Being workers, being from another country, and being ordinary people:
Considering "Multicultural Coexistence" from an "Ethnic Business" perspective

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Abstract　This study analyzed the way that the "culture" of foreign residents has been interpreted in Japan.　In Japan, measures to ensure coexistence with foreign residents continue to develop as the number of foreign workers increases.　Issues with current "multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka-Kyosei*)" policies were examined through a case study of an area where many people from Brazil reside.　Since the amendment to the Immigration Control Act in 1990, the number of Brazilians in Japan has increased.　Looking at "culture" as interpreted within the context of "multicultural coexistence" and examining the policies and ethnic businesses surrounding "multicultural coexistence" from both the perspectives of the local host community and the internal ethnic group, the existence of "culture" that is distorted by the simple notion of "ethnicity" being equivalent to "culture" and "ethnic categorization" can be pointed out.　When taking a "multicultural coexistence" measure, it is important to proceed by recognizing the multiple layers and dimensions of culture from the viewpoint of "multi-'layered' cultural coexistence," rather than paying attention to only superficial cultural differences that could lead to the "otherization" and marginalization of an ethnic group.

Ⅰ. Introduction

　　Each year I receive requests to lead fieldwork from several universities.　Many of the students coming to conduct fieldwork are of the perception that in Hamamatsu City, which at the Japanese domestic municipal level is home to most Brazilian nationals, stands an especially impressive "Brazilian Town."　Here, at one end of town, we find a collection of many Brazilian shops, streets teeming with Brazilians, the smell of Churrasco wafting through the air, and samba rhythms coming from somewhere.　In reality, however, the view down the street is no different to the view down the one in which they themselves live.　Of course, there are passers-by who appear to have come from Brazil, but they carry bags from Japanese supermarkets.　Similarly, the Brazilian shops are smaller than expected, they stand quietly between very ordinary houses and buildings, and very few people from Brazil can be seen inside on weekdays.　On the other hand, the shops appear to be swarming with visitors.　Students who have come imagining the typical "Brazilian Town" end up feeling cheated on seeing such sights.　However, this is indeed the reality of the town believed to be home to the most Brazilian nationals in Japan.　That it has not become the scene of a so-called typical "ethnic town" is conversely expressive of their lives within the host country.

　　In 1990, the "Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act" (hereinafter, "the Immigration Control Act") was amended, and second and third generation Japanese descendants and their families were granted "Japanese spousal" "permanent residents" residency status, which places no restrictions on activities within Japan. Hereby, employment in manual labor, which was conventionally against the law, was legalized.　Likewise, even non-Japanese descendants with a spouse of Japanese descent up to the third generation, became eligible to obtain the same residency status as Japanese descendants.　Consequently, there was an increase in the number of Japanese descendants and their families from South America, mainly Brazil. Looking at where registered Brazilian nationals in Japan reside by region, it was noted that just after the amendment to the Immigration Control Act, residence

was concentrated in northern Kanto and the Tokai region, these regions offering many employment opportunities in the manufacturing industry such as transportation machinery. Later, due to an increase in the types of employment available, residence spread to the Hokuriku and Tohoku regions, and across the entire country, while from 2000 there was a notable influx to the Tokai region (Kataoka 2012). Subsequently, owing to the financial crisis sparked by the Lehman Shock in 2008, manual workers in Japan, including those from Brazil, experienced a rapid decline in employment opportunities. From April 2009 to March 2010, a "Repatriation Assistance Project," which paid the airfare for now unemployed people from South America to return to their native countries, was implemented in Japan. Around 22,000 people applied. Amidst such circumstances, the number of registered Brazilian nationals in Japan, which had been more than 300,000 since 2005, fell to 210,032 by the end of 2011. However, the number of registered Brazilian nationals in Japan still accounts for 10.1% of foreign nationals residing in Japan overall, placing them third in terms of the number registered domestically after nationals from China and South/North Korea. With the increase in the number of people from Brazil, many relevant institutions and bodies, such as the administration, civic associations, and non-profit organizations (NPOs) in areas with many Brazilian residents, implemented approaches aimed at "multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka-Kyosei*)" with local Japaneseresidents. Meanwhile, at the national level, policies related to "multicultural coexistence" also progressed.

