

Volunteer Support Network for Elderly Foreigners : A New Movement of Korean Residents in Kyoto

OZAWA Wataru*, MAKITA Yukifumi**, HIGUCHI Koichi***,
ISHIKAWA Kuniko****, YAMADA Hiroko*****,
Martha MENSENDIEK*****, OGAWA Eiji*, KATO Hiroshi*****

Abstract: Among the 41,000 foreign residents of Kyoto City, more than half of them are Korean long-term residents. Fifteen percent of the foreign resident population of Kyoto City are aged 65 or older; therefore, making Kyoto City the most relevant Japanese location for focusing on the problems of aging foreign residents.

Koreans have been discriminated for a long time in Japan. Elderly Koreans, in particular, face certain difficulties in receiving welfare benefits. A volunteer organization, MORE-NET, was established in Kyoto City to provide adequate information about welfare benefits and direct services for elderly foreign residents.

We are currently engaged in Participatory Action Research (PAR) with MORE-NET's members, which involves conducting a survey on the foreign elderly and the Japanese elderly in Kyoto City. We analyze the relevance of PAR with MORE-NET and the prospects of MORE-NET in order to contribute to Japan's realization of an inclusive and multi-cultural society.

Keywords: Problems of the Elderly Foreigner, Volunteer Support Network, Inclusive Society, MORE-NET, Participatory Action Research

1. Introduction

Among the 41,000 foreign residents of Kyoto City, more than 55% are Korean long-term residents (*oldcomers* or *Zainichi*) whose ancestors came to Japan during the Japanese colonial era in the early 20th century. About 22% of these residents came from China, half of which are estimated to be those who returned to Japan from China accompanied by their relatives¹.

In the spring of 2006, MORE-NET, a volunteer organization, was established to support the foreign elderly and disabled individuals who live in Kyoto City. This organization was formed through the collaboration of the Korean residents, in partnership with their two

* Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University

** Part-time Lecturer, Faculty of Education, Fukuyama City University

*** Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University

**** Associate Professor, Department of Social Welfare, Osaka-Ningen-Kagaku University

***** Professor, Faculty of Sociology, Doshisha University

***** Associate Professor, Faculty of Sociology, Doshisha University

***** Professor, Department of Social Welfare, Ryukoku Junior College

support organizations, namely Chongryun (Souron) and Mindan, as well as welfare workers and Japanese scholars. This was the first time that the branch offices of Chongryun and Mindan decided to collaborate to provide daily support services for aging Koreans².

In recent years, a new movement has been emerging in Japanese civil society, and a new word, *Tabunka Kyousei* (multicultural symbiosis), has become popular since the 1990s³. This idea relates to accepting actual cultural diversity without forcing it to conform to the Japanese culture. Korean residents in Kyoto think that this idea is important as a motto for their daily activities. Some of these individuals can be thought of as “active foreign citizens” (*gaikokuseki-shimin*) who are beginning to break out of the constraints imposed by their support organizations by establishing networks with other citizen groups that exist beyond the boundaries of their own ethnic groups⁴.

By focusing on the problem of the “minority of minorities” in Japan, namely the issue of aging foreign residents, we investigate how to empower the volunteer sector in order to open the way to an “inclusive society” during a time when the power of the welfare state has been decreasing due to considerable financial deficits.

The welfare system in Japan is underpinned by people’s volunteer actions in the local community. For example, there is a social work volunteer system (Commissioned Welfare Volunteers system: *Minsei-Iin* system) in Japan. The *Minsei-Iin* work as key players in the community to help needy families obtain government-based income subsidies⁵.

The Neighborhood Association (NHA) in the local community has a considerable influence on each family in Japan, although the power of such a community network has recently become relatively weak. Kyoto city has sponsored the *Rojin-Fukushi-In* system for 38 years. *Rojin-Fukushi-In* comprises volunteer staff appointed as support personnel for aging residents in each NHA. They visit periodically homes of seniors who live alone in each local area.

Exclusively Japanese citizens are appointed under the social work volunteer system called the *Minsei-Iin* system. The *Minsei-Iin* system has a nationality clause that automatically excludes foreign residents from assuming this role. Although foreign residents are eligible to become members of the NHA, they often do not know that they can become *Rojin-Fukushi-In*. As a result, very few foreign residents participate in this capacity. Without the assistance of volunteers such as *Rojin-Fukushi-In* and *Minsei-Iin*, foreign residents face difficulties in accessing services in the public sector as well as the usual community support system.

Recognizing the barriers of public social service providers that exist for foreign aging or disabled residents, MORE-NET established the *Gaikokujin Fukushi-Iin* (supporter of foreign residents) system, which trains volunteers to understand the cultural background of its aging foreign residents, help them overcome these obstacles, and form a network of volunteer organizations.

This paper focuses on the activity of MORE-NET and addresses the following questions:

- 1) How was it possible to establish a volunteer support network, MORE-NET, for elderly

foreigners, among the Korean residents in Kyoto City? What are the problems MORE-NET is facing?

- 2) How can these problems be solved? How can we empower MORE-NET to open the way to an “inclusive society” in Japan?

Two of our members (Kato and Ozawa) have undertaken Participatory Action Research (PAR) with MORE-NET since its establishment in 2006⁶. We attempt to answer the first question raised by the findings from the PAR project discussed in the second chapter⁷.

This research group was organized in 2010 through public funding. We began the second stage of our PAR project in order to find answers to the second question above. At this stage in research, not only academic researchers but also members of MORE-NET, care workers, local volunteer social workers, and students participated, starting at the planning phase.

These active citizens’ commitment is the core spirit of our PAR project, wherein the motivation and findings from the data are shared among the participants. Because the members of MORE-NET did not share close relationships with *Minsei-Iin* and *Rojin-Fukushi-In*, it was expected that their participation in the research process would improve the relationships necessary for the daily activities between them.

The second stage of our PAR project was aimed at discovering how foreign elderly residents used welfare services, what were the difficulties they faced while using these services, and what kind of information they lacked about such services. We anticipate that through the PAR project, social work volunteers for the foreign elderly, *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In*, can learn more about how to create a network in conjunction with other citizen organizations and that they can acquire skills and a broader view of welfare services. We explain our findings from this PAR project in the third chapter.

This paper discusses how to empower the volunteer sector in order to realize an inclusive society, focusing on the problems related to aging that foreign residents face.

