

発言の要点

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主として政治学の観点からドイツの経験に即して考える。

先進各国には移民問題で共通面と相違点・独自性がある。外国人の主たる出身国に相違があるのは歴史的背景による。以下ではドイツに焦点を絞る

1. 移民法制定の前史

外国人・移民問題の政治的テーマへの浮上

外国人住民の増加と社会からの関心の強さとは一致しない。

1980年代まで「外国人問題」は存在しなかった。

1972年に西ドイツの人口は自然減、1986年に出生率が落ち込む。人口変動への関心。

1989年の地方選挙で極右の共和党が躍進。連邦議会に人口変動に関する調査委員会設置・世論に対する啓発

ドイツ統一前後の庇護申請者・アオスジードラーの急増

外国人問題が政治の焦点・取り組むべき課題としての認知

排外暴力事件の激増・地方選挙での極右政党の躍進・統一したドイツの民主主義の試練

1990年の外国人法改正・1993年の基本法改正・1999年の国籍法改正

基本法改正の混乱と国籍法改正での対立

ナチスの罪責を踏まえ人権を尊重するという国是が問われる。

血統主義的な「単一民族」観・国民としてのアイデンティティが問われる。

2. 移民法による「移民国」への転換

シュレーダー首相のリーダーシップで2000年に諮問機関として移民委員会設置
各界の専門家からなる少人数の委員会。各界からの意見を吸い上げ2001年に提言。

移民法の主眼

高度人材の獲得を巡るグローバル競争・人口減少社会への対策・国内の定住外国人の社会統合
制定にいたる政治過程・異例の困難

福祉国家縮小（ハルツ改革・アジェンダ2010）のプロセスと重なる。

経済低迷が主因となり高度人材がむしろ流出。

社会統合政策の主軸としての統合講座

ドイツ語習得と社会生活・文化の理解のための統合講座が2005年から全国に開設。

移民に関する行政の一元化

連邦難民認定庁の連邦移民難民庁への再編。内務省・労働社会省・外務省などの縦割りの解消。
前提として滞在資格と労働許可の簡素化と一体化。

3. 統合サミット

2006年のサミット発足の契機になったのはベルリンでの学校崩壊

メルケル首相のリーダーシップでサミット開催を決定。大連立内部の駆け引き。

ドイツでの政策形成の一般的パターンとしてのコーポラティズムがモデル。

主要な社会団体の代表の協議に基づく政策形成だが、移民の代表といえる正当性のある組織が存在しないのが最大の難点。

2007年に国民的統合計画を策定。

統合サミットと並行して2006年にイスラム会議の設置。

主要なイスラム組織が参加する反面、イスラム主義組織の排除。

4. 現状と問題点

移民は一口で括れない多様な集団。とくにEU・先進国出身者と第三国出身者で格差。

移民法制定にもかかわらず高度人材が集まらない。原因の一つは排外暴力の多発。

人口変動・少子高齢社会への対策としてどこまで移民で補充するかの合意が欠如。

国籍法改正・統合サミットは政治参加の回路として不十分であり、選挙権問題が残る。

難民大国だったドイツが移民国への転換で難民小国へ。EUレベルでの規制の強化。

福祉国家縮小での格差拡大で移民が下層に滞留。失業率が高い。

移民青少年では学校教育での挫折が目立つ。高等教育への進学率が低い。

職業訓練制度の縮減で移民青少年が訓練ポストからはじき出される。

現役から退いた高齢者が急増しつつあり、母語による老人施設・介護の必要性が高まる。

とくにイスラム問題が深刻化し、平行社会の形成が危惧されている。スカーフ・強制結婚・イスラム過激派・モスク紛争・教科としての宗教など

排外暴力が高水準で推移・極右政党の定着

ホスト社会での「普通の国」・大国意識や愛国心の高まりと侵略の歴史の軽視・忘却

5. わが国にとっての示唆

人口変動の重大さの認識が共有されることが重要。

基本法・国籍法改正で見られたような激しい対立を回避できるか。

移民国への転換を選択するか。段階的か一体的に進めるか。

明確な転換には強力なリーダーシップが必要。ビジョンを示し実行するにはリーダーの決意、政権の安定、一定の期間が不可欠。

個別問題の対処の累積として一貫性なくなし崩しで進めるか明確な政治的争点として論議するか。どんなタイプの移民国を構想するか。どんな集団を招致するか。言語の習得・社会生活の基礎知識・文化の理解など統合のためにどんな用意すべき措置。政策形成への参加方式の設計。

国籍法の改正

帰化の簡易化・多重籍を容認するか。「・系日本人」「日系ブラジル人」と「ブラジル系日本人」

政治教育・歴史教育の重要性

東アジア・東南アジアの社会・文化・歴史などの学習。

Main Points of Speech

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Let us consider from a mainly political viewpoint the experiences of Germany.

Each developed nation has points of commonality and points of difference, as well as unique characteristics in terms of immigration issues. The differences in country of origin of foreign residents depends largely on the historical background. The following discourse focuses on the experiences of Germany.

1. History prior to the formulation of the Immigration Law

The issue of foreigners and immigration surfaces as a political theme

- Increase in foreign residents and the strength of public concern do not correspond to each other.
- Until the 1980s there was no “problem of foreigners.”
- In 1972, the population of West Germany was declining naturally, and in 1986 the birth rate fell down. These led to concerns about population change.
- The ultra right-wing Republican Party made further gains in local elections in 1989. The German Bundestag (the German Federal parliament) established a Study Committee on Population Change and sought to raise public awareness of the issue.
- The number of asylum seekers or “Aussiedler” rose dramatically around the time of German reunification.