However, while "multicultural coexistence" policies are advancing vis-à-vis the increase in people from Brazil since the Immigration Control Act amendment, many issues that must be re-questioned remain. One such issue is the way in which "culture" is interpreted within the "multiculturalism" concept. Morris-Suzuki (2002) comments on a tendency in recent years to critically analyze unchallenged assumptions about "culture," which encompasses the context of "multiculturalism." Likewise, critical discussion over "multicultural coexistence" policies and their stances has continued to grow in Japan recently. In particular, among the increasing number of people from Brazil in Japan since the amendment of the Immigration Control Act are many of Japanese nationality or with Japanese descendants. Hence, when

using the concept of "multicultural coexistence" in their case, ethnicity should by no means be treated as "culture." Similarly, we must also be aware of the danger of sweeping categorizations such as "Brazilians" or "Brazilian Culture" that disregard the degrees that "ethnicity" encompasses or, in other words, categorizations that disregard various degrees of identity among people from Brazil and their culture, and the many "Japanese descendants" among them. In this sense, to bundle together regions home to many people from Brazil, or concentrations of ethnic businesses run by people from Brazil that have developed in those regions as "Brazilian Towns," and thus create "otherized" or "marginalized" imaginary spaces, is very abusive.

Therefore, amidst the unfolding policies on "multicultural coexistence" in Japan since the Immigration Control Act amendment in 1990, this paper takes as case study an area in Japan wherein many people from Brazil reside. In addition, based on the context of "multicultural coexistence," this paper also clarifies the way in which the "culture" of people from Brazil has been interpreted, and, based on these issues, it aims to consider the way in which their "culture" should be interpreted given that "multicultural coexistence" policies will progress hereafter. This paper may offer a certain amount of reflection on the point that in advancing previous studies conducted of ethnic businesses, the author may have contributed to creating the illusion of "Brazilian Town." As for the composition of the paper, Chapter Ⅱ covers the concept of "multicultural coexistence," a term that has been used frequently in Japan in recent years, as well as the issues within that concept. Chapter Ⅲ takes the case study of an area in which many people from Brazil reside, and investigates the way in which the "culture" of people from Brazil, who have increased in number since the amendment to the Immigration Control Act, is interpreted within the context of "multicultural coexistence" policies from the perspectives of both the host region and the ethnic group. Based on this, Chapter Ⅳ considers how the "culture" of people from Brazil should be interpreted in future within those regions amidst the advance of "multicultural coexistence" policies.

Ⅱ. Issues in "multicultural coexistence" in Japan

Fig. 1 shows the changing numbers of registered Brazilian and Peruvian nationals in Japan since 1989. While there was a slight decrease in 1998, the number of registered Brazilian nationals in Japan continued to increase until 2007. In terms of the form of residency of the people from Brazil who arrived in Japan, in 1990, when the Immigration Control Act was initially amended, we see many lone, male migrant workers. However, with the subsequent deterioration of the Japanese economy in the 1990s, incomes decreased, and since savings did not grow as expected, residence gradually became more long term. Due to extended periods of residence, the number of people bringing their families with them from Brazil increased, and family residences came to account for the majority. Likewise, there was also a significant increase in emigrant second generations born in Japan.