2. The Context of Our Study

2.1 Social Context of a New Movement of Korean Residents

MORE-NET began six years ago in Kyoto City with the aim of providing counseling and support for foreign aging and disabled persons. This volunteer organization has been partially subsidized by local government funding. Due to conflicts within the Korean community, we found it difficult to imagine earlier that such collaboration would be possible in the field of community activities. Even today, the support organizations of Koreans are a “closed community.” Korean residents who belong to Chongryun (Souren) or Mindan usually do not have strong relationships with each other. The aid that these groups provide is limited to their own members within each organization.

The relationship between these two organizations was not good, mainly because of the differences in their political stances. This could be referred to as the “North and South Korea problem.” How was such a conflict overcome in order to realize the collaboration of MORE-

NET?

It is important to note that these two groups of Koreans had a “successful experience” during legal proceedings related to the “no pension problem” of Korean elderly residents. Presently, there is no pension plan for aging foreign residents who are over 86 years of age (as of 2012), due to the lack of transitional measures to effect a policy change⁸. During this struggle in court, to challenge the lack of a policy, both organizations of Korean residents began to work together in Kyoto. They did not win the case; however, the Kyoto prefecture government and the Kyoto City government came to understand their concerns and began to pay a certain amount of benefits to those elderly foreign residents on behalf of the national government. The local government had more sympathy toward the foreign minority groups than the national government. Moreover, since they began receiving support from the local government, the Korean residents have begun to understand the merits of collaboration in their struggle to defend their human rights⁹.

After the Kyoto prefecture government decided in 2004 to provide benefits to elderly Korean residents with no pension, the Koreans discovered that many elderly members of their community could not access public information and that it was, therefore, not easy for them to obtain these benefits. Second- or third-generation Koreans realized that even if the public system was changed, elderly Koreans would still not receive adequate support because of the “information gap” that exists in Japanese society.

Prior to this, in 1998, the Long-Term Care Insurance Act was enacted as the new welfare system for mainly the elderly in Japan. Since this law was implemented, no restrictions have been placed on foreign residents regarding their eligibility to enroll in the insurance system. Regardless of nationality, any person can obtain benefits after joining the system. However, consecutively it was found that the “information gap” on insurance represented a significant barrier for foreign residents. Many aging Koreans were reluctant, even to establish a contract with the Office of Civil Service in Japan, because they were still experiencing psychological trauma that resulted from the Japanese colonial period. Such trauma hindered their access to the services provided by the new law, which had at last become available for them. Therefore, it has become imperative for the new generation of Korean *oldcomers* to understand the suffering of their parents or grandparents. They must recognize the cultural background of the first-generation Koreans.

The second- or third-generation of Korean residents discovered that their parents or grandparents were isolated in nursing homes in Japan. Gradually getting older and suffering from dementia, they were forgetting the Japanese words they had once known. In this condition, it was becoming difficult for them to live in a typical Japanese nursing home. They did not know the old songs that are usually sung in Japanese homes or how to fold origami paper, because such games for children were not part of their customs.

Second- or third-generation Koreans decided to build a day-care center, ELFA, in 2001 and nursing home, Kokyuu-no-Ie (Hometown House), in 2009 in Kyoto. Due to this achievement, the elderly can live there in comfort, singing Korean songs and playing Korean games. They learn Hangul, their own mother tongue, and enjoy Korean-style lunches. They

say unanimously, “Now is the happiest time in our lives. This is our school and home.” Many of them did not receive formal education in their younger days. ELFA and Kokyuu-no-Ie are attempting to convey this information about “the minority of the minorities” to the public.

The success of this ethnic welfare facility also triggered a movement to establish MORE-NET. Both the staff and volunteers of such ethnic welfare facilities strongly support and activate the mission MORE-NET.

2.2 From Closed Society to Open Society

Through the initiative of its Korean residents, the local community is changing step by step. What is the impact of such a Korean movement on the Japanese civil society?

Because Korean residents are hard workers and the cost of education for their children is high, they can achieve a certain level of socio-economic and cultural capital by becoming more integrated with Japanese society. By attaining power as a community, a number of Korean residents have begun to feel the responsibility to support other ethnic minorities who lack all forms of capital.

The support of MORE-NET has gradually become available to other ethnic groups as well. Recently MORE-NET has shown keen interest in the problems of returnees from China. These individuals are Japanese orphans who were left behind in China at the end of World War II. Starting in the 1980s, a policy was implemented to bring these people back to Japan. According to the Japanese law, a person is granted Japanese citizenship if he or she has one parent who is Japanese; therefore, Japanese orphans are permitted to bring their Chinese spouses and relatives to Japan.

In Kyoto City, this population is segregated in public apartment complexes, with lower than average rents. The number of these individuals in Kyoto City has reached more than 4,000. Japanese orphans are already 67+ years old, and face old-age related problems.

Although the ELFA day care center was established by the second- or third-generation of Korean residents, it accepts children of Japanese orphans who wish to learn care-giving skills so as to provide for the needs of the elderly. The secretary general of ELFA is collaborating with Kyoto Gaikokujin Shien Net (an NGO network that provides support to foreign residents) to offer a workshop for these individuals providing information about the credentials required to be caregivers.

The secretary general is also a member of MORE-NET, and she is challenging the organization to aid the returnees from China. As she said, “After setting out to support the returnees from China, even though they have Japanese nationality, I came to realize that they are suffering an identity crisis like us. Through such an experience, I have become more aware of our own problems than I was before, as well as other people’s problems.” We can consider the secretary general of ELFA as an ideal “active foreign citizen,” who forges new relationships among ethnic groups to overcome their common problems. In Japan, where discrimination toward minority ethnic groups is strong, the strategy of being an “active foreign citizen” is a good way for foreign residents to earn the respect of the Japanese majority and improve their status in Japanese society. MORE-NET aims to establish “a

publicly authorized support system” for the foreign elderly and the handicapped, because professional social workers in Japan do not have the skills or the concern to help foreign people. MORE-NET is proposing the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In* system (social workers volunteer to look after foreign residents), which is similar to the *Minsei-In* system. However, the public has not yet accepted such a proposal. MORE-NET now holds an annual workshop to educate and train volunteers to become social work volunteers for foreign people. More than 100 people have completed this training and have been nominated as *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In*. However, regrettably, only about 20 workers are presently working. Most of them are Korean, and they work only with Korean elderly residents.

The core members of MORE-NET hold a monthly meeting at their office in Higashi-Kujo. However, they feel that MORE-NET has now run into obstacles that prevent it from being effective.

First, MORE-NET is still closed to residents of other ethnicities. Although the management staff is establishing a network with other volunteer organizations and social agencies, most *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In* do not have the motivation to do this. This has resulted in a lack of power on the part of MORE-NET to address the needs of elderly residents of other ethnicities.

