered that the faith organisations in Newham support people in need, connect people and the Newham community, and bring people together.

Regarding how those different faith groups have worked to make everyone feel part of the wider community in Newham, another participant mentioned a project that has tried to “promote good relationship between people of different faiths” (N7), which is called the Faithful Friends and started 10 years ago. In Forest Gate in Newham, Christian leaders from the various churches, Muslim leaders from all the major mosques, and the representatives from Sikh faith and sometimes from the Hindus meet every two months. In the meeting, these faith leaders discuss the subject they have decided upon for the year, for example, in 2017 they discussed ‘integration’. For them, it is important to hear and to try to understand different points of view:

“what we’ve done this year is we asked a Muslim to tell us what integration means from a Muslim point of view, and then we asked a Christian to tell us what integration means from a Christian point of view. And last week, we asked a Sikh to tell us what integration is from a Sikh point of view.”
(N7).

Importantly, they take their turn to chair the meeting and meet at different places each time – the church, the mosque or the temple – in order that “everybody feel respected and everybody feel the ownership” (N7). In addition to the regular meeting, they invite each other to their own religious ceremonies. For example, Christian members invite all the other religious people to their Christmas carol service, and the Muslims invite others to celebrate the birthday of their prophet. In the Christmas carol service, wine is not served as part of the church service “out of respect for Muslims” (N7), and in a Muslim event, people are required to take off their shoes and “they don’t insist, but a lot of women tend to put on scarf as a mark of respect for their religion” (N7). Moreover, the Faithful Friends sometimes organises a community event together:

“We gathered together at Green Street Mosque and, as a group, walked down Green Street and went to different places, different mosques, and churches, and finished up at the gurdwara as a show of solidarity” (N7).

These activities organised by the Faithful Friends suggest that there is a geographical situation specific to Newham, with different religious buildings on the same street and a demographic situation in which religious people of varying faiths live close to each other. In such a situation, faith leaders work together to build a good relationship with and an equal footing for, the local community. If necessary, modes of worship are altered slightly out of

respect for those with different beliefs and there is no coercion. Regarding their influences on people and the community, it was considered that:

“we are showing an example to ordinary people about how faiths can work together. ... we think we are creating positive feeling and a sense of cohesion, and an integration, and acceptance to our community.” (N7).

To summarise, it was found that faith organisations play a significantly important role in Newham, and that faith leaders in some local areas work together for their local community, by giving an example for how people with different backgrounds can build good relationships, understanding and respecting each other without the hierarchical relationship between the groups, and that it is important to moderate patterns/behaviours a little, out of respect for different beliefs. It could be said that these faith leaders embody their concept of integration in Newham.

Supporting Council services

Some participants described community-based organisations playing a supportive role for the council. For example, one participant, council staff, considered that community-based organisations have a different reach and can connect people and the council. It was stated that:

“They [community-based organisations] have a different reach, they all have a different target, audience, and so they’re our pathways into the wider community. We [the council] can’t know everyone because we don’t have the connection, but we hold the connection with the public sector, they have the connection with some of our community members” (N3).

Another participant described how the community-based organisations work together with the council in the community event:

“An international food festival is a community cooperative. There’s the council, community organisations, volunteers, local business, all coming together to put a festival on” (N6).

It was also stated that some community-based organisations receive funding from the council to run substantial youth services and that they “play a key role in delivering their youth policy” (N7).

Doing what the Council cannot do

Some participants expressed that community-based organisations are “filling gaps” (N3, 5, 7) for the council, because the council services are “statutory services” and “they just provide what they have to” (N5). It was highlighted that community-based organisations have some advantages compared with the council. Some participants pointed out that community-based organisations respond quickly to the needs of people and they can do what the council cannot do. For example, it was described how:

“Because the council is governed by laws, they are not always very good. The community voluntary sector is governed by people and the needs of people” (N2);

“I think they’re [community-based organisations] filling gaps a lot. ... we [the council] are outcome driven ... but the third sector, from my experience because I worked in the third sector, provides a particular service, you’ve got more flexibility, depending on how you’re funded nowadays” (N3);

“sometimes in local government, there’s quite a lot of procedures, bureaucracy, that you need to do before you can start something. Whereas I used to work in the community years ago, and you could go and do something very quickly because you didn’t have a big organisation tracking every minute detail. So sometimes that can hold you back” (N6);

Furthermore, one participant pointed out that “there is no prevention in the council policy, whereas community groups or organisations could intervene at an early stage before little problems become big problems” (N5).

Recent changes to the third sector initiated by the government

Recent changes to the third sector

Regarding community-based organisations playing an important role in Newham, some participants highlighted that the voluntary sector in Newham has diminished in recent years. It was described how:

“It has changed a lot in the last five or six years, there was a quite a strong voluntary and community sector, and voluntary sector has got very much

smaller, some organisations have gone completely, some like this organisation got a great deal smaller, we have diminished because of the public expenditure cuts” (N1);

“there were many more, it’s probably half of what it was ten years ago, they don’t have the money that they used to have” (N2);

“There isn’t as many as there used to be ... there are some voluntary groups, a lot of those have been cut and reduced over the last 10 years, compared to other areas, there’s still quite a lot” (N5).

In addition to this, it was also pointed out that the third sector has become less involved in council policy. One participant explained that there used to be an umbrella group “to influence policy”, which “collapsed not long ago” (N7). Another participant also stated that:

“In Newham, there used to be an umbrella group, but now that has gone. Funding was taken away. The community sector, the business sector, the faith sector, the council, the health, and the police met together regularly to take things forward, but sadly, that doesn’t happen now.” (N5)

The umbrella group was considered as “the major Newham-wide networking organisation” (N7) in which members shared information, their practices, visions, and objectives.

Causes of changes

It was explained that those changes were initiated by the government, which has withdrawn support and stopped funding for the third sector. Some participants considered this to be because of public expenditure cuts and that Newham Council is under financial pressure. For example, it was described how:

“I think it [the council] does as well as it can, the challenges are huge. ... I think Newham Council is doing a lot particularly given year on year cuts for the last six years.” (N1);

“they’ve [central government] taken more and more money away from us, we’ve lost hundreds of thousands of government grants. ... central grant has been cut and cut and cut and cut and cut and more ... we’re in this quite difficult position with lack of resources.” (N2);

“We’re always asking for more money. If they provided more money to Newham Council, then presumably they’ll be able to give more money to top sector organisations which are not only fill gaps but also show different ways from we’re doing things. Different values, different ethos, and so on.”
(N7);

“the central government has cut huge swathes off local authority budgets ... I’m afraid lots of councils have decided it’s going to be first on the list of thing they need to cut back in order to continue to operate things like refuse collection, schools, and everything else that councils need to fund ... If councils have sufficient funds I think it would be great if they could provide a whole plethora of services. ... Resources are the key constraint here”
(N9).

Thus, it is possible to argue that participants considered that recent changes to the third sector in Newham were initiated by central government. However, some participants suggested that there could be a different choice for the council. One participant strongly stated that withdrawing support for the third sector was “the council’s mistake” and their decisions were “wrong” (N5):

“I do agree with the council’s view that it should be one community and we should all work as one, while recognising diversity and celebrating it. ... The council can choose where those reductions go, and I think their view is that community sector isn’t a solution to some of the problems. ... I think it’s a shame. I think it’s the council’s mistake to withdraw support from grassroots community organisations. I think it’s shortsighted and it doesn’t respect the role that these organisations play in policies and the local community” (N5).

It was also pointed out that the relationship between community-based organisations and the council is not good in Newham:

“Unfortunately, there’s really deteriorating relationships between them [community-based organisations and the Newham Council] over a period of time. I think there are exceptions, and some organisations are seen as okay by the council. But generally speaking, I don’t think the council see

community organisations as the solution to problems. ... if there was more support for the third sector from the council, I think you could achieve much, much more than you achieve now” (N5);

“If you ask me in term of our relationship with council, it’s very good. ... But in terms of Newham-wide, I think it could be better. I don’t think it’s right there” (N7).

Other participants also highlighted that the important role the third sector plays should be acknowledged more and that voluntary organisations should be more involved in council policy. For example, it was described how:

“[Community-based organisations play] a small role in the council I would say, I wouldn’t say key role, not anymore, no. It was involved more a few years ago than it is now ... I don’t think we have power.” (N1);

“There could be more listening to the voluntary organisations” (N7);

“I think the community-based organisation would like the council to take more notice of what they say. And sometimes the council just gets on and does what it thinks, even though people have told it something different. ... I think there could be opportunity for more scope, more listening to the voluntary organisations” (N8).

Therefore, it was considered that community-based organisations play an important role in Newham in terms of integration issues. Some participants considered that faith organisations play a significant role in embodying Newham Integration. Some participants also described that community-based organisations/groups support council services by connecting people and the council and working together in community events, or delivering council policy. Importantly, it was also highlighted that community-based organisations have strengths that differ from the council’s and they do what the council cannot do.

It was also found that there were important changes in the third sector in Newham. Some participants highlighted that the voluntary sector has diminished and the umbrella group has collapsed. It was acknowledged that those recent changes in the third sector were largely

caused by public expenditure cuts, and also by Newham Council's attitude towards community-based organisations. Some participants emphasised that the Council should acknowledge more the important role the third sector plays in Newham.

4-6. Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from the views of local actors in Newham. Five themes emerged from pattern coding: 1. Newham Integration – community building rather than immigrant integration; 2. Three aspects of Newham Integration; 3. Barriers to Newham Integration; 4. The Council's approach towards Newham Integration – Distinctive policy and key actors, and 5. Community-based organisations/groups – Three roles in Newham and recent changes initiated by the government. The following is a summary of findings in each theme.

The data challenged my conceptual framework, and the area of conceptualising social integration became a core area for further analysis. Participants' definitions were considered as locally specific definitions and coded as 'Newham Integration'. I attempted to conceptualise 'Newham Integration' from participants' views, by comparing it with the concept of immigrant integration, identifying aspects of Newham Integration, and exploring barriers to Newham Integration.

It was found that Newham Integration was about community building, focusing on everyone and the local community, rather than immigrant integration looking at the mutual adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society. The reasons for this gap between Newham Integration and my definition of immigrant integration were explained by the way in which participants understood the local community. Participants did not regard Newham as a place where there are immigrants and the receiving society, because they described Newham as a place where people with a migration background are not the minority but the majority; where there are many ethnic communities within the local community, and where a positive attitude towards diversity is well rooted. It is worth noting that there is the underlying issue of the concept of immigrant integration when comparing it with Newham Integration, because the framework of immigrant integration can reinforce labelling people with a migration background as outsiders.

Three aspects of Newham Integration taken from participants' definitions and descriptions of integration were identified – Everyone being a part of the local community; Individual

integration, and Newcomer integration. Figure 4-2 can be considered as the possible model of Newham Integration. The first aspect, Everyone being a part of the local community, means everyone with a different background being a part of the diverse local community.

Importantly, some participants suggested that the diverse local community everyone belongs to is constantly changing, rather than being based on nationality, ethnicity or religion: not white British society or Christian society. It was also suggested that it is important to create a local community to which people with different backgrounds and identities feel a sense of belonging. Individual integration, including Neighbourhood integration suggests that Newham Integration can be defined as focusing on the interaction between individuals, without considering the different communities/groups individuals belong to. By contrast, Newcomer integration looks at the two groups in society – newcomers and people living in the community. Newcomers include British people from other places, as well as immigrants.

It was highlighted that there are some structural barriers to Newham Integration. Some participants emphasised that poverty issues were the most important barriers to integration in Newham. It was described how Newham is one of the most deprived boroughs in the UK and “a combination of high housing costs and low paid work” (N1) need to be addressed to achieve Newham Integration. Some participants pointed out that it is important to make Newham a place where people want to stay longer, because many people tend to move away from the area once their situation improves. The language barrier was also highlighted as the important issue to be addressed at the local level in terms of integration in Newham. Speaking English was considered to be a tool to interact with each other in everyday life, and to get out of poverty.

In terms of Newham Council policy, three approaches were highlighted as distinctive measures in comparison to other councils/government – Targeting everyone rather than supporting specific groups; Getting people together beyond different communities, and Emphasis on being able to speak English. These approaches were seen as an advanced policy because Newham Council did not regard one particular group as the mainstream, and immigrants and refugees as others to fit into the mainstream society. It was considered that the council has prioritised the principles that everyone is equal and everything is open to everyone. It is worth noting that some participants supported the council’s radical measures, such as removing foreign newspapers from libraries, stopping funding single community events, and reducing translation services. It was identified that, for some participants, those measures did not mean refusing diversity or different languages, but was the response

towards local needs in the context of austerity. It is possible to argue that those radical measures were accepted by some participants, who have helped migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, because it was understood that celebrating diversity and different languages was already rooted in Newham. That is to say, participants' views suggest that it is important for Newham not only to celebrate and value the diversity, but also to encourage people to speak English as a tool to interact with each other. Importantly, in one of the most deprived boroughs, supporting English learning was considered as one of the tools to empower vulnerable people. The mayor was considered as a key actor in agenda-setting, and it was also found that council staff play an important role in implementation, such as decision-makers in delivering council policy, facilitators in community programmes/events, and organisers in networking in the local community.

Three roles of community-based organisations in Newham were identified. In terms of integration in Newham, it was suggested that they embody Newham Integration, support council services, and do what the council cannot do. Importantly, some participants highlighted the importance of faith groups/organisations in the borough and it was considered that becoming members of a faith group/organisation facilitates towards achieving Newham Integration, because people feel part of the wider community through them. Some participants highlighted that the voluntary sector has diminished in recent years and the umbrella group to influence policy collapsed due to public expenditure cuts. Although some participants considered that these recent changes were initiated in the main by central government, it was also pointed out that withdrawing support for the third sector was the council's mistake and that Newham Council should acknowledge more the important role the third sector plays in Newham.

Chapter 5: Case Study of Shinjuku

5-1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings in the case study of Shinjuku. Research processes of data collection and data analysis were identical to those in Newham, and local context was reflected in the sampling process and the interview guide (See Appendix 3-1) in Shinjuku.

As argued in Chapter 1, the term Multicultural Coexistence (MC) has been used in Japan to address integration issues. Japan's government defines MC as “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”

(Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2006, p.5 in Nagy, 2013, p.65). There is another important term used in this chapter – ‘foreign residents (gaikokuseki jūmin)’. The meaning of this term in Japan was discussed in Chapter 1. As Kashiwazaki (2011, p.42) argued, this term can be regarded as one of Brubaker's (1992) ‘cultural idioms’ about immigration and the term ‘gaikokuseki jūmin (foreign residents)’ “does not always signify exclusion from society” in Japan.

This chapter begins by presenting the historical and policy contexts in Shinjuku as reflected in the sampling process and embedded in the interview guide in Shinjuku, and discusses the meanings of the views of local actors in Shinjuku. It then presents the results of coding analysis, which was carried out using the descriptive and pattern coding, outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994) and Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2019).

5-2. Historical context in Shinjuku

The Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku was established in 1947 and is located around the centre of the 23 boroughs of Tokyo (Shinjuku Council, 2017). Shinjuku is “a centre of international information and culture” and “a multi-faceted town” (Shinjuku Council, 2017) with lots of high rise buildings, including the Tokyo Metropolitan Government office and Japanese branch offices of global companies, alongside quiet residential areas with traditional Japanese houses. Kabuki-cho – the biggest entertainment district, containing bars and night clubs in Japan, and Shin-Okubo a shopping district with lots of Korean restaurants and shops are also to be found in Shinjuku. Shinjuku station is known as the world's busiest railway station, used by approximately 3.50 million travellers per day (Shinjuku Council, 2018). As described

in Chapter 3, the borough had the highest proportion of foreign residents in Tokyo in 2016 (Shinjuku Council, 2016). The council reported that foreign residents came from over 100 countries (Shinjuku Council, 2015b). Although residents from Nepal, Vietnam and Myanmar have increased since 2013, China and Korea (South Korea and North Korea) have always been the top two countries of origin and residents from China and Korea accounted for approximately two thirds of foreign residents in Shinjuku in 2016 (Shinjuku Council, 2018).

The council raised two factors regarding the increase of foreign residents in Shinjuku since the 1980s (Shinjuku Council, 2018). Firstly, more immigrants came to live in Shinjuku to work in Kabuki-cho. Secondly, lots of Japanese language schools and technical schools were established in Shinjuku, in part due to the 1983 project of welcoming 100,000 students from overseas by Japan's government.

Kawamura (2015) argued that the origin of Shinjuku's inclusive attitude towards foreign residents dates back to the Meiji era (1868-1912). In the beginning of the Meiji era wealthy benefactors in Shinjuku welcomed people into their houses from overseas, such as missionaries to promote Christianity, teachers, international students and refugees. It was Shinjuku where the first-ever international marriage in Japan was reported. Kawamura (2015) argued that such stories have been handed down from one generation to another and shared between neighbours, which led to support for foreign residents after the second world war in Shinjuku. For example, in 1980, the Shinjuku Council issued a Korean resident the registration certificate without fingerprints, which resulted in the movement that campaigns against the fingerprinting system for foreign residents in Japan and its abolition in 2000. Kawamura (2015, p.190) argued that there were some council staff in Shinjuku who felt conflicted about the discriminatory treatment towards Korean residents. Kawamura (2015) also highlighted that in the 1990s support for pregnant women from overseas, who were illegal overstayers or undocumented residents, started in Shinjuku in the absence of any national strategy.

Nowadays, Shinjuku has 259 civic groups, which is more than anywhere else in Tokyo (Kawamura, 2015, o,361). Residents in Shinjuku have supported foreign residents since the Meiji era (1868-1912) when there were not so many people from overseas in Japan. It has been recognised that Shinjuku is the place where many people, including those from overseas come to work and live and that residents in Shinjuku, including council staff, have helped and supported foreign residents. Therefore, it is possible to argue that similar to Newham in the

UK, Shinjuku is the place where issues regarding immigrant integration occurred first in Japan.

5-3. Policy context in Shinjuku

5-3-1. Focusing on support services for foreign residents

Guidelines for the MC approach published by central government in 2006 and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 2016, were explained in Chapter 1. Shinjuku council states that “having many foreign residents is viewed as a positive characteristic of Shinjuku”, and seeks to promote and develop MC society “where people with different nationalities and ethnicities accept differences, understand each other, and live together” (Shinjuku Council, 2020).

According to the council’s website, the council has introduced various measures addressing MC issues, such as multilingual provision of information, consultation for foreign residents (advice is free of charge), and Japanese language classes (the fee is less than £1 per hour)³⁹. Most information, including the council’s website and publicity papers (Shinjuku News), is offered in English, Chinese and Korean, and some information, such as the guide booklet to living in Shinjuku and the leaflet on council services, is offered in Nepali, Thai, and Burmese as well as the above three languages. Consultation is available in all six languages depending on the day of the week, and telephone consultation services are also available in Spanish and Portuguese.

In 2005, The council established the Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza, “a place where Japanese and foreign residents can enjoy friendly exchanges and deepen their understanding of other cultures and their histories” (Shinjuku Council, 2020). It has multi-purpose space for Japanese language classes, events related to an international understanding, and activities regarding Multicultural Society (Shinjuku Council, 2020). However, the Plaza did not seem to be being used effectively, as it was reported in the questionnaire survey, conducted by the council and explained below, that many foreign residents in Shinjuku did not know and visit the Plaza⁴⁰.

³⁹ Japanese classes were offered in the Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza managed by the council and in the quasi-governmental Shinjuku Foundation for Creation of Future.

⁴⁰ In the questionnaire survey with 1,275 foreign residents in Shinjuku (Shinjuku Council, 2015a), it was found that 74.2 per cent of foreign residents in the survey did not know the Multicultural Plaza, and only 5.8 per cent knew and visited (and 18.1 per cent knew but have not visited). As I present later in the section on ‘insufficient implementation’, some interview participants pointed out that the Plaza is not utilised in spite of being useful due to its poor location.

The council conducted a fact-finding investigation regarding MC issues in 2015 (Shinjuku Council, 2020). The investigation included a questionnaire survey with 1,275 foreign residents and 949 Japanese residents, and interviews with 40 foreign residents, 40 Japanese residents, and 20 community-based organisations. The questions were focused on issues in everyday life, language issues, and council services. Respondents' responses in terms of the percentage who disagreed or agreed with given statements was reported on, in addition to problems experienced by participants and what they expected the council to address. However, the aim was to obtain basic data on MC issues and to understand local needs (Shinjuku Council, 2015a), and it was not reported how those results were reflected in council policy.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that the Shinjuku Council has introduced MC measures focusing on support services for foreign residents. It is important to examine the reasons why the council has strengthened support services – the interview guide was developed to explore whether there were key players/organisations, or particular factors such as a specific event or national guideline, that drove the council to initiate those services.