Amidst this situation, in regions where many foreign nationals reside, various policies and approaches related to the "multicultural coexistence" of local residents and foreign national residents began to be implemented. Yamawaki (2008) divides the historical transitions in the acceptance of foreign nationals in Japan since the 1970s into four periods: (1) the 1970s: the permanent settlement of *Zainichi* Koreans and movements to abolish discrimination, (2) 1980s: "regional internationalization"
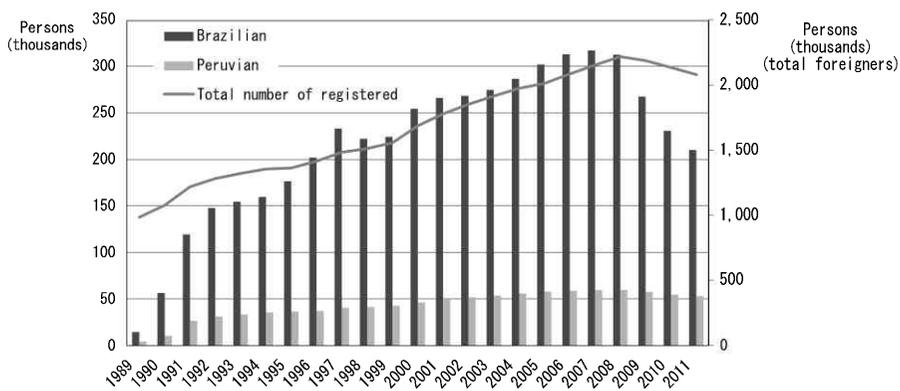

Figure 1   Changes in the number of registered foreigners (Brazilian and Peruvian) in Japan
Source: Statistics on Foreigners Registered in Japan

and an increase in newcomers, ⑶ 1990s: the settlement of newcomers and systemization of policies towards foreign nationals, and ⑷ 2000s: from immigration to multicultural coexistence.　Yamawaki proceeds to indicate that amidst advancing regional internationalization, the late 1990s witnessed heightened concern over the political participation of foreign nationals and the creation of multicultural coexistence towns.　In addition, the number of local authorities aiming to portray foreign nationals as residents and systematize policies for foreign nationals increased.

Thereafter, under the "Second Immigration Control Basic Plan" from the Ministry of Justice in 2000, in several declarations made by the "Foreign National Residents Urban Committee" established in 2001, and also in the "Recommendation on Problems in Accepting Foreign Nationals" announced by the Japanese Business Federation in 2004, improving the readiness of regions and the nation to receive the permanent settlement of foreign residents was raised as an urgent issue.　This trend sees the frequent use of the terms "coexistence" and "multicultural coexistence" by the administration, related bodies, and the media.　The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications issued a "Seminar Report on the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence" in 2006, in which it gives the first definition of the concept of multicultural coexistence as "the mutual recognition of the cultural differences between people of different nationalities or ethnic groups, etc., and living together as members of regional society while forging relationships of equality."　The Ministry also proposed a policy of "multicultural regional development," as well as systematic improvements so as to promote that policy.

In this way, although the concept of "multicultural coexistence" and the need for related policies has been widely advocated, in recent years issues surrounding the concept have also begun to be highlighted.　The issues within "multicultural coexistence" can be divided into two.　These are very briefly covered.

⑴　Issues surrounding the status of vocalizing "multicultural coexistence"

One problem raised with regard to "multicultural coexistence" is the status of the concept itself.　This is evident in Hatano (2006) and Watado (2008), who point out that the concept of "multicultural coexistence" advocated in Japan in

recent years has not been produced by minorities, but rather advocated by the host society. They point out that, unfortunately, under such a concept of "multicultural coexistence" as produced by the host society, "the harmonious dimension stands out and is emphasized" (Iwabuchi 2010). This neglects the reality that it is based on unequal and discriminative constructions surrounding minorities. Similarly, the concept is also problematic in that rather than respecting the rights of minorities, it tends towards the social integration of minorities into the host society or aims at control/governance.

(2) Issues Surrounding "Culture" within "Multicultural Coexistence"

In addition, the way in which "culture" is interpreted within the concept of "multicultural coexistence" needs careful attention. There have been many debates about "culture" in terms of multiculturalism in recent years. In particular, "culture" handled within the concept of "multicultural coexistence" in Japan is frequently viewed as problematic due to the essentialist view of culture inherent therein. Morris-Suzuki (2002) argues that perceiving "culture" within the concept of "multicultural coexistence" from an essentialist view of culture is a superficial interpretation that risks confining minority groups within a specific cultural framework, reproducing stereotypes of them, as well as otherizing and marginalizing them.

