

論文

Filipino Investment, Multicultural Return: Considering Cultural Group Dynamics within Umeda Church, Tokyo

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This paper uses the Umeda Catholic Church's Church school (UCS hereafter) as a case study of multiculturalism found within the Roman Catholic Church of Japan (RCCJ hereafter). With over half of its million plus members being born in a foreign country, the RCCJ is perhaps the most diverse community that exists in Japan today.¹ Particular to this study, the number of Filipino foreign residents in Japan in 2012 was 202,974 (MOJ, 2012) making them the RCCJ's largest ethnic group—and Japan's third. The ways Filipinos use their ethnic community to pass their culture on to their children directly impacts the future of the RCCJ and Japan because Filipino's integration into this church affects how they teach their Filipino culture to their culturally hybrid children. This claim rests in the assertion that the bicultural identity of these children cannot be achieved alone, but requires interaction with other ethnic groups within the RCCJ.

Given the range of criticism of English publications concerning the ineffectiveness of multicultural policies by Japan and the RCCJ, we feel it is our responsibility to provide the other side of the story concerning multiculturalism and the responsibility of the migrant. In this work it is our contention that success or failure of multicultural policy is a responsibility shouldered by all parties involved—not only of the Japanese. The following is a multicultural case study between the UCS and the English group (E group hereafter) of Umeda Church that exemplifies how smooth relations between different cultures require

multiple failed attempts.

In particular, the UCS has struggled since 2010 to understand the children it serves. In turn, the E group has struggled to hand pick new members who share the goals of its Filipino membership. It has only been since each of these groups understood its members that they have been able to move forward past inner strife, toward implementation of its progressive multicultural ideals.

This paper is divided into four major sections. The first section explains the relationship Filipinos have amongst themselves and with the UCS. This includes the period of increased emigration of Filipinos into Japan and their attendance at Umeda Church. The second section considers the process of division, communal fortification, and interactions with non-Filipinos. Over the course of three years the E group has transformed itself from a Filipino ethnic enclave to a more inclusive, yet smaller group within Umeda Church that works in close cooperation with the Japanese group (J group hereafter) and the UCS. The third section discusses multiple attempts by the UCS to construct a model for Umeda Church's children's education in which Filipinos can cooperate. In the fourth section, special attention is paid to UCS summer camps and sleepovers. These give positive examples of how Filipinos from the E group have worked together with the UCS to ensure the religious education and identity formation of Umeda's children (referred to as C group hereafter).

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1.1. Attempts at Creating a “Third Space”

Through its church school, the Umeda community has taken progressive steps to teach a generation of culturally hybrid children to be prepared for their day to join Umeda Church’s international membership as responsible adults. Preparing the way for this future, the current UCS has taken steps for E and J groups to participate with each other during a series of children’s events. Collaboration of both ethnic groups in UCS activities has, nevertheless, not been without incident.

First and foremost, due to the unusually high percentage of children with Filipino mothers attending Umeda Church, it was essential the UCS elicit the support of Filipino members if it desired its youth to become conscious of their Filipino heritage. As it now exists, most of these children drift in between Japan and the Philippines, constructing a type of bifurcated, cultural hybridity. Though this “third space” is fraught with challenges, if they learn to own this space, these children can construct new identities that challenge binary notions of either Filipino or Japanese culture. Soja explains these children have the ability to think from a third space as a “recombinational and radically open perspective” that contradicts the propensity that our society has to produce finite definitions (57). Better yet, argues Homi K. Bhabha, a bicultural child is special because he possesses this third space ontologically through his cultural hybridity that in turn gives him a unique lens to view the world. He has the vision to see outside his surroundings without leaving them.

Nevertheless, the advantages of possessing a third space perspective do not occur naturally, but must be practiced and honed so they will not disappear (Mass (1992) and Hall (1996)). The stronger the influence toward one cultural camp than to the other, the greater the probability of these children to lose their culturally hybrid advantage. In order for the hybrid child to continue to perceive two or more unique perspectives of the same reality, it is important these children do not lose touch with their Filipino roots.

For this reason, over the past three years the UCS has attempted to work with Filipinos in Umeda Church to ensure children interact in positive ways with Filipino parents. The more time the C group interacts with the E group, the greater ability these children will have in remembering the Philippines and what it means to be related to this culture.

1.2. The History of Filipinos in Japan and Umeda Church

In the 1980’s, a Filipino economic depression coupled with a Japanese labor shortage created push and pull factors that would influence Filipino workers to begin working in thousands of blue-collar jobs throughout Japan. Filipino men and women flooded into small and medium Japanese businesses while working to keep Japan’s economy afloat. Meanwhile, the remittances sent to the Philippines helped to boost its economy out of the financial hole it had created for itself since the time of Fernando Marco’s failed fiscal policies. In 2000, the Japanese economy began to stagnate. This resulted in a loss of construction projects and subsequent jobs for Filipino men. Downsizing in construction and factory employment opened niches in the entertainment industry for Filipino women. This remained the case until the mid 2000’s. In 2005, the U.S. Human Trafficking and Missing Person’s Report in judiciously accused Filipino clubs as being windows to prostitution (HTMP report). The response of the Japanese government to this scathing assessment came in the form of severe quota reductions. By 2006, the number of potential entertainment (*kogyo*) visas had shrunk to 32,000 from 80,000 merely a year prior. The number of these visas leveled out at about 10 percent 1992 levels (Parreñas, chapter 6). In spite of this drop in entertainer employment, Filipino immigration recorded an aggregate growth. By 2013, an estimated 27,929 Filipinos lived in Tokyo, with 3,236 of these living in Adachi ward (TDHP, 2013). Many of the women living in Adachi and its surrounding wards had once been employed as entertainers

in Japan, but had married Japanese and were now either raising or had raised families.

Since the 1990's, Umeda Church membership has undergone massive changes both in its ethnic makeup and numbers. At the height of Japan's economic bubble, attendance at Umeda Church's English mass exceeded 600 people weekly. Most of these were Filipino. By contrast, when we arrived at Umeda in 2010, this attendance had shrunk to 300 members, less than half the numbers of a decade prior. This was mainly due to the changing professions of members and a crackdown on those overstaying their visas. Where Filipinos in the 1990s and 2000s were temporary "entertainer" employees on yearlong contracts, by contrast, many of those in 2010 were mothers raising families on spousal visas that ranged from one to five years. This difference provided Umeda Church with a more legally stable membership that did not have to fear being deported on account of overstaying their visas.