5-3-2. Reasons behind multilingual information services

There are some similarities between services provided by the Shinjuku Council and those provided by some local authorities in the UK, reported by Jones (2012). Jones, (2012) found that some LRAs (Local and Regional Authorities), provide “direct services and advice to migrants to support them to integrate into local communities” (p.9). For example, similar to the guide to living in Shinjuku, Jones (2012) found that “many LRAs (Local and Regional Authorities) across the UK have produced ‘welcome packs’ for migrants, as a guide to local services, regulations and information points” (p.9), which are available in multiple languages, for example, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish and Portuguese in Lincolnshire. It was pointed out that many LRAs considered that it is important to address “day-to-day issues, such as enforcing rules on parking, litter and waste collection, noise and fire safety” to prevent the “stereotyping of migrants” (p.9). In Shinjuku there are multilingual information services regarding such day-to-day issues, including traffic rules for riding a bike and ways to separate and dispose of rubbish and recyclables, as well as information on housing, the health care system, and employment for foreign residents. Regarding these multilingual information services in Shinjuku, Nagy (2009) argued that an interview with a senior staff member at the quasi-governmental Shinjuku Foundation for Creation of Future (Shinjuku Foundation for

Culture and International Exchange at that time) in 2006 suggested that the council's MC measures were about "maintaining the integrity of the Japanese community, ensuring that the foreigners that settle temporarily or for the long term do not disrupt the traditional patterns of Japanese life" (p.153). This indicates that the council considered foreign residents as visitors/guests rather than members of the local community, and that the council regarded the local community in Shinjuku as Japanese community. Therefore, it is important in my research to explore how interview participants, including council staff, a local councillor, and members of the Multicultural Town Development Committee, defined MC and considered the council's approach.

5-3-3. The Multicultural Town Development Committee

In the council's website, it was also highlighted that the council has the Multicultural Town Development Committee. It was "set up as the Mayor's affiliated organisation" for promoting the development of MC in Shinjuku (Shinjuku City Multicultural Town Development Council, 2014, p.1) and for promoting the participation of foreign residents in the council policy (Kawamura, 2015, p.207). Members include individual residents, foreign residents, academics, and members of community-based organisations, such as voluntary organisations/groups, activist groups, and local community groups. The first phase of the committee (2012-2014) discussed two topics, "Creating support mechanisms for foreigners in case of disaster" and "Improvement of the educational environment for children with foreign roots". In terms of the MC measures, the committee recommended that the council should: transmit reliable information on disaster prevention and child-rearing; enhance Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza's function, and establish guidelines for Multicultural Society (Shinjuku City Multicultural Town Development Council, 2014, p.31). The second phase of the committee (2014-2015) examined the questions in the above survey organised by the council and discussed the results of the investigation (Shinjuku Council, 2015a). It was recommended that the council needs to improve Japanese language support, multilingual information services, and the management of the Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza (Shinjuku Council, 2015a).

Therefore, committee members were considered as local actors who might also influence local policy-making, and it was important to explore the roles of the committee in local policy. Because some members of the committee agreed to participate in this study, questions regarding the roles of the committee in the council were added into the interview guide in Shinjuku.

5-4. The views of local actors in Shinjuku

Interview participants in Shinjuku have a wide variety of backgrounds, similar to those in Newham. 15 participants worked for various organisations/groups, such as the Shinjuku Council, the quasi-governmental Shinjuku Foundation for Creation of Future, the local library, the NGO, the community group, and the ethnic community group. Some participants were in a representative position in their organisations and others were not. Participants also included some academics and a local councillor (See Table 3-3: Participant profiles in Shinjuku). Participant had been engaged in activities related to Multicultural Coexistence (MC) issues at a local level through their jobs or as part of their personal activities. Thus, interview participants can be defined as local actors in terms of MC issues.

In order to obtain the views of local actors based on their broad experiences, I asked for their personal opinions, rather than the representative views of their organisations that could already be found in documents published by their organisations. Thus, similarly to in Newham, the following findings were obtained from participants' personal views, rather than the views of the Shinjuku Council or the representative views of their organisations, although their views may have been influenced by their organisations to some extent. For example, the concept of MC in the findings show 'what MC means to participants' rather than the concept of MC used in the Shinjuku Council or in their organisations.

Importantly, some participants emphasised that their views might not be the generalised views of Shinjuku. For example, one participant explained that his descriptions, as well as his opinions were based on his personal understandings:

"It is difficult to generalise what is happening in Shinjuku because it is too diverse and too complex. So this is just my point of view." (S1).

It is worth noting that participants might have answered some questions as residents rather than as local actors, because they are service users as well as service providers in terms of MC issues.

During data analysis, I paid attention to participants' backgrounds and whether they worked for governmental organisations or non-governmental organisations. However, it was difficult to find any meaningful differences between their views. It is possible to argue that this is because participants from the governmental organisations were too diverse to place them into the same group. It seemed that some council staff have worked on behalf of MC issues as if it

were their life's work. Views seemed to differ from person to person and it is possible to argue that these views should be considered to come from local actors, rather than from participants from governmental organisations, as opposed to those from non-governmental organisations. Similar issues apply to the non-governmental organisations in this study. Participants' backgrounds, interests, experiences were too diverse to place them into the same group in order to contrast with participants from governmental organisations. Their organisations/groups focused on very different areas, such as the issues regarding children with a migration background and their parents, language support, ethnic minorities, multicultural society, shopping district associations, and housing. Moreover, the non-governmental organisations/groups included a small community-based group, and relatively large voluntary organisations that were not only located in Shinjuku. Similarly, it was difficult to analyse their views, focusing on the differences between people with a migration background and non-migration background, because four participants with a migration background in this study had varying backgrounds. They included a naturalised Japanese person and foreign residents, and two of them had grown up in Japan. Their views varied according to their own experiences, but what they had common was that they had been involved in MC issues in Shinjuku as service providers. Therefore, all participants' views were analysed as those of local actors in this study and they were not grouped according to the differences in their backgrounds. Importantly, one participant's view was considered important in referencing the common views of several participants, because this qualitative research aims to obtain insightful information and knowledge at the local level.

It is worth noting that all participants in this study seemed deeply interested in MC issues. After the interviews, some participants asked me questions regarding integration policy in London. Moreover, during the interviews, some participants showed me around their facilities or gave me materials to illustrate their efforts to address MC issues. Some had prepared documents summarising their activities, specifically for their interview. They were enthusiastic in their attempts to exchange information and to learn from each other.

5-5. Findings in Shinjuku

5-5-1. Descriptive coding

Table 5 shows the results of my descriptive coding, which is a summary of the topics participants in Shinjuku talked about. 38 codes were grouped into three categories – Participants and their organisations; Concept of Multicultural Coexistence (MC); Approach

towards MC – and arranged in hierarchical structure. The codes underlined are descriptive codes, and the others are additional labels to show the structure.

In an introduction to the interview, I asked participants about their activities and their organisations/group, in order to obtain background information of interview participants. However, this topic – ‘Participants and their organisations’ – became one of the main categories of descriptive codes. This is because participants explained their activities, the meanings of those activities, and their organisations in detail, which suggests these topics are “the matters that are important to them” (Spicker, 2006, p.82). Some participants engaged in various activities regarding MC issues and those activities will be explored later in the section of Participants’ activities and their roles as go-betweens.

When participants were asked about the challenges Shinjuku faces, they framed the issues within the local context, highlighting local factors. Thus, challenges and local factors were coded together as ‘Challenges and features of Shinjuku (in terms of MC).’ There are eight descriptive codes within this code, including ‘Earthquake’, ‘Language and education’, ‘Everyday life’, ‘Housing’ and ‘Discrimination’. These codes indicate that MC concerns extended to various areas.

As argued above, I expected prior to the interviews, that the central topic would be issues related to the Multicultural Town Development Committee, because most interview participants in Shinjuku were contacted using the Committee’s member list. It was assumed that the committee would be an important platform for foreign residents to participate in policy-making at the local level. However, some interview participants described that they attended the committee to report on voices from the field to the council, rather than attending as policy actors. It was considered that discussion in the committee had not influenced Shinjuku’s policy in a significant way. That is to say, the committee was understood to be part of the council’s efforts as a whole to understand local needs. Some participants also pointed out that council staff decided the themes of the discussion and that it was difficult for foreign residents to participate in discussion in the committee, due to language barriers. As the result of descriptive codes (Table 5) shows, descriptive codes related to the committee were categorised as one part of ‘the council’s approach towards MC’.

Table 5: Descriptive Codes in Shinjuku (38 codes are underlined)

Participants and their organisations

Individual/personal activities (What participants are doing related to MC)

Participants' opinions on their activities

Organisations' activities

Reasons for this organisation

Relationship with the Shinjuku Council

Concept of Multicultural Coexistence (MC)

Definitions, meanings and images of the word 'MC'

Meanings of the phrase 'immigrant integration (Imin tōgō)'

Approach towards MC

Issues and problems of the administration

Approach at the national level

Approach at the city-level

Relationships between national, city and borough level

Initiatives from other local areas

Shinjuku

Challenges and features of Shinjuku (in terms of MC)

Population, geography and history

Earthquake

Language and education (mother tongue support, Japanese language support)

Everyday life

Housing

Discrimination

Approach issues

Others

Local actors in Shinjuku (features, relationships with the Council)

The Shinjuku Council

Problems and features of the Shinjuku Council

The council's approach towards MC

Trigger (Turning point)

Mayor

Staff and the Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Division

Local councillors and the Borough assembly

Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza

Shinjuku public interest incorporated foundation

Shinjuku community meeting

Council's survey

Multicultural Town Development Committee

The origins of the committee

Participation and attitudes

Members

The content of the meeting

Problems and points to be improved

Roles of proposals in Shinjuku's policy

5-5-2. Pattern coding

Pattern coding began by looking at the impressions, questions, opinions and assumptions that I recorded in my research journal during the fieldwork and descriptive coding (Miles and Huberman, 1994). First, I focused on my questions regarding the concept of Multicultural Coexistence (MC), as I felt confused regarding the term MC after each interview. It seemed to me that there were some different aspects of MC in interviewees' definitions. It is also worth noting that some participants expressed their disagreements around the term MC, which is used nationwide in Japan. Thus, it was necessary to conceptualise MC from participants' viewpoint, as the first pattern coding. As a result of analysis, I divided participants' definitions and descriptions of MC into two groups. They were coded as 'MC as a political term' and 'MC as principles in local practice'. The former concerns the definitions related to policies councils/governments have introduced as MC policy, and the latter is concerned with participants' beliefs or interpretations regarding the concept of MC, based on their own experiences. The reasons behind some participants' disagreements regarding the term MC and the reasons why the term MC is used in Japan, instead of integration, were also explored from the views of interview participants.

Secondly, I looked at how participants considered the challenges Shinjuku is facing. It was found that some participants emphasised the issues specific to Shinjuku, highlighting the local factors, and it was also pointed out that there are some common issues in Japan, including Shinjuku. Thus, the challenges were divided into two groups and the approaches to those two challenges were explored in each group.

Thirdly, I focused on the two contrasting views regarding council policy. One is 'The council's enthusiastic attitude towards MC issues' and the other is 'Insufficient implementation'. The reasons for the gaps were identified from participants' descriptions and opinions.

Fourth, interview participants' activities relating to MC issues were examined, because these are the issues most participants talked about enthusiastically. Their activities at local level were divided into two groups: Helping people in need and Working towards developing a better MC approach. It was identified that some participants acted as a go-between who connects people.

Therefore, the four themes are as follows:

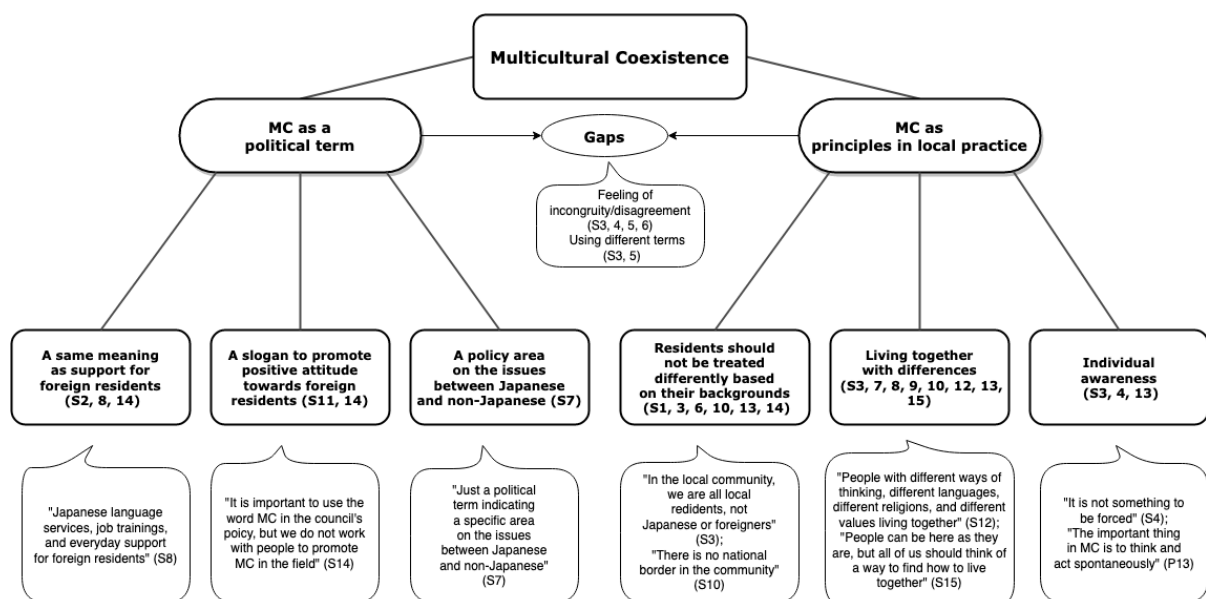
1. Definitions of MC – A political term and principles in local practice;
2. MC approach in Shinjuku – Emphasis on locality and its limitations;
3. Gaps between the council's attitude and implementation and
4. Participants' activities and their roles as go-betweens

These four themes were developed by drawing the diagrams in which some emerging pattern codes were grouped together and their interrelationships were considered. Figure 5-1, 5-2, 5-3, and 5-4 show the results of pattern coding, and serve as a framework for the presentation of the findings. It is worth noting that the four figures do not show the result of the generalisation of all interview participants' view, as well as the views of local actors in Shinjuku. This is because one participant's view was treated as representative of the common views of several participants in pattern coding, and this analysis was based on the small number of interviews.

Definitions of Multicultural Coexistence (MC) – A political term and principles in local practice

Figure 5-1 shows that there are two meanings in the word MC in participants' definitions. It was found that MC means a political term and it also has the meaning of principles in local practice for some local actors. Some participants did not agree with the use of the term MC, which suggested that there is a gap between those two definitions.

Figure 5-1: Definitions of MC for participants — A political term and principles in local practice



MC as a political term

Some participants defined MC as a political term by describing what local governments do in relation to MC issues. It was considered that MC was synonymous with support for foreign residents. For example, MC was defined as “helping foreign residents in need” (S2) or “Japanese language services, job trainings, and everyday support for foreign residents” (S8). The Shinjuku Council introduced MC measures to support foreign residents, such as the consultation services for foreign residents, information services in multiple languages and Japanese language classes. One participant pointed out that promoting MC could mean welcoming foreign residents in the context of the aging population and labour shortages in rural areas.

Some participants considered the term MC as a slogan to promote a positive attitude towards foreign residents:

“I think that the government uses the term to promote friendly relations between Japanese residents and foreign residents” (S11);

“It is important to present the word MC in the council’s policy, but we do not work with people to promote MC in the field. We are just helping people including foreign residents in need” (S14).

While some defined MC as a political term to support foreign residents or to promote a positive attitude towards them, one participant stated that MC does not necessarily mean support for foreign residents or welcoming them. He defined MC as “just a political term indicating a specific area on the issues between Japanese and non-Japanese and it has no specific meaning” (S7).

Therefore, for some interview participants, the word MC equals a political term, having the same meaning as support for foreign residents, being used as a slogan to promote a positive attitude towards them, or merely describing the policy area and not indicating any specific meanings or any practical meanings.

MC as principles in local practice

Some participants defined MC as their beliefs rather than as the actual MC policies introduced in Shinjuku or in Japan. They had their own definitions of MC, based on their experiences through their jobs or their voluntary activities on MC issues. Therefore, these

definitions and descriptions might reflect the principles of MC in local practices. They were divided into the three groups.

Within these three groups there may be some areas of overlap. Furthermore, they are not generalised principles, which all participants automatically agree with. However, it is possible to argue that they are important principles in local practice because these definitions were based on their respective experiences. Three principles can be identified within the concept of MC in local practice:

1. Residents should not be treated differently based on their backgrounds

The first principle is that residents should not be treated differently based on backgrounds, such as nationality or ethnicity. Some participants highlighted that people who live in the same local area should be regarded as residents or neighbours, not as Japanese residents or foreign residents. For example, MC was defined as:

“People living in the community live happily regardless of nationality, culture or language.” (S1);

“In the community, we are all local residents, not Japanese or foreigners” (S3);

“There is no national border in the community, no race, ethnicity, or religion, no Japanese or foreigners. We are all human living together in the same local area.” (S10);

“It does not mean we don’t have to do something because we’re foreigners, or we’re Japanese. As the Shinjuku resident living in Shinjuku, we would be able to do the same kind of things.” (S13);

It was emphasised that people living in the same local area should be treated as local residents or neighbours, regardless of their backgrounds. Although one participant emphasised that foreign residents should have equality rights and opportunities identical to those of Japanese residents, without pointing out the locality.

“Foreign residents living in Japan should be given the same rights and opportunities as Japanese people. MC means that we may be Japanese or foreigners.” (S6).

Although this definition differs slightly from other definitions in this category, it was categorised here because it also emphasised that people should not be treated differently because they are residents.

2. *Living together with differences*

The second principle identified from participants' views is living together with differences. For some participants, MC meant more than understanding differences or valuing diversity, because it was described as:

“Understanding different cultures, being able to live together with different cultures, expanding our culture together, and creating a society together” (S3);

“MC refers to a state in which people with different ethnicities, nationalities and cultures live a peaceful and happy life while acknowledging their differences.” (S8);

“People with different ways of thinking, different languages, different religions, and different values living together” (S12);

“MC means that people from different countries or with different cultures living together” (S13);

“MC means that people here do not need to change anything, people can be here as they are, but all of us should think of a way to find how to live together” (S15).

It is possible to argue that the purpose of acknowledging our differences is in order to be positive about them, rather than for integrating differences into the receiving society.

3. *Raising individual awareness to change behaviours*

The third principle is that MC concerns the issue of individual awareness. Some participants emphasised that MC should not be understood as forcing neighbours to do something. For example, some participants pointed out that:

“It is not like we understand each other and live together against our will. MC should not do that.” (S3);

“MC should be used in the sense of respecting each person’s individuality and dignity. It is not something to be forced. MC becomes ‘pie in the sky’ unless each person’s consciousness and values change.” (S4);

“The important thing in MC is to think and act spontaneously” (S13).

Therefore, MC is not about forcing residents (including foreign and Japanese residents) to accept differences. It is important to raise individual awareness on MC in order to accept differences spontaneously. In other words, MC exists to raise individual awareness in order to change behaviours. This also suggests that MC is a word or term for all residents, not only for foreign residents and local actors.

Gaps between a political term and principles

It is worth noting that some participants expressed “a sense of incongruity” (S3, 4, 6) around their disagreements on the use of the word MC. It was stated that:

“I’m still not convinced to use the word MC” (S3);

“The word MC was commonly used since some time ago, but I’m still not sure what MC means” (S6).

Some participants suggested different terms instead of MC, because the word MC does not accurately represent what they are doing. One participant suggested the phrase ‘Mutual assistance society (Kyōjo shakai)’, which is a rather new term, introduced by some local councils in Japan, because “we help each other and we should aim to create a ‘Mutual assistance society’ rather than promote MC” (S3). Another participant put forward the term ‘Multicultural Synergy (Tabunka kyōsō)’ because:

“The term MC makes people think that it just means that Japanese local actors help foreigners in need and nothing more. But it is not like that, especially in Shinjuku. We help each other, inspire one another, create a society together” (S5).

Moreover, another participant pointed out the negative effects of using the word ‘multicultural’ to support foreign residents:

“I think that ‘multicultural’ is a term with a lot of misunderstandings. Culture is not only based on nationality or ethnicity, is it? By using the

word ‘multicultural’ to support foreign residents in need, people misunderstand that we Japanese have one culture, but we don’t. ... It might also contribute to labelling people with different cultures based on nationality or ethnicity” (S4).

Thus, it is possible to argue that some participants considered support for foreign residents as the premise of the realisation of MC’s principles or as one of the many activities in the realisation of MC’s principles. However, MC as a political term focuses only on support for foreign residents or the issues between Japanese residents and foreign residents. Therefore, their disagreements on the use of the term MC suggests that there are some gaps between MC as a political term and MC as principles in local practice.

It is possible to argue that MC is a rather vague concept and that the term may change in the future. However, the term *tōgō* (integration in Japanese language) is unlikely to be used in terms of MC in Japan, because it was stated that: “it gives the impression that *dōka* (assimilation in Japanese language) is required” (S1); “I associate the word *tōgō* (integration) with *dōka* (assimilation)” (S6, 7); “it gives the impression that everyone needs to become the same” (S10). That is to say, the word *tōgō* has a negative image of assimilation or control in terms of MC issues and gives the impression that foreign residents need to become like the Japanese, which interview participants wanted to avoid. In other words, the word *tōgō* and integration have different meanings, despite *tōgō* being translated as integration⁴¹.