However, Shiobara (2005) et al. also point out that as a result, anti-essentialist/hybrid "social constructionist views of culture" (Sekine 2000), which portray culture constituted ethnicity as individual diversity, lead to the deconstruction of ethnic group categories and weaken ethnic minorities. In response to these debates, Hara (2010) comments that "ultimately, the standard debate is restricted to 'whether essentialist or anti-essentialist,' and becomes gridlocked," pointing out the importance of questioning anew the homogeneity, fixedness, and self-evident nature of "Japanese people and Japanese culture," while at the same time linking this to an expansion of networks between diverse identity groups.

Ⅲ．A Fabricated "Brazil"? Distorted "Latin"? Considering the Categories "Culture" and "Ethnicity"

Based on the aforementioned issues surrounding "multicultural coexistence" in Japan, we now consider "culture" as interpreted within the context of "multicultural coexistence" from the side of the host region, and from inside the ethnic group, through a case study of events and ethnic businesses as one part of "multicultural coexistence" policies in Hamamatsu City, Shizuoka.

(1) The "Culture" and "Boundaries" of Ethnic Groups Categorized from the Outside

As part of local "multicultural coexistence" policies, so-called 3F events (food, fashion, and festivals) are often held in the area.　Various events sponsored by the administration or related bodies are also held in Hamamatsu City, such as "Brazil Festivals" and "Samba Festivals," where dance events are performed by Samba groups and food stalls are set up on the street by catering establishments run by people from Brazil.　In this way, ethnicity within the area becomes visible, which increases local Japanese residents' awareness of "Brazilians" in the area. Thus, the image of the town is that it comprises a variety of culture, such as "samba," "soccer," "Churrasco," and "Latin."　Hence, the reality that "other culture" exists in the area, and the question as to how local residents should interact with the "other culture," are perceived as immediate issues.　However, as with the issue in Section 2 mentioned in the previous chapter, within such events, which are part of a "multicultural coexistence" policy, caution is needed to ensure that the "other culture" is not the object of superficial focus and treated only in terms of its cultural differences.　Likewise, as mentioned in Section 1 of the previous chapter, events that only highlight harmony with the "other culture" risk covering up negative structures surrounding minorities in the area.

In addition, we must be mindful of the fact that our interpretation of the "other culture" as "Brazilian Culture" is distorted.　With the amendment to the "Immigration Control Act" in 1990, regardless of the fact that it was mainly "Japanese

descendants" that came to live in Japan, "Brazilian" culture alone was exaggerated among local residents, and is unfortunately now recognized as a form of "other culture." Among Japanese descendants in Brazil, the succession of generations progresses, and it is said that the younger generations are becoming increasingly "Brazilianized." However, even though their numbers are decreasing year on year,[1] according to surveys conducted in Hamamatsu City, even in 2000 around 40% responded that they have "Japanese" attitudes (Hamamatsu City 2000). Kataoka (2005) showed that some people from Brazil, with regard to ethnic businesses run by people from Brazil, say that "We are Japanese, so we don't need them." This survey heard many stories that clarify how fierce the convergence of "other culture" as "Brazilian" culture is, such as "Even if we make Feijao at home, my parents who came with me from Brazil don't eat it because they like rice and miso soup" (second generation Japanese Brazilian in her forties) and "In Brazil, I ate a lot of curry-rice, and my parents also made it for me because we are Japanese descendants, though other Brazilians don't eat it much" (second generation Japanese Brazilian in her thirties). Similarly, among people from Brazil, some say that in their home country, there was a distinct categorization between Brazilians and Japanese descendants, and that they had marginal status as Japanese descendants. They explain that, "We are Japanese descendants. My parents were very strict, and when I was young they told me that when I went out at night I could only go out with Japanese descendants. So I went to a disco that Japanese descendants go to" (second generation Japanese Brazilian in her forties). In an interview questionnaire it was made clear that even in the host country the categorization "Japanese descendant/non-Japanese descendant" persists, as comments were made to the extent of, "A is of Japanese descent, but B is not of Japanese descent."