The community of Umeda Church nowadays is much more international than in the past. Currently, the numbers of Catholic attendance comes from countries such as Korea, China, Vietnam, Ghana, Taiwan, Guatemala, Brazil and US. With that said, the most obvious foreign group comes from the Philippines. Nevertheless, these women also come speaking a wide variety of dialects and originating from geographical locations all throughout the Philippines. This suggests that although all Filipinos, there exists cultural variations even within this same country.

Taking this into account, this paper has divided the Umeda community and the E group into two separate classifications. Beginning with the Umeda Church community there generally are three groups: the J, E and C groups. The J and E groups center on the Japanese and English masses though not all participants at these two language masses are native Japanese or English speakers. Within the English group we have classified these into the following categories: 1) church committee members, 2) core members, 3) ordinary members and 4) "other members".

These four groups produce concentric circles making the involvement in one group not necessarily exclude membership in another.

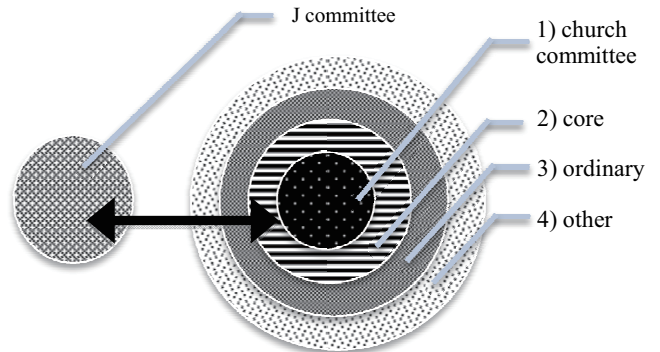


Figure: Classification of E group and Relation with J group

These four groups relate to each other as follows. **The first group** consists of Filipino women on the church committee. These women are proficient enough in Japanese to take part in the monthly Umeda committee member meetings held after the Japanese mass. **The second group** consists of core members who are involved in church activities through planning, cooking, and cleaning. These women have a high command of spoken Japanese, though not all might be able to read or write it. **The third group** consists of the ordinary members who attend Sunday mass and support church activities through their participation and philanthropy. **The fourth group** we classify as "other members" and consists of those who attend mass infrequently and seldom take part in after-church activities.²

1.3. Little Choice but to Embrace Multiculturalism

Umeda Church shares with the rest of the RCCJ its conspicuous problem: an aging and dwindling community. The inevitable loss of many of its most responsible and active members due to old age has threatened the very existence of the J group itself. Many consider that increased interaction with the E group to ensure future participation of the C group as the most practical plan to invigorate this dying community. Of particular relevance are those children

born to either one or both Filipino parents who dominate Sunday school classes.

Nevertheless, capturing the attention of these children so they remain in the church is not simple. Most children within the RCCJ leave during their junior high school and high school years as Japanese children do. The following sections attempt to offer potential solutions to reverse this depopulation by looking at achieving internal harmony amongst Filipino members first. Possessing an inner stability and strong internal bonds will increase the probability Filipinos can cooperate with Umeda Church's J group and C group to discover a more culturally diverse church community.

2. Filipino Group Politics: Division, Fortification, and Renewal

A prerequisite for multicultural interaction comes from a will of all parties involved to be consciously committed to engage in such an endeavor. In 2010, with the end of Umeda Church's Multicultural Youth Program, a precursor to the UCS (which we will talk more about below), the E group was in the midst of a leadership change. Internal division and the absence of several of its most active members left it in little position to cooperate with the construction of a new program for Umeda's children. This section will explain this painful growth process beginning with the renovation of the Church in 2010. Struggle for a strong leadership willing to participate with the rest of the church did not begin with this renovation. Nonetheless, we trace this leadership change to this period as a convenient means of symbolizing Umeda Church's new initiative to accept its Filipino members.

This section is divided into four parts. First, the specifics of the church remodeling are explained in order to better understand the extent of forethought that went into Umeda Church's embrace of its Filipino members. The next section discusses several unfortunate repercussions that have stemmed from this remodeling and new multicultural initiative. Third, potential solutions to these problems are

explained by using birthday parties and other communal activities to strengthen internal bonds between Filipinos within the E group. Fourth, after achieving an internal cohesion amongst its core members the E group has begun to branch out to solicit the participation of non-church going Filipinos. After achieving a degree of inner stability such that it could participate in some ministry initiatives targeting Filipino who infrequently attend church, it can be said that this community has made verifiable improvements in the past several years.

2.1. The Umeda Hall Renovation: Concrete Multiculturalism

One of the best examples of Umeda Church's embrace of multiculturalism comes from a recent church remodeling in 2010 that cost nearly 200,000 U.S. dollars to complete.³ Following this remodel, the entire first floor was transformed from a hall used for personal events into an open and inviting community space all members have used to strengthen internal bonds. Generally speaking, a third of the construction costs came from the renovation of the kitchen. Before remodeling, this "hot water room" was barely large enough to prepare tea and refreshments for church activities. At 8.2 square meters, the old structure was barely larger than a kitchen used by a family of three. After remodeling, the kitchen was enlarged four times to 32.8 square meters. The new space was large enough for several people to cook separate meals simultaneously and was the start of a new way in which social activities at Umeda Church would be executed.

Another aspect of this renovation was the layout of each room. In the previous structure, the E group and J group had separate rooms with locks for privacy. Furthermore, it was the J group that occupied the office. This physical barrier was symptomatic of the reservations each group had towards each other. The new model increased the size of the office in an effort to have the space necessary for members from both E and J groups to conduct joint meetings. The

new office had enough space to seat more than eight people. This was ideal for monthly meetings attended by both Filipinos and Japanese members.

The renovation of the new hall would create a communal space large enough for E and J groups to participate together in planning, cooking, and fellowship. These two actions marked the start of a rebirth for an Umeda Church ready to embrace its ethnic diversity. Though Umeda members were excited to accept these structural changes, this renovation produced internal divisions that later challenged its newly discovered multicultural ideals.