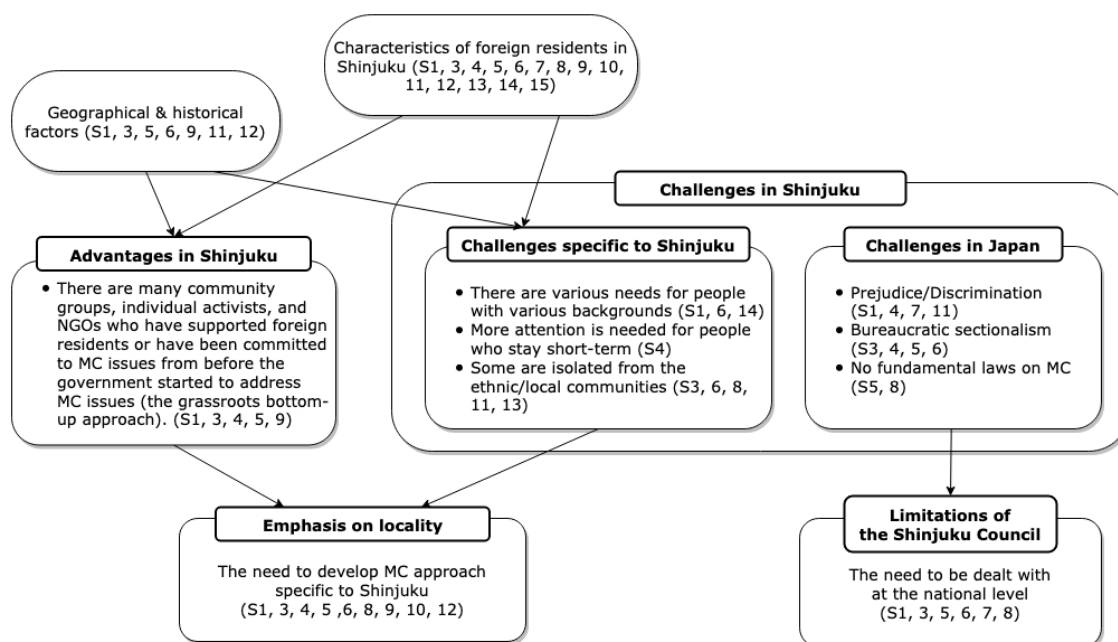
MC was understood in a dual fashion, which on the one hand signified how the term was used in general, while on the other being related to participants’ belief in what MC should mean. So, MC was used as a political term, which mainly meant support for foreign residents, but also with, some interview participants understanding MC as their principles put into local practice. These definitions were categorised into three groups – ‘Residents should not be treated differently based on their backgrounds,’ ‘Living together with differences’ and ‘Raising individual awareness to change behaviours.’ Because MC is not only about support for foreign residents for some participants, there are gaps between MC as a political term and MC as principles in local practice.

⁴¹ When people in Japan talk about ‘immigrant integration policy in Europe’, the word *tōgō* (integration) is not associated with *dōka* (assimilation). Multicultural Coexistence policy in Japan is considered similar to that of immigrant integration policy in Europe (Kondo, 2011, p.7).

MC approach in Shinjuku: Emphasis on locality and its limitations

When interview participants were asked about the challenges Shinjuku faces in terms of MC, they highlighted local factors in Shinjuku, such as geographical and historical and characteristics of foreign residents in Shinjuku (See Figure 5-2). It was illustrated that people in Shinjuku have been looking for Shinjuku's own response to the challenges specific to Shinjuku, rather than following the guidelines of central government. While interview participants emphasised that it is important to consider an MC approach that focuses on the locality, some also highlighted that there are issues that cannot be dealt with by the local council and that they have appealed to central government directly.

Figure 5-2: MC approach in Shinjuku — Emphasis on locality and its limitations



Emphasis on locality – Shinjuku's approach towards the challenges specific to the locality

In terms of the MC approach, participants pointed out that it is important to understand that Shinjuku is different from anywhere else in Japan. It was stated that unlike other local areas

in Japan with a lot of foreign residents, foreign residents in Shinjuku come from various backgrounds and tend to stay for only a short period of time, due to historical and geographical issues in Shinjuku. Some participants highlighted that there are areas in Shinjuku where approximately 40 per cent of residents arrive and leave again within three or four years because they are migrant workers or international students.

It was pointed out that those characteristics – foreign residents tending to stay for a short period of time and the diverse backgrounds from which they come – have led to challenges specific to Shinjuku in terms of the MC approach. These challenges were summarised into the following three points, requiring Shinjuku to adopt a distinctive approach that is different from other areas in Japan.

First, it is necessary to respond to varying needs, because foreign residents' backgrounds are diverse. Some participants pointed out that not only their countries of origin and their languages, but also the socio-economic backgrounds of foreign residents are particularly diverse in Shinjuku:

“There are many refugees in Shinjuku, and there are foreign residents who are successful in business, who work for companies, who work in cafeterias, and who are on welfare. There are some difficulties specific to Shinjuku because their backgrounds are too diverse. It is necessary to consider how to respond to their needs in a different way from other local areas in Japan.” (S6)

It is possible to argue that it is more difficult to identify policy target groups and to meet their needs in Shinjuku than in other localities in Japan.

Secondly, more focus is required to listen to the voices of foreign residents in Shinjuku. It was pointed out that people tend to pay less attention to the voices of foreign residents, because it is assumed that many of them will leave within a short time.

“The number of foreign residents who stay for a short-term is larger than the number of them who settle down in Shinjuku. So they are less likely to be of public interest. However, it is essential for us to listen to their voices” (S4).

Thirdly, it is necessary to consider that there are some foreign residents who cannot get help and support from the communities, including the ethnic communities and the local (neighbourhood) communities. In terms of the ethnic communities, some participants pointed out that it has been difficult to establish ethnic communities, aside from Korean and Chinese residents, because foreign residents tend to stay for a short period and countries of origin (other than Korea and China), frequently change over time in Shinjuku. There was concern that some newcomers may not get help from their ethnic communities and therefore face many difficulties, especially when they do not speak any Japanese.

“In Shinjuku, the countries of origin of foreign residents frequently changes except for Korea and China. For example, Korean or Chinese residents are able to get information on everyday life in Japan in their own languages through their network and on the net because there are several Korean and Chinese established communities in Shinjuku. However, it is difficult for other foreign residents to get help if they do not speak Japanese at all. Those are challenges specific to Shinjuku” (S6).

In terms of local communities, some participants were concerned about foreign residents becoming isolated from the local community.

“There are some events and activities in the local community to interact with each other. We want foreign residents who do not speak Japanese at all to come to the event or the activity, but it is difficult for them to participate in the local community because they come to Japan to earn money as much as possible in a certain period of time and do not have spare time to come to the local event. How should we get closer to them?” (S11);

“Many foreign residents do not get on well with the local community because most are migrant workers who are busy with their work and too tired to participate in the local community or to volunteer for the local community” (S13).

Thus, it was suggested that there are some foreign residents in Shinjuku who cannot get help from the networks of ethnic and local communities, which are challenges specific to Shinjuku in terms of an MC approach. It is possible to argue that this third point is significantly

important because ethnic communities and local communities can help issues related to the first and second challenges to some extent by responding to their various needs, or gathering their voices and advocating for them. However, such help and support can hardly be expected in Shinjuku.

While it was considered that local factors have led to specific challenges for Shinjuku, some participants highlighted that these local factors have also provided advantages. Shinjuku was described as “a place where diversity leads to local revitalisation” (S5) and “a city making the best use of diversity” (S9), because of these local factors and characteristics. It was also pointed out that there are many community groups, individual activists and NGOs that have supported foreign residents, or have been committed to MC issues in Shinjuku from a period before the government began addressing MC issues. This was also described as an advantage for Shinjuku. One participant explained that:

“Because the government did not respond to our needs, community groups have been developed in Shinjuku. They are overwhelmingly numerous in Shinjuku and the network has been developed.” (S5)

Regarding the beginning of Shinjuku’s MC approach, another participant described that:

“From what I’ve seen, Shinjuku’s MC approach started by some individuals who helped foreign residents in need, and then they had public sympathy and community groups were made, their activities became noticeable, and finally the council started to address MC issues.” (S1).

Other participants also described how Shinjuku residents have addressed MC issues through trial and error without formal guidelines, and government, both Shinjuku Council and central government, joined in later with Shinjuku’s efforts on MC issues. One participant related that there was no expert come to teach people what MC is, but people in Shinjuku have learnt about MC issues through gathering and discussing neighbourhood issues. Therefore, it is possible to say that Shinjuku has taken the grassroots, bottom-up approach to MC issues.

Because of the above challenges and advantages specific to Shinjuku, the MC approach in Shinjuku was considered as “a special case” (S8) and it was pointed out that it is necessary to consider Shinjuku’s approach as different from other locations in Japan. In other words, participants emphasised the locality in considering an MC approach.

Many participants referred especially to the preparation for natural disasters⁴² as an area in which Shinjuku's own local approach is imperative, as it is the most urgent issue, and one in which those challenges specific to Shinjuku must be considered and those advantages in Shinjuku should be utilised. The rest of this section demonstrates how challenges and advantages specific to Shinjuku have been taken into consideration in the preparation for an earthquake.

It is believed that a huge earthquake will occur in Tokyo within 30 years, which may cause even more damage than the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake of 1995 and the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. From the experiences of huge earthquakes, it is feared that people may need to survive by themselves for at least three days, possibly without electricity and running water, because the government will be unable to respond to individual emergencies and the ambulance fire services will be under severe pressure, due to collapsed buildings. Japanese people believe that the preparation for the earthquake can make a great difference. The preparation includes 'individual preparation,' such as preparing an emergency bag packed with supplies and knowing where evacuation areas are located, and 'community preparation,' such as building a better community disaster prevention system and participating in disaster prevention drills conducted by disaster prevention residents' organisations. When and if a huge earthquake occurs, the evacuation centre will be managed by the local community and it is significantly important to have information on neighbours, such as older neighbours living alone, or a neighbour with mobility issues, because sometimes such information can be a matter of life and death.

Interview participants described specific issues in earthquake preparation in Shinjuku from an MC standpoint. They were summarised into the following three points: Firstly, it is necessary to change which and how many languages are used to deliver information, according to the frequent shift in the characteristics of foreign residents in Shinjuku. Secondly, it is also important to continue encouraging foreign residents to pay attention to earthquake preparation and procedure because many come from countries where earthquakes occur infrequently, if at all. Thirdly, the benefits of ethnic communities passing on information on earthquake preparation cannot be assumed to happen in Shinjuku. For example, it was described that:

⁴² Interviews in Shinjuku were conducted in 2017 and 2018, before the Covid-19 pandemic occurred in 2020.

“In other places where there is an established ethnic community, there are some foreign residents who have learnt the preparation for the earthquake and pass knowledge to newcomers in their language. But in the case of Shinjuku, they move out before they pass knowledge to newcomers” (S1);

“Where there is an established ethnic community, there is a person like a community leader. But in Shinjuku, it is difficult to disseminate information and to make them participate in the disaster prevention drills because foreign residents come and go. It is very challenging situation.” (S8).

Some participants also mentioned that there are some local councils in Japan that have built a relationship with local ethnic communities. It was considered that although the Shinjuku Council makes an effort to utilise the network of local ethnic communities and related organisations, this is not enough to encompass all foreign residents.

As part of the initiative to address those challenges specific to Shinjuku, some participants talked about the Shinjuku Multicultural Disaster Prevention Cafe, which was established, based on one of the recommendations from the Multicultural Town Development Committee. The attendees were members from the Japan Association for Refugees, neighbourhood associations, ethnic communities, voluntary groups and individual residents. It was described that “the meetings are held to build a network through a workshop discussing what we can do and creating a unique Shinjuku disaster preparedness map” (S1). It was highlighted that a workshop is needed not only to learn about the various needs of foreign residents, but also to learn from each other and to build a system to help each other, rather than building a system just for helping foreign residents. It is possible to argue that people in Shinjuku seek to develop Shinjuku’s own approach towards issues specific to Shinjuku, rather than learn from other areas where there are many foreign residents in Japan.

However, it was also suggested that it does not necessarily follow that these discussion lead to an automatic solution and that sometimes there is no agreement about what to do. For example, in terms of discussions within the Committee, one participant mentioned that “sometimes it is frustrating because we talk about the same subject repeatedly” (S6). Another participant stated that:

“Everyone has different opinions because it is a place with a lot of perspectives and values. Sometimes I don’t agree with the opinions of

academics or experts who tend to see Shinjuku only from the viewpoint of MC, but I think that we are all correct. It's just a matter of different viewpoints. I don't think that there is one right answer. ... After the discussion, we find that we are too different to take a step forward together. But I think that it is an important progress that all of us learn that we cannot take one step yet, although there might be some people who feel impatient.” (S12).

Therefore, it is possible to argue that a solution for the challenges specific to Shinjuku is not simple and straightforward and seeking to develop Shinjuku's own local approach, through information gathering and discussion, is an essential part of Shinjuku's approach towards MC issues.

Limitations at the local level

While the interviews were focused on local factors in considering challenges related to MC issues in Shinjuku, some participants emphasised challenges not specific to Shinjuku – Challenges in Japan.

Some participants were concerned about prejudice against foreign residents. It was pointed out that it is important to reduce negative stereotypes. Importantly, one participant stated that there is a lack of effort towards tackling the discrimination and inequality faced by foreign residents in Japan. It was pointed out that Japanese people, including the Shinjuku Council and local actors in Shinjuku, tend to avoid issues related to discrimination. The organisation to which this particular participant belonged has worked, together with other organisations, to try and influence national government to improve the rights of foreign residents and to reduce discrimination.

Bureaucratic sectionalism was also highlighted as an important challenge related to the MC approach in Shinjuku. For example, some participants described difficulties in improving the situation in schools at the local level. Members of the Multicultural Town Development Committee discussed the 'educational environment for children with foreign roots,' such as the protection of their own languages, Japanese language support and support for their parents, and made some recommendations to Shinjuku Council. However, it was pointed out that there are some limitations on what the council can do.

“the Shinjuku City Board of Education is responsible for school education, and the Shinjuku Council cannot instruct them to implement something new.” (S3);

“Members of the Shinjuku City Board of Education said that they cannot decide something new because the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology has said nothing about it” (S4);

“Sometimes there is a dispute between community groups and the Board of Education. The national government should get involved in it” (S5).

These statements suggest that although local actors and community groups have tried to improve the educational environment for children with foreign roots, bureaucratic sectionalism has blocked them and there is no one organisation/department at local level that responds to a request for a consultation from local actors and community groups. One participant stated that local actors in Japan have appealed to national government and succeeded in getting laws changed to improve the evening secondary school many foreign students attend⁴³. Therefore, it is possible to argue that local actors are aware that there are some limitations at local level and that they need to appeal to the relevant organisation/department at national level when they want to change something related to school education for children with foreign roots.

Some participants also pointed out that there are problems in other areas as well as education, because there is no national policy on foreign residents, and one participant described the Japanese situation thus:

“I believe that, much like the wheels of a vehicle, both immigration control and MC policy are necessary. Because Japan has only immigration control at the national level, it seems to me that it runs while overturning” (S5).

It was pointed out that there is no fundamental law on MC because it was the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications that published the guideline for Multicultural

⁴³ The evening secondary school (compulsory; no tuition fee) is for students who did not attend secondary school (during the day) due to sickness or truancy, or who needs to work during the day, due to family circumstances. In recent years, the number of foreign students has been increasing. The evening secondary schools are important for those brought to Japan by their parents when they are over 15 years old and without educational qualifications from their countries, or those in their 20s who come to Japan to work at during the daytime and study in the evenings.

Coexistence Promotion in 2006, and the Ministry of Justice did not follow it, due to bureaucratic sectionalism. This participant (S5), an academic, has insisted on the need for an Immigration Ministry as an umbrella organisation at national level for over 10 years and has sent her books to national politicians.

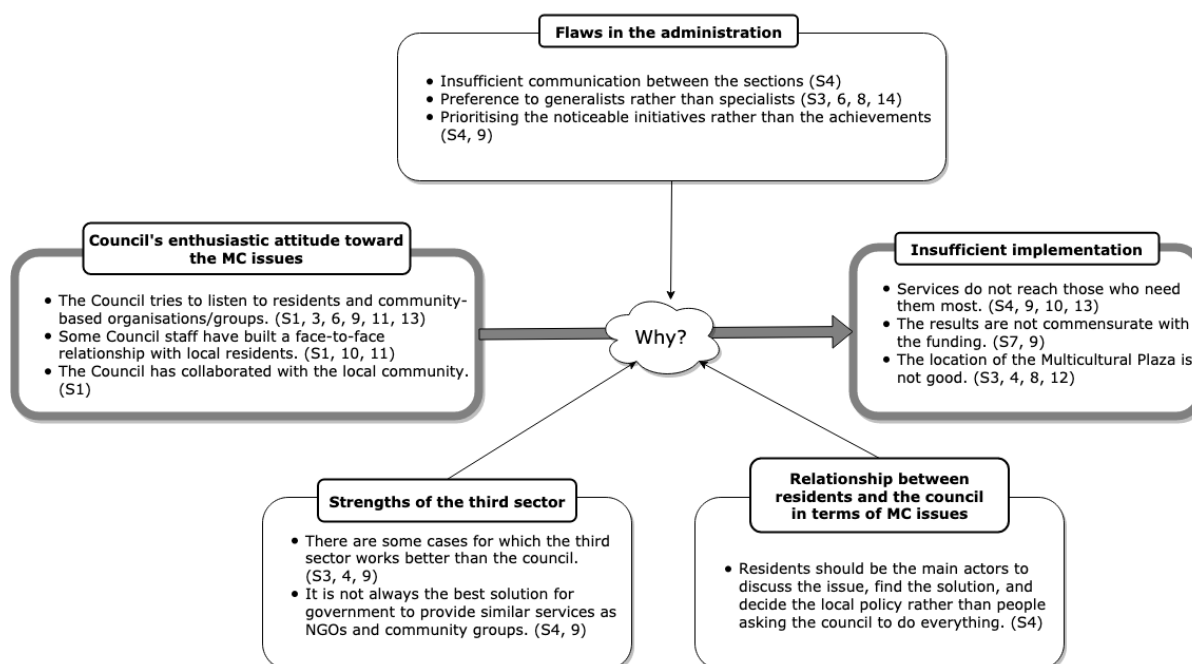
Therefore, some participants pointed out that there are some important challenges that are not specific to Shinjuku, such as discrimination, bureaucratic sectionalism, and having no fundamental law on MC at national level. It was explained by participants that they have appealed to national government directly for structural and legal reform. It suggests that an MC approach, emphasising locality alone cannot fully respond to local needs and that it is necessary to deal with it at the national level.

The challenges in Shinjuku in terms of MC issues were divided into two groups – the challenges specific to Shinjuku and the challenges within Japan. Participants suggested that there are some MC issues to be addressed that focus on local factors and others that cannot be dealt with at local level. The former requires an MC approach emphasising locality, and the latter needs a national response. In terms of the challenges specific to Shinjuku, some participants suggested that it is important to utilise the advantages in Shinjuku in order to develop Shinjuku's own approach towards MC issues.

Gaps between the council's attitude and implementation

In terms of the council's policy, it was found that there are two contrasting views. One is 'the council's enthusiastic attitude towards the MC issues' and the other is 'Insufficient implementation' (See Figure 5-3). In this section, these two pattern codes are illustrated, and the reasons for the gaps are explored from participants' views. As Figure 5-3 shows, three reasons were identified – Flaws in the administration; Strengths of the third sector, and Relationship between residents and the council in terms of MC issues.

Figure 5-3: Gaps between the council's attitude and implementation



The council's attitude and implementation

The council's enthusiastic attitude *towards* the MC issues

In terms of the council's approach towards MC issues, some participants talked about the council's enthusiastic attitude. It was described how the council has tried to listen to the voices of residents and members of community-based organisations/groups in order to understand local needs. For example, one participant described that:

"The Shinjuku Council has worked hard to investigate the actual conditions of foreign residents. For example, the council conducts the interview survey towards individual foreign residents, community-based organisations, and ethnic community groups. The Multicultural Town Development Committee was established in order to listen to residents including Japanese and foreign residents. I felt that the council started to tackle with the MC issues seriously because the Multicultural Town Development Committee was set by the Council's ordinance, which means that any changes need to be approved by the Borough assembly, and not by the administrative guidance that can be changed anytime." (S6)

It was also described that the staff and the mayor try to learn about local needs, through interaction with local residents and community-based organisations/groups:

“Some council staff have built a face-to-face relationship with local residents by listening directly to their voices, receiving complaints from them, being thanked by them, seeing what is going on directly, and hearing the story directly from people in the field” (S1);

“The council staff and the mayor attend the community group meeting or the ethnic organisation’s meetings as often as possible when they are invited. We are able to freely consult them if anything happens.” (S11).

Therefore, some participants suggested that the Shinjuku Council has been committed to listening to the voices of residents in order to address MC issues. Importantly, one participant working for the council, explained its attitude of focusing on cooperation within the local community:

“It seems to me that the council has collaborated with the local community. The section of MC promotion alone cannot do anything, cannot reach people in need. The council has responded to local needs together with people in the local community through trial and error because there was no national guideline at that time. Perhaps it was lucky that the central government did not give any instructions to the local government when the Shinjuku Council started to address the MC issues.” (S1).

It was considered that the Shinjuku Council has focused on local needs since the beginning of the council’s policy on MC issues and has tried to develop its MC approach, together with the local community.