MORE-NET is also closed and has no ties with community volunteers from NHAs. *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In* lack ties with *Minsei-In* and *Rojin-Fukushi-In*; therefore, they are unaware of the usual support activities in the local community. Moreover, there may be many isolated foreign individuals who have no connections to the volunteer support system, namely both MORE-NET and the community support system. MORE-NET does not have the tools to locate such isolated foreign residents.

Third, MORE-NET faces a management problem. The program to educate volunteers is an important tool for conveying information to many other citizens about needy foreigners. However, it is a serious problem that 80% of volunteers are inactive against their will. The MORE-NET coordinator usually selects volunteers among those whom the coordinator knows well; therefore, most members are excluded from daily assistance work. Japanese volunteers, in particular, who are interested in this activity, cannot work because they lack Korean language skills.

The scholars who are core members of MORE-NET, and who obtained a grant from the government in April 2010, decided to undertake this PAR project in order to break through these obstacles. The following chapter explains the procedure and the results of our research project.

3. Participatory Action Research with MORE-NET

3.1 Research Purpose and Scheme of Our Participatory Action Research

Our research identifies a method to develop a community system for looking after foreign elderly residents by employing the support of volunteers, and eventually understand how to build an inclusive community in the local area where Japanese and foreign elderly

residents intermingle and live as next-door neighbors.

Therefore, it is crucial for us to grasp the living conditions of elderly foreign residents and validate that there is a gulf between foreign and Japanese residents in their local community.

Our survey was conducted from February to May in 2010 using a structured questionnaire directed toward elderly residents selected by random sampling. The research methodology was important for the participants; therefore we arranged for the survey to be conducted by the scholars, the staff of MORE-NET, the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin*, NHA staff, and other volunteers, including students as well as other workers from welfare non-profit organizations (NPOs).

In the process of designing the questionnaire, we held several meetings that were open to those interested in this project in order to connect the diverse volunteers with each other and share awareness of this project. After the survey, we informed the community's residents of the results as well as all of the participants in this project.

Throughout the process, we endeavored to establish a new network among individuals who were interested in this project. This chapter discusses our research data and some of the results of our PAR project.

3.2 Focus Groups and Research Methodology

From Table 1, we observe that the population of Korean residents and Chinese residents is highest in the Minami Ward and the Fushimi Ward in Kyoto, respectively. From Table 2, we observe that the population of foreign elderly people in these wards is higher than other wards. These results indicate the reason why we selected the Higashi-Kujou area from the Minami Ward and the Daigo area from the Fushimi Ward as our research fields.

Higashi-Kujou is located to the south of the Kyoto train station. Korean residents and Japanese Buraku people live there, who have been severely discriminated against for a long time in the Japanese society. In Daigo, the eastern area of Kyoto City, the Public Housing Corporation built low-rent apartments, where low-income families and the families of returnees from China live. With the cooperation of NHAs in the Sannou school district and the Touka school district in Higashi-Kujou, and the NHA of the Ogurisu public apartments in Daigo, we selected our research target as elderly individuals over 70 years of age in the first two areas and over 65 years of age in the latter area by random sampling from the member list of each NHA¹⁰. Our research targets included Japanese elderly residents, Korean residents, and elderly returnees from China. The diversity of this data is a feature of this survey. Moon and Mikami (2007) analyzed the differences between the Japanese elderly and the Korean elderly and suggested that foreign people living in Japan need ethnicity-specific support.

Although this survey was carried out through the initiative of scholars, project meetings were held with the staff of MORE-NET and members of the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin*, because their participation in the decision-making process for designing the survey was very important for our PAR project.

Table 1 Population of Foreign Residents in Kyoto City 2009

Ward in Kyoto	Total	China	Korea	Brazil	The Philippines	Peru	USA	Others
Kita	2,619	389	1,729	4	28	3	116	350
	100.0%	14.9%	66.0%	0.2%	1.1%	0.1%	4.4%	13.4%
Kamigyo	2,098	642	938	13	39	3	108	355
	100.0%	30.6%	44.7%	0.6%	1.9%	0.1%	5.1%	16.9%
Sakyo	5,789	1,499	2,621	40	94	8	249	1,278
	100.0%	25.9%	45.3%	0.7%	1.6%	0.1%	4.3%	22.1%
Yamashina	2,261	475	1,412	17	37	6	72	242
	100.0%	21.0%	62.5%	0.8%	1.6%	0.3%	3.2%	10.7%
Higashi yama	1,082	320	491	1	81	1	46	142
	100.0%	29.6%	45.4%	0.1%	7.5%	0.1%	4.3%	13.1%
Yamashina	2,139	336	1,249	13	192	5	57	287
	100.0%	15.7%	58.4%	0.6%	9.0%	0.2%	2.7%	13.4%
Shimogyo	1,889	587	928	5	37	3	50	279
	100.0%	31.1%	49.1%	0.3%	2.0%	0.2%	2.6%	14.8%
Minami	6,064	567	5,247	10	91	4	17	128
	100.0%	9.4%	86.5%	0.2%	1.5%	0.1%	0.3%	2.1%
Ukyo	5,716	681	4,450	21	98	14	110	342
	100.0%	11.9%	77.9%	0.4%	1.7%	0.2%	1.9%	6.0%
Nishikyo	3,100	334	2,408	22	57	2	55	222
	100.0%	10.8%	77.7%	0.7%	1.8%	0.1%	1.8%	7.2%
Fushimi	8,349	3,072	4,466	32	216	16	80	467
	100.0%	36.8%	53.5%	0.4%	2.6%	0.2%	1.0%	5.6%
Kyoto City	41,106	8,902	25,939	178	970	65	960	4,092
	100.0%	21.7%	63.1%	0.4%	2.4%	0.2%	2.3%	10.0%

(Statistics of the Ministry of Justice, 2009)

During the meeting that was open to all who took keen interest in this project, in the process of designing the questionnaire we had the opportunity to observe an important scene. The Korean coordinator of MORE-NET, for the first time, met the *Rojin-Fukushi-In* of the neighborhood, where the MORE-NET office is located. She is also the leader of the Women's Association of Chongryun, which seems to be a closed organization as mentioned earlier. At first, she appeared to be uninterested in Japanese community action, but gradually became absorbed in the *Rojin-Fukushi-In*'s speech, who was speaking frankly about her enthusiasm for visiting needy families. She visited everyone, without discriminating against any type of person. Finally, the Korean coordinator asked about the support system of the

Table 2 Population of Foreign Residents and Ratio of the Elderly in Kyoto City, 2010

Ward	Total	Above 65 years in age	Ratio
Kita	2,642	429	16.2
Kamigyo	2,350	234	10.0
Sakyo	5,861	634	10.8
Nakagyo	2,223	353	15.9
Higashiyama	1,053	83	7.9
Yamashina	2,097	287	13.7
Shimogyo	1,949	185	9.5
Minami	6,046	1,303	21.6
Ukyo	5,527	1,032	18.7
Nishikyo	3,073	520	16.9
Fushimi	8,165	1,076	13.2
Kyoto City	40,986	6,136	15.0

(Statistics of Kyoto City, 2010)

NHA. This is when her self-enclosed mind opened to the possibility of a Japanese volunteer engaging in activities in the local community.