2.2. The Sacrifice of Multiculturalism: Change and Division

Prior to the renovation of Umeda Church, the parish priest tried to convince members from both J and E groups that merging these two communities would be beneficial for their future. He made this goal clear during our informal conversation saying, "I am concerned about building a multicultural body here at Umeda Church; but I have no patience for those unwilling to compromise their cultural views". The priest was aware that many Filipinos in the RCCJ, in spite of being married to Japanese, used the Catholic Church as a cultural sanctuary where they could reminisce about their lives in the Philippines. These diaspora communities use church facilities for their personal needs.⁴ The words of this priest attested to his strong desire for Filipinos not to suspend their cultural practices, but be willing to interact with Japanese Catholics while eking out a life for themselves within the RCCJ. Constructing a multicultural church would require self-sacrifice while integrating these women's Filipino Catholicism with that of the RCCJ. The strict stance Umeda Church's resident priest took created friction between several Filipino factions within the E group. Soon after the church renovation ended, fissures became visible as Filipino members, unwilling to compromise, began to break away from the Filipino core group.

Some initial points of friction came with the use of the newly refurbished public kitchen. Accompanying its renovation came strict rules that required that anyone using this facility for non-church related activities (such as personal birthday parties and baptisms) would be required to pay a moderate fee. This upset some members who were accustomed to gathering in the hall for personal parties such as potluck lunches and dinners. With the passage of these rules, some Filipinos left Umeda to join other parishes with more lax systems of operation.

Another area of division had to do with fiscal responsibility, as the entire church was responsible to pay back the debt it accrued for this reform. This posed a problem because in the old church structure the E group existed independently from the J group. This meant that with respect to many of the budget issues that Filipinos faced, they chose to confront these with little help from the church board. On the one hand, this offered flexibility with the use of funds as the privately collected treasury was sometimes used for private affairs. Yet as greater cooperation occurred between E and J groups, so too did the need for fiscal transparency leading to a more rigorous system of bookkeeping. As the treasury of the E group was absorbed by Umeda Church, it became susceptible to the same fiscal oversight as Japanese activities. This placed pressure on the coffers of Filipino members who were held accountable for private use of public facilities. This new oversight caused extra tension leading to further internal strife.

A poignant example of this financial difference came from the amount of money Filipinos at the English mass paid in comparison to Japanese. In Japan, it is common for believers to be registered at a particular church where they will also donate money for the upkeep of the building over and above that of the normal Sunday collection. Such a system is not in place in the Philippines. Unlike Japan, in the Philippines there is no system of mandatory tithing. Filipinos float from one church to the next at their leisure. Moreover, due to the massive numbers of participants, which

sometimes number over a thousand or more at a single mass, donations are minimal in comparison to the heavy financial responsibility born by Japanese Catholics within the RCCJ. The small numbers of Japanese Catholics complicated by the infrequency of masses make the “one-coin” policy (500 yen⁵) of donations observed by most Filipinos insufficient to run church activities. Getting Filipino members to take responsibility for the Church’s loan required the priest and board members to talk about financial issues during mass. Many Filipinos in attendance did not accept this lightly.

The final point of friction is the most recent. The new church choir was established in 2013. At the end of 2012, Filipino core group members were complaining about having difficulty reading the music and following the songs of the liturgical year. In accordance with this, the resident priest took a definitive first step toward hiring a professor and liturgical music composer to come to the church once a month to teach Filipinos how to read music. Those in the choir were required to pay for these lessons. In addition, certain stipulations were placed upon choir practice and preparation for mass. Anyone not abiding by these rules was asked to leave. This resulted in almost half of the choir leaving Umeda Church. Feeling disenfranchised, these former members decided to move to another church where they could continue playing the guitar and singing the songs they desired. As for those who remained, they slowly began to learn how to read and sing music according to international standards (published in the United States). A tradeoff for this loss of being able to sing their favorite songs at their leisure was a formalized schedule that followed the liturgical year. Currently, though numbers remain small, this choir has learned to support the Umeda community in reflective song rather than ostentatious and individualistic solos. This change illustrates a greater commitment of the core E group members toward communal worship.

2.3. Creating New Bonds

After the remodeling of the hall was finished, the E group had lost almost half of its core members. Remaining were those Filipinos prepared to make sacrifices while interacting with the J group and the UCS. However, before moving forward to cross this cultural divide, core group members thought it was important to regroup and strengthen the bonds amongst those who remained. A series of ideas were put forward that would help the new group grow together, but we have decided to list only three of the most influential: birthday parties, the E group bazaar as a fundraiser event, and the Block Rosary. Through these events and more, the Filipinos within the E group have set out uniting existing members in hopes of preventing any further schisms in the future.

a. Birthday Parties

Birthday parties are a method Filipinos use to pay respect to each other while enjoying festive merrymaking. In the Philippines, it is common for friends to invite other friends to birthday parties despite these friends having never met the birthday celebrant. This cultural tradition changes birthday parties into events where Filipinos can enlarge their circle of friends. Previously in the E group, birthday parties were held in private residences in just such a style.

Contrary to the way birthday parties have been held in the past, the current model was changed for various reasons. First, in the spirit of open participation, the E group decided to make these events open to all Umeda Church members by meeting at local karaoke clubs or restaurants instead of residences. Because most Japanese residences are unable to house large numbers at their homes, gatherings were moved to public facilities to reduce the host’s pressure to cook. As an unintended positive result, there are several members from both J and UCS groups who have made a point to attend these parties in hopes of increasing interaction across ethnicities.

b. The E Group Bazaar as a Fundraiser Event

Several more events include the bazaar and fundraising events. As mentioned above, Filipino members are not accustomed to the system of tithing that they have in Japan. This lack of familiarity has resulted in financial gaps in donations between Filipino and Japanese members. As a means of rectifying this imbalance, E group core members have implemented several fundraising activities throughout the year. Some of these include a bazaar where “donations” such as computers and clothes are sold to generate extra revenue. Others include selling food.

In recent years, preparation for the bazaar begins on Saturday night. In collaboration with the sales of used items, the E group also cooks food such as *lumpia* (fried banana spring rolls) and barbecue. The food menu is selected for Japanese people’s taste and prepared in advance. On the following Sunday morning Filipinos attending the Japanese mass are able to purchase these goods along with the Japanese. This event creates an incentive for Filipinos to attend the Japanese mass and introduces Filipino food and culture to the Japanese. Using fundraisers to introduce Filipino culture to non-Filipino members is exciting for Filipino mothers and also doubles the ability to generate funds Filipinos would under other circumstances not donate.

c. Block Rosary

One of the most recent activities of Umeda Church that has helped to unite E group core members with ordinary and other members has been the Block Rosary. Heavily influenced by Filipino culture, this event consists of bringing a statue of the Virgin Mary from residence to residence where prayers, blessings, and communal meals help to strengthen bonds between core, ordinary and other members. Due to this event being lay-centered, the presence of priests and/or other clergy are downplayed giving an unusual opportunity for Filipino members to participate in a nonhierarchical activity. Through visiting Filipinos’ houses, Umeda core group members acquaint themselves with the

personal lives of those who would in another manner pass by undetected during Sunday liturgy. Moreover, as an extra incentive, being able to meet the families of these women helps church members to relate with the personal family matters of these women in a means impossible when they attend church, alone, separated from their Japanese husbands or children.⁶ Intimate prayer meetings such as the Block Rosary help unite members through both hospitality and communal prayer.