Insufficient Implementation

In terms of implementation, there were views both for and against. On the one hand, some participants stated that the voices of foreign residents have been reflected to some extent in council policy, or that implemented services are helpful. For example, it was described that:

“Support for foreign residents in Shinjuku is provided well in comparison with other boroughs. Foreign residents living in other boroughs often come

here to use our consultation services. We respond to all their requests regardless where they live.” (S2).

While on the other hand, some participants were concerned about the effectiveness of council policy, which was coded as ‘Insufficient implementation’. For example, it was described that services do not reach to those who need them most and the council needs to enhance its dissemination of information. Some participants discussed their disappointment with the multilingual booklet, distributed for free, because it is not widely known about among foreign residents.

Some participants also suggested that there seemed to be few practical results although Shinjuku Council has spent a considerable amount of money on introducing its policy on MC issues.

“The council produces lots of materials that show it has introduced many programmes and initiatives addressing the MC issues, but I feel that there are not that many in an actual sense.” (S5);

“The council is spending a lot of money on the MC issues, but I think the results are not commensurate with the money.” (S9).

As one of the issues needing to be responded to quickly, some participants talked about the location of the Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza, where there is a foreign resident consultation corner, a Japanese-language study corner, and multipurpose spaces. It was stated that the plaza is not utilised in spite of its usefulness, due to poor location.

“The plaza was established to make the place for supporting foreign residents, exchanging information, and interacting with each other, but the child cannot go there alone because it is in the entertainment district containing bars and night clubs.” (S3);

“The plaza is not used because it is hard to find.” (S8).

Although it was recognised that the council has set up a good facility, it was also pointed out that good facilities should be easily accessible for everyone, so that they are actually used.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that participants’ views suggest that the council’s enthusiastic attitude has led to some helpful services, but these do not always result in

effective measures. Why are some services less effective, despite Shinjuku Council focusing on local needs? Are there any reasons that could account for such a process? Participants' views were explored to find possible reasons that could be considered as factors in influencing such a process.

Three reasons for the gaps between the council's attitude and implementation

Three reasons for the gaps between the council's enthusiastic attitude and insufficient implementation were identified from participants' views.

Flaws in the administration

Firstly, some participants pointed out that there are some flaws that need to be fixed in the administration. For example, one participant cited insufficient communication between sections in the Shinjuku Council:

"There is no communication between the multicultural coexistence promotion section and the section related to childcare support in the Shinjuku Council. The staff in the Health Centre did not know that they can ask the MC promotion section to dispatch the volunteer interpreter when parents and children who do not speak Japanese come to the Health Centre. So I taught it to the staff in the Health Centre. It is also surprising that some staff working in the council do not know that there is the Multicultural Plaza in Shinjuku." (S4).

That is to say, although one section in the Council provides useful services and facilities, these are sometimes not utilised, because staff in other sections do not know about them.

Some participants pointed out that there is no accumulation of experience and knowledge within the council because staff in charge of MC issues change on a regular basis. It was described that:

"The council has reallocated staff to other sections every three to four years. There is no continuity. When I ask staff about some issues ten years ago, they need to look back at the documents to that time." (S3).

Some participants also emphasised that specialist staff, engaged in MC issues together with the local community over a long period of time, should be employed within the MC

promotion section, but the council expects their staff to become generalist, rather than the specialist.

Furthermore, some participants pointed out that the council is less concerned about what happens after introducing the initiatives. For example, it was stated that:

“The council prefers the visible efforts such as producing the leaflet and setting up the facility. But the Council did not check whether the leaflet reaches people in need and whether the facility is used by people in need the most. It’s a pity that the treasures were buried after all their efforts.” (S9).

Similarly, regarding the Multicultural Town Development Committee, one participant stated that it is uncertain to what extent the discussion in the committee contributes to Council policy:

“Members of the committee submitted the recommendations to the council, but I don’t know whether the council adopted some of them or not. Such process and the achievement were not shown.” (S4).

These two quotes suggest that it was considered that the council has focused on introducing noticeable initiatives, rather than investigating what those initiatives have achieved.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that the flaws in the administration participants pointed out can be considered as possible reasons why participants considered implementation is insufficient. It can be said that this reason can be found not only in MC issues but also in other policy areas. In contrast, the following two reasons can be considered to have characteristics specific to MC issues at local level.

Strengths of the third sector

Some participants talked about the strengths of the third sector, which could be considered as another possible reason. It was suggested that in some cases the third sector works better than the council, and it is therefore not always the best solution for government to provide similar services to NGOs and community groups. For example, one participant explained that:

“After the council started to provide the service the NGOs and the community groups have provided, the service has sometimes changed for the worse. For example, some volunteers and activists in the local

community helped foreign residents in need at night because foreign residents work during daytime. Then the council considers that their service is good and they need to provide a similar service. The council prepares the place, and hires and pays volunteers who used to work without pay. Thus, the number of volunteers working for NGOs and the community groups decreases. However, foreign residents who can come to receive services by the council are rather affluent foreign residents because the council's services are provided during daytime. After all, people who desperately need the service are in trouble" (S9).

It is suggested that there are some restrictions specific to the council, such as the working hours of staff and the visa status of service users, which may affect negatively the local MC efforts developed by the voluntary sector. Thus, it is possible to argue that participant' views suggest that the council is expected to play a different role from the third sector, being not only a service provider but also the organisation that helps the services providers in terms of MC issues.

Relationship between residents and the Council in terms of MC issues

Importantly, one participant, from a community-based group, stated that there is a specific relationship between residents and local government, especially in terms of the MC issues:

"The role of the council is not to present the solution to residents, because it is residents who find the solution to the MC issues. ... but residents tend to make a request and the Council is expected to answer that request. In terms of MC issues, I think it is not right. There are some local areas in Japan where residents including foreign residents manage and practice the local MC approach, and the council staff are facilitators rather than decision-makers. It is important to consider that the current situation of Shinjuku is the results of residents' actions, including electing local politicians. The Shinjuku resident should participate in local MC policy more, rather than just complain that the Council did not answer their requests." (S4)

That is to say, it was considered that residents should be the main actors in discussing the issue, find the solution and decide local policy, rather than merely asking the council to do

everything. It is possible to argue that one of the possible reasons for the council's insufficient implementation is that Shinjuku residents have not participated in local MC policy as main actors.

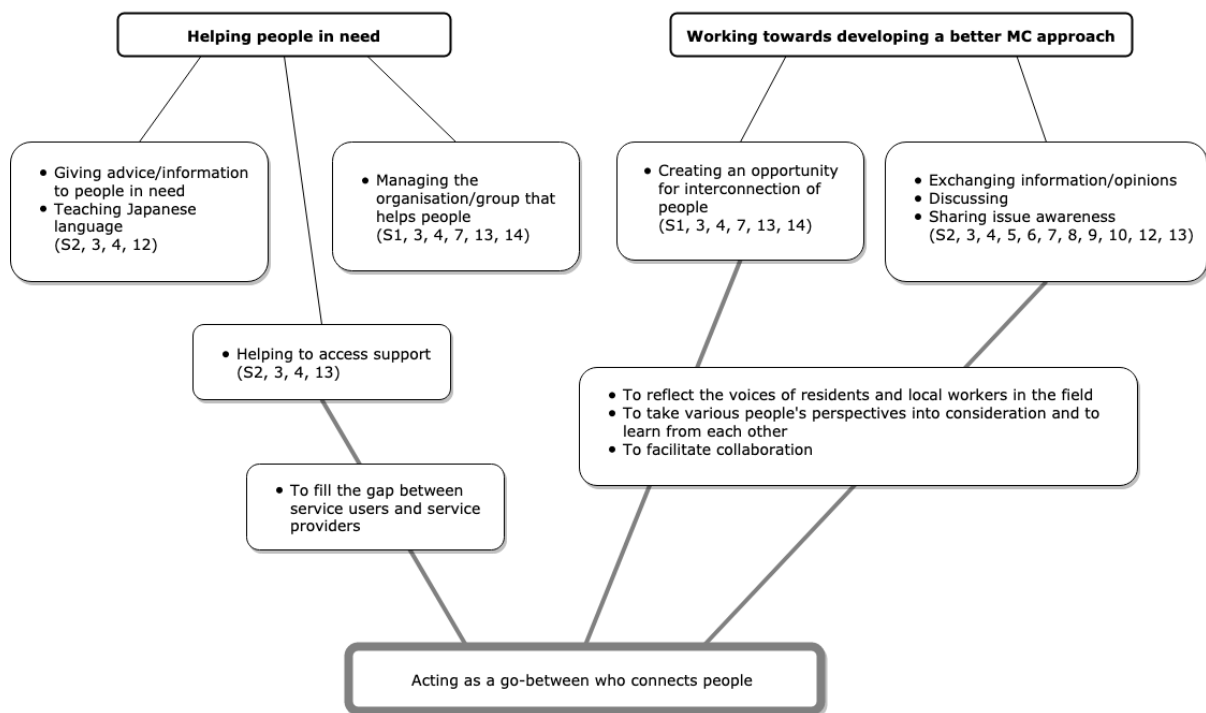
These last two reasons suggest that Shinjuku Council was not considered to be the only major actor in the local MC approach. It is also possible to argue that the Council's policy response towards MC issues needs to be looked at, as one part of Shinjuku's approach to MC.

In this section, two contrasting views regarding the council's policy were highlighted. On the one hand, some participants emphasised the council's attitude of focusing on listening to the voices of residents. While on the other, some participants voiced concerns over insufficient implementation. Three possible reasons for these gaps were identified from participants' views – 'the Flaws in the administration', 'Strengths of the third sector', and the 'Relationship between residents and the council'. In order to utilise the strengths of the third sector and to promote the participation of residents in local MC policy, it was suggested that not only the council, but also the third sector and the resident should be regarded as main actors in the Shinjuku approach towards MC issues. In other words, it was considered that the Shinjuku Council should focus on not only providing services, but also on supporting the third sector and facilitating residents to become main actors who discuss the issue, find the solution and decide upon local MC policy.

Participants' activities and their roles as go-betweens

As explained in the descriptive coding, the activities of interview participants were the topics they talked enthusiastically about in their interviews. Interview participants were engaged in diverse activities, both in their jobs and their personal activities and they had different interests, beliefs and viewpoints, and focused on different areas. Firstly, I categorised activities into two broad groups – 'Helping people in need' and 'Working towards developing a better MC approach' (See Figure 5-4). Then I focused on what role they play in the local MC approach. It was identified that participants' descriptions and opinions suggested that local actors were acting as go-betweens to connect people.

Figure 5-4: Interview participants' activities and their roles as go-betweens



Helping people in need

As one of their activities relating to MC issues, some participants described that they help people in need. It was stated that they give advice or information to people who do not speak Japanese, or who are not used to living in Japan. For example, one participant has engaged in teaching Japanese language as a member of the voluntary organisation. Another participant with a migration background has helped foreign residents as a consultant at the council, reporting that:

“I read and explain the letter from school or government for them, and teach them what happens next, what to do or where to go. Sometimes they have some trouble living in Japan, and I give advice to them as a person who is from the same country” (S2).

It was also described that some participants help to access support to enable the person to get help from an appropriate expert or supporting organisation. Importantly, some participants said that they help foreign residents in need, as friends or as neighbours, rather than as people

who give help. For example, one participant emphasised that she and her organisation help people to access support on childcare, not as people who give help but as friends:

“My organisation clearly says that we are not experts who can provide a solution to their problems. We provide information as friends. It is important that people have choices and decide to select from the options. For example, the ways how parents raise children differ depending on the family, even though they are from the same country. Some international families may think that their children don’t need to learn Japanese because they will leave Japan in a few years, or some want to raise children in two languages. We form a network of parents, so that they can share useful information and access support depending on their needs” (S4).

It is possible to argue, therefore, that some local actors do not identify themselves as people who give help, and avoid emphasising the relationship as that of people who help and people who are helped.

Managing the organisation/group

There were some interview participants who manage the organisation/group that help foreign residents in need. Some of them were one of the founders. For example, one participant managed the company publishing newspaper of their language and established an international school for children. Some participants organised the Japanese language class as one of their jobs in the governmental organisations.

Working towards developing a better MC approach

Other activities that participants described were summarised as ‘Working towards developing a better MC approach,’ which includes not only considering a better MC approach and improving the current MC approach, but also practising the MC approach for a better society. As a result, these activities can lead to not only helping people in need, but also building a better society for everyone. Interview participants were engaged in these activities at the local level or at both local and national levels. Participants’ activities were divided into two groups – ‘Creating an opportunity for interaction between people’ and ‘Exchanging information/opinions; Discussing; Sharing problem awareness’.

Creating an opportunity for interaction between people

Some participants described how they created an opportunity for interaction between people. For example, one participant working at the council, organised the Shinjuku MC Network meeting once every two months, inviting members of governmental and non-governmental organisations, community-based groups and individual residents in Shinjuku. Another participant was engaged in planning and holding a symposium on the local MC approach, inviting individual activists, local organisations, council staff and academics. There was also a participant who organised the MC study group and edited a book on MC practice to discuss MC issues from the viewpoint of various workers in the field. It was explained that it is important to provide a place to communicate and interact with each other.

Exchanging information/opinions; Discussing; Sharing issue awareness

Some participants explained that they attend the meeting, the conference or the committee in order to exchange information/opinions, discuss issues and/or share issue awareness. For example, some participants who attended the Multicultural Town Development Committee said they voiced opinions and concerns of people, as the representatives of their ethnic communities or community-based groups. It was also suggested that awareness towards developing a better local MC approach should be shared between different departments in the Council, or among local workers, such as individual activists, Council staff and local NGOs.

Acting as a go-between

It was identified that some participants were acting as go-between between service users and service providers, between residents/local actors and an MC approach/council policy, or between professional health workers and local actors for MC issues. Regarding the activity of ‘Helping people in need’, some participants suggested that they connect people in need and people/organisations that help them to fill the gap between service users and service providers. The role as go-between is considered to be important, because some participants pointed out that useful services did not reach people in need and there were some people who did not know about events held to support people in need. Moreover, it is possible to argue that people working as a go-between are able to provide information on the organisations/groups that fit the needs of different people, for example time constraints and financial concerns.

Similarly, regarding the activities of ‘Working towards developing a better MC approach’, it was suggested that participants play an important role as go-betweens in ‘Creating an

opportunity for interaction of people’ and ‘Exchanging information/opinions, Discussing, and Sharing issue awareness’. For example, some participants described that they convey the opinions of residents and local workers to the council, in order that they should reflect council policy. One participant pointed out that the council should take the lead in connecting governmental organisations, NGOs, community-based groups, academics, individual activists and ethnic communities. It was also suggested that some participants connect people so that different perspectives can be taken into consideration and they can learn from each other. For example, one participant explained that one of the main activities of his/her NGO is to connect local workers in different organisations:

“When we hold a forum to discuss the local MC approach, we invite both local workers who help foreign residents and professional workers such as the childminders, midwives and public health nurses. The former, for example Japanese language volunteers don’t know what concerns parents and babies from other countries have, and the latter don’t know what to do when parents and babies from other countries come. So we keep it in mind to encourage those two parties to get acquainted. We are much appreciated by them.” (S4).

Another participant, who was also a member of the expert committee in the government cabinet, explained that one of his roles is to connect the grassroots activities and national policy makers:

“In order to discuss national immigration policy, we need to understand the grassroots activities and national policy. Some national policy makers don’t know much about what is happening at the local area. So I explain to them what challenges Shinjuku faces and how Shinjuku addresses them. So I am connecting the grassroots activities and national policy makers.” (S8).

It was also suggested that some participants connect people in order to facilitate collaboration. One participant stated that he invited some artists to the MC meeting to hold a local themed artwork event on MC issues. Another participant, working at the governmental organisation, explained that he has built a personal network to work together with other organisations:

“At first, there was no network in my work place. So I have attended the various meetings and joined many groups, and became acquainted with lots of people. Then I proposed a project to them, and now this organisation is involved in many projects” (S10).

In this section, it was identified that acting as a go-between to connect people is one of the important practices interview participants were involved with in the local area. Their activities were divided into two groups: ‘Helping people in need’ and ‘Working towards developing a better MC approach’. It was found that some participants have helped people in need by giving advice/information, teaching the Japanese language, helping to access support, or managing the organisation/group that helps people. It was also found that some participants have worked towards developing a better MC approach by creating an opportunity for interaction, exchanging information/opinions, discussing, or sharing awareness, in order to reflect the voices of residents and local workers in the field, to take various people’s perspectives into consideration and to learn from each other, and to facilitate collaboration.

5-6. Summary

This chapter has presented findings through analysis of the views of local actors in Shinjuku. The results of pattern coding were presented in diagrams, which were developed in line with four themes: 1. Definitions of Multicultural Coexistence (MC) – a political term and principles in local practice; 2. MC approach in Shinjuku – Emphasis on locality and its limitations; 3. Gaps between the council’s attitude and implementation and 4. Participants’ activities and their role as go-betweens.

First, it was found that there were two aspects of the concept of MC seen from the perspective of local actors. MC was understood as a political term and as principles in local practice. On the one hand, MC as a political term meant mainly support for foreign residents. On the other hand, MC as principles in local practice was divided into three groups: Residents should not be treated differently based on their backgrounds; Living together with differences, and Raising individual awareness to change behaviour. There were some gaps between MC as a political term and MC as principles in local practice, because the latter is not only about support for foreign residents but about all residents.

In terms of the second theme, challenges in Shinjuku, interview participants descriptions were categorised into ‘Challenges specific to Shinjuku’ and ‘Challenges in Japan’.

Interviewees considered that responding to the various needs of foreign residents is one of the challenges in Shinjuku, because foreign residents present a variety of backgrounds in terms of country or origin, length of stay and socio-economic status, which requires an MC approach specific to Shinjuku, based on the grassroots bottom-up approach. Some participants also emphasised that challenges in Shinjuku include tackling prejudice and discrimination, bureaucratic sectionalism, and the legal system, which were considered as being dealt with at national level. These findings suggest that there are two types of challenges in the local area and local integration issues need to be addressed both at local and the national level.

The third theme was developed from two pattern codes – ‘The council’s enthusiastic attitude towards MC issues’ and ‘Insufficient implementation’. The reasons why the council’s enthusiastic attitude led to insufficient implementation were explored from interviews on participants’ descriptions and opinions and three possible reasons were identified. First, some participants mentioned flaws in the administration, such as a lack of communication between sections, preference given to council staff as generalists, rather than as specialists and prioritising noticeable initiatives, rather than achievements. Secondly, it was considered that there are some services related to MC issues that the third sector executes better than the council. Thirdly, it was pointed out that, in terms of MC issues, it is not the council but the resident who discusses the issue, finds the solution and decides the policy, but residents in Shinjuku have not participated enough in order for this to come about which has led insufficient implementation by the council.

The fourth theme focused on the activities of interview participants as local actors. It was identified that some interview participants were acting as go-betweens in local practice and have not only helped people in need, but have also worked towards developing a better MC approach. In those two types of activities, it was found that participants were acting as go-betweens to bridge the gap between service users and service providers, to reflect the voices of residents and local workers in the field, to take various perspectives into consideration and learn from each other and to facilitate collaboration. It is possible to argue that these activities were considered as important practices for local actors.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6-1. Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 presented the results of coding analysis, illustrated in diagram form and explained the implications of the figures. This chapter discusses the findings from Newham and Shinjuku, by comparing the two cases and considering the theoretical implications.

It is worth noting that the two cases in this study should not be regarded as typical/representative cases of London/Tokyo – participants emphasised that Newham/Shinjuku are different from any other local places in their country in terms of integration issues, highlighting their historical, geographic and demographic backgrounds. In Newham, it was highlighted that most residents have a migration background. Diversity in the local community was associated with the local community, rather than considered as brought in by immigrants and something to be managed. Thus, in participants' views, the local community was regarded as the diverse community, rather than a receiving society separate from immigrants. Similarly, participants emphasised that Shinjuku is different from other areas in Japan that have a high percentage of residents with a migration background. It was considered that the circumstances of people with a migration background were exceptional in terms of country of origin, length of stay and socio-economic status. These features were considered to require the distinctive approach towards integration issues, specific to Shinjuku. Therefore, it is possible to argue that these two cases are exceptions in the UK/Japan because they have particularly diverse populations.

This chapter begins by presenting an overview of key characteristics and similarities regarding integration perspectives in Newham and Shinjuku. These similarities provide possible theories that migrate across different contexts. I then go on to discuss findings in the context of my conceptual framework, by developing two frameworks in Newham and Shinjuku based upon my findings. I also discuss integration policies in Newham and Shinjuku, in the context of the literature. Finally, recommendations regarding integration perspectives and integration policy at the local level are presented.

6-2. Comparative discussion of integration perspectives in Newham and Shinjuku

As presented in Chapter 2, it has been argued that there is no consensus on the definition of integration – the definition differs according to which perspective is taken, or which issues are focused on. Previous studies have looked at particular aspects of immigrant integration, such as ‘successful integration’ focusing on educational achievements and employment rates (Schain, 2010) or integration as migrants’ lived experiences (Erdal, 2013).

This research has looked at integration from the perspectives of local actors, the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations in Newham and Shinjuku. Interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku have engaged in various activities related to integration issues at local level in the context of their jobs, their personal activities or both, and defined integration (Multicultural Coexistence in Shinjuku) as having different areas to focus on. However, it was found that definitions in Newham and Shinjuku have their own patterns in integration perspectives.