In this way, we can create a good relationship between the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In* (social work volunteers for foreigners) and the *Rojin-Fukushi-In* (welfare volunteers in the NHA), and share information about the elderly residents who are each other's neighbors.

As the survey was carried out through interviews based on a structured questionnaire, we organized a team of about 50 interviewers, who included the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In*, staff members of MORE-NET, university students, and scholars, as well as other volunteers. It was difficult for the interviewers to visit the homes of the elderly residents, as the interviewers did not share any relationship with them. Thus, we asked the *Rojin-Fukushi-In*, who are local community volunteers, to accompany the interviewers to the door of each targeted elderly person. It took 30–60 minutes to complete each interview.

The next section analyzes our research results.

3.3 Quantitative Research Analysis

3.3.1 Difference in Conditions between Japanese Elderly and Foreign Elderly Residents

The total number of collected data was 588: 427 are Japanese, 141 Korean or Koreans who have been naturalized in Japan, and 20 are returnees from China.

We can explain the differences among ethnic or cultural backgrounds by focusing on the following points, namely 1) health status, 2) relationships with neighbors, 3) participation in community festivals and activities, and 4) degree of well-being or the level of subjective

Table 3 Description of the Sampling

	Japanese	Korean	Returnees from China	Total
Sanno	134	45	0	179
Touka	194	31	0	225
Ogurisu	99	1	20	120
Additional Research in Sanno & Touka	0	64	0	64
Total	427(72.6%)	141(24.0%)	20(3.4%)	588 (100%)

feeling of happiness.

First, health status showed a difference based on ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Almost half of the Japanese responded that they were in “good health,” while the Koreans and the returnees from China responded that they had health-related problems. More than 65% of the Koreans and 75% of the returnees from China responded that they were “not in good health.” We can, therefore, assume that the latter two groups face more health problems than the Japanese residents.

We asked the interviewees several questions about the daily relationship they share with their neighbors. For example, we asked them whether they would invite a neighbor to tea at their home, help take out the trash, enjoy chatting, and greet their neighbors. These answers indicate the degree of intimacy with or estrangement from neighbors.

Almost 70% and 60% of the Japanese elderly and Korean elderly responded, “they have a chat with neighbors when they meet them,” respectively; only 25% of the elderly returnees from China had a chat with neighbors. Therefore, we realize the isolation from the local community of the returnees from China. They share similar features with newcomers to Japan.

We examine elderly residents’ participation in community festivals and activities. In Japan, there are many community festivals and activities organized by the NHA, that is, the community neighborhood organization and support organizations. In the Higashi Kujou area, two Korean organizations are actively involved in community work. The returnees from China also actively organize and manage Japanese language classes in the Ogurisu area.

There is no difference in the rate of participation in community festivals and events, such as sports, luncheon meetings, and summer festivals, among these groups categorized by ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Almost two-thirds of the elderly responded that they had participated in community festivals and activities in the past. However, when we examined the differences in the participation rate in the community events organized by the NHA, only 38.2% of the Korean elderly had participated in them, whereas 60.8% of the Japanese elderly had participated.

Moreover, they were asked whether they had volunteered as staff of any kind of volunteer organizations. In the respondents’ data, we observed a significant difference between the Japanese elderly and others. Nearly 40% of the Japanese elderly responded that

they had volunteered to oversee NHA events as staff, whereas only 17.7% of the Korean elderly and 20% of the elderly returnees from China had similar responses. In particular, when we asked whether they had volunteered as NHA staff, there was a significant difference between the Japanese elderly and the Koreans. Nearly 40% of the Japanese elderly had experience as NHA staff, whereas only 5% of the Korean elderly had the same experience.

We also investigated these groups' desire to participate in community events in the future. There was no significant difference between the Japanese elderly and the Korean elderly; however, almost 40% of the elderly returnees from China responded that they would not participate in such events, mainly because of health problems and a lack of communication ability. Majority of them cannot speak Japanese well.

After examining the responses on the desire to take responsibility by becoming part of the NHA staff in the future, nearly 70% of the Korean elderly responded that they would not assume a role to support the NHA. This rate was significantly higher than that for the Japanese elderly. Such a difference in attitude toward the NHA sometimes causes friction between the Korean and the Japanese residents.

In our questionnaire, the level of the subjective feeling of happiness was measured using a scale of well-being divided into seven degrees, from level 1 (Extremely Unhappy) to level 7 (Extremely Happy).

Categorizing the answers between levels 1 and 3 as "Unhappy," level 4 as "Middle or Average," and between levels 5 and 7 as "Happy," most of the answers recorded were "Middle" or "Happy." However 20% of the Korean elderly responded that they were "Unhappy." Around five percent of the Korean elderly and the elderly returnees from China responded that they were "Extremely Unhappy," none of the Japanese had such responses. Only 10% of the elderly returnees from China responded that they were "Happy." As explained earlier, because of their low communication ability, the elderly returnees from China experience difficulties in obtaining community information. They have few opportunities to establish relationships with their Japanese neighbors, and their isolated daily lives might affect their judgment of their level of happiness. The Korean elderly, who have communication problems due to aging, suffer from the same problem.

We examined whether the respondents were familiar with the welfare staff by asking the following question: "Do you know who the *Minsei-In*, the *Rojin-Fukushi-In*, and the care managers are in your local community?" The responses to this question indicated that the Korean elderly and the elderly returnees from China show a lower level of awareness of the *Minsei-In*, compared to the Japanese elderly. Of the Japanese elderly, 31.5% knew who the *Rojin-Fukushi-In* were, whereas only 10% of the Korean elderly and the elderly returnees from China knew this.

3.3.2 Determinants of Sense of Happiness: Multivariate Analysis

We analyzed the determinant factors of the elderly residents' sense of happiness by multivariate analysis using the cases in Touka and Ogurisu¹¹.