2.4. Exerting Initiative to Cross the Ethnic Divide

After the E group began strengthening the bonds between its small group of intimate members, it decided that it was time to branch outward to strengthen the ties with the J group and UCS. Two events in particular exemplify this new initiative of the E group and its ability to take part in joint ventures with other members outside the E group. These are the Elder’s Day Party and the Palm-Cutting event. Through these events the E group has exemplified its possession of similar goals amongst its members. This unity has made it possible for outside groups such as the UCS to collaborate with the E group without fearing another opposition to procedures or internal division.

a. The Elder’s Day Party (*Keiro no Hi*)

The first of these is the Elder’s Day party. Starting before the E and J groups began their new plan of multicultural interaction, the E group has made it a point to show their support at this inversely Japanese-sponsored event. Somewhat unorthodox for elder’s day parties, Umeda Church hires a Peruvian band as the main attraction to compliment the typical spread of food and drink. The lively music of this band has brought an unusual flair to this culturally conservative gathering. It has been the employment of this band that has led to the E group core members’ active participation. Now some twenty Filipinos attend the event annually even presenting songs or dances before the main event.

It is the Filipinos' desire for communal gatherings and dance that has constructed the impetus for their participation. Moreover, due to their jovial character and lack of inhibition to perform in front of others, many of these women are the ones who encourage Japanese to dance through their repeated invitations. Due to the participation of Filipino members, it has not been uncommon for many of Umeda Church's elder members (those over 70 years old) to join in dancing after being invited by Filipinos. As an example of this interaction, this year, a 90-year-old woman in her wheelchair and an 80-year-old blind woman accepted Filipino members' requests to dance. In this manner, Filipino members have begun bringing new life to traditional events previously only attended by aging Japanese Catholics.

b. Palm-Cutting

Our last example of activities that exemplify an inner stability and initiative of the E group to reach out into the community comes from the palm cutting activity before Palm Sunday. In the Christian tradition a week before Easter is when Jesus is said to have entered Jerusalem. According to the Christian scriptures, upon entering this city, the residents cut palm branches and laid them on the ground on which Jesus was to walk. This created an allegory Christians would associate with as a sign of royalty taken from the Jewish scripture. In an attempt to recreate this Bible story, Catholics cut palm branches and pass these out to those at mass. In turn, it is a common custom for believers to take these branches home and keep them throughout the year until they can be burned to make the ashes for the Ash Wednesday holiday that marks the beginning of the Lenten season.

Part of the preparation for Palm Sunday includes members from E and J group meeting on the Saturday preceding this holiday to cut, trim and decorate palm branches. Nearly 400 branches are cut for Umeda Church parishioners. These are then decorated with ribbon and sometimes colored. On the following day these are sold for a minimal fee at the beginning of each mass and blessed by

the priest. We can say that this event is unusual because it is an activity run by regular members from the J and E groups as opposed to core members. Moreover, in recent years, it has been the Filipinos who have prepared the tea and refreshments for the Japanese, not vice versa. Following hard work from all participants, the day's activities conclude with refreshments shared in a relaxed and congenial atmosphere. Despite only around ten members participating at this event, the close interaction while cutting palms or sharing tea has become another opportunity which Filipinos have used to teach their culture to Japanese members they otherwise would have few chances to meet.

In this second section we have shown how beginning with the reform of Umeda Church's hall, certain multicultural changes led to increased conflict within the E group. This strife eventually produced an internal schism that claimed the membership of many of the E group's core members. Coming to terms with this division, the remaining Filipino members used a number of social activities to strengthen the few bonds remaining. A product of this internal support can now be seen through several events between Filipinos and Japanese. These periodic events mark the transformation of the E group from an ethnic enclave to a more open, multicultural-minded core group strong enough to work with other groups within Umeda Church without jeopardizing its own communal identity.

3. The Next Generation: Building a Third Space between Japanese and Filipino Communities

In recent years the E group has been transformed from an independent group of Filipinos concerned with how they can use the church as a sanctuary to escape Japanese society, to a smaller, more culturally conscious group of Filipino women concerned about the overall future of the RCCJ and their position within it. Although these advances in Umeda Church's multiculturalism are significant when considering the whole picture of Umeda Church, they do little to increase

the numbers of second-generation children in attendance. That is because the most active members in both E and J groups have no children.

This third section focuses on the UCS and its struggle to work with Filipino mothers during children's events. When beginning its children's program, it was unclear the extent Filipino members could be depended upon, or what expectations were reasonable to hold. For the first several years, the UCS had varying success while working with the Filipino members of the E group. This was mainly because when the UCS first began, the E group was undergoing a painful transformation as many of its members left the church. With each group in their infancy, both were still learning how to cooperate with their own members, and possessed insufficient energy to invest in other groups.

In this third section we look at the UCS and its creation. Starting with the Multicultural Youth Program sponsored by the Catholic Tokyo International Center (CTIC) we trace a line of successful and failed attempts at administering to the needs of Umeda Church's C group.

3.1. Church School Times and Goals

The UCS's activities correspond with Umeda Church's two mass times. Sunday school classes are divided into the 10:00 am Japanese mass (J class hereafter) and the 2:00 pm English mass (E class hereafter). While the former takes place after the Japanese mass with lunch, the latter lasts between 30-40 minutes during the English mass. Student ages range from first year elementary school to second year junior high school. The median age of participation is about nine years. Although there is no formal application or registration process to verify attendance, participant numbers are estimated to be between 15 and 20 children. By comparison, three children who are born to Japanese mothers and fathers attend the J class.