6-2-1. Definitions based on the characteristics of the local community - Newham

In Newham, interview participants tended to define integration focusing only on integration in Newham and therefore I coded their definitions as ‘Newham Integration’. It was found that there are three aspects of Newham Integration – Everyone being a part of the local community; Individual Integration, and Newcomer Integration. In ‘Everyone being a part of the local community’, integration was defined based on the relationship between everyone and the local community. ‘Individual Integration’ was based on the interaction between individuals, rather than groups, and ‘Newcomer Integration’ looked at two groups – newcomers and people living in the community. It was the social and civic dimensions (Charsley and Spencer, 2019) that participants in Newham focused on with regards to integration⁴⁴. Some definitions included identity dimension, but only in terms of sense of belonging to Newham, not national identity. These locally specific definitions are different

⁴⁴ Charsley and Spencer (2019) defined social dimension as ‘integration with other people, relationships, social networks’ and civic dimension as ‘involvement in community life’ (p.2). Other dimensions are: structural (employment, education, housing); political (involvement in democratic processes); cultural (in the sense of values, attitudes and behaviour), and identity (sense of belonging, local and national identity).

from the British model of integration by Saggar and Somerville (2012), which includes the identity of the country, “Britishness”, as one of the main categories of integration.

Importantly, one of the important issues highlighted by participants was the unique characteristics of the Newham community in terms of integration. They considered the Newham community to be a locality where ethnic minorities in the UK are in the majority and there is no dominant ethnic or religious group. Diversity has been associated with the local community, rather than something newly arrived migrants bring with them.

Furthermore, it was pointed out that the local community everyone belongs to is not white British society, or Christian society, nor the mainstream society in the UK. It is possible to argue that being a member of the local community in Newham means welcoming and valuing diversity, which is different from tolerating diversity. If Newham Integration were applied to other local areas, it could mean something different. For example, when residents understand the local community as British society, being a member of the local community can indicate fitting into British society. By exploring the locally specific definition in Newham, it was found that the meaning of the phrase ‘to play a full role in society’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, p.4) or ‘becoming an accepted part of society’ (Penninx, 2009, p.5) in the definitions of integration, can change depending on how people understand their society.

6-2-2. Definitions as a policy term and as principles in local practice - Shinjuku

While interview participants in Newham defined integration based on the characteristics of the local community, those in Shinjuku defined Multicultural Coexistence (MC) as a general term and as their own principles in local practice. Although MC was considered to be a political term in general, which mainly means support for foreign residents, some participants emphasised that MC means that: Residents should not be treated differently based on their backgrounds; Living together with differences and Raising individual awareness to change behaviours. Similar to the case of Newham, MC as principles in local practice did not indicate having to fit into Japanese society, which differs from the MC policy promoted by central government in 2006 “aimed at the social integration of foreign residents into Japanese communities” (Kim and Streich, 2020, p.174).

Some participants emphasised that the term MC does not represent what they are doing because MC is often considered to mean support for foreign residents, but they also work to

promote the above three principles. Furthermore, it was pointed out that using the word ‘multicultural’ to support foreign residents could have a negative effect, implying that people might misunderstand that ‘we’ Japanese have only one culture, or that people might label people with different cultures based on their nationality. Therefore, it was suggested that different terms should be used, or that support for foreign residents should be provided separately from MC.

6-2-3. Similarities

Despite the different integration perspectives of interviewees, as well as different contexts, there were some common views found in Newham and Shinjuku. As shown in Chapter 2, previous comparative case studies have also found that two cities in different countries share some common views on integration. Hadj-Abdou (2014) compared local actors’ views in Dublin and Vienna and found that the contribution of migrants is framed in association with economic benefits in both cities. Schmidtke and Zaslove (2014) found that “the task of integration is strongly framed around the need to provide migrants with equitable opportunities in the educational sector and the labour market, and by way of access to important institutions such as health care” (p.1869) in North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany and Emilia-Romagna in Italy. Although my research and previous research interviewed local actors⁴⁵, my findings suggest the following common views, which are different from those in previous research, the reason being that previous research looked at integration in the context of policy framing, while this research has focused on the integration perspectives of local actors.

Integration without labelling people

In Newham, interview participants did not use the words ‘migrants’ and ‘immigrants’ in their definitions of integration. They emphasised that ‘everyone’ in definitions of integration means people, regardless of their different backgrounds such as nationality, ethnicity, and religion. During interviews, I used the words ‘migrants’ and ‘immigrants’ when I asked about immigrant integration. Afterwards, some participants used those words to explain why they do not want to use them in local practice or to describe integration issues in Newham within

⁴⁵ In both research projects, findings were based on the analysis of policy documents and interviews with local actors such as “national and local politicians, executive administration, civic and interest groups” (Hadj-Abdou, 2014, p.1877) and “government officials, service providers and actors within civil society” (Schmidtke and Zaslove, 2014, p.1858).

the UK context. It was suggested that it is important to support individuals based on their needs, rather than simply targeting migrants in Newham.

In Shinjuku, one definition of MC was that ‘Residents should not be treated differently based on their backgrounds’. It was emphasised that everyone living in Shinjuku should be considered as residents or neighbours, not as Japanese or non-Japanese. However, although labelling people as Japanese residents or foreign residents was denied in their definitions of MC as principles in local practice, support that targeted foreign residents was considered to be essential. It is possible to argue that this is because participants understood that foreign residents were in a minority, had been marginalised, faced many difficulties in society, and needed to be supported as a group in the current situation in Japan.

Therefore, although findings suggest that definitions of integration in Newham and Shinjuku differ according to their different integration perspectives, there is a commonly held view of refusing to label people in local practice. It is possible to argue that this viewpoint is specific to integration perspectives at local level.

Barriers to integration – Locally specific issues and common issues

In terms of barriers to integration in the local area, interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku described locally specific issues and issues that need to be addressed at national level and also at city level (London/Tokyo).

Interview participants in Newham considered issues hindering Newham Integration to be: poverty issues (“a combination of high housing costs and low paid work” (N1)); language barriers, (being able to speak English was considered as a tool for interaction and for getting out of poverty), and a large number of people moving out of Newham. In particular, it was suggested that many newcomers tend to move away from Newham and live in other local areas in London or in the UK once their situation improves, which appears to be an integration issue specific to Newham.

In Shinjuku, it was highlighted that there are certain characteristics of foreign residents – they tend to stay for a short period of time and their backgrounds are particularly diverse, which offers both opportunities and challenges. Some participants emphasised that it is a matter of

urgency to respond to their various needs to reduce the tragic effects of earthquakes⁴⁶. In addition to these locally specific issues, some participants emphasised common issues in Japan – discrimination, inequalities, bureaucratic sectionalism and the legal system – which have hampered local actors and community groups from improving the environment for foreign residents.

Addressing barriers as structural responsibility

Findings show that interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku considered that some barriers to be addressed were a structural (state/council) responsibility, rather than the responsibility of individuals. In Newham, it was considered important to make the area a place in which people would want to stay for longer and where they are able to obtain employment and appropriate accommodation. In terms of language barriers, some participants were concerned that residents had been marginalised and isolated from the diverse Newham community, and support to learn English was considered an important tool to empower individuals. Similarly, some participants in Shinjuku considered that there were some foreign residents in Shinjuku who had been marginalised and isolated from the local community and sometimes from ethnic communities. It was emphasised that local actors in Shinjuku, including foreign residents, have tried to develop an MC approach specific to Shinjuku. In terms of common issues in Japan, some participants described that local actors and community-based organisations have appealed to the national government directly for structural and legal reform.

Limitations of a locally-specific approach

Importantly, interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku suggested that some integration issues needed to be addressed by central government, rather than local councils alone. It was pointed out that it is important that the borough council addresses poverty issues in Newham, but that the issue is too large and complex for it to be addressed only within the local area. Some participants emphasised that the diverse local community needs more central government support. In Shinjuku, it was stated that local actors and community-based organisations understand that the local council is not enough to tackle some of the issues relating to legal reform.

⁴⁶ In Tokyo, it is reported that a huge earthquake will occur within 30 years, and it is a matter of urgency to develop a strategy for foreign residents, such as information dissemination regarding the preparation for earthquakes and multilingual information services in the event of a disaster.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that integration issues at local level need to be addressed both at local and national level (including city level), although it is also essential to discuss an approach towards integration issues which takes into consideration the characteristics of the local community.

6-3. An analysis of key findings in the context of the conceptual framework

6-3-1. Key points in my conceptual framework

My conceptual framework (See Figure 2) bridges two related fields of literature – the concept of immigrant integration and local immigrant integration policy – in order to examine integration at the local level and policy response towards local integration issues holistically.

Immigrant integration in my conceptual framework

In my conceptual framework, immigrant integration was defined as the two-way process of mutual adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society. There are three key points to be highlighted in this definition: Firstly, it followed the definitions used by international organisations, such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the European Union (EU), because it was necessary to define the key concept broadly in this cross-national study. Secondly, integration was regarded as processes happening at local level, rather than as “the possession of civil, political and social rights,” (Rutter, 2013, p.19) used in the comparative research looking at national policies. Thirdly, integration means a two-way process, which is to differentiate from “one-way models of assimilation” (Charsley and Spencer, 2019, p.1).

Local immigrant integration policy in my conceptual framework

In the conceptual framework, immigrant integration policies were defined as policy intervention that can facilitate or impede the two-way processes of mutual adaptation at the local level. Importantly, policy intervention at borough-level was defined to include not only policies introduced by the council, but also which integration issues the council focuses on, who is targeted by integration policy, and how integration issues are approached. As one of the key actors to influence council immigrant integration policy, community-based organisations were focused on, as existing research argued that community-based organisations play an important role in local policy-making in terms of immigrant integration.

Local factors were also highlighted: existing literature identified a wide variety of factors at local level that affect local policy-making, such as “the city’s historical experience with earlier immigration and diversity” (Penninx, 2009, p.6) or the city’s image “as open and diverse” (Hadj-Abdou, 2014, p.1890). International, national, and city policies were also considered as factors that may influence two fields – integration process at local level and borough immigrant integration policy.

6-3-2. Integration and integration policy from the views of local actors

Two conceptual frameworks (Figures 6-1 and 6-2) were developed from the original framework (Figure 2), in accordance with the findings in Newham and Shinjuku.

Figure 6-1: Conceptual framework in Newham from the views of local actors

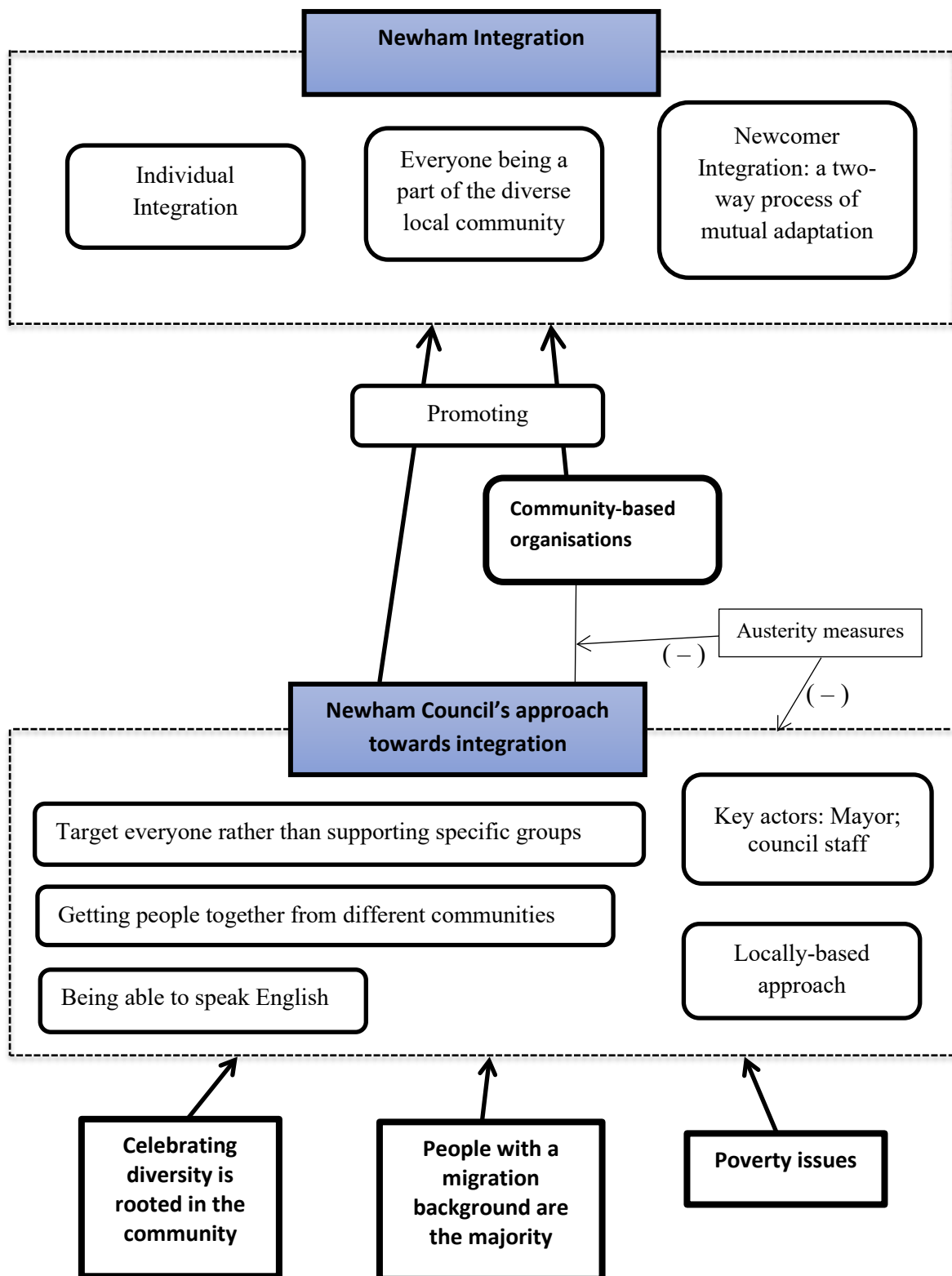
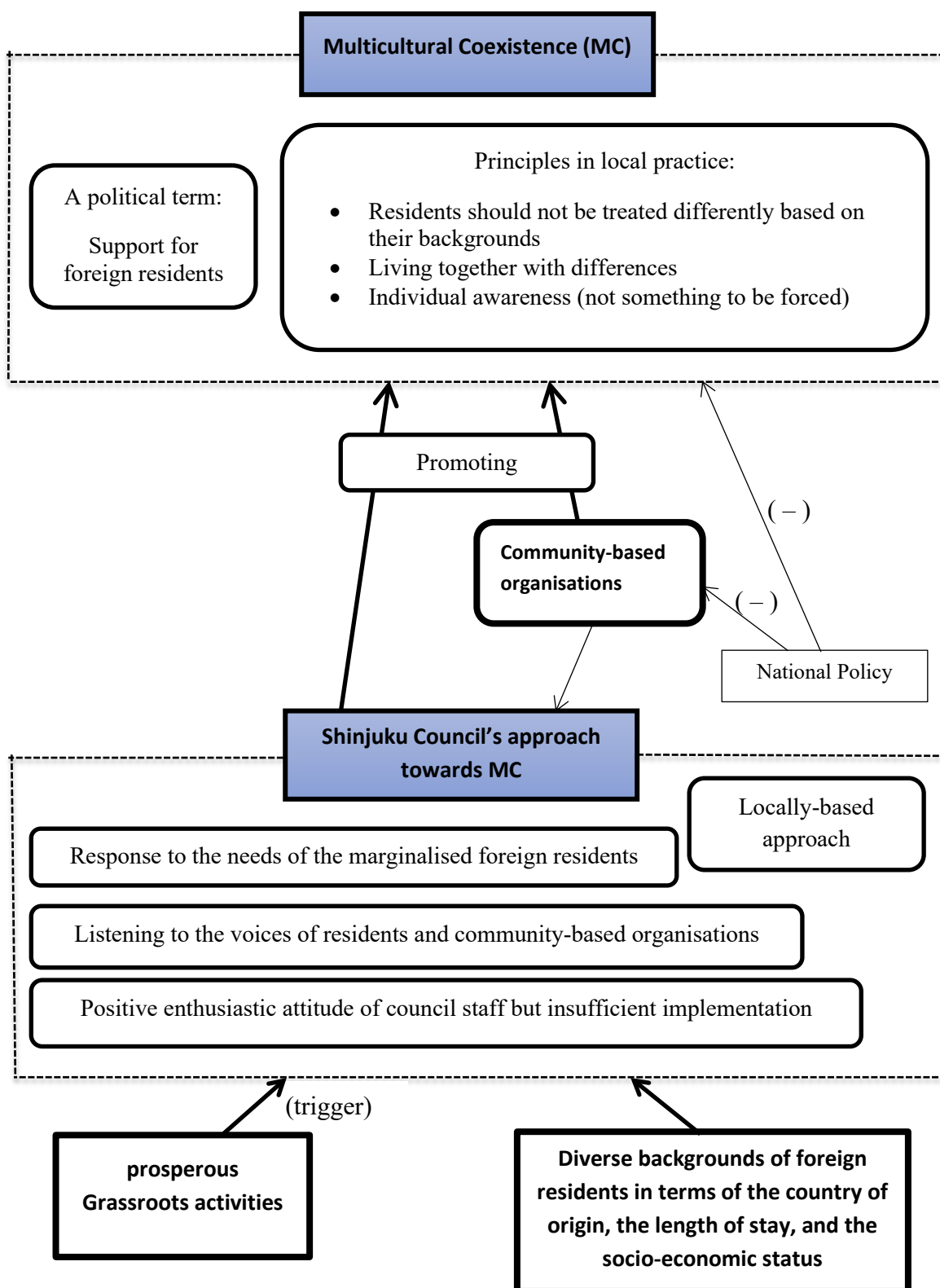


Figure 6-2: Conceptual framework in Shinjuku from the views of local actors



Immigrant integration as one aspect of the concept of integration

The Newham model and the Shinjuku model illustrate the various views from local actors. As discussed above, integration was defined based on the characteristics of the local community in Newham and the concept of integration was labelled as Newham Integration (See Figure 6-1). Among the definitions of findings in Newham and Shinjuku, the definition akin to one in the conceptual framework is ‘Newcomer Integration’, which sees integration as the two-way processes of mutual adaptation between newcomers and residents. Both immigrant integration and Newham Integration are based on the two-way processes of mutual adaptation between two groups. Two other definitions in Newham (Individual Integration and Everyone being a part of the local community) are based on the relationship between individuals, rather than groups or the relationship between everyone and the local community. In the case of Shinjuku, interview participants did not use similar expressions to ‘the two-way processes between two groups’ in their definitions, or descriptions of ‘Multicultural Coexistence,’ which is the term that has been used when integration issues are addressed in Japan. Thus, it is possible to argue that the way of looking at integration in my conceptual framework can be considered as one aspect of the concept of integration for local actors, who have multiple definitions from differing perspectives. That is to say, the findings suggest that the terms ‘immigrant integration’ and ‘integration’ should not be used interchangeably.

Two groups in the local area

Significantly, immigrant integration and Newcomer Integration are different in the way they divide residents into two groups in the local area. While people in the society are divided into two groups, according to whether they are immigrants or not for immigrant integration, people are divided according to whether they are new to the local area or not in Newcomer Integration. In Newham, participants did not view their local community as immigrants and the receiving society, emphasising instead that people with a migration background are the majority in Newham. It was also highlighted that newcomers include British people from other places, as well as newly-arrived migrants. Furthermore, participants in Newham and Shinjuku denied labelling people according to nationality, ethnicity, and religion in the definitions of integration. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the concept of immigrant integration focusing on immigrants is not suitable for studying integration issues at a local level. That is to say, definitions of integration used by the International Organization for

Migration (IOM, 2015); the European Union (Niessen and Huddleston, 2010); Alexander (2003), and; Spencer (2011b)⁴⁷, which refer to the process between immigrants and non-immigrants (the host society), are not a good fit for some local areas. It was pointed out in Newham that categorising and labelling residents as migrants (or non-migrants) in local policy is not only useless, but also harmful, as many residents have a migration background and calling people migrants gives impression that they are outsiders. It is also possible to argue that my definition of immigrant integration has some inconsistencies, because I defined integration by focusing on processes happening at local level, while dividing people according to whether they were new to the country or not.

Immigrants as the minority

However, it is important to focus on people with a migration background as one group to be supported in the local area like Shinjuku, where people with a migration background were considered as the marginalised minority. While participants in Shinjuku denied labelling people as Japanese residents and foreign residents in terms of definitions of MC as their principles in local practice, they regarded foreign residents as a group to be paid attention to and considered it essential to develop an approach towards them that could be specific to Shinjuku.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that seeing integration as a two-way process of mutual adaptation happening in the local area is one aspect of the concept of integration, seen from the perspective of local actors. Importantly, my conceptual framework was not suitable for local actors, because my definition of immigrant integration sees the local community, as somewhere there are immigrants and the receiving society. Although some participants considered integration as a two-way process of mutual adaptation, whether people were new to the country or not, in terms of integration in the local area, this was not paid attention to. Thus, it was found that the concept of immigrant integration focusing on immigrants is not suitable to study the views of local actors on integration issues in Newham and Shinjuku. However, findings in Shinjuku also suggested that in terms of support for the minority, it is essential to focus on people with a migration background as a group to be addressed in the local area, where they are considered as the marginalised minority. In this case, it is significantly important to categorise people as migrants or non-migrants in order to examine

⁴⁷ Later, Spencer developed a model of integration processes based on the interaction of individuals (Spencer and Charsley, 2016; Charsley and Spencer, 2019) rather than “interaction between migrants and the individuals and institutions of the receiving society” (Spencer, 2011b, p.203)

the gaps between immigrants and non-immigrants in education achievement, or unemployment rates as Schain (2010) compared, and in health issues as Thomas and Gideon (2013) highlighted.