From Table 4, we can understand which factors affect the level of happiness of elderly

people. We can understand easily that the economic condition of elderly people, ownership of a house, good health, and having a personal physician, grandchildren, and hobbies are essential factors that determine elderly people's subjective well-being. However, it is surprising that whether an elderly person knows the person in charge of looking out for his or her care, such as the *Rojin-Fukushi-In*, also has a strong influence on their level of happiness.

The volunteer support system of the *Rojin-Fukushi-In* was introduced 38 years ago in Kyoto City. The *Rojin-Fukushi-In* visit isolated elderly people periodically. (This system is exclusive to Kyoto City, and an identical system cannot be found in other cities in Japan.)

Table4 Multiple Regression Analysis of Subjective Well-Being

	Correlation	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Nationality: Korean	-.139 **	-.221 **	-.085	
Region: Touka	.027	.123	-.015	
Region: Sanno	.017	.144 *	.062	
Economic living conditions	.293 **		.252 **	.189 **
Knowing her or his <i>Rojin-Fukushi-In</i>	.244 **		.204 **	.146 **
Owning a house	.242 **			.125 *
Being healthy	.180 **			.128 *
Having a personal physician	.104 *			.120 *
Meeting grandchildren	.153 **			.128 *
Having hobbies	.148 **			.110 *
Adj. R Square		.027	.122	.175

StdYX Estimates, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, $N = 319$

Having some connection with the *Rojin-Fukushi-In* may give the elderly peace of mind. Another interpretation is that elderly people can be happy if they have high sociability or a broad network of human connections.

Table 5 shows the difference in determinants of subjective well-being between the Japanese and the Korean elderly residents.

In the case of the elderly Japanese, familiarity with the person who is their *Rojin-Fukushi-In*, the condition of their health, owning a house, and having a personal physician, affects their subjective level of happiness. In contrast, in the case of the elderly Koreans, two factors, namely familiarity with the person who is their *Rojin-Fukushi-In* and meeting their grandchildren, affects their level of happiness. This is because elderly Koreans generally live alone.

In any case, for both the Japanese and the Koreans, it is interesting to note that familiarity with the person who is their *Rojin-Fukushi-In* is an important determinant for their level of subjective well-being.

Table 5 Multi-Group Analysis of Subjective Well-Being

	Japanese	Korean
Economic living conditions	.122	.186
Knowing her or his Rojin-Fukushi-Iin	.224 **	.221 *
Owning a house	.262 **	.126
Being healthy	.198 *	.013
Having a personal physician	.222 **	.011
Meeting grandchildren	.005	.204 *
Having hobbies	.072	.100
N	124	98
R Square	.308	.164

StdYX Estimates, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

3.3.3 Willingness and Experience of being a management staff member of the NHA

As explained earlier, elderly Koreans seem to avoid becoming management staff members of the NHA, which can encourage discrimination toward Koreans in the local community. Here, we analyze this problem by multiple regression analysis.

Table 6 shows the determinants of the willingness to be a management staff member of the NHA. From this data, we can understand that residents' willingness to be a management staff member differs among the NHAs. In the case of Ogurisu, management staffing of the NHA is by rotation. The returnees from China are given the responsibility of participating in the management of the NHA. In contrast to such a democratic approach, in both Touka and Sanno, the staff's term of employment is very long and such a responsibility is concentrated among fewer people, so this may explain why the willingness to be a management staff member of the NHA is lower than in the case of Ogurisu.

The determinants of willingness to be a management staff member of the NHA are health status, the ability to read and write (literacy), owning a house, and age.

Table 7 shows the results of a multi-group analysis of willingness to be a management staff member of the NHA. Comparing this data with that of Table 6, there is no difference in

Table 6 Multiple Regression of Willingness to be a Management Staff Member of the NHA

	Correlation	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Nationality: Korean	-.194 **	-.151 **	-.049	-.062
Region: Touka	-.139 **	-.196 **	-.195 **	-.222 **
Region: Sanno	.001	-.138 *	-.121 *	-.158 *
Being healthy	.254 **		.194 **	.165 **
Ability to read	.264 **		.186 **	.156 **
Owning a house	.074 *			.163 **
Age	-.221 **			-.137 **
Adj. R Square		.051	.126	.157

StdYX Estimates, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, $N = 515$

Table 7 Multi-group Analysis of Willingness to be an NHA management staff member

	Japanese	Korean
Region: Sanno	.041	.140
Being healthy	.186 **	-.005
Ability to read	.129 *	.213 *
Owning a house	.222 **	.055
Age	-.222 **	.045
Gender: women	-.089	-.179 *
N	297	121
R Square	.192	.115

StdYX Estimates, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

the case of the elderly Japanese; however, we can observe that the ability to read and write is an important determinant for elderly Koreans. This is because many first-generation Korean residents were not able to receive basic formal education.

In addition to this analysis, it is necessary to examine the experience level as a management staff member of the NHA. Table 8 shows the results of a logistic regression of having experience as a management staff member of the NHA.

From this data, it is evident that the type of ethnicity is an important determinant for the level of experience so as to become a management staff member of the NHA. Korean residents are not likely to have the experience to obtain such a position.

Table 9 shows the results of a multi-group analysis of having experience as a management staff member of the NHA. Comparing the data between the Japanese and the Koreans, we understand that, for Korean elderly people, literacy ability is a decisive factor in holding a managerial position.

From these analyses, it is evident that the Korean residents would not be able to assume

Table 8 Logistic Regression of Having an Experience as a Management Staff Member of the NHA

	Correlation	Model
Nationality: Korean	-.178 **	-.134 *
Region: Touka	.085	-.280 **
Region: Sanno	-.340 **	-.619 **
Being healthy	.138 **	.026
Ability to read	.172 **	.166 *
Owning a house	-.032	.196 **
Age	-.170 **	-.046
R Square (McFadden)		.179

StdYX Estimates, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, N = 526**Table 9 Multi-group Analysis of Having an Experience as a Management Staff Member of the NHA**

	Japanese	Korean
Region: Touka	-.368 **	-.174
Being healthy	-.007	.139
Ability to read	.284 *	.242
Owning a house	.241 **	.012
Age *	-.156 *	.193
Gender: women	-.010	.118
N	309	119
R Square (McFadden)	.182	.047

StdYX Estimates, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, N = 526

a managerial position even if they were willing to assume the responsibility for it.

3.3.4 Correspondence Analysis of Interviewer Categories and Comment Words

In our survey, we asked the interviewers to write their comments on the questionnaire sheet. Regarding the types of interviewers, we can categorize the following six types: scholar, university student, *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin*, staff of the NHA, NPO staff, and others.