The UCS constructed a goal to advance Umeda Church's multiculturalism through a comprehensive plan that would include religious education and foster a collective

sense of multicultural identity. Religious education is predominately conducted in Japanese—most of the children's strongest language—as the easiest path forward for instruction. Most importantly, these children's cultural problems begin with a poor understanding of the core principles of Catholicism and how these relate to building a multicultural church. Secondly, in Japanese public school few of the ethnic background of these children are accepted or encouraged by their teachers or peers. Therefore, it became essential to construct a third-space where children with ethnic differences could form their own cultural home.

3.2. The Vision behind the Start of Umeda Church School

The precursor to the UCS began in 2010. This was shortly after the newly assigned diocesan priest began to consider the construction of a multicultural youth program that would address specific issues of bicultural children's religious and cultural identity formation. According to our conversations, Umeda Church's parish priest began to observe that several children from multicultural marriages parishioners exhibited similar problems of unemployment, underemployment and a lack of cultural integration into Japanese society. He mentioned how bicultural children complained of being marginalized by Japanese society for their looks or not being proficient enough in the Japanese language or culture to be considered as "normal" Japanese. In response to these social problems, the priest decided to begin a multicultural workshop with the help of the CTIC. On its team, he included CTIC's expert on youth programs, two Filipino women, himself and us.

Over the next ten months, this program encouraged children to research and exhibit their Filipino culture. This was achieved by building solidarity with children who shared cultural hybridity, and by conducting "future mapping" that challenged them to think about adulthood and what they saw themselves doing as a profession. In spite of succeeding to a varying degree with these lofty goals, by the end of the

year both Filipino representatives had left the group leaving an awkward hole in the MCY's ability to teach children about their Filipino roots.

The Multicultural Youth Program had ten participants who met every week to discuss ways of expressing their Filipino culture in Japan. This was a pilot program for CTIC. The ten months it was scheduled were unsatisfactory to construct the bonds needed for children to build multicultural friendships that would last even after the conclusion of this short program. Furthermore, ten months was also insubstantial to construct a network between Japanese and Filipino members capable of impacting future change in the lives of the C group. After its finish, children were left with the same options they had before the program's end: attendance at either the Japanese or English masses. There was no place they could apply what this program had taught them about being Filipino and Japanese. Within several months following the MCY's conclusion, most former participants left taking the modicum of progress achieved with them.

3.3. Constructing a New Church School Community

After the Multicultural Program ended, the CTIC leader returned to his office in Meguro and Umeda's parish priest became occupied with other church activities. The largest hope for the MCY was that the Filipino representatives would stake the initiative required applying MCY teachings to the wider Umeda community. The absence of these Filipinos concluding the class dashed any hope that this would occur. This failure became a setback and a disappointment. We waited several months for an alternative Filipino leader to step forward but none came. By the time we could think of an alternative activity to regroup old members, only three children from CTIC's program remained. Over the course of three months, those children who once participated weekly had disappeared. Realizing those advances made during the MCY were jeopardized, the

two of us began to work fast to construct a core team and to build a new Church School.

Our first major point of reflection was that of group solidarity between E, J and C groups. This topic was discussed little during the MCY program because the primary focus of CTIC was predominately on children with Filipino backgrounds. The divisions between children attending Umeda Church's English and Japanese masses created a physical divide between these two communities that discouraged physical interaction. The UCS decided it needed strengthening the children's identification with Umeda Church as an international community. This was achieved through planning a sleepover event where children could strengthen relationships with others their age from Filipino, Japanese, and other ethnic backgrounds. Spending the night at the church also guaranteed children would attend the Japanese mass, an act many had never done. We called this activity "Tasting Mass". This provided the impetus for MCY children to return to Umeda Church, while also attracting new members. Perhaps most important, it offered a new opportunity for Filipino participation in the UCS. "Tasting Mass" helped erase the raw feeling left after the two Filipinos abandoned the MCY program. Just about the same time, the church renovation was nearing its completion and the E group was slowly starting to regroup around a few dependable Filipino members.

3.4. Struggle Getting the Word Out: Further Attempts at Constructing Solidarity

Shortly after the "Tasting Mass" sleepover ended, the UCS decided to make some structural changes in preparation for the start of its new school program. Before the UCS could start a class that would replace the CTIC sponsored MCY program, the UCS members realized they needed greater participation of children and Filipino mothers. With active collaboration from Filipino mothers the UCS anticipated they could attract more children and ensure that the E group could help share the future responsibility of

educating Umeda Church's next generation. In order to establish a closer communication with the E group the UCS tried to incorporate a special child seating in front of the church that would lead to greater attendance at the church school after the E mass. In addition, the UCS planned a religious education class that would begin shortly before the mass, include mass attendance, and conclude shortly after this worship service. They felt this would encourage children's attendance. They also hoped that maintaining this time cushion around the E mass would create the flexibility needed for greater Filipino participation of those desiring to attend the mass.

Unfortunately, changing school times and incorporating the children's seating produced poor results as few children and their families utilized the special seat or enrolled their children into the church school. The cause of this poor turnout was related to Filipino's sense of time. Filipino members enjoyed the freedom of being able to enter and leave the mass at their will. This was a freedom which a seating chart jeopardized. Moreover, since parents attended mass infrequently, increased communication with other families did not directly result.

Children participating in the religious education class and the English mass were at church for over two hours. This monopolization of their time was longer than children or their parents thought necessary. In summary, what the UCS needed was a church school that would take advantage of the mass times their mothers attended, not add to the time they were required to attend church.

3.5. Minimizing Instruction, Maximizing Attendance

It was during a joint Japanese/English meeting that the president of the board offered a suggestion to Alec who was lamenting about minimal church school attendance. To paraphrase, the comment went something like this:

If you really wish to increase participation at church school classes, what you need is a leader

to act as a pied piper and drag at once all the children out of the mass down to the children's room for instruction. Make sure no children remain. In order to do this, you need a strong incentive to convince them to attend such as the belief that their absence would send them down a path toward hell.

After much thought, the UCS committee decided Alec would play this pied piper role and gather the children in the back of the church. He would then proceed to the front, bow with the priest, and then bring the children to the basement where they would receive religious instruction during the mass. Children would receive instruction until after the homily was finished and then be led back into the church to sit in the front pew for the last thirty minutes.

As a means of maximizing attendance, the UCS class would be conducted on the first Sunday of the month. At Umeda Church, the first Sunday of the month is when holy water is dispensed in order to bless the attendees. On these weeks, the attendance is twice that of others (about 400) as Filipinos come with their friends and family to receive blessings. The UCS desired to take advantage of this trend by scheduling its E group church school then.