Policy intervention at borough-level

In Newham, the following three approaches were considered as council policy to promote Newham Integration – Targeting everyone, rather than supporting specific groups; Getting people together from different communities, and Emphasis on being able to speak English (See Figure 6-1). It was considered important to introduce the above three approaches, because celebrating and valuing diversity is already rooted in Newham and the Council's integration policy has been responding to the needs of residents, regardless of different backgrounds such as nationality, ethnicity or religion. Interview participants considered that the aims of council policy were to promote interaction between residents with different backgrounds and to fight poverty together in one of the most deprived boroughs in the UK, which are priorities for residents in Newham and promotes Newham Integration. In the framework, therefore, these two issues – Celebrating diversity is rooted in the community and Poverty issues – as well as the local population structure – were inserted as local factors that influence council policy (See Figure 6-1). Kofman, Vacchelli and D'Angelo (2011) examined local integration policies in the London Boroughs of Enfield and Islington, and argued that policies in two boroughs were different because of their different migrant population and local socio-economic conditions. Therefore, it is possible to argue that findings in Newham added the local attitude towards diversity into those two local factors – local population structure and local socio-economic conditions – that influence the council's policy.

While participants in Newham considered that measures targeting everyone were considered to be the council's approach towards integration, in Shinjuku, supporting foreign residents was described as the main MC measure that Shinjuku Council has introduced (See Figure 6-2). It was described that the Multicultural Town Development Committee was established to listen to the voices of residents and community-based organisations, including foreign residents. It was also highlighted that responding to the needs of foreign residents would benefit both foreign residents and the whole society. Although some participants highlighted the council's enthusiastic attitude of seeking out the needs of Shinjuku residents, it was also pointed out that implementation is insufficient, for example, services do not reach those who need them most, the results are not commensurate with the funding and the location of the

facility is poor. As possible reasons of insufficient implementation, it was identified that there are some flaws in the administration, there are some services related to MC issues that the third sector is better at than the council, and there is a lack of resident involvement in discussing integration issues and deciding local MC policy. In terms of local factors that influence MC measures in Shinjuku, it was described that prosperous grassroots activities led the council to address MC issues in the absence of national policy, and that the diverse backgrounds of foreign residents in terms of the country of origin, the length of stay, and the socio-economic status, require an MC approach specific to Shinjuku (See Figure 6-2).

Both in Newham and Shinjuku, interview participants reported that the council has focused on local needs and tried to respond to them, which can be referred to as locally based approach. Findings suggest that for local actors, the council's policy intervention has influenced integration in the local area in ways that includes not only the specific policy, but also its attitude towards integration issues and insufficient implementation. Thus, it is possible to argue that the definition of policy intervention at borough-level in my original conceptual framework is suitable to study local integration policy. This is because findings in Newham and Shinjuku demonstrate that policy intervention influencing integration issues in the local area includes, not only the contents of policy, but also which integration issues the council prioritises, who is the target of integration policy, and how integration issues are implemented.

Key actors in the policy-making process

In terms of key actors in the policy-making process, interview participants in Newham considered that the mayor is the key actor in agenda-setting and policy formulation. Some community-based organisations were considered to be key actors in implementation, working together with the council to deliver its policy. However, it was stated that the relationship between the council and community-based organisations is not good or close in Newham. Some participants explained that community-based organisations used to be key actors in policy-making and emphasised that the council should acknowledge the important roles community-based organisations play within the local community. Therefore, it is important to look not only at whether the council and some community-based organisations cooperated to work together, but also at the relationship between the council and community-based organisations in general within the local area. It was stated that only some community-based

organisations have a good relationship with the council in Newham; shown by a thin connecting line in Figure 6-1.

Interview participants in Shinjuku did not identify any specific key actors in policy-making in terms of the council's MC measures. It was reported that local response towards MC issues started from grassroots activities and that the council joined in later with local efforts relevant to MC issues. Thus, it is possible to argue that the activities of community-based groups/organisations and individual activists acted as a trigger for the council's integration policy. As Tamura (2011, p.173) argued: in Japan, it is NPOs and NGOs in the local area that have provided immigrants with public services, before governments addressed MC issues – it is not specific to Shinjuku that grassroots activities acted as a trigger for local MC policy. Council staff considered that MC promotion in the council alone could not succeed without collaboration from the local community. However, it was not stated that community-based organisations play an important role in decision-making process at the council. Therefore, similar to the case of Newham, the influence from community-based organisations on the council's approach is shown by a thin arrow in Figure 6-2.

It is worth noting that interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku described council staff as key actors in implementation. It was reported that council staff have created, decided and managed programmes, taking into consideration available resources and limitations, and that they try to: listen to the voices of residents, promote discussion on integration issues, build a face-to-face relationship with residents and build networks between local actors in various areas, such as health, education and housing.

Therefore, unlike my conceptual framework, findings in Newham and Shinjuku suggest that community-based organisations were not considered to be key actors who significantly influenced policy-making process at the Council. It was emphasised that they were key actors in local response towards integration issues, rather than in local policy-making process. Therefore, the influences from community-based organisations on local integration are shown in a thick line in Figures 6-1 and 6-2.

Factors affecting policy-making process

Both in Newham and Shinjuku, participants did not mention that the guidelines of the national government, city-level (London/Tokyo) government, and international policies have contributed in a significant way to borough-level policy and integration issues at local level. In Shinjuku, importantly, it was emphasised that issues at the national-level (such as

immigration control, bureaucratic sectionalism and the legal system) have impeded the activities of local actors and hence the MC issues at local level. It was stated that local actors appealed to the national government for improvement, acknowledging the limited jurisdictional powers of local government. Therefore, the influences from national policy on community-based organisations and local integration is given as (–) (negative influence) in Figure 6-2.

In Newham, it was pointed out that the diverse Newham community does not need any guidelines or advice on integration from upper-level governments, but requires fiscal support from national government. Most participants emphasised that austerity measures have negatively affected the relationship between community-based organisations and the council, and the council's approach. Thus, the influences from austerity measures on those are shown as (–) in Figure 6-1.

Therefore, participants in Newham and Shinjuku considered that other factors aside from those at borough-level, do not affect policy-making process significantly. It was not the policy-making process, but the activities of local actors and local integration that national-level factors affected in a significant way.

6-4. An analysis and evaluation of key findings in the context of local integration policy studies

Findings suggest that interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku considered their councils' approaches towards integration issues to be: different from assimilation; not only about focusing on migrants, and to engage all residents within the local community. However, council policy, as illustrated by participants, was significantly different between Newham and Shinjuku. For example, multilingual services had been reduced in Newham but strengthened in Shinjuku, both of which were also described in policy context in Chapters 4 and 5. This section discusses these differences in the context of local integration policy studies. Some of my findings reflect existing literature and provide additional evidence for those theories. Different findings from the literature and new insights are also discussed.

6-4-1. Mainstreamed, whole community approach in Newham Council

Ali and Gidley (2014) defined mainstreaming integration policies as “the effort to reach people with a migration background through needs-based social programming and policies that also target the general population” (p.2) and emphasised the notion of mainstreamed and whole community approaches in the UK, which is reflected in my research. Not only in the UK but also in Europe, increasing attention has been paid to mainstreaming integration policy (Ponzo et al., 2013; van Breugel, Maan and Scholten, 2014), and Ponzo et al. (2013) argued that this approach is important because “it has the value of shifting the integration discourse away from a stigmatising focus on migrants as representing problems to be solved or needs to be met; integration is increasingly seen as a whole society challenge, as an issue of citizenship and inclusion” (p.11). Some participants in Newham emphasised that the council’s policy does not need to target migrants, and it is more important to prioritise needs of local residents, most of whom have a migration background. Therefore, my findings add further evidence to Ali and Gidley’s (2014) conclusion of the case studies of Glasgow and five London boroughs (Hackney, Waltham Forest, Lewisham, Tower Hamlets, and Southwark) that “there is considerable evidence for widespread mainstreaming in integration policies and practices in the United Kingdom at the national and local levels” (p.23).

Regarding the relationship between Newham Council’s policy and austerity, some participants shared similar views to Ali and Gidley’s (2014) findings. They argued that case studies of five London’s boroughs showed that “harsh fiscal austerity measures since 2008 and especially since the 2010 election have forced local authorities to cut integration, inclusion, and community development budgets – which are seen as a luxury compared to more pressing needs and statutory obligations” (p.23). However, while Ali and Gidley (2014) continued, “But austerity has also driven some innovation in meeting integration and cohesion objectives through the mainstream” (p.23), some participants emphasised that public expenditure cuts have negatively affected the third sector in Newham. It was pointed out that this negative change was caused by central government, with one participant emphasising that it was the council’s mistake to stop funding for the third sector. It was suggested that the relationship between the council and community-based organisations has worsened since 2010, due to funding cuts. That is to say, while previous research has focused on the austerity measures as one of the factors that have promoted mainstream policies at

local level, some participants emphasised that austerity measures have alienated community-based organisations from integration policies at local, as well as national level. My findings suggest that there is a potential disconnect between ‘community-based organisations’ and ‘local and national integration policies’ in the context of austerity. This was identified because this research focused on the views of local actors, rather than the council’s view. Although some participants clearly stated that the relationship between the council and community-based organisations has become worse since public expenditure cuts, the council might consider that the relationship between the council and community-based organisations in Newham remains good, as some participants described the council working together well with some specific community-based organisations to deliver the council’s mainstreamed services.

It is possible to argue that Newham Council’s policy demonstrates van Breugel, Maan and Scholten’s (2014) argument that British immigrant integration policies have “moved away from the ‘multiculturalist celebration of different identities’” and “emphasises shared values and a common future ... and address the entire community in all its diversity” (p.30). In Newham, it was described that the council has reduced multilingual services, stopped funding an event for the single ethnic/faith community, and has focused on everyone being able to speak English, which can be interpreted as the council’s priority shifting away from promoting multilingual environments and various cultures. However, some local actors emphasised that the council has promoted a positive attitude towards diversity. It was also described that residents in Newham acknowledge that neighbours speak different languages, the events for more than one ethnic/faith communities are facilitated and receive funding support, and that speaking English is important for interaction between residents with different backgrounds in the diverse Newham community, in order to empower vulnerable people, and to lift them out of poverty. That is to say, my findings suggest that the council’s policy shift, which started several years ago and was once called “naturalising Newham” (Nye, 2013) in the media, does not mean the council’s policy has completely moved away from “multiculturalist celebration of different identities” (van Breugel, Maan and Scholten, 2014, p.30) for some local actors in Newham. Rather, it was considered that the council has prioritised English support, rather than multilingual services⁴⁸ to meet the local needs in the

⁴⁸ The reasons why interview participants, who can be called advocates for vulnerable people, migrants or refugees, supported the council’s policy that reduced multilingual services were explored from participants’ views and presented in Chapter 4.

diverse community in the context of austerity, and has encouraged the celebration of diversity together, instead of separately. Therefore, my findings, based on the views of local actors, suggest that Newham Council's policy has moved away from a focus on the "multiculturalist celebration of different identities" (van Breugel, Maan and Scholten, 2014, p.30) to some extent, and takes a mainstreamed, whole-community approach.

Importantly, the council's mainstreamed, whole-community approach does not necessarily show the whole picture of Newham's approach towards integration. While previous research has focused only on government policy, as central to local practices and on community-based organisations, as the important partners in policy formulation or implementation of integration policies, my findings suggest that community-based organisations, especially faith organisations, affect Newham Integration in a significant way and have played an important role in local efforts in terms of integration. Thus, my findings provide a new insight: that local government might not be the main actor to adopt a leadership position in developing a local approach towards integration. This also indicates "multiculturalist celebration of different identities" (van Breugel, Maan and Scholten, 2014, p.30) can remain within local practice by community-based organisations, although the council's priority on integration policy has changed.

6-4-2. Multicultural, reception policies in Shinjuku Council

Because it was acknowledged that the council has addressed MC issues, targeting foreign residents with initiatives to strengthen multilingual services and promote interaction between Japanese residents and foreign residents, it is possible to argue that Shinjuku has paid attention to "integration policies, sometimes referred to as 'multicultural policies', where immigrants' group-based characteristics, such as national origin, documentation status, ethnicity, religion, and/or socio-economic status, figure prominently in the development, enactment, and implementation of policies designed to promote immigrants advancement" (de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016, p.21), and "reception policies" defined as "those that are targeted at newly arrived immigrants and their families and focused on their particular language and orientation needs" (Hepburn, 2015, p.3). It is worth noting that my findings show that introducing these policies does not necessarily mean that multicultural and reception services reach those who need them most.

Based on 10 years of empirical research in Berlin, Amsterdam, New York City, and San Francisco, de Graauw and Vermeulen (2016) focused on 'multicultural policies,' arguing that

it is local contextual variables, rather than national context that affect policy-making in cities. Findings in Shinjuku concur with this theory, because it was acknowledged that Shinjuku's local efforts towards integration began before central and local governments introduced policies, regarding MC issues, and that the Shinjuku Council joined in later with pre-existing grassroots activities. There was a "bottom-up pressure for policies that respond to immigrants' group interests" (p.20) in Shinjuku, as de Graauw and Vermeulen (2016) found in New York City and San Francisco. De Graauw and Vermeulen (2016), identified three local variables: "(1) left-leaning governments; (2) immigrants who constitute a large part of the city electorate and are part of local decision-making structures; and (3) an infrastructure of community-based organisations that actively represent immigrants' collective interests in local politics and policy-making," arguing that "when these three factors exist synergistically, cities are more likely to commit themselves to policies that promote immigrant integration, even when the national context is not very hospitable to immigrant rights" (p.1). My findings demonstrate that the local factor (3) is important in influencing MC policies in Shinjuku⁴⁹, although community-based organisations were not regarded as key players in policy-making. As described above, activities of community-based organisations and local activists were considered to be a trigger for the implementation of Shinjuku's MC measures in the absence of national guideline, and they represented foreign residents' collective interests in the Multicultural Town Development Committee. However, although some participants acknowledged that the voices of community-based organisations and foreign residents were heard in the political process, it was not considered that they were part of local decision-making structures. Therefore, it is possible to argue that there is no local factor (2) in Shinjuku⁵⁰, which suggests that the degree of commitment to multicultural policies is weaker than those in San Francisco. De Graauw and Vermeulen (2016) argued that in San Francisco, "immigrants and their descendants in recent years have increased their share of local legislative and administrative positions, ... they have subsequently used their seats in San Francisco government to advance immigrant rights and immigrant integration from inside city hall." (p.20). Compared with this formal inclusion of immigrants in the decision-making process in San Francisco, the inclusion of foreign residents in Shinjuku's policy-making

⁴⁹ Regarding Tokyo's policy, some participants mentioned that the late guideline in Tokyo was due to the former conservative mayor who marginalised MC issues from within the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Therefore, it can be assumed that the local variable (1) is an essentially important factor in Tokyo, but my findings do not demonstrate it in Shinjuku.

⁵⁰ While "several cities invite their foreign residents to vote in local referenda" (Tegtmeyer Pak, 2006, p.79) in Japan, the Shinjuku Council had not invited them at the time of the interviews.

process is rather limited. Therefore, Shinjuku's MC measures can be categorised as 'multicultural policies,' in which foreign residents are included in the local network and in the consultative body in terms of MC issues, rather than having authority, political strength, or governing power.

Nagy (2009) examined multicultural coexistence policies in three Tokyo boroughs, including Shinjuku, and argued that "Shinjuku's multicultural policies and activities ... do promote a degree of inclusionism and pluralism" (p.156). Thus, my findings have added further evidence that Shinjuku Council has introduced 'multicultural policies,' which concern the inclusion of foreign residents and promote a positive attitude towards group-based differences. However, my findings contradict the claims of Nagy (2009) that "the activities and projects that Shinjuku Ward is pursuing in its overall multicultural coexistence objectives demonstrate the Ward's commitment to ensuring that foreign residents do not become a burden to the municipal government and the Japanese residents of Shinjuku" (p.152). Most interview participants in my research, including some council staff and a local councillor, emphasised that the concept of MC means people living in the same local area being treated as local residents or neighbours, not as Japanese residents or foreign residents. One of the reasons for this contradictory finding may result from our different methodological choices. Nagy (2009) focused on the Council's view regarding MC policies, based on policy document analysis and an interview with the Managing Director of the Council in Shinjuku, while my research looked at the council's MC approach from the views of local actors who have worked to promote integration in the community on the front line and are deeply interested in developing MC policy in Shinjuku. Another possible explanation is that Shinjuku Council's attitude may have changed since 2006 when Nagy (2009) conducted the interview. One participant included in my research shared a similar view to Nagy's claim – talking about the characteristics of the MC approach in Japan, rather than focusing on Shinjuku Council's approach. This suggests that there are some people who considered that one of the aims of an MC approach in Japan is to fit foreign residents into a Japanese society for Japanese residents. Therefore, Nagy's (2009) and my findings may suggest that the attitude of Shinjuku Council has changed, moving away from focusing on fitting foreign residents into Japanese society based on "a guest versus host paradigm" (Nagy, 2009, p.157), towards creating a multicultural society for all residents, while supporting marginalised foreign residents.

6-5. Recommendations

On the basis of my analytical discussion of the case study findings, I would like to make the following recommendations regarding integration perspectives at local level and local integration policy.

6-5-1. Integration without labelling residents

Despite the different national and local contexts, interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku demonstrate similar views on integration – refusing to label residents according to their nationality, ethnicity, or religion. It is possible to argue that this is a key component of the concept of local integration, which could be applied in other local areas. However, it was also found that in Shinjuku, support for foreign residents was regarded as an essential issue, aside from MC as principles in local practice. Thus, it is important to support people with a migration background in the local area where there are structural barriers and discrimination based on nationality, ethnicity or religion. Furthermore, in Newham, some participants suggested that the structure and the support need to be in place, before Newham Integration. Therefore, it is possible to argue that my findings suggest that integration without labelling residents should be sought by considering integration and ‘addressing structural barriers to integration or supporting migrants’ as two different issues.

6-5-2. Shared responsibilities between national government and local governments

In terms of an integration approach, national governments in the UK and Japan have stressed the responsibility of local government, because integration happens at the local level. Previous research has focused on local government responses to local integration (Caponio and Borkert, 2010). However, findings suggest that there are some barriers or challenges that cannot be responded to by the local council alone. In particular, participants suggested that ‘supporting migrants and addressing barriers to integration at the local level’ are not the council’s sole responsibility, that central government should take responsibility also. Therefore, although it is important to focus on the local community when discussing an approach towards integration, it is necessary for national government to seek and identify what role they can play in local integration, by listening to the voices of local actors. National government should not leave everything to local government – both need to share the responsibility, in terms of the integration that happens at local level. Importantly, it was

stated that local actors routinely appeal to central government to address certain issues in the local area. It is possible to argue that borough-level and city-level government can help local actors, acting as go-between between local actors and national government.

6-5-3. Local policy as one part of the local approach towards integration

Previous research has argued that community-based organisations play an important role in the policy-making process at local level, in terms of integration issues. However, participants emphasised that community-based organisations have contributed to the local community not only through policy, but also independently of government policy. It was suggested that the latter activity is also important for integration at the local level.

Furthermore, it was stated that council staff attempt to engage as many local residents as possible in local events and meetings to promote discussion within the local community. In terms of integration, their role was considered as facilitators rather than organisers. It was also suggested that not only policy-makers and staff working for the Council, but also residents are main actors, who discuss and create a shared vision for the local community. Thus, local government may not be holding a central position in terms of integration at local level. It is possible to argue that local integration policy should be looked upon as one part of the local response towards integration, rather than as the dominant role in local efforts.

6-5-4. Consensus building within the local area as an approach towards integration

Findings suggest that it is difficult to reach a consensus on what integration means within a local area. People may discuss integration from different viewpoints, or work together, while having different concerns. It was described that discussing what integration means within the local community is one of the important local efforts towards integration. For example, in Newham, members of faith organisations gathered and discussed what integration means for them from the viewpoint of their different beliefs (such meetings are not for decision-making). In Shinjuku, it was found that some local actors, regardless of type of organisation, act as go-betweens in the local area to share issue awareness and exchange opinions between local workers who help foreign residents and professional workers, such as the midwives and public health nurses; between council staff and volunteer workers in the local area, or between residents. Thus, it is possible to argue that one of the important local initiatives

towards integration lies in discussing what integration means within the local community, including the exchange of opinions or sharing information. It was also suggested that not only is integration a contested term, but also that using the term at all is incorrect. Therefore, more discussion on integration within a local area is needed to address integration issues, including looking for a more appropriate alternative term.

6-6. Summary

This chapter has compared the integration perspectives of interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku, discussed key findings in the context of the conceptual framework and in the context of local integration policy studies, and presented recommendations for further studies, policy-makers, and practitioners.