Since Barth (1969), amidst the rising trend of debates that emphasize the anti-realistic/subjective elements of ethnicity, Isajiw (1974) pointed out that Barth's "boundaries of ethnicity" are a double boundary problem, one of which is due to the process of socialization within, while the other is created through the processes in the relationships between social groups. Later, Kunstadter (1978) posited ethnicity as a comprehensive concept, which overarches the three sub-categories of "ethnic

group," "ethnic identification," and "ethnic categories," the latter defined by other groups within the host society rather than by minority groups. "Ethnic categories" are deemed to be human categories that are based on actual or supposed cultural characteristics, and other groups in society adopt standardized behavior towards these categories to a greater or lesser extent.

There are many "Japanese descendants" and "Japanese" among the people from Brazil whose numbers have increased since the amendment to the "Immigration Control Act." Regardless, within the "culture" of "multicultural coexistence" policies, only "Brazilianess" is highlighted and interpreted, and people from Brazil in the area are ethnically categorized and treated as one group, namely "Brazilians," irrespective of the categories "Japanese descendant" and "non-Japanese descendant." Cohen (1978) points out that the abovementioned ethnic categorization tends to occur when there are stratified relations between the ethnic group and external groups due, in particular, to integration and subjugation, or to the differentiation of employment type. The people from Brazil who arrived in Japan since the amendment to the Immigration Control Act have a markedly high work-participation rate. This work is specialized in employment as production process manual workers related to the manufacturing industry, and is also mainly indirect employment.[2] Nearly 20 years have passed since the amendment to the Immigration Control Act, and for some people from Brazil, a stratum of employment in specialized professions is beginning to emerge. However, although the residency status of "permanent resident" allows free participation in any profession, there remains an overwhelming stratum of people from Brazil in Japan who are trapped at the bottom of the labor market. In this sense, the social and economic structures that surround people from Brazil in Japan can be said to be a factor promoting ethnic categorization.

It has long been indicated that within studies of multiculturalism, there is a danger of "cosmetic multiculturalism" (Morris-Suzuki 2002), which conceals structural inequality in society by promoting superficial cultural differences. This is because emphasizing superficial cultural differences traps minority groups within a specific cultural framework, reproduces stereotypical views of those groups, and as a result otherizes them, leading to marginalization. In particular, there are many Japanese

descendants among the people from Brazil in Japan today. Therefore, more than a few have an identity as "Japanese," and a marginal identity as "Japanese descendants." Regardless, ethnic categorization takes place in regions home to many people from Brazil, and within policies aimed at a "multicultural coexisting" society, "Brazilianess," while only a very small part of their culture, is emphasized, otherized, and marginalized. Within this process, the foundational structural inequality that causes "ethnic categorization" is concealed, and similarly, their identity and status as Japanese descendants-which provides a good opportunity to reconsider "Japanese people" and "Japanese culture"-is seldom highlighted within the host society.

(2) The "Culture" and "Boundaries" of Ethnic Groups as Strategically Utilized and Communicated from within the Group

Yancey (1976) criticized conventional studies of ethnicity that overlook differences within groups and that treat ethnicity as something uniform and one-dimensional. He pointed out that much of the substance of ethnic cultures results from a process comprising continually evolving interactions of the characteristics of local communities, available economic opportunities, and the group's national and religious heritage. Likewise, as with Gans's (1994) "*Symbolic Ethnicity*" or Waters' (1990) "*Ethnic Options,*" ethnicity and the culture that ethnic groups possess can also be a strategic means equal to social and political activities.

In Hamamatsu City, many proprietors of Japanese descent run ethnic businesses that supply Brazilian goods and services. Therein, in providing Brazilian gastronomical culture such as "Churrasco" and "Feijao" to both people from Brazil and Japanese residents living in the area, it can be ventured that many proprietors of Japanese descent deliver "Brazilianness" as a strategy (Kataoka 2004). Similarly, with regard to events as part of "multicultural coexistence" policies, many proprietors of Japanese descent also appeal to Japanese residents with ethnic goods from Brazil. Most Brazilian stores in the town are colored with the Brazilian flag and green and yellow signs reminiscent of the Brazilian flag. As stated in Section 1, "Brazilian culture," as interpreted within "multicultural coexistence" policies, is the product

of ethnic categorization.　However, among the active and independent activities performed locally by ethnic groups, and in particular at the interface with the host society, there are instances in which the minority side also strategically uses categorized "culture."　While "ethnic categorization" takes place from outside the ethnic group, it is at the same time also arbitrarily reinforced from within.