Figure 1 shows the results of a correspondence analysis of interviewer categories and comment words¹². In this two-dimensional figure, the listed words located nearby are considered as having a strong relationship with each other. The size of the circle and the square express the number of words that can be seen in the interviewers' comments.

It is interesting that “scholar” and “university student” are located close together in Figure 1. These interviewers used many words such as “watch,” “person,” and “neighbor,” therefore we can surmise that they have similar interests and mentalities. In addition, it is also interesting that “staff of NHA” and “*Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin*” are located close to each other at the center of this figure. This means that these individuals have a well-balanced and good sense of welfare and are interested in all kinds of matters equally. We can assume that the collaboration between the NHA staff and the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin* is based on a commonality of good sense.

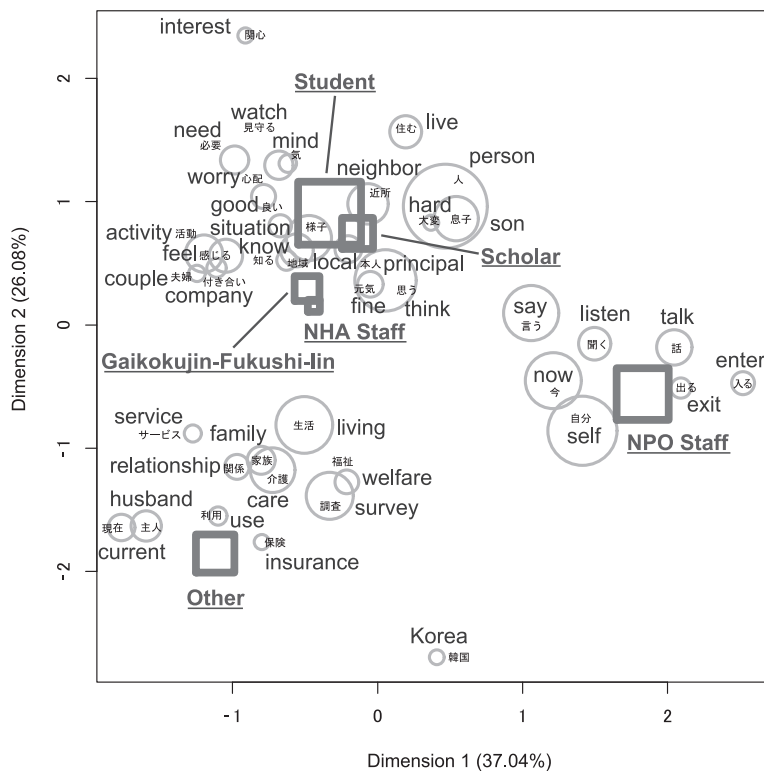


Figure 1 Correspondence Analysis of Interviewer Categories and Comment Words

3.4 Feedback of Data Analysis to MORE-NET Members and the Local Community

Our survey yielded some important findings. After conducting this survey, we held four workshops and tried to disseminate the results back to each community and the participants in this survey, as well as the members of MORE-NET.

Through the survey, MORE-NET members discovered that not so few elderly Korean residents are isolated from both the Korean communities and the local community, and they now understand that their task is to offer their support to such elderly persons. MORE-NET members also learned about the difference in living conditions among the Japanese elderly, the Korean elderly, and the elderly returnees from China. This was a good chance for them to understand other people's scarcity of social capital, the difficulty they may face in obtaining information about welfare services, and the difficulties they encounter in daily life due to language problems. MORE-NET can now begin to have a common understanding that they have to support these other types of persons around them who have troubles.

Japanese staff began to participate in MORE-NET activities after taking part in this research project. In the past, the staff of MORE-NET consisted of only Koreans.

This research project was the first time that the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In* collaborated with the NHA staff on the same project. Of course, the project helped all of the participants get acquainted with each other. However, as for the NHAs, they do not change quickly. A welfare services' staff member reported that a *Roujin-Fukushi-In* felt empowered by our workshop, because she came to understand how she was contributing to elderly persons' sense of happiness in her local community. It will require a lot of time at the NHA level for its members to be able to understand the importance of collaborating with the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-In*, and thus, we should continue to offer workshops with the *Roujin-Fukushi-In*, leaders and staff of the NHA, and other welfare organization staff.

4. Conclusion

Given the serious budget deficit and aging society, it is very difficult for Japan to solve the problems related to the welfare of the elderly. The welfare of the foreign elderly, in particular, is usually neglected by the Japanese government. Focusing on this kind of "minority of minorities" problem, it is beneficial to conduct further studies as we move toward an inclusive society.

This paper examined the case of a volunteer organization called MORE-NET for the minorities. In the process of conducting our research, we found that there are many "cracks" within the local community, for example, between Japanese and Korean residents, between NPOs and NHAs, between official welfare staff and volunteer staff, and between the Korean communities.

It is important for us to repair these cracks by creating a network of volunteer organizations. To promote such a project, the university can work as a kind of "intermediary" for new networking, and PAR project facilitated by the university works to develop community building.

To solve the problems faced by minorities, we must take action by harnessing volunteer power, and pursue the institutionalization of the professional social worker to support the foreign elderly. It is critical for us to educate the *Gaikojin-Fukushi-Iin* so that they can function as effective social workers.

Our survey was well designed to be a good education program for the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin* as well as other volunteer interviewers. In the next stage, the PAR approach will also be useful. As Kurt Lewin indicated, the cyclic action process of “Action-Research-Training” is essential for us in developing a community (Bavelas, A. & Lewin, K.1942; Lewin, K. 1946).

We will continue to employ the case study to support various types of foreign elderly. Through each case study, we must aim at developing the skills of the *Gaikokujin-Fukushi-Iin*. A key issue of the next stage of our PAR will be how to establish connections between the staff of the NHA and *Gaikojin-Fukushi-Iin* and to enhance the collaboration among them.

Old age and death are certain for everybody. By focusing on volunteer projects that attempt to provide support and assistance to the aged as they are nearing the end of their lives, we will be able to understand means to realize an inclusive and diverse society (*Tabunka Kyousei*), where Korean activists or volunteers are respected as precious members of Japanese civil society.