Two findings show that there are some different patterns in defining integration in Newham and Multicultural Coexistence (MC) in Shinjuku. While integration was defined based on the characteristics of the Newham community, MC was defined as a policy term and as principles in local practice. Definitions in Newham might not be applicable to other local areas, because the local community that everyone belongs to was considered to be a diverse community in which people with a migration background are the majority, rather than the British/white Christian community. Definitions in Shinjuku included two contradicting views that MC means support for foreign residents and MC does not only mean support for foreign residents. Despite these differing definitions, interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku shared similar views on integration issues and their approach towards them: labelling people based on differing nationality, ethnicity or religion was refused; There are locally specific issues and common issues in the barriers to integration at local level; Barriers to integration should be addressed as structural responsibility, and there are some limitations to a locally specific approach.

Findings in Newham and Shinjuku suggest that the definition of immigrant integration in my conceptual framework is not suitable for studying local actors' views on integration issues. This is because immigrant integration focuses on immigrants, but interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku did not divide local residents according to whether people were new to the country, or not. However, findings in Shinjuku show that it is important to look at immigrants in the community when they are considered to be a marginalised minority group, in need of help from society. In terms of local integration policy, interview participants considered that policy intervention influencing local integration includes not only policy

content, but also policy-making issues, such as their priority, council staff attitudes and actual implementation. However, contrary to my assumption in the conceptual framework, community-based organisations were not considered as one of the key players in local policy-making. Rather, it was emphasised that community-based organisations have played a crucial role in local efforts towards integration. Similarly, interview participants did not regard upper-level government policies as key factors in influencing local integration policy in a significant way. Importantly, some participants considered that national policies, including austerity measures, immigration control, bureaucratic sectionalism and the legal system, have negatively affected the activities of community-based organisations and individual activists and hence integration at the local level.

Findings in Newham add further evidence of mainstreaming integration policy in European countries, and fit with Ali and Gidley's (2014) “mainstreamed, whole-community approach” (p.1). My findings suggest that Newham Council’s mainstreamed policy has moved away from a focus on the “multiculturalist celebration of different identities” (van Breugel, Maan and Scholten, 2014, p.30) to some extent in order to meet the local needs in the diverse community in the context of austerity. However, my findings also suggest that the council’s approach does not necessarily provide the whole picture in Newham’s approach towards integration. Findings demonstrated that community-based organisations affect Newham Integration in a significant way, and that austerity measures have alienated community-based organisations from the council.

Shinjuku Council’s MC measures were categorised as multicultural, reception policies in line with existing literature. Findings in Shinjuku demonstrate the theory proposed by de Graauw and Vermeulen (2016), that it is local contextual factors, rather than national context that affect local policy-making. The local contextual factors identified, based on their case studies of four European and American cities, were applied in the case of Shinjuku and its implications were discussed. It was also suggested that the council’s attitude may be in the process of changing, because a previous case study in Shinjuku (Nagy, 2009) presented opposite findings regarding the council’s attitude towards MC issues.

Finally, recommendations for practical implications and further research were presented – integration without labelling residents should be promoted at local level; responsibilities should be shared between national government and local governments; local policy can be looked upon as one part of the local approach towards integration, and consensus building

within the local area can be considered as one of the important approaches towards integration.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7-1. Introduction

By analysing the perspectives of local actors in the London Borough of Newham and the Tokyo Borough of Shinjuku, this research has shown how integration issues were understood in the local area and how local governments have responded to those local integration issues. Local actors were defined as people who work to promote integration at the local level in their jobs or their personal activities. Interview participants were the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations, including council staff, local councillors, and members of community-based organisations. 24 semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2017 and 2018: 9 participants in Newham and 15 participants in Shinjuku. All interviews were transcribed and analysed by descriptive and pattern coding, outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994) and Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2019).

This chapter first of all presents a summary of key findings in answer to the research questions posed in Chapter 2. It then discusses my originality and contribution to knowledge. Lastly, I make recommendations for future work on the topic.

7-2. Summary of key findings

In Chapter 2, research questions of this study were presented as follows:

1. What is meant by integration in the local area?
2. What are the main issues regarding integration in the local area?
3. How has the local government responded to local integration issues?
 - a. What issues has the local government focused on?
 - b. Who is the target group of the policy?
 - c. How have integration issues been approached?
4. What are the main local factors influencing local integration policy?
5. How have community-based organisations engaged in local integration policy?
6. How have upper-level policies affected local integration and local integration policy?
7. What are the differences and similarities of the integration perspectives and the policy response towards integration in the local area in the UK and Japan?

This section provides the summary of key findings relating to the above questions (1-6), and highlights the differences and similarities between Newham and Shinjuku (Question 7).

7-2-1. Meanings of Integration in the local area

Meanings of integration in Newham and Shinjuku were identified by analysing its definitions by interview participants. Although there seemed to be no consensus about the definitions of integration within a local area, participants' definitions in Newham and Shinjuku have their own patterns in integration perspectives. While integration was defined based on the characteristics of the local community in Newham, Multicultural Coexistence (MC), the term used in Japan to address integration issues, was defined as a policy term in general and as principles in local practice in Shinjuku. The findings show that local actors defined integration in a different way from central government.

In Newham, participants' definitions were divided into three groups: Everyone being a part of the local community; Individual Integration, and Newcomer Integration. These three definitions focused on the relationship between everyone and the local community, the interaction between individuals, and the interaction between newcomers and residents, respectively. In Newham it was found that integration did not mean immigrant integration that focuses on the relationship between immigrants and the receiving society, because people with a migration background are in the majority in the local community.

In Shinjuku, it was stated that MC was generally considered to be a political term, meaning support for foreign residents, but most participants defined MC as their principles in the local practice, which were divided into three groups: Residents should not be treated differently based on their backgrounds; Living together with differences, and Raising individual awareness to change behaviours. It was identified that there is a gap between MC as a political term and MC as practitioners' principles because the former focuses on foreign residents, and the latter targets all residents and refuses to distinguish residents as Japanese or foreign residents.

By comparing findings of Newham and Shinjuku, it was found that some local actors in Newham and Shinjuku share similar views in the concept of integration – refusing to label people based on nationality, ethnicity, and religion. It is possible to argue that this view is specific to integration perspectives at the local level.

7-2-2. Local Integration issues

It was found that integration issues in the local area interview participants considered can be divided into two groups – locally specific issues and common issues at the city (London/Tokyo) or national levels. It was also found that some local actors in Newham and Shinjuku considered that integration issues need to be addressed as structural responsibility rather than individual responsibility.

In Newham, three barriers to integration were identified. Firstly, some participants regarded poverty issues as the most important barrier to integration in Newham, and it was pointed out that it is difficult for the local council to deal with it alone. Secondly, it was considered that many residents moving out of Newham, was a locally specific issue, which needs addressing as a structural issue. Thirdly, some participants considered that language barriers need to be addressed for interaction between residents and for the alleviation of poverty issues. In order to reduce language barriers, some participants emphasised that learning support is needed.

Most interview participants in Shinjuku emphasised that there are MC issues specific to Shinjuku, due to the diverse backgrounds of foreign residents in terms of country of origin, length of stay, and socio-economic status. It was considered that there are marginalised foreign residents facing difficulties in Shinjuku and it is necessary to develop Shinjuku's specialised approach towards MC issues by Japanese residents and foreign residents together. In terms of MC issues in Shinjuku, some participants emphasised common issues that need to be addressed by national government, such as discrimination, bureaucratic sectionalism, and the legal system.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that some local actors consider that local integration issues cannot be responded to by local councils alone. My findings suggest that local integration issues include common, as well as locally specific issues and that national government should play a crucial role in local integration. In terms of integration issues at local level, central government needs not only to publish the general guideline, but also to address common local integration issues.

7-2-3. Council response towards local integration issues

By exploring how local actors perceive the response of their councils towards local integration issues, it was identified that Newham takes a mainstream, whole-community approach, moving away from a focus on the multicultural approach to some extent, and

Shinjuku favours multicultural, reception policies in which foreign residents are included in the local network and the consultative body, rather than in the decision-making process itself.

Interview participants in Newham considered that the council's approach towards integration is: Targeting everyone rather than supporting specific groups; Getting people together from different communities, and Emphasis on being able to speak English. In Shinjuku, in contrast to Newham, the council's measures regarding support for foreign residents, such as consultation services and multilingual services were highlighted as council policy response towards MC issues. Some participants mentioned that the council attempted to develop Shinjuku's own approach towards disaster (mainly earthquake) prevention by working together with Japanese and foreign residents. It is possible to argue that the council has not only introduced support for foreign residents, but also tried to promote interaction and discussion between Japanese and foreign residents.

Despite these contrasting policies, it was found that there are some similarities regarding council attitude from the perspectives of local actors. Some interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku acknowledged that their council has tried to respond to local needs by listening to residents' voices and promoting events to create opportunities for interaction between residents with a different background. However, this does not necessarily mean that the council's policy meets the local needs, because it was found that there are some contradictions in participants' views in Shinjuku – the council's attitude of focusing on listening to the voices of residents and insufficient implementation. Three possible reasons for these contradicting opinions were identified from participants' views – there are some flaws in the administration, for example, the council prioritises noticeable initiatives rather than achievements; some services are better provided by the third sector rather than the council, and residents should be the main actors who discuss the issue, find the solution, and decide upon local MC policy, and insufficient implementation is the results of insufficient action from Shinjuku residents. Thus, it is important for the council to support the third sector and to facilitate residents towards becoming main actors, as well as address flaws in the administration, in terms of local policy response towards integration.

7-2-4. The main local factors influencing local integration policy

The main local factors influencing local integration policy identified from participants' views and descriptions included some similar factors as well as factors specific to Newham or Shinjuku.

Interview participants in Newham considered that the council has introduced an advanced approach towards integration by focusing only on the Newham community. The characteristics of the Newham community that participants highlighted were the local population structure and local attitude towards the diversity – ethnic minorities are in the majority, and the diversity in terms of people’s backgrounds has been valuing and celebrating, rather than tolerating. Moreover, some participants were concerned about poverty issues and a large number of residents moving out of Newham once their situation improves, which needed to be addressed by the council.

It was considered that Shinjuku needs to develop its own approach towards MC issues, by paying attention to the diverse backgrounds of foreign residents in terms of country of origin, length of stay, and socio-economic status. Some participants emphasised that it is a matter of urgency to respond to their various needs, in order to reduce the impact of possible earthquakes. It was also considered that prosperous grassroots activities by individual activists and community-based groups in Shinjuku were a trigger for the council’s MC measures and that the council developed MC measures in the absence of national guidelines.

Among these local factors, Newham and Shinjuku have a local population structure in common. However, participants described a contrasting structure re majority/minority relations. While people with a migration background are in the majority in Newham, they are in the minority, marginalised and isolated in Shinjuku. It is possible to argue that the contrasting approaches between Newham and Shinjuku – a community strategy targeting everyone in Newham and MC measures focusing on foreign residents in Shinjuku – can be explained by how the local population structure was understood and framed in Newham and Shinjuku.

7-2-5. The roles of community-based organisations in the local approach towards integration

This research suggests that community-based organisations were not considered to be key players in policy-making within the council.

In Newham, it was pointed out that the relationship between community-based organisations and the local council was not close and not good, except for specific organisations working together with the council. Furthermore, some participants mentioned that community-based

organisations used to be policy actors. My findings suggest that austerity measures have alienated community-based organisations from the council.

In Shinjuku, it was found that grassroots activities influenced the council to start addressing MC issues, but community-based organisations were not considered as key actors in the policy-making process. Some participants, members of the Multicultural Town Development Committee, did not regard themselves as policy actors who influenced Shinjuku's MC measures.

While previous research has found that community-based organisations play a crucial role in local policy-making, my findings demonstrate that some local actors considered that community-based organisations do not influence policy-making. This research clearly illustrates that community-based organisations are key actors in the local approach towards integration issues, rather than in local policy-making.

7-2-6. The effects of upper-level policies on local integration and local integration policy

From the perspectives of local actors, guidelines published by upper-level governments were not considered as key factors that influence borough-level policies in a significant way. Rather, negative influences from national policies were highlighted.

In Newham, it was identified that austerity measures have directly and indirectly undermined the relationship between community-based organisations and the council, as well as negatively affected voluntary organisations and council measures. While Ali and Gidley (2014) found that austerity measures have “driven some innovation in meeting integration and cohesion objectives through the mainstream” (p.23), based on case studies of five London boroughs, my findings demonstrate that local actors consider that austerity has undermined the voluntary sector that responds to local needs, which the council's mainstreamed, whole-community approach cannot cover.

Findings in Shinjuku demonstrated that national-level issues, such as the legal system and bureaucratic sectionalism, have negatively affected the activities of local activists and community-based organisations and hence local integration. For example, although local actors have tried to improve the educational environment for children with a migration background, bureaucratic sectionalism has blocked them.

7-3. My originality and contribution to knowledge

My research is highly original in terms of: findings from the perspectives of local actors; new conceptual framework for local actors, and cross-national comparative discussion in qualitative research.

7-3-1. The perspectives of local actors

This research seeks to understand the concept of integration and integration policy from the perspectives of local actors, and local councils' approaches were identified by analysing their views. Interview participants included, not only council staff and politicians, but also members of voluntary organisations, faith groups, migrant organisations, and community groups that might be involved in policy-making or affected by local policy. It is possible to argue that interview participants in my research were the most suitable sample group in order to understand what is happening at the local area, because they have rich experience and knowledge of activities related to local integration issues, and were familiar with national and policy contexts, in addition to local contexts. My findings were based on their experiences within the local community, rather than based on the council viewpoint, explained by policy-makers or stated in policy documents. In other words, my findings show local actors' views on local needs and how local councils have responded to those local needs, rather than showing how local councils understand the local community and what they are trying to achieve.

It is worth noting that it was difficult to find any meaningful differences in views, according to participants' backgrounds in terms of the types of organisations, nationality, or ethnicity. The major reason was that there were a small number of interviews included in this research. However, it is also possible to argue, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, that this is due to the characteristics of interview participants, who were deeply interested in promoting integration in the local area, and that their views differ from one person to another. In Newham, some participants have worked for both governmental and non-governmental organisations. For example, one participant, categorised as a local councillor in the participant profiles, talked about her experiences of being a leader of the local faith group, a parent governor at the local school, and working for charity organisations for refugees and migrants. Two council staff also mentioned that they used to work for non-governmental organisations. In Shinjuku, some

of council staff seemed to work for MC issues as if it were a vocation using their personal time and building their personal network, and their views need to be considered as local actors, rather than as participants from the council. Similarly, it was difficult to analyse participants' views, focusing on the differences according to whether participants had a migration background or not. One participant with a migration background was introduced as the leader of the local community (importantly, not of their ethnic communities), another was a council staff member in Newham, and participants with a migration background in Shinjuku also had various backgrounds: including a naturalised Japanese resident and foreign residents, and two had grown up in Japan. It is possible to argue that the views of interview participants in Newham and Shinjuku varied according to their own experiences, and what they have in common was that they have been involved in local integration issues as service providers. Therefore, all participants' views were analysed as those of local actors in this study and their views were not grouped according to the differences in their backgrounds.

By exploring local actors' views, my findings provide some new insights into the concept of integration. Although previous research has discussed the concept of integration, it has not been focused on the aspect of the local characteristics. For example, Ager and Strang (2008) identified four themes and ten core domains of integration⁵¹ based on an inductive methodology, including interviews with refugees and local actors in Islington in London and Pollokshaws in Glasgow, they did not distinguish their definitions in two areas, but provided a universal conceptual framework, which has contributed to “national and regional policy formulation” and “developing services aimed at supporting refugee integration” (p.185). Charsley and Spencer (2019) provided a model of integration, focusing on the aspect of the process of individual experience. It is a comprehensive model, including five dimensions in which integration process takes place and four levels of factors affecting integration⁵². Their model shows that “individuals are not solely responsible for their integration trajectories – a range of individuals and institutions, from neighbours and employers to service providers and government, share capacity and responsibility for facilitating processes of integration” (p.3). While their discussions did not focus on locally specific issues, my findings in Newham demonstrated that some local actors defined integration based on the characteristics of the

⁵¹ Four themes Ager and Strang (2008) identified were: Markers and Means; Social Connection; Facilitators, and Foundation. Ten core domains were: Employment; Housing; Education; Health; Social Bridges; Social Bonds; Social Links; Language and Cultural knowledge; Safety and Stability, and Rights and Citizenship.

⁵² Five dimensions Charsley and Spencer (2019) identified were: Structural; Social; Civic and political; Cultural, and Identity. Four levels of factors affecting integration were: Individual; Families and social networks; Opportunity structures in society, and Policy.

local community. It is possible to argue that policy-makers at both local and national levels need to understand these locally specific definitions, as well as the comprehensive framework. Findings in Shinjuku provided an important implication that there is a possibility that meanings of the term used in the policy and those in local practice are different. Moreover, the common view in the concept of integration in Newham and Shinjuku – integration without labelling residents based on nationality, ethnicity, or religion – provided a new aspect of integration perspectives at the local level, which is clearly different from those at the national level. In particular, when the local government seeks to respond to local needs, it is essential to understand local integration perspectives in order to formulate policy.

In terms of local policy response towards integration, my findings added another case into the existing “evidence for widespread mainstreaming in integration policies and practices in the United Kingdom” (Ali and Gidley, 2014, p.23) from the perspectives of local actors. However, while previous research has focused on the important role of community-based organisations in political process, in terms of integration policy (Penninx, 2009; de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016), my findings suggest that community-based organisations are not key actors in the decision-making process in developing integration policies. This is because my findings are based on the perspectives of local actors rather than the views of the council or policy-makers. It is possible to argue that policy-makers in Newham and Shinjuku may have reported that community-based organisations are important partners and play an important role in policy-making, because interview participants in Newham mentioned that some specific organisations work together with the council and their relationship is good, and those in Shinjuku mentioned that the Multicultural Town Development Committee has members of community-based organisations, including migrant organisations. However, interview participants also emphasised that, in Newham, the relationship between community-based organisations and the council is not good and not close in general, and in Shinjuku, it was considered that the recommendations of the Multicultural Town Development Committee have not influenced the council’s MC measures in a significant way. Therefore, my findings, focusing on local actors’ views, provide a new insight into local policy studies, which suggests that the perspectives of policy-makers and those of local actors might provide different findings regarding key actors in local policy-making.

7-3-2. New conceptual framework for local actors

I developed my original conceptual framework to bridge two related fields of literature – ‘theoretical discussion on the concept of integration’ and ‘empirical research of local integration policies’. This new conceptual framework enabled me to look at both the concept of integration at local level and the analysis of local policy response towards local integration issues holistically. While existing empirical research analysing local integration policies has not explored the meanings of integration in the local area, (Alexander, 2003; Nagy, 2009; Hadj-Abdou, 2014; Ali and Gidley, 2014; Hadj-Abdou, 2014; de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016), this research explored the meanings of integration in the local area and looked at how local councils have responded to those integration issues from the perspectives of local actors, rather than looking at local council policies I identified as integration policies.

By conducting coding analysis inductively, this research provided possible models in Newham and Shinjuku (in Chapter 6) from the perspectives of local actors regarding: the concept of integration; how local councils have responded to local integration issues, and the roles of community-based organisations in the local approach towards integration. These models are unlikely to show the full extent of the representative views in Newham and Shinjuku, due to the purposive method of data collection and the limited number of interviews.

However, it is possible to argue that these models offered insightful perspectives by focusing on “the matters that are important to them” (Spicker, 2006, p.82) and on “what is puzzling, strange, unexpected or surprising” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.74) in pattern coding. These possible models are expected to contribute to the discussion of the concept of integration by providing the view from the field, and to contribute to policy studies by not only focusing on the contents of policy or the policy-makers’ views.

7-3-3. Cross-national comparative discussion in qualitative research

This research is also expected to contribute to cross-national comparative research. Few studies have compared a European city with an Asian city, regarding integration perspectives and local integration policy. This research addressed this gap, which is mainly because of my personal background: I was born and raised in Japan and raised my children in the UK, and I

have completed my bachelor and master degrees in Social Sciences in Japan and my bachelor and master degrees in Social Policy in the UK.

This comparative research was difficult in many ways, because local councils used different terms to address integration issues, as well as having different cultural and historical contexts. Despite the different contexts between Newham and Shinjuku, it was identified that some local actors shared similar views in terms of promoting local integration, and those similarities can provide an empirical basis for theory that may apply to other local contexts.

It is important to consider the implications of the different number of interview participants between Newham (9) and Shinjuku (15). However, it is possible to argue that the influences from the imbalance of the sample number became smaller by conducting a comparative discussion of findings, rather than comparative analysis of data. Qualitative data from Newham and Shinjuku were analysed inductively as a single case on its own, and then the two findings were compared and contrasted to draw cross-case discussions.

In conclusion, this research contributes to knowledge on the concept of integration and comparative local integration policy studies, through analysing local actors' views inductively and by developing a new conceptual framework for local actors. My New conceptual framework enabled me to look at both the concept of integration at local level and the analysis of local policy response towards those local integration issues holistically. Importantly, the possible models of Newham and Shinjuku were based on local actors' rich experience and knowledge in the field, and do not show how local councils understand the local community and what they are trying to achieve.