At this point, the reader is asked to recall that the "culture" within "multicultural coexistence" is fluid, and that caution is needed as it cannot possibly be something intrinsic, as per the criticisms of an essentialist view of culture.　However, we must be aware that the criticism of the essentialist view of culture is a two-edged blade.　In other words, the category of deconstructed ethnic groups becomes a consequence of the problem of the cultural diversity of minority individuals, and this leads to a weakening of ethnic groups, and by extension, to a decrease in assistance policies towards ethnic groups-which is a risk inherent to the anti-essentialist view of culture.[3]　Commenting on ethnicity in an urban context, Eames and Goode (1977) distinguish between "sensing" the ethnic and solidarity on the one hand and, being a member of a unit with borders on the other, the latter being an important structural element of the city.　They conclude that "Individuals often use and conceal ethnic identities in order to achieve their own specific objectives.　Despite this, at the center of ethnic organization are timeless important political and economic structures that transect the entire city."

The categorized "ethnicity" and "culture" of ethnic groups, and particularly that which is strategically categorized from the inside, include the "*practice of everyday life*" (Certeau 1980) by the minorities within the unfairness of everyday life under discriminative structures, or are the means through which they "*take a position*" (Bourdieu 1993) under such structures.　Needless to say, it must be recognized that "ethnicity" does not equal "culture," and furthermore, that the host society must not perceive categorized "culture" and "ethnicity" superficially.　Rather, it is required that the background to these categories be interpreted from different contexts when advancing policies related to "multicultural coexistence" in the future.

IV. Interpreting Ethnic Business usage in various forms: The need for "multi-"layered" cultural coexistence"

Based on a study of the lifestyle activity diaries of people from Brazil living in Hamamatsu City, Kataoka (2012) indicated that people from Brazil spend only a very small amount of time using ethnic businesses. Similarly, Kataoka (2005) made it clear that particularly when purchasing goods such as groceries, sundries, and clothes, people from Brazil frequently use supermarkets and budget clothing stores run by Japanese people. As mentioned at the outset, fieldworkers who had an image of the "everyday consumption activities of the ethnic group in the host society primarily conducted via ethnic businesses" were surprised to find that Brazilian stores were smaller than expected, and not bustling with people from Brazil. This surprise results from these background factors.

Kataoka's (2005) survey of people from Brazil categorizes the reasons for not using Brazilian stores as follows: (1) Ambivalence towards the ethnic identity, such as, "I am of Japanese descent (or Japanese) so essentially I do not need ethnic goods." (2) From the position of a "consumer," "Clothes and food are cheaper at Japanese supermarkets or mass retailers so I use Japanese stores." (3) From the position of a manual worker, "I work nights or until late so the opening hours of Brazilian stores do not suit me, so I use Japanese stores or mass retailers with longer opening hours." (4) From a "generational" perspective, "In terms of clothes in particular, they do not sell goods aimed at young people so I use Japanese mass retailers."

Amidst the controversy regarding multiculturalism in recent years, Morris-Suzuki (2002) reviewed literature that critically analyzes multiculturalism, and advocated the concept of "multiculturalism within." Therein she posits that identity "is the back and forth of positive and negative extremes, and is formed in response to the need for 'belonging' and 'difference,'" while at the same time, "the selection of an identity depends on and is also restricted by the existence of specific identity status groups that are provided under the conditions of society around us."

Within current "multicultural coexistence" policies in Japan, the element that almost always comprises "culture" is "ethnicity." However, even to the individual

consumer activities of ethnic group members in the host society, their forms of behavior are not related only to ethnicity. While they belong to the group of "foreign nationals," they are at the same time members of the "worker" group, the "consumer" group, and also belong to their respective "various age-groups." Hence, depending on the situation, they act from their position within each group. Of course, each of these groups (which have a background other than ethnicity) also have a fluid boundary, which constantly changes according to peripheral circumstances. As such, our day-to-day activities essentially combine and consist of various fluid cultures or identities. This is because this diverse combination is itself essentially "multicultural." Regardless, within "multicultural coexistence" policies in Japan, only the reinforced "ethnic" framework-albeit one that is categorized-is exaggerated and interpreted as "culture." Of course, ethnic frameworks must not be entirely negated, because, as seen in Chapter Ⅲ, they may also be a minority strategy, and as with the issues inherent to an anti-essentialist view of culture, there is a danger of weakening ethnic minorities by deconstructing the category of the ethnic group.