Notes

- 1 The returnees are Japanese nationals who are provided support through the *Returnees Assistance Act*. They strongly identify themselves as Japanese, even though their culture is Chinese and they cannot speak the Japanese language. In contrast, most of their relatives, who come from China, identify themselves as Chinese. There is a difference in the interests between the returnees from China and their relatives. There is also a significant difference in the interests between the returnees from China who are Japanese nationals and the Korean long-term residents who are not protected by any type of special assistance law.
- 2 Chongryun (Souren) has a strong relationship with North Korea, whereas Mindan has a strong relationship with South Korea.
- 3 The Japanese word *Tabunka-Kyousei* is difficult to translate into English, because the meaning of this word is so vague. It has been translated into English as the following: “multicultural symbiosis,” “sociocultural symbiosis,” “multicultural coexistence,” “multicultural diversity,” and “living together in a multicultural society.” Befu, H. (2006) attempted to define this concept.
- 4 In Japan, foreign residents do not have the right to vote for their voices to be heard in the political decision-making process at either the local community level or national level. If they want to obtain political rights, they must acquire Japanese citizenship. Because dual citizenship is forbidden in Japan, they face a great hurdle in achieving political rights.
- 5 A *Minsei-Iin* is a social work volunteer, which is translated, for example, as “a person or persons commissioned to promote and stabilize the lives of people” (Goodman 1998:143). The *Minsei-Iin* system is the main form of a direct social welfare provision that depends on the volunteer system in Japan.

The *Minsei-Iin* system can be traced back to the volunteer organization called the *Homen-Iin* system during the prewar period in Japan. Osaka Prefecture experienced a great influx of migrants from the countryside and Korea, and social problems such as unemployment and poverty emerged in the beginning of the 20th century. In order to tackle poverty and inadequate relief programs, an alternative system of social welfare within the community was established as the *Homen-Iin* system in 1918 in Osaka Prefecture.

Homen-Iin is similar to the German welfare system, called the *Elberfeld programme*, or the Friendly Visitors of the Charity Society in London. However, membership of the *Homen-Iin* was male-dominated, such as teachers, policemen, chemists, and rice dealers. Unlike the volunteers or the charity work carried out in western society, the *Homen-Iin*'s work included advising individuals on how to improve the management of their household budgets rather than relying on the state.

The role of *Homen-Iin* evolved over the next two decades and spread throughout Japan. In 1938, the *Homen-Iin* was refined through social legislation. However, the role of the *Homen-Iin* became increasingly intertwined with the aim of ensuring full cooperation in the war effort until the end of World War II.

In the postwar period, the *Homen-Iin* was renamed the *Minsei-Iin*; however, its role as the provider of welfare remained.

The *Minsei-Iin* are appointed to renewable three-year contracts, on the basis that they live in their designated area "for a long time" and that they have a clear understanding of the area's social situation and show the enthusiasm for carrying out the promotion of social welfare. The *Minsei-Iin* are appointed by each municipality according to the law of public welfare; the Minister of Health, Labor, and Welfare entrusts to them their role of supporting the social welfare as *Minsei-Iin*.

The *Minsei-Iin* system offers an example or model of the Japanese concept of community care. Basically, welfare services in Japan heavily emphasize a great degree of self-help and self-reliance; the role of family is central. However, in some cases where families have not coped well with their problems, members or leaders of the NHA and the *Minsei-Iin* voluntarily provide adequate support in everyday life. Some western researchers have pointed out the contrast between the *Minsei-Iin* and many professional social workers in other industrialized countries, who live outside the communities in which they work and visit them during the day. However, the *Minsei-Iin* understand the lives and problems of those in their neighborhoods, because they reside in the same community (Ben-Ari 1991, Goodman 1998).

The Japanese family has recently reduced its size from that of the nuclear family to a single household, and consequently people have been deprived of the opportunity to receive care and have lost the capacity for self-help. Moreover, more elderly live alone than ever before in both the city and the countryside, so the demand for welfare services from the *Minsei-Iin* has increased.

Meanwhile, there are insufficient *Minsei-Iin* in some places, or the *Minsei-Iin* themselves have been aging; therefore, adequate welfare services are not being provided.

In addition, there are an increasing number of foreign residents who have lived in Japan for

- several years as local residents. The *Minsei-In* cannot provide adequate information and services for the country's diverse residents.
- 6 The idea of PAR was first introduced in Japan through translations of the work of Kurt Lewin, who employed this type of research in order to address problems related to minorities in the community. We understand this concept as the following: 1) PAR is the opposite of "research for the scholar's sake in the academic world" and 2) we seek to solve social problems through PAR projects in collaboration with actors in the community.
 - 7 The studies on ethnic minorities in Japan are listed in the References section. Many of them analyze and criticize the social conditions in which ethnic minorities live in Japan and the attitude of the Japanese majority toward them as well as their identity crisis (see Ryang,S. (ed.) 2000; Lie, J. 2004; Kim, J. J. 2005; Lee, S. 2006; Weiner, M. & Chapman, C. 2008; Ryang, S. & Lie, J. (ed.) 2009). In contrast, Chung, E. A. (2006, 2010) and Takezawa, Y. (2008) discuss the possibility of Korean movement or activism in order to change the Japanese civil society. Ozawa, W. (2009) also discusses the possibility of "active foreign citizen" (*gaikokuseki-shimin*) by focusing on the new movements of the Korean residents in the Kansai area.
 - 8 In 1986, the Japanese government reintroduced new National Pension Act that lifted the nationality restriction. However, at the same time, it determined that pensions should not be paid to the elderly foreign residents who were already over 60 years old at that time. Due to the lack of transitional measures for this policy change, more than 15,000 people were excluded from the pension system.
 - 9 We refer to the case of Kawasaki City, where the Kawasaki City Representative Assembly for Foreign Residents was introduced starting in 1996. In the 1970s, the Korean residents had the same form of successful experience in a judicial case.
 - 10 The definition of the elderly whom the NHA decided to look out for is different in Ogurisu than in Touka and Sanno. According to the definition, we selected those persons who were above the age of 65 years in Ogurisu, and 70 years in Touka and Sanno.
 - 11 During this survey, we were able to research the subjective level of happiness of the residents in Touka and Ogurisu. However, we could not research this subject in Sanno, where we had to use a simplified version of the questionnaire.
 - 12 We made Figure 2 with a "KH Coder," which is a free software for quantitative analysis or text mining.

Acknowledgments

This study was financially supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (No. 22530663) and the MEXT-Supported Program for the Strategic Research Foundation at Private Universities from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan. We gratefully acknowledge Professor E. Fong of the University of Toronto and Associate Professor J. S. Moon of Taisei Gakuin University for their useful comments.