This new time schedule of the UCS solved several problems simultaneously. First, it removed children from the English mass during those sections that were the most incomprehensible. Scripture readings and the homily, conducted at the first half of the mass require the most language proficiency. These are the parts children find the hardest to comprehend. On the contrary, the last half of the mass contains the most songs and communal responses, not to mention vivid symbols such as the Eucharist meal that makes for easier comprehension. For children with language handicaps, the repetitive nature of this latter half of the mass has made it easier for them to memorize the mass, even if they still do not understand it.

Seating and time were two major obstructions to assembling children at the English mass. Yet, after a series of failed attempts, the current model has proved to be the most successful. Whereas before, attendees were in the single digits, current numbers are any where between fifteen and twenty children every class. Though there have been requests to meet more often, it has been precisely this flexible schedule that has allowed children to honor their many other Sunday commitments in Japan while continuing monthly attendance at Umeda Church.

3.6. Progress: A Slow Road Uphill

As any teacher can verify, judging success is never as easy as compiling numeric data. Thus, it may be difficult to definitively determine the extent of progress made by Umeda Church's religion class. Quantitatively, since the above changes to its time schedule and seating assignment were made, the UCS has seen a progressively higher turnout. Children now anticipate classes asking UCS leaders when these will be held. Filipino mothers have also begun to show interest in the content of their children's education, which was unheard of until recently. All these are positive signs that children are developing a closer relationship with UCS leaders and other participants.

What seems to be the greatest advance during the last few years is the development of a communal identity. During the masses on the first Sunday of the month, the first two pews are always full of children. Among these, there are some children as young as eight and nine who sing along with the English songs of the congregation. As before, these children may not yet understand what they are singing. What has changed is their attitude toward the group. Previously, the RCCJ was a foreign space for the C group who expressed feelings of detachment from its activities. Now, through the interaction with children who share similar experiences with themselves, this religious community has given them an outlet where they can learn about the RCCJ from their perspective. Through the UCS, the C group is no

longer a passive recipient of their Filipino mother's religion, but now has a space it can exert autonomy by learning a kind of Catholicism that meets its members' personal needs.

4. Special Events and the Filipino Mother

The above sections have offered a historical sketch of how the UCS and the E group have tried to work with each other in spite of both struggling to understand how to best meet the needs of their own members. This section continues the above explanation of the E group showing some areas of success the UCS has found while working with Filipinos. This section begins talking about the success the UCS has discovered when working with E group members during its special events. After discussing generally the areas in which Filipinos have contributed to these programs' success, we consider more specific points of their forte. Based on these strengths, the fourth section lays out a path for stronger UCS and E group cooperation.

4.1. Special Activities and Religious Education

Through the application of its special programs, the UCS has come to depend on the Filipino members of the E group for their unique support. This cooperation can be illustrated in the three particular programs of sleepovers, summer camps and fundraiser events. Each of these is explained below before delineating where the E group has begun contributing.

a. Sleepover

The first sleepover event was the "Tasting Mass" in 2011. A year afterwards came the event called "Walk in the Light". Both of these events were designed to promote the participation of Filipino-Japanese children in the Japanese mass. Until then, most of the experiences of these children were limited to the English mass, a ceremony many found impossible to understand. The UCS group hoped to increase children's knowledge of the mass and solidify their sense of community with other Japanese-speaking children.

Similarities between these two events were a communal dinner on Saturday night and visiting a public bath in the neighborhood. After dinner, boys and girls slept on futons in their own rooms. The next morning began with light gymnastics followed by breakfast prepared and served by the children.

Along with these social activities were two hour-long educational classes that taught about the world of the first Christians and how this related to children in their contemporary environment. The aforementioned “Tasting Mass” focused on relating the Jewish tradition of a Shabbat meal with the Catholic mass while the latter “Walk in the Light” program focused on the Pentecost event and the beginning of the Catholic Church. The uninterrupted time allotted to sessions during these sleepovers provided more intensive educational opportunities than the short religious sessions on Sunday. Moreover, there was generally more interaction with volunteers from both E and J groups during mealtime thanks to volunteers and participants eating together.

b. Summer Camps

In comparison with sleepovers, summer camps usually lasted a half-day longer beginning in the morning and ending on the night of the following day. The two camps in 2012 and 2013 were named, “Disciple’s Journey” and “Many Colors: One Faith”. Both of these were held at a retreat center in Chiba Prefecture owned by Adachi ward called *Shizen no Ie*. This facility provided dinner, outdoor recreation space, and sleeping amenities. Events planned by the UCS consisted of water recreation, a nighttime courage test (*kimodameshi*) and sports recreation. Along with traveling together to and from the center, during over 36 hours, children developed friendships they otherwise would not be able to during the Sunday school.

In both of the summer camps there were educational activities that incorporated multicultural themes along with religious instruction. “Disciple’s Journey” focused on the

mission of Paul and the twelve apostles of Jesus focusing on their ordinary natures. “Many Colors: One Faith” centered exclusively on a multicultural theme comparing the ethnic diversity of the first century catholic church to children’s contemporary position within Umeda Church.

In addition to these religious sessions, the expert support of CTIC staff during the Many Colors, One Faith activity helped build lessons that encouraged children to visualize their interests and encourage individual self-reflection. After returning to the church on the afternoon of the second day, there was a communal mass specifically targeting the lifestyles of children. The homily of the priest and songs were all chosen to meet the needs of Umeda Church’s C group. These above special sessions and activities systematically taught religious education one event at a time while relating these activities to the practical lives of children in Japan.

c. Fundraising

The third type of special event has been a fundraiser that has centered on themes found within the church calendar. This signature fundraising activity was the Lenten Season Soup Kitchen event of 2012 and 2013 where children cooked and sold soup and bread. This event offered children an important opportunity to take responsibility for their own religious education by raising funds to support the above activities. The intent behind the Soup Kitchen event was to teach children the importance of doing “service” for others without the need for self-gratification or financial gain. Another advantage this fundraiser offered was an opportunity for children to work together to achieve a tangible goal such as feeding others. Furthermore, through the serving of meals to members of both the Japanese and English masses, these children could interact with other families and people of various ages.

All of the aforementioned events were planned separately from English masses and other events of the E group. This independence and separation offered a valuable

buffer which Filipinos and UCS have utilized to increase interaction within each other's activities while maintaining some distance. The following will examine several points where the UCS has outsourced parts of these special events to encourage participation with Filipino members.