My findings provide some fresh aspects to integration perspectives, such as locally specific definitions of integration in Newham, definitions in local practice in Shinjuku, and integration without labelling residents in Newham and Shinjuku. As local actors defined integration in a different way from central government, it is important for the local council to understand these definitions of integration in the local area in order to respond to local needs. The results also suggest that consensus building on integration within local areas is needed. In terms of local integration policies, my findings in Newham added another case to the existing evidence for widespread mainstreaming in integration policies in the UK, and my findings in Shinjuku demonstrated that Shinjuku favours multicultural, reception policies in which foreign residents are included in the local network and the consultative body, from the

perspectives of local actors. It was identified that the contrasting approaches between Newham and Shinjuku can be explained by how the local population structure was understood and framed in Newham and Shinjuku. My findings also show different patterns from the findings of previous research: community-based organisations play an important role in local response towards integration, rather than in local policy-making process in Newham and Shinjuku.

7-4. Recommendations for future research

Findings in Newham and Shinjuku provided some new insights into the research topic, which need to be examined further in future research. Firstly, although it was identified that some local actors in Newham and Shinjuku share a common view on the concept of integration – integration without labelling residents – this research is not enough to develop this commonly held view into a theory and more empirical research, focusing on local actors' views, is necessary.

Secondly, there is a need for further work exploring the relationship between national government and local government response to local integration issues. My findings clearly demonstrate that local actors considered there are some barriers or challenges that cannot be responded to only by the local council. In terms of the national/local relations in integration policies, previous research has focused on the differences and similarities in policy framing (Poppelaars and Scholten, 2008; Scholten, 2015). Therefore, future research is needed to explore what national government can do to support local actors and local government, other than providing general guidelines on integration.

Lastly, future studies could look upon local integration policies as one part of the local approach towards integration issues, rather than as the dominant part of local efforts. My findings demonstrate that community-based organisations play a crucial role in local response towards integration issues, and that the third sector work better for some services than the council, in terms of integration issues. It was also found that council staff in Newham and Shinjuku tried to engage as many local residents as possible in local events and meetings to promote discussion within the local community. In terms of integration issues, the role of council staff was considered to be that of facilitators, rather than organisers. It was also pointed out that residents are the main actors who discuss local integration issues and create a shared vision for the local community, rather than decision makers within the council. Furthermore, it was found that some local actors, regardless of the types of their

organisations, act as go-betweens in the local area to share issue awareness and exchange opinions between people from different communities; between local workers who help immigrants and professional health workers, such as the midwives and public health nurses; between council staff and volunteer workers in the local area and between residents. Thus, it is possible to argue that one of the important local efforts towards integration lies in discussion for consensus building within the local community. These findings suggest that local council response, including the attitude of council staff, can be considered as one of the gears in local efforts towards integration, and that analysing local integration policies alone might present a different picture of the local approach towards integration issues.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Key questions for local actors

(Common in Newham and Shinjuku)

Local actors' views on:

- immigrant integration
 - The definition of immigrant integration
 - The main challenges of immigrant integration in the local area and ways of tackling them
- the council's immigrant integration policy
 - The council's approach
 - The issues the council focuses on
 - The target of policy
 - Key actors influencing policy-making
 - Factors influencing policy-making
 - The way community-based organisations engaged in policy-making
- The role of international, national and city policy

Appendix 2: Interviews in Newham

Appendix 2-1: Interview guide in Newham

Interviewees' views on:

- Community-based organisations
 - Interviewee's organisations
 - Relationship with the council, upper-level (city, central and international) governments
 - Other community-based organisations in Newham
 - Relationship between community-based organisations
 - Relationship with the council
- Local issues in Newham
 - Challenges Newham faces
 - The relationship between those challenges and a diverse community
 - Ways of tackling those challenges
- The council's community strategy
 - The council's approach
 - Key actors and key factors influencing the council's policy
 - The way interviewees engaged in policy-making
 - The way community-based organisations engaged in policy-making
 - Policy documents without the words integration, migrants and refugees
 - Relationship between the council's policy and upper-level (city, central and international) government policies
 - Interviewees' definitions of integration
 - Programmes or activities that worked well, and the reasons
- Migrants
 - The important issues when migrants become members of the Newham community
 - The council's attitude towards migrants

Appendix 2-2: Information obtained during the fieldwork in Newham

During the fieldwork, I obtained local newspapers (Newham Recorder) and many information leaflets provided in the local library or at local events. Among them, the following helped me especially to understand interview data.

Newham Recorder (local newspaper) distributed at the community event I attended: There were class pictures of primary school leavers (the pictures show the diverse community), and some articles regarding local efforts towards integration: non-Muslims joining ‘a day-long fast’ to show unity; mental health support for individuals from ethnic minority groups, and online resources for refugees and asylum seekers, launched by the university in Newham.

The Newham mag (published every fortnight by the council) obtained from the local library: It tells what is happening in the local area, such as rail improvements update, important law changes, and community events organised by the council or by community-based organisations. It includes lots of pictures, in which residents can be seen enjoying local clubs, such as dance or knitting in the local library, or the local leisure centre.

Building Communities: Newham’s community neighbourhoods (a leaflet published by the council) obtained from the local library: It explains the activities of Newham’s Community Neighbourhood teams in the council, saying “we deliver around 500 events and activities a week in our eight community neighbourhoods.” These include faith conferences, community clean up events, holiday lunch clubs, street festivals, market games and coffee mornings.

Appendix 2-3: Participant Information Sheet



Participant Information Sheet

I would like to invite you to participate in a PhD research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Feel free to ask questions if anything you read is not clear or you would like more information.

Title of the research project

Local immigrant integration policies in London and Tokyo

Overview of the research

This research aims to look at the local policy response toward diverse populations from different countries and to understand what is happening in local policy-making. By comparing local approaches in a London borough and a Tokyo ward, this research seeks to provide new insights useful for policy-makers. Newham in London and Shinjuku in Tokyo have been selected because they have particularly diverse populations and, as a result, extensive experience in related policymaking. In order to learn from that experience, interviews will be conducted with representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisations in each area.

This study has ethical approval from an ethics committee at Anglia Ruskin University.

The researcher and the researcher's supervisors

Researcher: Ayako Oyama
PhD student researcher
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First Supervisor: Dr Claudia Schneider
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Second Supervisor: Dr Claire Preston
Research Fellow
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Can I refuse to take part?

Although you have been approached as a member of the organisation, this does not mean you have to take part. Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you do not wish to take part you are free to refuse without giving a reason.

What will I be asked to do?

You have been asked to participate in a face-to-face interview, lasting around 60 minutes. Once you agree to take part, I will contact you so we can arrange to meet at a time that is convenient for you. I will then visit your organisation and ask you about questions about your experience in the organisation and your views on the local area. You may choose not to answer any of questions asked.

Use of recording equipment

For the purpose of the accuracy of the data analysis from our interview, I will record the audio of the session after obtaining your permission. Nobody except myself and my supervisors will hear the recording of the interview and it will be stored securely.

Whether I can withdraw at any time, and how

You can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. If you participate in the interview, you may stop the interview if you do not wish to continue, the audio recording will be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. You may withdraw your data from this research within two weeks of the interview.

Your confidentiality and anonymity

If you take part in the project, systematic effort will be taken to ensure your confidentiality and anonymity.

For your confidentiality, it is preferable that interviews will take place in an environment where your colleagues cannot overhear what is being said. Your personal identifying information and the name of your organisation will not be in the recording and will be stored separately from the data. Only myself and my two supervisors will have access to information on the participants. Once interviews have been completed, they will be transcribed and loaded into Nvivo software for analysis. Your responses to the questions will be used for the purpose of this project only. All recordings and information which is collected about you during the course of the interview will be stored securely and will be destroyed after ten years.

To protect your anonymity, all personal information relating to participants will be removed prior to dissemination. Identifying information on individual participants and the organisation to which they belong will not be used in any published findings, unless permission is sought

and given prior to publication. Although every attempt will be made to ensure anonymity, it may not be possible to guarantee complete anonymity. It is possible that your colleagues or peers may be able to identify you from contextual information, although this is less likely to be the case with the general public.

A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in any report.

Use of quotes

I may include selective quotes from the transcription to illustrate points in my thesis and any resulting publications. These will be anonymised and great care taken to ensure that any quotes cannot be attributed to you as an employee of your current organisation.

What are the likely benefits of taking part?

Participants might benefit from the reflection on their work and policy processes which the interviews will entail. This may extend to potential beneficial changes in policy-making and work practices as a result.

Are there any possible disadvantages or risks to taking part?

You may find that you are not comfortable talking about your experience in the organisation and views on the local area. You do not have to answer any questions in interviews you do not wish to.

Contact for further information

Please contact the researcher, Ayako Oyama if you would like to seek further clarifications on this research.

Email address: *****@pgr.anglia.ac.uk

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to me or my supervisors. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can do this by contacting the Office of the Secretary and Clerk, Anglia Ruskin University

Email address: *****@anglia.ac.uk

Postal address: *****

Thank you for reading this information sheet. If you decide to take part you will be given a copy of this information sheet and your signed consent form.

Appendix 2-4: Participant Consent Form



Participant Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my research. Please sign this form to show that you consent to take part in this research.

Name of Participant:

Title of the project: Local immigrant integration policies in London and Tokyo

The researcher and the researcher's supervisors:

Researcher: Ayako Oyama
PhD student researcher
Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education
Anglia Ruskin University
*****@pgr.anglia.ac.uk

First Supervisor: Dr Claudia Schneider
Principal Lecturer
Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education
Anglia Ruskin University
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Second Supervisor: Dr Claire Preston
Research Fellow
Faculty of Health, Social Care and Education
Anglia Ruskin University
*****@anglia.ac.uk

1. I agree to take part in the above research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet for the study. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
2. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason.
3. I am free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

4. I understand what will happen to the data collected from me for the research.
5. I have been provided with the Participant Information Sheet.
6. I understand that anonymised quotes from my interview may be used in the dissemination of the research.

Data Protection: I agree to the University⁵³ processing personal data which I have supplied. I agree to the processing of such data for any purposes connected with the Research Project as outlined to me.

Name of participant (print).....Signed.....Date.....

Name of person
witnessing consent (print).....Signed..... Date.....

If you agree to be recorded, please sign and date below.

Name of participant (print).....Signed.....Date.....

Name of person
witnessing consent (print).....Signed..... Date.....

PARTICIPANTS MUST BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM TO KEEP
ADD DATE AND VERSION NUMBER OF CONSENT FORM.

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY.

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please speak to the researcher or email them at *****@pgr.anglia.ac.uk stating the title of the research.

You do not have to give a reason for why you would like to withdraw.

Please let the researcher know whether you are/are not happy for them to use any data from you collected to date in the write up and dissemination of the research.

⁵³ “The University” includes Anglia Ruskin University and its Associate Colleges.

Appendix 3: Interviews in Shinjuku

Appendix 3-1: Interview guide in Shinjuku

Interviewee's views on:

- Community-based organisations
 - Interviewee's organisations
 - Relationship with the council, upper-level (city and central) governments
 - Other community-based organisations in Shinjuku
 - Relationship between community-based organisations
 - Relationship with the council
- Definition of Multicultural Coexistence (MC)
 - Interviewees' definitions of MC
 - Meanings of immigrant integration (imin tōgō)
- Local issues in Shinjuku
 - Challenges Shinjuku faces
 - Ways of tackling those challenges
- The council's MC measures
 - The council's approach
 - The beginning of the council's MC measures
 - Key actors and key factors influencing council policy
 - The way interviewees engaged in policy-making
 - The way community-based organisations engaged in policy-making
 - Relationship between the council's policy and upper-level (city and central) government policies
 - Programmes or activities that worked well, and the reasons
- The Multicultural Town Development Committee
 - Ways of deciding discussion themes and discussing
 - The roles of the committee in policy-making
 - Proposals that worked well, or that were difficult to carry out

Appendix 3-2: Information obtained during the fieldwork in Shinjuku

During the fieldwork, I obtained a number of information leaflets and booklets published by the council, which were distributed in the council building, the Shinjuku Multicultural Plaza and the local library, or were provided by interview participants. Among them, the following helped especially in the understanding of interview data.

The Safety Card: This card-size folded paper contained useful information for an emergency (i.e. after an earthquake). Useful phrases, such as ‘Please help me’, ‘Where should I go’ (after the earthquake, people need to go to the evacuation centre), ‘I am injured’, ‘One of us doesn’t feel well’ and ‘I want to contact my embassy,’ were listed in Japanese, alongside other languages (the card I obtained was written in English, Thai and French). In an emergency, people would not need to be fluent in Japanese, but could point to the appropriate phrase in their own language and people would understand what they need.

The Guide to Living in Shinjuku: This 70-page booklet is distributed for free. Its contents include information on the council’s services for foreign residents and basic information on living in Japan, such as the residence card, health insurance, child support allowance, school enrolment procedure, traffic rules for bikes, how to separate trash, and how to open a bank account. The booklet is available in English, Chinese, Korean, Nepali, Vietnamese, and Burmese.

The Shinjuku News: This is a promotional paper for foreign residents in Shinjuku. Paper copies are distributed in council facilities and it can be viewed online via the council’s website. The news is issued four times a year, and is available in English, Chinese and Korean. It covers local news and useful information for foreign residents, for example, articles on an event for international students and on the sports club that foreign and Japanese residents can enjoy together, information on family Japanese-language classes for foreign residents and on medical institutions in foreign languages (English, Chinese, Korean, Thai, Spanish, Portuguese, Tagalog, Vietnamese) including basic procedure in the hospital.

In the council’s facilities, I also obtained a number of leaflets regarding services for foreign residents, provided by non-governmental organisations, such as:

- ‘Free Medical Check-up for foreigners’ by Asian peoples friendship society (Non-profit organisation). This stated that ‘we will not ask about your visa status’ and was available in English, Chinese, Tagalog, Burmese, Nepali and French;
- ‘Today and Tomorrow: A Survival Guide for Refugees in Japan’ by the Japan Association for Refugees, and
- ‘Helpline for foreigners’ by the General Incorporated Association Social Inclusion Support Center (Non-profit organisation), was available in English, Korean, Chinese, Tagalog, Vietnamese, Nepali, Portuguese, and Thai.

Appendix 3-3: Participant Information Sheet (Japanese)



インタビューについてのご説明

本研究へのご協力をご快諾いただきまして、誠にありがとうございます。以下の説明をお読みいただき、本研究の概要とインタビュー調査についてご理解いただけましたら幸いです。

また大学の倫理審査委員会の規定によりまして、インタビュー調査にご協力いただく方には、同意書（Participant Consent Form）へのご署名をお願いすることになっております。同意書は調査当日にお持ちしますので、インタビューの前にご署名をいただけましたらと思います。後述のように、その同意書にご署名していただいた後でも、お申し出があれば調査協力への中断、撤回ができます。

研究の題名

ロンドンと東京における移民統合政策（仮）

（英語タイトル：Local immigrant integration policies in London and Tokyo）

本研究の概要

本研究は、多様な文化的背景をもつ人たちに対する地域の取り組みと政策作成過程を探ることを目的としています。ロンドン市と東京都を事例として取り上げ、国レベルの政策比較では見えてこない地域特有の課題や特徴などを明らかにしたいと考えております。政策作成に関しては、二都市の中でもっとも外国人居住者の多い地区であり、独自の政策を展開しているロンドン市ニューアム地区と東京都新宿区に注目する予定です。

つきましては、新宿区の多文化共生推進に携わってこられた方々にいろいろとお話を伺いご教示をいただくべく、インタビュー調査を計画いたしました。

本研究は、アングリアラスキン大学の倫理審査委員会から承認を得ています。

本研究へのご協力の中断や撤回について

このインタビュー調査へのご協力につきましては、理由を説明することなく中断や撤回をすることができます。インタビューの辞退をご希望される方は、研究者にメールもしくは口頭にてご連絡をお願いします。また同意書にご署名いただいた後でも、途中でインタビューをとりやめたりすることができますし、答えたくない質問にはお答えいただかなくても構いません。インタビューの後で調査協力を撤回し、データの廃棄をご希望される方は、インタビュー実施後2週間以内にご連絡をお願いします。いずれの場合も、その理由をご説明いただく必要はありません。

分析を進めるなかで改めてお伺いしたいことが生じ、後日、追加インタビューをお願いすることがあるかもしれませんが、この追加インタビューへのご協力をお断りいただくこともできます。

インタビューについて

インタビューは、2017年1月23日から2月17日の期間において、ご協力いただける方のご都合に合うよう日時と場所を調整いたします。インタビューでは、新宿区多文化共生推進に関するご自身の体験やご意見などをお聞きしたいと思っております。インタビューは1対1の対面式で行い、時間は1時間前後を予定しております。前述のように、お話しになりたくないことを質問された場合は、無理にお話しいただく必要はありませんし、理由を説明する必要もございません。

申し訳ありませんが、謝礼をお渡しすることはできませんこと、何卒ご了承ください。

本研究は、インタビューにご協力くださる方々へ直接的・個人的な利益をもたらすことは期待できませんが、新宿区の多文化共生推進に携わることができるだけ多くの方々のご意見やご体験を伺い、その先進性や独自性を明らかにすることにより、新宿区の多文化共生推進への理解が進み、同政策推進に少しでも貢献することができればと思っております。

インタビューの中で伺った内容は、インタビューにご協力いただいた方々の視点に重きを置いた質的分析という手法を用いて解析をする予定です。そのため、インタビューはICレコーダーで録音し、逐語録（録音内容を一語一句文章に書き取ります）を作成いたしますが、研究報告に際しましては、複数の方のインタビューデータを統合した形で扱うなど、お名前や機関などの情報は個人が特定できない表記にいたします。

ご協力者の個人情報と匿名性

この研究のためにお話しいただいた内容や逐語録を研究目的以外に用いることはありません。またインタビュー音声は研究データとして慎重に扱い、研究者以外が聞くことはありません。逐語録作成と分析は質的分析ソフトのNVivoを使用いたします。ご協力いただいた方々の個人情報をお守りするために、個人が特定できる情報（お名前や機関名）はインタビューの音声や逐語録とは別に保管いたします。それらすべての音声、個人情報や同意書は、アングリアラスキン大学の倫理審査委員会の規定に従い厳重に管理し、10年以内に破棄いたします。

研究報告に際しましては分析結果を例証するために、インタビューでお話しいただいた内容の一部を研究者が英訳し、引用する場合がありますが、ご協力いただいた方々の匿名性を守るために、個人が特定できる情報に関しては細心の注意を払い、プライバシーや個人情報の保護を優先いたします。しかしたとえ匿名であっても、お話しになっている内容から、インタビューを受けられたことをご存知の方や関係者の方には個人を特定されてしまうリスクがあることをご了承ください。

研究者、および問い合わせ先について

本研究は、英国アングリアラスキン大学・Health, Social Care and Education 学部・PhD コース2年の大山彩子が行います。研究内容に関するご質問は、以下の研究者連絡先までご連絡をお願いします。

研究者連絡先：*****@pgr.anglia.ac.uk

もし研究者の説明でご納得いただけない場合には、指導教官あるいは副指導教官までご連絡をお願いします（英語対応になります）。

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また、研究者や指導教官の対応にご不満があり、研究の倫理規定等に関しましてご不満をお申し出される場合には、アングリアラスキン大学の事務局までご連絡をお願いします（英語対応になります）。

連絡先 : *****
*****@anglia.ac.uk

本説明書をお読みいただきましてありがとうございました。
ではインタビュー当日に本説明書と同意書をお持ちいたします。

Appendix 3-4: Participant Consent Form (Japanese)



インタビューについての同意書

「ロンドンと東京における移民統合政策（仮）」に関わるインタビュー調査へのご協力をご快諾いただきまして、ありがとうございます。別紙「インタビューについてのご説明」と本同意書をお読みいただき、ご承諾いただけましたら、ご署名をお願いいたします。

ご協力者のお名前:

研究の題名:「ロンドンと東京における移民統合政策（仮）」
(Local immigrant integration policies in London and Tokyo)

研究者と指導教官について

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1. 上記の調査について、別紙「インタビューについてのご説明」を読み、インタビュー調査について理解しました。
2. 研究者に理由を説明することなく、インタビュー調査への協力を中断・撤回することができることを知っています。
3. インタビュー調査の前やインタビューの最中などに、いつでも質問できることを知っています。

4. インタビューで私が答えた内容がどのように取り扱われるかについて理解しました。
5. 研究成果の報告において、インタビューで発言した内容が匿名で引用されることがあることを理解しました。

わたしは、「ロンドンと東京における移民統合政策(仮)」の研究に関わる以上の事項について説明を受け、この研究のためのインタビュー調査に協力することに同意します。

調査ご協力者:

ご署名:

日付: 2017 年 月 日

調査研究者: 大山彩子

署名:

日付: 2017 年 月 日

また、インタビューが録音されることに同意します。

調査ご協力者:

ご署名:

日付: 2017 年 月 日

調査研究者: 大山彩子

署名:

日付: 2017 年 月 日

同意書 2 枚にご署名していただき、1 枚を調査ご協力者にお渡しし、1 枚を研究者が保管します。

調査協力への中断・撤回について

インタビュー調査への協力のご辞退につきましては、研究者にメール (*****@pgr.anglia.ac.uk)、もしくは口頭にてお知らせくださいますようお願いいたします。また本同意書にご署名いただいた後でも、答えたくない質問を拒否したり、途中でインタビューをとりやめたりすることができます。インタビュー後に調査協力を撤回し、データの廃棄をご希望される方は、インタビュー実施後 2 週間以内 にご連絡くださいますようお願いいたします。いずれの場合も、理由を説明する必要はございません。