References

Bavelas, A. & Lewin, K. (1942) "Training in Democratic Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and*

- Social Psychology*, 37 (1), Jan. 115-119.
- Lewin, K. (1946) "Action Research and Minority Problems," *Journal of Social Issues*, 2. 34-46.
- Ben-Ari, E. (1991) *Changing Japanese Suburbia: A Study of Two Present-Day Localities*, Kegan Paul International, London and New York.
- Goodman, R. (1998) "The 'Japanese-Style Welfare State' and the Delivery of Personal Social Services,'" Roger. Goodman, Gordon. White, and Huck-ju. Kwon. (eds.), *The East Asian Welfare Model: Welfare Orientalism and the State*. Routledge. 140-158.
- Ryang, S. (ed.) (2000) *Koreans in Japan: critical voices from the margin*, Routledge.
- Lie, J. (2004) *Multicultural Japan*, Harvard University Press.
- Kim, J. J. (2005) *Hidden treasures: lives of first-generation Korean women in Japan*, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Befu, H. (2006) "Conditions of Living Together (kyosei)" in S. Lee, S. Shigematsu and H. Befu (eds.) *Japan's Diversity Dilemmas: Ethnicity, Citizenship, and Education*. Universe. 1-10.
- Chung, E. A. (2006) "The Korean Citizen in Japanese Civil Society" in S. Lee, S. Shigematsu and H. Befu (eds.) *Japan's Diversity Dilemmas: Ethnicity, Citizenship, and Education*. Universe. 125-149.
- Lee, S. (2006) "The Cultural Exclusiveness of Ethnocentrism Japan's Treatment of Foreign Residents," in S. Lee, S. Shigematsu and H. Befu (eds.) *Japan's Diversity Dilemmas: Ethnicity, Citizenship, and Education*. Universe. 100-124.
- Moon, J. S. and Mikami H. (2007) "Difference in subjective well-being between ethnic Korean and Japanese elderly residents in an urban community in Japan," *Geriatrics and Gerontology International* Vol7, No4. 1444-1586.
- Takezawa, Y. (2008) "The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake and Town-Making towards Multiculturalism" in Graburn, N. H. H. & Tierney, R. K. (ed.) (2008) *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within*, Berghahn Books. 32-42.
- Weiner, M. & Chapman, C (2008) "Zainichi Koreans in history and memory" in Weiner, M. (ed.) (2008) *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies, Routledge. 162-187.
- Ozawa, W. (2009) "Foreign Citizens and Public Sphere in Japan", *Ritsumeikan Sansha-Ronshu* Vol45, No3. 43-52.
- Ryang, S. & Lie, J. (ed.) (2009), *Diaspora without homeland: being Korean in Japan*, University of California Press.
- Chung, E. A. (2010) *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan*, Cambridge University Press.

外国人高齢者に対するボランティア支援ネットワーク

—京都市における在日コリアンの新たな動き—

小澤 亘*

牧田 幸文**

樋口 耕一***

石川久仁子*****

山田 博子*****

マーサ・メンセンディーク*****

小川 栄二*

加藤 博史*****

京都市には、約4万1000人の外国籍住民が居住している。その半数以上は在日コリアン永住者が占めており、京都市外国籍住民の高齢化率はすでに15%を越えている。マイノリティのなかのマイノリティ問題と捉えることができる外国人高齢者問題を考えようとする際、京都は格好のフィールドと言える。

われわれは、京都外国人・障がい者生活支援ネットワーク「モア (MORE-NET)」が2006年に設立されて以来、参加型アクションリサーチを行ってきた。その一環として、文部科学省科研費助成(2010年度～2012年度)を基盤として、2011年2月～5月にかけて、京都市東九条(山王学区・陶化学区)および小栗栖団地において、日本人高齢者、在日コリアン高齢者、中国帰国者高齢者を対象として、600名を越える人数規模の聞き取り調査を実施した。本論文は、こうしたモアを基盤とする参加型アクションリサーチを振り返り、日本社会においてインクルーシブな社会を創造するうえで、こうした実践がいかなる可能性を持つかを質的・量的なデータ分析に依拠しながら考察しようとしたものである。

1982年以降、日本では、社会福祉関連法において国籍条項が撤廃されていったが、その経過措置は不十分で、一定年齢以上の外国人高齢者の無年金問題が生じた。こうした事態を問題とした在日コリアンたちは裁判に訴えたが、結局、原告敗訴という結果に終わった。しかし、京都府・市など

*立命館大学産業社会学部教授

**福山市立大学教育学部兼任講師

***立命館大学産業社会学部准教授

****大阪人間科学大学社会福祉学科准教授

*****同志社大学社会学部教授

*****同志社大学社会学部准教授

*****龍谷大学短期大学部教授

の自治体は、こうした処置を問題として、無年金外国人高齢者に対して支援金給付へと動いた。こうした裁判闘争を通じて、在日コリアンたちは、立場を越えて協働する意義を実感したものと思われる。

2000年に導入された介護保険制度には、当初より国籍条項は盛り込まれなかったが、在日外国人高齢者にとって、ただちに救済措置とはならなかった。在日コリアン1世は、文字が読めない者が多く、また、高齢化とともに、第二外国語としての日本語の能力を急速に失う者が多く見られるからである。こうした外国人高齢者や障がい者の支援を目指して、京都市において民団・総連、そして福祉関係者、大学関係者によって設立されたのが、モアである。

モアは、民生・児童委員制度（この制度には国籍条項が残り、外国籍居住者は任命されない）を補足するために、「外国人福祉委員制度」の制度化を目指し、外国人福祉委員の養成と外国籍居住者を対象とする福祉相談活動を行ってきた。しかしながら、在日コリアン高齢者も、また在日コリアンの支援者も、日本の地域社会からは孤立しがちであり、地域の日本人アクターたち、すなわち、民生・児童委員や地域自治会役員、そして、なにより、京都市独自の制度と言える老人福祉員と外国人福祉委員との連携・協働が重要な課題として浮かび上がっている。

本参加型アクションリサーチでは、こうした課題に対して、大学が「媒介者」として、地域に存在するさまざまな亀裂や分断を乗り越えていくことが模索された。在日コリアンたちが日本社会における不可欠な市民として受け入れられる「真にインクルーシブな社会」を構築するためには、さらに、このような参加型アクションリサーチを発展させ、今後、外国人福祉員活動の個別ケーススタディを深めていく必要があるだろう。

[注記：本論文は、ボランティア・セクター研究に関する国際学会である「インターナショナル・サードセクター・リサーチ (ISTR)」の第10回世界大会（イタリア・シエナ大学にて開催）で、2012年7月12日に小澤・牧田がプロジェクトを代表して報告した内容を論文化したものである。]

キーワード：外国人高齢者問題、ボランティア支援ネットワーク、インクルーシブな社会、多文化共生社会、参加型アクション・リサーチ、京都モアネット