4.2. Renewed Expectations and Progress

After the Filipino leaders disappeared concluding the MCY program, UCS leaders were cautious to ask for Filipino members' help. It was the "Tasting Mass" special event that provided a valuable opportunity for collaboration. This event had an *agape* meal as its focal point that encouraged a served/server relationship as members from J and E groups prepared and cleaned up everything while children sat around the table with the priest as guests. This saved the relationships between Filipinos and UCS members from going sour. Moreover, thanks to the following points of support, the UCS has learned it can trust the E group to match their expectations with the ability of Filipinos to reciprocate.

a. Filipino Women in the Kitchen

The largest assets the Filipinos have brought to the UCS are related to cooking and hospitality. Each special event above placed a significant importance on cooking. In the case of "Tasting Mass," this would have been impossible without Filipino participation. Since 2013, both the sleepover and summer school events intentionally included cooking staff from both Filipino and Japanese communities to remind children that they are members of neither the J group nor E group, but a unified, multicultural Umeda Church.

The dinner table represents a potent symbol of catholic unity. Frequently it has become a location where parents and children can communicate. During meals at sleepovers and summer camps, Filipino cooks were able to connect the names of children attendees with their Filipino mothers who incidentally were their friends. This interaction achieved at these meals was the beginning of new friendships between

children and adults alike. It is not an overstatement to claim that these meals have become the impetus that has helped solidify E and UCS groups' relationships. Without the success of Filipinos in the kitchen, Umeda Church would lose its most potent symbol of successful intercultural communication to date.

b. Spontaneity as a Cultural Asset

Filipino members at Umeda Church are known for their spontaneity and willingness to try new ideas regardless of failure. Even when time for preparation and execution has been short, it was the E group that the UCS could depend on for immediate results. By comparison, the J group has typically taken longer to prepare for events potentially taking months as opposed to weeks.

The E group exemplified this spontaneity when the UCS was short on funds for its latest "Many Colors: One Faith" summer camp. With only three weeks left to spare the E group planned a spontaneous *Halo Halo* (shaved ice) fundraiser that earned 60,000 yen in profit. *Halo Halo* is a traditional Filipino desert made with an assortment of fruits, sweet bean paste, and shaved ice. This sweet, summertime treat was served along with the cooking of barbeque skewers after the Japanese and English masses in the summer of 2013. It was through the sudden planning and execution of this event that the E group was able to contribute to UCS activities in a manner the J group, with its meticulous yet time-consuming culture of meeting and planning would have been unable to move with such impromptu decision making.

c. Supervision

Another area in which the E group has helped the UCS has been maternal support. Despite the fact that most of its members are employed full time, the E group's core group took time from work to chaperon children. In particular, it was the participation of Filipino mothers during the summer camps of both 2012 and 2013 that offered

essential maternal support. Some children unfamiliar with spending the night away from their mothers found the assistance of Filipinos a positive contribution. Having raised children themselves, these women made sure to be conscious of the participants' whereabouts at all times, as well as their emotional well being. Furthermore, in the case of Filipino children whose Japanese was insufficient to understand instruction, the language fluency of Filipino mothers in English and Tagalog helped children understand what was being said and how to participate in all of the events. This language component strengthened the collegiality of the group and offered the cultural infrastructure necessary so that UCS events could openly recruit the participation of children from Filipino backgrounds. Without the presence of Filipino women, participation at UCS special events would be limited only to those children with a strong command of English and Japanese.

d. Creativity

Finally, several Filipinos in the E group have skills in arts and crafts and were capable of working with their hands. These women helped support special events, and in particular the religious education class, by decorating for parties and even making stuffed animals and costumes. These props brought life to an otherwise drab classroom and became immensely popular with both children and Japanese members. On occasion, the UCS needed visually appealing props; requests for E group support were always met by support far exceeding leaders' expectations.

4.3. Reassessing the UCS's Future with the Filipino

All of these examples illustrate how working with other cultures requires reciprocal understanding of each other's strengths and weaknesses. In the case of Filipinos in the E group it was not that they did not care about the C group children, but rather that what was being asked of them was beyond their ability. After the UCS became familiar

with what was in the E group's skill and interests, it encapsulated its requests in ways that would produce favorable results. Cooking, spontaneity, childhood supervision, and creativity have been only a few of the most obvious areas Filipino members in the E group have helped improve the UCS religious instruction and special activities. Given the position of the UCS in between the E and J groups, understanding how it could utilize each group to its fullest potential proved to be an enormous asset. Though constructing a multicultural community requires emphasis on the relationship the UCS holds with both Japanese and Filipinos, this paper has focused on the relationship between the UCS and the Filipinos within the E group. From this analysis, the UCS has reassessed the extent and content of the expectations it holds toward the E group.

Taking the above points into consideration, we offer several points of advice we see necessary as the RCCJ moves ahead to embrace its next generation of multicultural children at the parochial level. Though Filipinos are now the largest foreign Catholic group within the RCCJ, we feel these points are in no way limited to the situation of Filipinos or their children alone. This is due to all these children being subject to pressures outside the RCCJ that lower church attendance. Ensuring these children have a place in the RCCJ when they become independent will require a group effort by all the cultures within the multicultural RCCJ.

a. Outsourcing Specific "Tasks"

The first step toward ensuring that children in the RCCJ receive a religious education that will supply them with the tools necessary to function as Catholics begins by improving the relationship between the E group and the UCS. After several years of negotiating with the E group, it became apparent that the best solution for the UCS was to outsource certain activities within its events without relinquishing its autonomy. The reason for this was that the E group was not in a position to take charge of children's activities due to its members being occupied with E group

activities. These Filipino mothers were eager to take part in separate events; but because the turnover of volunteers between each event was fierce, the UCS found it impossible to depend on individual leadership. As an alternative, the UCS requested the help of compartmentalized “tasks” that individual members from within the E group could help tackle separately. This outsourcing made it easier for Filipinos to utilize their talents on separate occasions while relieving them of the time commitment required for complex, project-centered events.

b. Lessons Learned from CTIC

In relation to this outsourcing came the realization that if the UCS desired a leader to help exclusively with its planning and execution, it would have to look outside the leadership within the E and J groups. Because members from E and J groups were already committed to their own events, the UCS would have to raise its own members if it desired more stable leadership. Finding active youth was a problem felt throughout the Tokyo Archdioceses. Take for example the youth initiative started by CTIC that began in 2011 and ended in 2012. Through planning summer camps, masses, and social events CTIC was determined to raise a new generation of multicultural-minded Catholic children by raising its own teenage leaders. For two years, paid staff planned a series of youth activities that would invite youth from throughout the diocese to get in better touch with the RCCJ’s multicultural goals and their cultural roots. At its peak, CTIC activities were able to register almost twenty youth from Japanese, Filipino, Brazilian, and Peruvian ethnic backgrounds. Nonetheless, what seemed like a successful initiative had its bottom fall out in 2013 when the leading CTIC staff member received no response to his call for youth leaders to take responsibility by planning 2013 events.