The foreigner issue is recognized as one that requires political attention and measures.

- Incidents of anti-foreign violence escalate; the ultra-right made further gains in local elections; Post-unification German democracy is put to the test.

In 1990, the Foreigners Law is revised; In 1993, the Basic Law is revised; In 1999, the Nationality Law is revised

- Confusion emerges over the revision to the Basic Law and opposition to the revised Nationality Law.
- Questions are raised over national policy of respect for human rights based on past Nazi-era guilt.
- Questions of identity are raised about nationality from a “Jus sanguinis” mono-racial perspective.

2. Transition to a “nation of immigrants” through the Immigration Law

Under the leadership of Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder the Immigration Committee was established in 2000 as a consultative body

- The committee was a small body based of experts from various fields. The opinions from them were condensed into a proposal in 2001.

Central feature of the Immigration Law

- Intensifying global competition for highly-skilled human resources; Measures to deal with population decline; Social integration of foreigners settled in Germany.

Political process to formulate the law and unprecedented challenges and difficulties

- These measures overlapped with the process to downsize the welfare state (Hartz reforms, Agenda 2010).
- Economic stagnation is the primary cause, leading to an outflow rather than inflow of highly-skilled human resources

Integration classes as the main part of social integration policy

- Integration classes were established nationwide in 2005 as a means of promoting the teaching of German language and boosting understanding about society, lifestyle and culture in Germany.

Integration of administration organization for immigrants

- The Federal Refugee Recognition Bureau was reorganized as the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. The compartmentalized structure that had existed between the Interior, Labour and Social Affairs, and Foreign Ministries was eradicated.
- In principle the processes for residence qualification and work permits were simplified and integrated.

3. Integration Summit

The Integration Summit held in 2006 was in response to violence and destructive behavior at a school in Berlin.

- Under the leadership of Chancellor Angela Merkel, it was decided to hold this summit. It was a part of political maneuvering within the grand governing coalition.

Corporatism as the standard pattern for policy formation in Germany is the model.

- While policy is formed on the basis of consultations among representatives of major social groups, one major problem is that there is so organization that can be said to legitimately

represent immigrants.

- In 2007 a national integration plan was formulated.

In parallel with the Integration Summit, in 2006 an Islamic conference was established.

- Although major Moslem organizations took part, Islamist groups were not invited.

4. Current status and points of issue

Immigrants are a diverse group who cannot all be placed under one label. In particular, there is a disparity between immigrants from EU and other industrialized countries and those immigrants from the developing world.

Despite the formulation of the Immigration Law, highly-skilled human resources have not flowed into Germany. One of the reasons for this is the frequent occurrence of anti-foreign violence.

There is no consensus on the degree to which immigration can supplement policies to tackle population change and a declining birthrate and aging population.

The revision of the Nationality Law and the Integration Summit were insufficient as conduit for political engagement by immigrants and the issue of voting rights remains.

Germany was once a magnet for refugees, but it is transforming to one that is more closed to refugees. Regulations on a pan-EU level are being strengthened.

The enlargement of disparities in society due to the scaling back of the welfare state has left immigrants at the bottom of the social ladder. The unemployment rate is high.

Immigrant youth have a remarkable school dropout rate. A low proportion of immigrants proceed through to higher education.

Due to a downsizing in the vocational training system, immigrant youth are finding that they are being ejected from their training posts.

With the number of elderly who are retiring from their jobs rising rapidly, there is a rising necessity for homes for the elderly and nursing care that provide services in the native language.

In particular, Islamic issues have intensified, with the danger of a parallel society being formed. Issues include the hijab for women, forced marriage, Islamic extremism, disputes between

mosques, and religious education.

Anti-foreign violence remains at a high level, and support for ultra-right parties is becoming entrenched.

There is a tendency in the host society to seek to be a “normal country,” and disdain or forgetfulness about Germany’s history of aggression as well as surging of great power consciousness and nationalism.

5. Lessons for Japan

It is important that the gravity of population change is recognized in common by all.

Can Japan avoid the intense opposition that was witnessed in Germany to the revisions to the Basic Law and the Nationality Law?

Will Japan choose to become an immigrant nation? If it so chooses, will Japan advance this transition policy in an incremental manner or in an integrated manner?

- For a clear transition to such a policy, strong leadership would be required. Leadership resolve to express and implement a vision, a stable governing administration and a certain amount of time to achieve the aims are all essential.
- Will Japan advance this transition policy without debate or any consistency as individual issues accumulate? Or with clear discussion over the political points at issue? What would be the type of immigrant nation envisaged? What sort of groups would be invited to migrate? What measures would be put in place to ensure integration, such as acquisition of language skills, basic knowledge about life in society and understanding of Japanese culture? A design would be needed for a participatory approach to policy formulation.

Revision to the Nationality Law

- Should naturalization or dual citizenship be made easier? Differentiation between a “Japanese of XXXX extraction,” or “Japanese-Brazilian,” or “Brazilian-Japanese.”

Importance of political and history education

- Learning about the society, cultures and history etc., of East and Southeast Asia