However, if "multicultural coexistence" policies that emphasize the existence of ethnic minorities in the region as "residents" and determines them to be "members of the region" are to be implemented, it is first important to realize that the ethnic group has an "ethnic" framework and simultaneously belongs to various other frameworks and identity groups as well. The culture they possess, and their forms of behavior, are entirely similar to those of the public of the host nation in that they are not solely defined by ethnicity, but rather are a "multi-"layered" culture" formed through multi-strata, overlapping identities created through various lifestyles within the host society. Based on this, the administration, relevant bodies, and we ourselves, are undoubtedly required to take approaches towards "multi-"layered" cultural coexistence" in future.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

While the above is a general and desultory discussion that opened with the question as to why people who come to Hamamatsu City expecting a "Brazilian Town" go

home disappointed, the author intends to summarize a hereto almost undiscussed element, that is to say, summarize, if only briefly, an essential element for researchers conducting studies on ethnicity.

The author has to date proposed in several papers that "ethnic business" has the potential to be an interface for the blending of culture, and that it also has the potential to be an element in regional vitalization as a useful resource in the constitution of the region. However, these discussions do not in the least promote the distortion of ethnicity, nor the consumption of an otherized, marginalized, or distorted ethnicity. Within ethnic businesses, contact between local residents and other cultures or nationals of other countries is expected to create an opportunity to understand the complex degrees of culture therein, as well as an opportunity to consider the background to "ethnic categorization," or to create new culture produced through contact between local residents and ethnic groups. Nothing whatsoever is created through categorizing, otherizing, and marginalizing "other culture" from the outside. The "coexisting" society constructed through such "other culture" is a straightforward "exhibition city of culture," wherein nothing more than an "all-too-easy consumption of culture" is conducted. Culture is not defined solely by the framework of the home country. There are many frameworks around us, including sex, age, occupation, and class, which we combine and overlap. This itself is the diversity of culture. Needless to say, however, these frameworks themselves are ultimately nothing more than fluid and transient.

Lacking an awareness of "multi-"layered" culture" conceals various issues that must essentially be perceived from a framework of social and economic status within the host society. A lack of awareness also has the potential danger of creating a distorted form of nationalism that posits only a reinforced, distorted, and categorized ethnic framework as a factor in the issue. On the other hand, by recognizing "multi-"layered" culture" using the example of regional disaster prevention, we would undoubtedly notice that among those who have to date been lumped together with "foreign residents" as "vulnerable" using only the framework of "ethnicity" are human resources such as residents who are physically fit, residents who wish to deepen cooperation with the community of the host region, and residents who

do not have any language handicaps, who are able to stand alongside those working to rescue the "vulnerable."

As "multicultural coexistence" policies progress, depending on the interpretation of "culture," completely invalid policies will be created. This must be thoroughly understood by the administration, related bodies, and ourselves, the local residents, before we pursue the ideal form for future "multi-"layered" cultural coexistence."

Notes

(1)　The Hamamatsu City Survey is conducted annually as the "Survey of the Lifestyle and Attitudes of Japanese Descendants." Fixed trends are ascertainable from the survey despite biased sample sizes and survey methods depending on the year of the survey.

(2)　Nakamura et al. (2009) conducted a detailed survey into the work of foreign national workers in Japan using the National Census.

(3)　Kawabata (2010) argued that "forces work strongly to reduce ethnic problems to the category of individual responsibility" in a regional urban case study, and minority group members appear to search for an ethnic identity. However, Kataoka (2005) points out that ethnic business is a "resilient" ethnic nucleus for ethnic groups.

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