What took CTIC two years and much time and effort to prove was that even with the small scale of its youth program and the financial backing of CTIC the RCCJ was little match for the pressures teenagers in Japan faced with

other outside Sunday activities. Club activity, cram schools, entrance examinations, and part-time jobs were all pressures of which the RCCJ had little influence. The flight of children from the RCCJ upon the time they reached adolescence was almost certain. There was little else to do but to accept this.

c. A Path Forward

Instead of wasting all its resources on the sporadic attendance of a few adolescents, the UCS has begun to change its focus on making sure its children have a memorable experience while in elementary school. Bringing these experiences with them into junior high school and high school, UCS members hope children will one day return after reaching adulthood. Giving these children positive memories of a church community that accepts their ethnic diversity, the UCS hopes these memories will one day influence children’s return. Creating a third-space in which such memories can be constructed has become the new motto of the UCS, and a goal it cannot achieve without the collaboration of the E group.

d. Youth Leaders, a Glimpse of Future Hope

Perhaps the brightest sign of hope for the UCS has been two teenagers, one in junior high school the other in high school who now act as youth leaders. This brother and sister, from Filipino families, speak Japanese, Tagalog, and English fluently. Their participation within UCS groups has offered elementary school children an important role model to follow. The UCS has used their image to teach children that returning to Umeda Church after their adolescent hiatus is a preferential option they can utilize to share their life experience with other international children.

Despite Filipinos not participating in the UCS as expected, it was the participation in UCS’s special events by the mother of the above teenage leaders that influenced her to persuade her children to become UCS’s first group leaders. Having had no special activities in which to take part, it is likely this mother and her children would have never

volunteered during their time at the UCS. This exemplifies that an improved relationship with Filipino mothers has a potential to influence the return of children to church activities even after their absence. The more efficient the participation between the UCS and the E group becomes, the greater the chances more children will return ensuring the continual participation of future generations.

5. Conclusion

This paper has provided observations of a small Roman Catholic Church in Adachi ward Tokyo called Umeda Church. This ethnically diverse community is struggling to pass on the Filipino culture of nearly 70 percent of its members to a future generation of bicultural children. As seen above, this goal has faced considerable challenges as both the E group and UCS work to understand each other's limitations. Through a series of activities to promote identification within their own group, and with the multicultural Umeda Church, the E group used activities like a *Halo Halo* fundraising and the UCS used those such as sleepovers. With a newly renovated church hall and a new initiative toward multiculturalism, groups that sponsor the needs of Umeda Church's English speaking community and its next generation of multicultural children both of these groups have learned how to strengthen the identity of their members while cooperating with each other.

The multiculturalism existing within Umeda Church still has a short history. However, the important realization that the UCS has discovered about outsourcing cultural

activities, could offer constructive advice for other multicultural communities in Japan entrusting the cultures of several groups to a single future generation.

¹ Though official statistics on foreign Catholics are not precise and registered Catholics are not divided into ethnic categories, the official number of *registered* Catholics in 2010 was 448, 440. This is compared with an unpublished number cited by the Catholic Tokyo International Center as 600,000, though there is no way of telling how many of these foreigners are registered. What is certain is that over half of this church is foreign (See CBCJ, 2013: 210).

² Given the high percentage of Catholics in the Philippines (between 80 and 90 percent), many of those in this fourth group attend church out of habit.

³ Roughly 20 million Japanese yen.

⁴ For more on the situation of the entire Tokyo Archdiocese, see LeMay, 2013.

⁵ At the time, 500 yen was slightly less than 5.00 U.S. dollars.

⁶ In the Philippines, this event typically takes place in the evening as old hosts pass the statue of Mary to the new host. Candles are lit and prayers to Mary are offered. For a period of up to ten days the host is supposed to pray the Rosary daily until it comes their turn to move the statue to the next recipient.

(For more on the Block Rosary practice in other dioceses, see Terada.

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フィリピン人の協力と多文化的な還元 —梅田教会（東京）における文化的グループダイナミクス—

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要旨：

現在日本で最も多様なコミュニティを抱えているのはローマ・カトリック教会であろう。その教会における最大のエスニックは、日本に居住する外国人数第3位のフィリピン人である。本稿は、日本のローマ・カトリック教会における多文化主義のケーススタディとして、フィリピン人数が凡そ日本人の2倍である東京所在のカトリック梅田教会の教会学校を取り上げる。

本教会には多国籍・多文化の人々がおり、その7割を占める英語グループ（主にフィリピン人）と日本語グループ（日本人その他）という2つのグループに集約される成人グループと、そのどちらにも完全には属さない移民第1.5世代あるいは第2世代を含む子供グループの3つに分けられるが、教会は、改築、グループ内の組織の改編、様々な活動やイベントを経て、異文化グループが互いの限界を理解するまで様々な関係構築を模索し一つの共同体になろうとしている。

将来日本語グループと英語グループ双方を担うハイブリッド世代となることが期待されている子供グループに対して、執筆者2名は2010年から多文化共生と宗教教育を目的とした「第三の場所」を提供するプログラム（2010年は多文化青少年プログラム、現在は教会学校）の立ち上げから運営に至るまで主軸となり携わっている。複数文化を持つはずの子供達がフィリピン文化を日本社会において子供達自身で継承するのは不可能であり、プログラムとしても英語グループの参加が不可欠となる。その方法について試行錯誤を重ねた結果、英語グループの特性を理解し「外部委託」として巻き込むことで成人グループの力が発揮されるようになった。また各グループは互いに協力するなかで自らのアイデンティティをどのように強められるのかについても学んできた。

梅田教会における多文化主義の歴史はまだ浅いが、文化活動の「外部委託」は日本国内における他の多文化主義コミュニティにおいても有用であろう。